FINNISH-GERMAN YOUNG ADULTS' BICULTURAL IDENTITY AND ITS REALIZATION IN FINLAND

Master's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Since Germany is one of Finland's biggest trade partners and at the same time Finland is an emigration country for its young adults, i.e. potential employees, it is important to study the Finnish-German young adults and their cultural identity in Finland. In today's global world also the Finnish society is developing into a culturally diverse direction which is why different cultural groups and their conditions in Finland should be studied widely. This thesis provides one perspective to this broad discussion.

This thesis has three research focuses. First, it was researched how Finnish-German young adults who have lived the majority of their lives in Finland perceive their cultural identity. Second, the Finnish-German bicultural identity of Finnish-German young adults and their cultural negotiation in different cultural frames were studies. Third, it was contemplated how it is for Finnish-German young adults to live in the Finnish society and whether they experience they can realize their cultural identity thoroughly in Finland.

The data gathering was conducted through semi-structured face to face interviews with nine informants. The data was analyzed using a grounded theory method and interpretive approach. The main findings included for instance the regional differences in the services for Finnish-German young people in Finland. Further studies could be delivered on how these services could be improved outside of Helsinki in Finland.

Asiasanat – Keywords Bicultural, Finnish-German, Cultural identity, Identity negotiation, Finland

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Koska Saksa on yksi Suomen merkittävimmistä kauppakumppaneista ja kuitenkin samaan aikaan Suomi on maastamuuttomaa sen nuorille aikuisille, eli potentiaalisille työntekijöille, on tärkeää tutkia suomalaissaksalaisia nuoria aikuisia ja heidän kulttuurista identiteettiään Suomessa. Nykyajan globaalissa maailmassa myös suomalainen yhteiskunta kehittyy kulttuurisesti monimuotoiseen suuntaan, minkä vuoksi erilaisia kulttuurisia ryhmiä ja heidän olosuhteitaan Suomessa tulisi tutkia laajasti. Tämä tutkielma tarjoaa yhden näkökulman tähän laajaan keskusteluun.

Tässä tutkielmassa on kolme tutkimuspääkohtaa. Ensinnäkin tutkittiin sitä, miten nuoret suomalaissaksalaiset aikuiset, jotka ovat asuneet suurimman osan elämästään Suomessa, kokevat oman kulttuuri-identiteettinsä Suomessa. Toiseksi, tarkasteltiin suomalaissaksalaisten nuorten aikuisten kaksikulttuurista identiteettiä ja sitä miten he neuvottelevat sitä erilaisissa kulttuurisissa tilanteissa. Kolmanneksi tutkittiin sitä, millaista suomalaissaksalaisille nuorille aikuisille on elää suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa ja kokevatko he pystyvänsä toteuttamaan kulttuuri-identiteettiään kokonaisvaltaisesti Suomessa.

Aineisto kerättiin kasvotusten suoritetuissa puolistrukturoiduissa haastatteluissa. Haastateltavia oli yhdeksän. Aineisto analysoitiin käyttämällä grounded theory metodia. Tutkimuksen keskeisimpiä tuloksia olivat muun muassa alueelliset erot suomalaissaksalaisille järjestetyissä palveluissa Suomessa. Jatkotutkimuksia tulisi tehdä, jotta voitaisiin selvittää, miten näitä palveluita voitaisiin parantaa Helsingin ulkopuolella Suomessa.

Asiasanat – Keywords Kaksikulttuurisuus, Suomalaissaksalainen, Kulttuuri-identiteetti, Identiteettineuvottelu, Suomi

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Table of contents

1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on how Finnish-German young adults who have lived the majority of their lives in Finland experience their bicultural identity and their possibilities to realize it specifically in Finland. Answers to this topic were looked for with the help of the following research questions:

RQ1. How do Finnish-German young adults living in Finland perceive their cultural identity?
RQ2.a. How do Finnish-Germans negotiate their bicultural identity on a practical level in Finland?
RQ2.b. What are their strategies and concrete actions to pursue their identity?
RQ3. How is it to live in Finland as a Finnish-German?

There are firstly societal reasons to study this subject. Finland is an emigration country, which also has an aging population (Talib & Lipponen 2008, Mannila 2009). Thus, there is a need to keep productive young people in the Finnish labor market. How Finnish-German young adults are perceived in Finland as a cultural group and how they experience the Finnish societal conditions for their life and well-being are studied in this thesis among other aspects. These things indicate if Finnish society is attractive enough for Finnish-German young adults to stay in Finland and not to take their know-how elsewhere.

Finnish-German young people are a significant target group for multiple reasons. Since the 19th century Germany has had a great impact on Finland’s cultural, economic, and scientific development, which can still be perceived in Finland today (Suomi-Saksa Yhdistysten Liitto, 2013). Germany and German culture are significant in today's Finland also through the fact that Germany is still one of Finland's most significant trading partners (Finnish-German Chamber of Commerce, 2012).

Many of today's successful Finnish brands stemming from the end of the 19th century were founded by Finnish-German individuals, e.g. the well-known Stockmann shopping mall brand and the Paulig coffee brand (Suomi-Saksa Yhdistysten Liitto, 2013). In addition, in the end of the 19th century, the Finnish-German community in Helsinki confirmed its position by founding a German parish, German library, and German school, which all still run today (Suomi-Saksa Yhdistysten Liitto, 2013).

Starting from the 20th century, the distribution of different immigrant groups in Finland has become wider, which is why Germans are no longer among the biggest immigrant groups in Finland (Suomi-Saksa Yhdistysten Liitto, 2013). Today, there are approximately 6000 Germans in Finland (Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Germans are quantitatively smaller than the biggest immigrant groups, which are former Soviet Union citizens (over 52 000), Estonians (around 35 000), and Swedes (around 32 000) (Ministry of the Interior, 2012). There are about 70 000 Finns with dual nationality in Finland (Ministry of the Interior, 2012) among which there is also an unknown number of Finnish-Germans. Despite searching and also consulting the Suomi-Saksa Yhdistysten Liitto, I was not able to find any statistical number of the Finnish-German originated young adults in Finland.

In the 1990s Hulkkonen (1997) studied Germans' reasons for immigrating to Finland. These informants represent the parent generation of this thesis' informants, although Hulkkonen did not have this perspective in her thesis. The two major reasons for the immigration of the parents were economic and interpersonal (Hulkkonen, 1997). These reasons might influence the cultural attitudes inherited by the young F-G informants of this thesis. As the immigration process has been voluntary and wanted, it could be assumed to positively affect the offspring's attitudes toward both the Finnish and German cultures.

In conclusion, Finnish-German young adults who have cultural knowledge and skills of German culture are valuable in Finnish society and organizations since Germany is one of Finland's biggest trade partners (Finnish-German Chamber of Commerce, 2012). This thesis should clarify what already works well in Finland from the perspective of the informants and what could be improved in Finland and how. It is also interesting to find out, how well the descendants of an immigrant parent have adopted to the Finnish culture.

There are also other reasons to study this subject. From my researcher viewpoint every cultural group is valuable and worth studying, i.e. basically it would not matter which cultural group would be studied because all cultures are valuable. The informants of this thesis were interviewed, which provided them a possibility to feel special, i.e. this thesis provided them a possible experience of empowerment.

It was rather difficult to find previous research about this specific group with the focus of this thesis. Most of the biculturalism studies focus on immigrants but the informants of this thesis are not immigrants but Finns with a Finnish-German family background. A lot of research also focuses on bilingualism but this study aims to broaden the discussion on a cultural level where bilingualism represents only one phenomenon. Thus, this thesis aims to view natives in their own home country, i.e. Finnish-Germans in Finland, instead of immigrants. Another aim is to deal with biculturalism as a wider cultural and personal way of being than just being bilingual. Previous studies about bicultural identity are reviewed in chapter 3.

The data for this thesis was collected by interviewing nine informants face to face in semi-structured interviews. The interviews were then analyzed with a grounded theory method mostly focusing on Charmaz' (2014) grounded theory and interpretive methodology. The data gathering and analysis process are described in chapters 5-7. In the earlier chapters 2-4 the theoretical background in the Intercultural Communication field is discussed. The abbreviation *F-G* refers to Finnish-German in this thesis.

2 THEORIZING IDENTITY

The aspect of identity studied in this thesis is often called *ethnic identity*. The identity of the F-G informants is preferably discussed through the concept of *culture* in this thesis, more specifically through the bicultural background. Terminology will be discussed more precisely in chapter 3 but at this point ethnic identity is still used as it is the original term in many theories. Later on, I move on to using terms *culture* and *bicultural identity*.

In this chapter the discussion remains on a general level. After that, in the chapter 3, special characteristics of bicultural identity are studied more closely.

Ethnic identity is complex, changing, and it can be defined from the outside through other people and from the inside by the individual. Ethnic identity is studied from different perspectives, all attempting to describe a concept that is difficult to grasp. What is certain is that ethnic identity is negotiated in social interactions (Verkuyten, 2012).

The subjective experience of identity is emphasized in this thesis. Phinney (1996) accentuated the subjective nature of identity in the following way:

> (…) ethnic identity is a complex cluster of factors that define the extent and type of involvement with one's ethnic group. It differs both qualitatively and quantitatively among ethnic group members (…) (p. 923).

Thus, ethnic identity is individually dynamic because its significance to the person and its realization varies among different individuals, also within a shared ingroup. To that, the significance of ethnic identity can change over time, e.g. an individual can reject his/her old identity in some cases and change it to another one (Gudykunst & Bond, 1997).

Ethnic identity can be contemplated among other social identities, e.g. gender, age, work identity, and so on. Yet, it can be a fundamental part of an individual’s identity since it represents the primary socialization within the ethnic group he/she is born (Liebkind, 2009). Growing up in a certain ethnic community will not automatically define an individual’s identity but he/she can eventually choose an identity which might not be the one he/she originally inherited (Phinney, 1996). Immigrant parents’ acculturative attitudes may transfer to the descendant’s ethnic identity (Liebkind, 2009). It has been studied that the most positive outcome for an individual’s psychological health would be identification with both the original ethnic culture and the majority culture (Liebkind, 2009).

Ethnic identity can take different forms in different immigration generations but a sense of shared culture and history is usually passed on (Liebkind, 2009). The F-G informants in this thesis can be described as the second immigration generation. However, both immigration and minority aspects are discussed cautiously in this thesis because they can comprise such presuppositions that do not match with the informants' reality. To that, Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008) stated "'migrant' is inherently a reductionist category" (p. 43). Minority as a term is rather used within this thesis to describe that there are quantitatively less people in some groups than in other groups.

The two theoretical main approaches to cultural identity *the identity development approach* and *the social identity approach* will be discussed in the following chapters. This thesis focuses generally on the identity development approach. One of the reasons for this choice is that the informants will be interviewed individually and they will report their subjective experiences. Hence, there is an individual emphasis in this thesis, which is the main interest in the identity development approach too. Yet, some concepts from the social identity approach, such as *ingroups*, may be applied. Naturally, the approaches are not completely separate but they complement each other. However, the social identity approach is reviewed more slightly in comparison with the identity development approach. The concept of *belonging* is discussed briefly as well, because it introduces a different perspective to identity construction.

2.1 Identity development approach

The identity development approach concentrates on an individual's subjective psychological dimension, whereas the social identity approach focuses on social relations and how an individual is perceived by others as a group member. The developmental approach is based on Erikson's theory from the 60s (Verkuyten, 2012). The theory contemplates identity formation as a gradual development, which aims for stability and continuation (Verkuyten, 2012). Since 1989 Phinney has widely studied ethnic identity development based on the Eriksonian tradition.

When ethnic identity is formed, two developmental tasks occur, *exploration* and *commitment* (Phinney, 1996, 2007). In short, these processes studied by Phinney (1996, 2007) usually take place in young adulthood as an individual examines and questions the norms and values of the childhood home and of other authorities. He/she builds his/her own understanding of ethnic heritage and of its meaning to his/her life. The individual also debates his/her commitment to the ethnic group. If both exploration and commitment are dealt with, the individual reaches an *achieved identity* (Phinney, 1996, 2007). Achieved identity secures individual's psychological well-being and also eases intergroup communication (Phinney, 1996, 2007). The achieved identity does not represent a perfect identity goal but having experienced both processes, exploration and commitment, which is crucial for an individual to form a balanced sense of unique self. If these processes are avoided or ignored, the outcomes are dissatisfying for the individual in the long run (Phinney, 1996, 2007).

Ethnic identity can at best protect an individual from discrimination and contribute to his/her self-confidence (Phinney, 1996, 2007). Clarity of ethnic identity enables an individual to operate as a part of his/her cultural ingroup, which is a basic ground to interact with other groups as well (Verkuyten, 2012). Thus, it is not insignificant how Finnish-German bicultural young adults are enabled to explore and express their identities comprehensively in Finland. The outcome on a societal level can be productive and socially skillful employees, who are balanced and can do their work effectively. Reciprocally, if the society offers its members possibilities to reinforce and express their identities, the likelihood increases that employees want to stay in the country and not take their know-how abroad.

One's subjective self-perception might not match with the social perception that others have of the individual (Verkuyten, 2012). Thus, "subjective understanding and social reality" are in a constant dialogue that might sometimes be in contradiction (Verkuyten, 2012, p. 233). This is another reason why F-G informants' ideas about their place in the Finnish society is studied. Societal constructs, policies and attitudes influence on how an individual can be what he/she is and wants to be and how he/she is perceived by others. These sometimes invisible phenomena can be brought into awareness by the informants with the help of the grounded theory method. The interviews will not, however, represent the thoughts of the others directly but they are subjective perceptions of the informants.

Ethnic identity can change during an individual's life (Phinney, 2007). Therefore, the processes of exploration and commitment might be repeated and accordingly the identity results might change. Thus, the informants will be describing their thoughts about their identity only right now and after some time their thoughts might significantly change.

2.2 Social identity approach

Next, the social identity approach will be briefly discussed. This approach stems from Tajfel and Turner from the late 70s (Verkuyten, 2009). The primary basic idea in this approach is that people tend to address positive features to their ingroups, which are seen as distinct from other groups (Verkuyten, 2009). The second focus is that people aim to maintain positive self-perception through their ingroups (Verkuyten, 2009). If an ingroup turns out to be unsatisfactory, the individual can switch the ingroup either mentally or in action to preserve a positive self-image (Turner, 1987). Alternatively, he/she can try to reform the old ingroup to become more positive (Turner, 1987). If the ingroup is stigmatized in the society and the individual adopts the stigma, it will likely be harmful for his/her well-being (Verkuyten, 2009), which is why the positively evaluated ingroup is important.

Social identity can be defined as “what someone is taken to be socially” and through what is “shared with others” (Verkuyten, 2009, p. 43). Consequently, group membership steers individual thinking and behavior. Hence, the focus in this theoretical approach is shifted from the inner individual development to we -thinking that modifies individual thinking. Often this we –thinking affects individual behavior based on the expectations dominant within the group, which can produce stereotypical behavior (Verkuyten, 2009, 2012). Further, the realization of social identities depends on the particular context and on whether the identity is individually achieved or ascribed from the outside (Verkuyten, 2009, 2012).

Verkuyten (2009) criticizes both the developmental and social identity approaches for being too theoretical. Verkuyten (2009) proposes that the actual communication performance and individual’s everyday life and actions should be studied instead.

2.3 Belonging

Finally, cultural identity can be approached through belonging as well. Belonging in this case is understood as a feeling based experience such as “being ‘at home’” (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008, p. 41). Belonging can also be defined as an “association with a group” and as a “ relationship between personal identity and a collective identity” (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008, p. 44). The belonging approach could be seen as a mixture of inner processes (developmental approach) and social commitments and group distinctions (social identity approach).

The most interesting aspects of belonging presented by Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008) are *recognition* and *attachments*. Recognition represents the forces outside of the individual, the others, who can be official or unofficial parties. For instance, citizenship can be denied by “institutional gatekeepers” (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008, p. 44). Hence, citizenship is seen as an official threshold of belonging (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008).

Attachments represent an individual’s own choice to belong to a group and they can sometimes be contradictory (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008).

Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008) stress that attachments are not always similar within a group but there are individual differences, which are fluid and changeable. Even though a membership would be available, the individual can choose based on his/her attachment level whether or not he/she wants belong to the group (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008).

Furthermore, increasing networking across national boundaries in the Internet is a new form of belonging and creates new possibilities for belonging (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008). The Internet can be a vital channel for the F-G informants too, to connect with German family members. It can play a major role in today's belonging.

2.4 Identity of young adults

The informants of this thesis are young adults between 20 and 30 years. Therefore, the age developmental phase of young adults will be contemplated in this chapter.

An individual's identity is constantly changing and there are important developmental turning points in each age stage. Thus, there is basically no most important moment in a person's life that should be preferred as a research subject over others. However, it can be stated that the personality of an individual is quite stabilized after the age of 30 (Brown, 1998). It means the target group of this study, young adults between 20 and 30 years, are still to some extent actively processing their identities.

Even though person's identities change during an individual's life, the first form of an achieved ethnic identity is possible to reach in early adulthood (Verkuyten, 2012). This means young adults already have clear ideas of the meaning of their ethnic ingroup in their lives. Hence, young adults as informants in this thesis can provide organized thoughts about their identities.

In the early twenties the thinking processes of a young person develop and regularize significantly (Nurmi et al., 2008). Thinking evolves into more abstract and generalizing level. After this period these processes do not change remarkably anymore although one will gain life experience (Nurmi et al., 2008). A young person in his/her twenties becomes more aware of society's expectations concerning him/her, e.g. he/she is expected to participate in working life and to find a partner (Nurmi et al., 2008).

As a young adult becomes more aware of what is expected of him/her as a member of society, consequently, Finnish expectations might collide with German and/or Finnish-German expectations of F-G individuals. Possibly, F-G individuals have to find a way to adapt to the Finnish expectations since it is the majority culture.

3 BICULTURAL IDENTITY

In this chapter, different definitions for *bicultural* are presented. Furthermore, phenomena of bicultural identity, bicultural thinking and operating, are reviewed in the light of current research. This thesis has an emphasis on a developmental perspective on an individual level. However, social identity aspects with ingroup-outgroup compositions are also included in order to create a more specific overall picture of bicultural individuals. The goal is not to find a solution to how a bicultural mind works on a universal level but to provide theoretical basis for understanding this thesis' informants' cultural background and the findings in the grounded theory analysis.

Bicultural individuals can be studied from the viewpoint of the process of identity development and from the results of the development, i.e. from different forms of multiple social categorizations. Based on Phinney and Alipuria (2006), all the Finnish, German, and Finnish-German categorizations of this thesis' informants would happen within the same cultural identity domain. Thus, whereas I see myself as a Finn in the first place and do not need to share my cultural domain in this respect, Finnish-Germans might have a more complex cultural domain. This is an interesting starting point for looking at F-G young individuals.

Phinney and Alipuria (2006) also state biculturals might not distinguish clearly between ingroups and outgroups because on the other hand biculturals can access multiple groups but on the other hand they might not always gain access because of their multiple memberships. Consequently, the variety of different cultural identifications within the same cultural domain might not only be complex and rich but in competition with each other. Also, loyalty to both parents might complicate one's cultural identifications (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006) because identification with one group can represent denial of the other parent's culture, i.e. identity choices of an individual require consideration from different perspectives, such as loyalty and surrounding social pressure. Thus, bicultural identity is a complex issue that cannot be dealt with thoroughly only within a thesis.

3.1 Defining terminology

Phinney's and Alipuria's (2006) definition of *multiracial* is probably the most apt with the term *bicultural* used in this thesis:

> Multiracial people may have parents who are from two different groups or parents who are themselves multiracial. Offspring of these parents may be referred to as being of first-generation, second-generation, or multigenerationally mixed heritage. (p. 212)

Thus, Phinney and Alipuria (2006) take into account that even though an individual would be born to a family with multiple cultural backgrounds, he/she might not end up perceiving him/herself according to the home cultures but could still form and choose a different identity. Hence, cultural identity is self-constructed (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). Regarding this thesis, the above-mentioned multiracial parents would represent Finnish and German originated parents in Finland. The children of these individuals are Finnish-German offspring, which can be characterized as a second-generation.

How an individual deals with the race with which he/she is socially linked with, is called *racial identity* (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). However, the term *race* is avoided in this thesis, firstly, because it is hard to grasp as a concept. It is difficult to define the race of the F-G informants' parents because theoretically the parents might have been born to e.g. a Turkish family in Germany and to a Russian family in Finland although they would have German and Finnish citizenships. The racial backgrounds can be complex and thus difficult to define. Additionally, *race* comprises a connotation with person's external features, which are not looked at in this thesis. Race can also be seen as an imposed category, which is not necessarily an internalized self-categorization (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). Consequently, *race* will not be used within this thesis, because it can be interpreted to contain a variety of information already in itself.

Similarly, *ethnicity* is another term that is not preferred in this thesis. It is close to the term culture as ethnic group can be defined through a sense of sharedness and historical continuity (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). On the other hand, *ethnicity* can be associated with ethnic minority studies, which are related to this thesis, but nevertheless, ethnicity as a word already contains certain color and expectations. Although Finnish-German youth are a minority in Finland by number, it does not automatically mean the individuals would have a minority mentality.

Culture term is used in this thesis already due to the scientific context of Intercultural Communication within which this thesis takes place. Culture is often defined as “a pattern of perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors” but most importantly it consists of “hidden cultural programming” that masters people’s operating in their everyday lives but still often takes place on an unaware level (Kim, 2001, p. 48). Culture can also be seen as an ocean where different phenomenon rise to the surface at different times (Fang, 2005, 2006). Fang’s (2006) dynamic culture definition supports the idea of why the minority perspective is not accentuated in this study. A person might represent a minority within one context and represent a majority in another context. An individual’s cultural identity also changes over the time.

In the concept *bicultural* the term *culture* is included, which is the reason for it being the preferably used term in this thesis. Within this thesis, *culture* comprises the different phenomena of human action and psyche in the most complex way, in comparison with the other terms race and ethnicity. It leaves the door open for dimensions still to be discovered. In this thesis, what being *bicultural* is, is answered in the collected interview data and in the grounded theory processing of the data. Terms like race and ethnicity will be used only when they are applied in the original theories.

3.2 Achieved identity theory

Individual identity development demands two processes, *exploration* and *commitment* (Phinney, 2007), which are explained next. Exploration requires conscious examination of one's cultural background, which aims for a deeper understanding of it. This process can comprehend concrete actions, e.g. visiting museums and asking other people questions. Both negative and positive aspects of one's cultural heritage will be equally contemplated. Commitment encompasses a clear feeling of belonging to one's cultural ingroups. Commitment is accompanied by pride and positive feelings towards them.

The realization of the two processes results in the following identity status options, *diffuse, foreclosed, moratorium,* and *achieved* (Phinney, 2007). These statuses do not occur in a linear order and they might change over the course of time (Phinney, 2007). Diffuse is considered as the least developed status and achieved identity as the most mature one (Phinney, 2007). Achieved identity can have a positive impact on an individual's psychological and social well-being by creating a coherent feeling of the self (Phinney, 2007). According to Phinney (2007), an individual with a diffuse identity has not explored his/her identity nor committed to it. This individual is not interested in exploring his/her cultural background. To that, he/she does not feel a sense of belonging to his/her cultural ingroups (Phinney, 2007).

Foreclosed identity status is the result of commitment without exploration (Phinney, 2007). According to Phinney (2007), an individual with a foreclosed identity feels pride towards his cultural ingroups but he/she has not questioned the 'truths' about those groups that were conveyed at home and by other authorities. He/she therefore has not shaped a clear understanding about his/her cultural background (Phinney, 2007). Moratorium identity includes exploration but the individual is not sure about his/her commitment to the group (Phinney, 2007)

Finally, the achieved identity is the outcome of both exploration and commitment (Phinney, 2007). An individual with an achieved identity has achieved a deeper understanding on his/her cultural background and he/she feels belonging to his/her cultural ingroups (Phinney, 2007).

3.3 Multiple social identities

Similarly to Phinney's (2007) identity statuses, Roccas and Brewer (2002) concentrate on describing the end product of the identity development, i.e. the different identity options and also how they are represented. Both Phinney (2007) and Phinney and Alipuria (2006) focus on the individual experience, whereas Roccas and Brewer (2002) review the relationship between the individual and others. Therefore, Roccas and Brewer (2002) lean more to social identity approach. Yet, they still offer a useful insight on different individual identity alternatives.

Roccas and Brewer (2002) are interested in how an individual deals with multiple social identities in different social contexts. They state multiple social identities can be embedded, orthogonal or either partially or extensively overlapping. The activation of different social identities is individually interpreted and affected by the context (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Multiple subjective ingroup identifications can be represented in four ways: *intersection, dominance, compartmentalization,* and *merger* (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Intersection refers to a joint identity of two group identities which together form an ingroup (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Dominance is an approach to multiple identifications according to which an individual chooses only one identification over others (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In the compartmentalization identification an individual compartmentalizes identity according to the context (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In the merger structure multiple group identities are simultaneously adopted (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

The four structures all aim to reconcile with the inconsistency of the variety of different identities and available ingroups. In order to integrate different identities, as in the merger structure, one has to recognize the competing identity options instead of suppressing them, and find a way to combine them (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

It is important to remember an individual might not always be accepted as a member of a group even though he would identify himself as an ingroup member. Additionally, it is not self-evident an individual will choose the most common identity in the present group but he/she might also choose to emphasize another less context suitable marginal identity. On the other hand, a competent communicator is supposed to be appropriate in interactions, which means he/she has the ability to interpret and also fulfill the expectations in the communication situation (Wiseman, 2002). The expectations might require fitting into the group and thus following mutual rules. Yet, the individual's personal motivation and goal (Wiseman, 2002) might be directed to support his marginal identity. For instance, if the majority of present group is somehow stigmatized in the society, the individual might want to enhance another identity within that group to avoid the stigma. This phenomenon is based on an individual's strive to have a positive identity (Gudykunst & Bond, 1997).

Another theme important to discuss in this connection, is the usage of the term *identification*. The term is used both as a synonym for *identity* and also as the degree of association with a group (Liebkind, 2009). The degree aspect can be seen connected with Phinney's (2007) commitment process. In this thesis *identification* is used as a mixture of both the degree of group association (Liebkind, 2009) and of individual group commitment (Phinney, 2007).

Roccas and Brewer (2002) study biculturals as a specific group. They define a bicultural individual as somebody "whose societal group membership (country of residence or citizenship) and ethnic–national group membership represent distinct cultures and overlapping but nonconvergent social groups" (p. 92-93). This thesis' informants' societal group membership would be Finnish and 'ethnic-national group' German or Finnish-German. Roccas and Brewer (2002) discuss mainly immigrant biculturalism, which is rather linked with the parents of the informants than with the offspring. In comparison with this definition, Phinney's and Alipuria's (2006) previously explained definition *multiracial* is more precise considering this thesis' bicultural informants.

Roccas' and Brewer's (2002) conclusions on bicultural identity alternatives resemble the above mentioned multiple ingroup identifications intersection, dominance, compartmentalization, and merger. The premise is that an individual has to cope with conflicting cultural group identifications. The first identity alternative is called *hyphenated identity,* which means an individual identifies himself with people who have the same cultural background (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Thus, the informants of this thesis would be restricted to think of only other F-Gs as their ingroup members. On the other hand, the identity might be dominated by one culture only, e.g. by the Finnish culture, German or Finnish-German culture. This structure is defined as *cultural dominance* (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

The third bicultural structure is *compartmentalization*. This group Roccas and Brewer (2002) connect with the immigrants' offspring. Thus, here would be a crossing with the F-Gs of this thesis. According to this structure Finnish-German young people would navigate contextually between different cultural frames, i.e. they would be competent in Finnish, German and Finnish-German cultural situations. The competence to operate in these different cultural spheres is enabled by becoming *aware* of the different cultural frames (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

The fourth identity structure of Roccas and Brewer (2002) is *integrated biculturalism,* which differs from the compartmentalized identity by comprising simultaneously several cultural identities whereas an individual with a compartmentalized identity distinguishes different cultural identities because they are incompatible together. Whether the different cultural dimensions are distinct or cooperative is a big question in the research of bicultural individuals, which comes up frequently in different literature. Another interesting mystery is whether multiple ingroup identifications form a single social identity or a “union” of several different social identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002, p. 95).

In sum, the acknowledgement of several possible ingroups and the understanding that they do not converge is seen important in this theory. Finally, a reconciliation between those different ingroup identifications is looked for.

3.4 Bicultural identity conflict and integration

Phinney and Alipuria (2006) and Roccas and Brewer (2002) both agree bicultural individuals might have tensions among their different cultural backgrounds in varying cultural contexts. Stroink and Lalonde (2009) confirm this tension and call it *bicultural identity conflict*. The target group of their study consists of second generation immigrants, which is an equivalent group to the F-Gs in this thesis. Yet, bicultural identity does not always result in a conflict and it can have positive outcomes such as the above- mentioned complex social identity (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009).

A related phenomenon to bicultural identity conflict is *double jeopardy*, studied by Sam and Berry (2009), which can be involved in young immigrant’s identity development. Double jeopardy is caused firstly, because the young individual balances between the two cultural worlds of home and surrounding mainstream culture and secondly, because they have to face the age developmental psychological development phase at the same time with the cultural challenge (Sam & Berry, 2009). The situation is not the same for a young immigrant moving to a new country in comparison to a bicultural individual who has lived the majority of his/her life in the country in question. Yet, there can be similar challenges for both individuals.

In a study by Sam and Berry (2009), immigrant youth answered questions about their acculturation and adaptation process. The study was conducted in 13 countries around the world with over 5000 informants (Sam & Berry, 2009). The informants were 13-18 year old, i.e. somewhat younger than the informants in this thesis, which can complicate the comparison between the study and this thesis. To that, the informants' family backgrounds in the study and the family backgrounds of this thesis' informants can be very different.

An interesting notion came up in the study: the greatest amount of the migrant informants in Finland (more than 40%) fell into the diffuse profile (Sam & Berry, 2009). This number was remarkably bigger in comparison to other Nordic countries in the study, Norway and Sweden. Diffuse is considered the lowest form of adaptation (Berry, 2005). This result could indicate Finnish society to still have some features of a *non-settler society* where there are no long-term traditions of a successful immigrant settlement system like there are in the US and Canada for instance (Sam & Berry, 2009).

A common reason behind a cultural identity conflict is the individual's own identification with ingroups is unclear (Gudykunst & Bond, 1997; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). Sam and Berry (2009) conclude the integration of both home and surrounding society cultures is the most harmonious and mentally healthy identity option for an individual. They also state immigrant youth have the same possibilities to achieve a stable identity with its benefits to mental well-being and self-esteem as do their majority culture peers.

People tend to self-stereotype themselves within a salient ingroup and act stereotypically (Gudykunst & Bond, 1997). Intergroup comparisons in the ingroup are used to support the idea of one's ingroup's priority over others. This phenomenon is called *ingroup bias* according to which positive features are perceived easily as ingroup traits and negative features as outgroup traits (Gudykunst & Bond, 1997; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009).

Thus, group membership often requires distinction from other groups. This is why bicultural individuals, who identify with multiple groups, can get frustrated in a "no-win situation" in which they do not fully belong to any group and may be perceived as outsiders among other ingroup members (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009, p. 50, p. 60). On the other hand, regarding a bicultural individual, the concept of belonging can take innovative forms. An individual with an integrated bicultural identity can be very competent in different cultural frameworks and his/her concept of belonging might resemble more a concept of being a world citizen (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Another study exploring the belonging of children in multicultural families (Ceginskas, 2010) will be contemplated later on in this thesis. This study also shows the significance and potential of schools in empowering students' multicultural identity (Ceginskas, 2010).

In Stroink and Lalonde's (2009) study about second generation immigrant Asian-Canadians living in Canada those participants who perceived the different cultural frameworks very dissimilar, consequently, experienced weaker belonging to both ingroups. This result does not reveal the strategies those individuals have as they navigate various social situations. According to Roccas and Brewer (2002), on the contrary, the acknowledgment of the dissimilarity between different ingroups is the premise for a complex social identity. Maybe the informants of Stroink and Lalonde (2009) struggled in defining whether the different ingroups represent separate cultural frameworks for them or whether there is a conflict between simultaneously competing cultural settings.

A possible bicultural identity conflict can also be connected with the individual’s personality. Roccas and Brewer (2002) state personal attributes such as uncertainty orientation can determine one’s social identity complexity. For instance, a person who avoids uncertainty probably does not have complex group identifications. Hence, there is no one bicultural mindset but countless individual ways to be bicultural.

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) aim to discover *how* bicultural individuals reach a bicultural integrated identity structure and how they live with it. Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) point out that identity theories often lack discussing the variety of individual stories of becoming bicultural and furthermore, the significance of the surrounding circumstances on individual’s identity development. For instance, such factors as dynamics within the circle of acquaintances, personality and discrimination affect identity development uniquely (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

In their study (2005) Benet-Martínez and Haritatos present their own theoretical approach *Bicultural Identity Integration* (BII), which emphasizes the individual differences in bicultural identity development. They define a bicultural individual as somebody who negotiates between his/her original ethnic culture and mainstream culture of the larger society. Apart from the individual identity differences, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) studied the individual settlement between original home culture and the society. A great interest in their research lies in whether those cultures are integrated or opposed and what kind of factors lead to the identity outcome.

The starting point for the BII approach is that there are bicultural individuals with high and low bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Individuals with high BII do not see their dual identity as oppositional or conflicting, whereas individuals with low BII find it challenging to negotiate their different cultural identities in a functioning way. Low BII biculturals still identify themselves with both cultures (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) unlike bicultural individuals with a hyphenated identity in the Roccas and Brewer (2002) study. However, they might fall into the dominance structure of Roccas and Brewer (2002) where the other culture becomes more dominant. All in all, low BII biculturals struggle to find a balance in their dual identity.

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) researched 133 Chinese-American first generation immigrant young people living in the United States. A questionnaire was used as a method, which consisted of basic demographics (e.g. age, sex, years lived in the US etc.), acculturation attitudes (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization), Bicultural Identity Integration (including cultural conflict and cultural distance), acculturative stress (e.g.

work, linguistic, and intercultural relations) and personality (e.g. extraversion, openness) (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

The BII scale as a part of the method was developed by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005). Through eight questions the orientation towards cultural conflict and cultural distance were figured out. Cultural conflict refers here to the feeling that the two cultural identities are either compatible or incompatible. Cultural distance specifies whether the cultural identities are perceived as separate or fused. The above mentioned high and low BII orientations are correlated with cultural distance and conflict (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) conclude there were no gender differences and also no major age differences in the results. Informants' perceptions of cultural distance were connected with their acculturation process, e.g. years lived in the US, linguistic skills and successful intercultural relations were meaningful for effective cultural competence in both cultures. Yet, based on the results, it seems it would still be possible to maintain a cultural conflict even though the individual would apparently be acculturated through behavior.

It could be assumed that cultural distance is linked with communication competence, whereas cultural conflict might have more to do with the experience of belonging. Here could be a confluence with Berry's (2005) acculturation strategy components *attitude* and *behavior*: "These strategies consist of two (usually related) components: attitudes (an individual's preference about how to acculturate), and behaviors (a person's actual activities) that are exhibited in day-to-day intercultural encounters" (p.

704), in which case cultural distance would be linked with behaviors and cultural conflict with attitudes.

According to Benet-Martínez' and Haritatos' findings such personality traits as neuroticism and openness affect bicultural identity integration. Neurotic people, who were defined as withdrawn and rigid in the research, were inclined to split their identities, which caused them stress and exposed them to discrimination. Neuroticism also indicated cultural distance and conflict orientation. Openness, agreeableness and extraversion in interpersonal relations instead predicted less conflict in intercultural situations. Hence, personality matters in forming a bicultural identity.

Cheng and Lee (2013) confirm that BII is built based on individual differences. The BII theory and the BII scale of Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) were used as a part of their study. They wanted to specify the influence of negative and positive bicultural experiences on bicultural identity integration. The informants in this study were second-generation Asian American young adults, which again resemble the Finnish-Germans of this thesis from their cultural and generational background.

Cheng and Lee (2013) contemplated in their study whether BII can be changeable according to negative and positive bicultural experiences. The study participants were randomly asked to recall either a positive or negative experience. Some participants were not asked to recall at all. Finally, the results were compared. The informants reported less cultural pride while recalling negative memories and vice versa (Cheng & Lee, 2013).

Based on this study (Cheng & Lee, 2013), it could be further assumed that when a bicultural individual faces a situation that reminds him/her about earlier traumatizing situation, it could affect his BII temporarily. In other words, a bicultural individual with high BII could momentarily regress to low BII. This theory underlines the viewpoint that bicultural identity is a subjective and fluctuating process that changes on many levels and varies among individuals.

3.5 Bilingualism and frame switching

In the discourse about bicultural individuals, bilingualism becomes a phenomenon that cannot be avoided. It is discussed here as a phenomenon influencing bicultural individual’s thinking and actions on a very fundamental level. At the same time, bilingualism is seen in this thesis as only one level of being bicultural, i.e. not as the only defining feature. Also frame switching is discussed as one of the biculturals’ social strategies in this chapter.

Grosjean (2010) suggests *bilingual individuals* are primarily defined through their everyday usage of two or more languages. This definition allows more people in the bilingual category than only those individuals who have inherited two languages from their multicultural parents. For example, if a Finnish girl, whose parents are both Finns and speak Finnish, masters both Finnish and German languages fluently, she could be considered bilingual according to Grosjean. Such a case would be interesting for further studies, because in this study a Finnish-German individual is demarcated to those individuals who have certain family premises. There might still remain people outside of this group who consider themselves Finnish-Germans as well.

Hence, the definition of *bicultural* and *Finnish-German* might be seen as somewhat limited within this thesis.

A remarkable but also questionable notion of Grosjean (2010) is that not all bilinguals would be biculturals. This statement is a bit vague because mastering a language always encompasses a lot of cultural information. However, Grosjean's definition (2010) serves his purpose to try to explain the specialty of bilingual bicultural people in comparison with monocultural people with multilingual skills. On the other hand, an individual could also be bicultural but not bilingual. There are parents, who choose to teach their child a third language, e.g. the dominant culture language, and not to pass on their original languages. This decision could result in the child learning the norms and values within both cultures, but not the languages. Within this thesis, bilingualism is included in biculturalism. Biculturalism is the major concept under which different phenomena can take place.

According to Grosjean (2010) biculturals choose their language according to its contextual function. Thus, different contexts, e.g. home versus work, and different groups, e.g. friend groups, define the language usage. However, he claims one of the two cultures would dominate bicultural individual's reality. Yet, the relationship between the two cultures could change over the time. For example, a F-G person might live his/her first 25 years as a rule in Finland, which is why her Finnish culture would be dominant during this time, but as he/she would move to work in Germany for a longer period, his/her German cultural origin might become more dominant. However, it does not come up in Grosjean's (2010) discussion whether this dominancy refers to the individual's identity or just to adjusting one's behavior on a practical level.

Biculturals are categorized both by themselves and by others and these categorizations do not often match (Grosjean, 2010). Grosjean (2010) states biculturals rarely become categorized as biculturals by other people but they are usually "judged by friends, acquaintances, and others to belong to culture A or to culture B, but rarely to both cultures" (p. 116). Consequently, e.g. a F-G student might be seen only as a Finn among peer Finnish students, i.e. not as a German too. Similarly, among German friends, the same individual might be perceived as a Finn, and not as a German, or vice versa.

Grosjean (2010) illuminates different identity options that a bicultural has in the following way:

> The outcome, after a long and sometimes trying process, is to identify solely with culture A, solely with culture B, with neither culture A nor culture B, or with both culture A and culture B. (p. 117)

The identity options resemble the earlier presented bicultural identity theories. They also go hand in hand with acculturation strategies (Berry, 2005). Consistently with the previous theories, also according to Grosjean the most satisfying experience for a bicultural in the long run would be to somehow preserve both cultures in some form.

While discussing bilingualism, it is natural to incorporate code-switching in the discussion since it is a linguistic phenomenon characteristic for biculturals. Code-switching is defined as "the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages" (Bullock &

Toribio, 2009, p. 1). From intercultural communication, code-switching could be seen not only as a linguistic matter but as a part of switching between cultural frameworks.

Bilingual code-switching is influenced by factors related to the speaker, such as communication competence, relationships, worldview, self-perception, and perception of others (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Other factors matter as well, e.g. situational factors, power relations, societal norms, and laws (Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

It is widely discussed whether bilinguals select only one language which is activated, or whether both languages are activated non-selectively during speaking. These both alternatives can be seen as strategies with the help of which bilinguals avoid interference between the two languages. A bilingual person can either shut the other language off to have the other on or have the both constantly on (Kutas et al., 2009). This phenomenon can be contemplated parallel to cultural frame switching, which will be contemplated next.

Frame switching is studied e.g. by Luna et al. (2008) who state biculturals have distinct cognitive frameworks between which cultural frame switching takes place. Within Luna's et al. (2008) study a *bicultural individual* is understood as a bicultural and bilingual individual who has internalized two cultures. Luna et al. (2008) claim each cultural frame encompasses its own value and behavior systems, i.e. separate frames consist of separate worldviews and identities. Language is seen as a significant factor that triggers the frame switch (Luna et al., 2008).

According to Luna et al. (2008) frame switching would be typical and unique to bicultural individuals, i.e. monocultural bilinguals would not have this ability. Luna et al. (2008) make a similar distinction with Grosjean (2010) between bicultural bilinguals and monocultural bilinguals. According to Luna et al. (2008) monoculturals have only “secondhand knowledge” about the other culture (p. 280). Monocultural bilinguals might have learned a foreign language e.g. at school but they would not have internalized the culture of the language.

Luna et al. (2008) reviewed frame switching related tests. In one of the tests frame switching of Hispanic American women were researched by studying their reception of advertisements in different languages. The same advertisement was shown to the informants, first with a Spanish text and then with an English text, and similarly the interviews were held in Spanish and in English. The informants reacted differently to the language switch and also their explanations concerning the advertisements differed depending on the language of the same advertisement.

The advertisements promoted companies and there was always a female figure included. In the Spanish interview sessions informants interpreted the woman in the advertisement to be independent whereas in the English sessions they saw the same woman in the same advertisement other-dependent (Luna et al., 2008). Thus, this study shows that frame switching happens between the languages and the cultural world views are connected to the languages.

Connecting with Luna’s et al. (2008) observations, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) saw bicultural frame switching’s affiliation with bicultural identity integration in their study. They claim individuals with high BII can respond to cultural cues and behave congruently with different expectations in different cultural settings, i.e. they can utilize frame switching effectively, unlike the low BII individuals who cannot clearly distinct the cultural frameworks and hence their behavior neither (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

An interesting question can be raised about the consciousness of frame switching, i.e. whether there are different types of frame switching. For instance, some biculturals can experience their two cultural identities oppositional and consequently they might actively try to resist frame switching (Luna et al., 2008). This phenomenon is consistent with Benet-Martínez' and Haritatos' (2005) observations of low BII individuals.

The reasons for dysfunctional frame switching are intriguing. Can the low BII be a conscious choice in the way that an individual chooses to reinforce e.g. his German identity and acts according to it despite the fact that it might not always be the most suitable strategy in interactions? Or is the low BII only something that an individual suffers from and would want to change but does not know how? These questions can touch upon personality issues. Some people are practical by nature, i.e. they might react to cultural cues without a thought in the simplest way: this works in this company and context, so I will behave this way. Others are more reflective by nature, i.e. they might reflect their actions more profoundly and make more conscious decisions, although not always the easiest ones, in order to become that person they want to be. For example, religious conviction can be very motivating for some individuals to interact in a distinctive way. Thus, there can be more important priorities than socially fitting in. Thus, I claim practical orientation to frame switching does not automatically make certain individuals 'smarter' than others, but e.g. there might be individual conscious choices and reflections concerning different cultural frame options. In addition, turning points in life can change one's cultural orientation, e.g. Grosjean (2010) writes:

> In my own case, I feel that I have changed my dominant culture four times since becoming bicultural: it was English in my teenage years, French until age twenty-eight, American until I was forty, and it has been Swiss since then. (p. 111)

It is a very interesting question and point of view whether the informants of this thesis feel balanced with their both cultural frames or whether they have complications with them. Another interesting question is, whether the informants see these frames as separate identities or as aspects of a larger identity. Also their perception of the importance of the language for their cultural identities is an interesting issue.

3.6 Identity management in relationships

So far, code switching and frame switching have been discussed as systems of the bicultural mindset and identity. In a way, they can be seen as mental 'actions' but they cannot always be that easily perceived by others. Next, this discussion is broadened to the identity performance level which can be more concrete to other people around the individual. The identity performance level is closely attached to the focus on the relationship between interlocutors.

Cupach and Imahori (1993) stress in their Identity Management Theory (IMT) that communication competence shall be perceived especially on the relationship level. Consequently, interlocutors' identity performances are seen to be governed by the interaction participants and the situation. Furthermore, the informants of this thesis might experience difficulties in some relationships where the identity negotiation has failed and succeed in other relationships where they have managed to negotiate common ground. This perception makes the biculturalism even a non-issue because the mutual way of being has been agreed between the interlocutors.

Whereas Luna et al. (2008) see cultural identities as “distinct cognitive frameworks” (p. 278), Cupach and Imahori (1993) describe them to be connected: “The various aspects of identity are enmeshed and exert influence on one another. “ (p. 114). According to the IMT, one’s *total identity* contains of different aspects, such as cultural identities and relational identities. Relational identity is created whenever a relationship is formed, i.e. a mutual culture is built between the interlocutors (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). One’s total identity is not wholly represented at a time but different aspects of the identity occur in different situations (Cupach & Imahori, 1993).

Conveying different identity aspects in communication is performed by *face.* Universally one aims to maintain face in interaction (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). There are two fundamental faces: *positive face* and *negative face* (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). Positive face indicates desire to be accepted by others whereas desire to be autonomous is communicated through negative face. Face management occurs in different ways, e.g. through *preventive* and *corrective facework* (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). With the help of preventive facework face threats can be avoided, e.g. through politeness. Corrective facework is needed if face has already been threatened. The situation can be repaired e.g. through apologies.

There are constant tensions in face management (Cupach & Imahori, 1993), e.g. as one tries to maintain interlocutor's face, one can end up threatening one's own face. Cultural face management differences can complicate intercultural communication because negative and positive face management are interpreted differently among cultures (Cupach & Imahori, 1993).

Competent intercultural communication requires successful management of face tensions that "validates, supports, and confirms cultural identities" (Cupach & Imahori, 1993, p. 123). According to the IMT a result of intercultural communication competence can be a successful intercultural relationship. Competence and relational development are seen to develop simultaneously according to IMT. There are three phases in this development: *trial, enmeshment* and *renegotiation* (Cupach & Imahori, 1993).

In the trial phase intercultural relationship is in its very beginning. In this phase interlocutors might unintentionally threaten each other's face because they have neither knowledge nor understanding about each others' cultures (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). These mistakes are important because interlocutors learn from them. Hence, incompetence at the beginning of the relationship contributes competence (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). In the trial phase interlocutors also begin to build common ground by concentrating on shared interests.

In the enmeshment phase interlocutors develop a *relationship world view* which means they share more negotiated symbols, meanings and rules together (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). The shared views base on the trial phase during which mutually shared identity aspects are identified. Also the colliding differences have been defined and they can be avoided. In the enmeshment stage relational identity starts to emerge but the identities of the interlocutors are still separate and not merged (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). Enmeshment stage might be sufficient for such relationships as colleagues where it is not necessary to reach the renegotiation stage (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). In the renegotiation stage the relationship develops more intimate and in-depth (Cupach & Imahori, 1993).

In the final phase separate cultural identities are renegotiated. The cultural identities are highly integrated, i.e. shared relational identity emerges (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). Yet, individual identities cannot ever become totally shared. If the enmeshment of identities into relational identity is not reached, at least cultural differences are seen in a positive light at this stage (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). In summary, in this phase the original intercultural relationship has become an interpersonal relationship.

Lee (2008) applied IMT (1993) to relational identity formation in intercultural friendships in the United States. Lee (2008) discovered three stages of intercultural friendships: *initial encounter*, *interaction* and *involvement* which can be seen overlapping with the initial IMT phases of trial, enmeshment and renegotiation. Lee (2008) extended IMT with two transitions between the stages: *needs/interests* and *turning point*.

The first transition was found out to take place between initial encounter stage and interaction stage (Lee, 2008). This transition referred to interlocutors' motivation to continue the friendship. The informants saw e.g. personality attraction and fun companionship as motivational aspects (Lee, 2008).

In the turning point transition intercultural friends experienced a certain incident which impacted on their friendship profoundly (Lee, 2008). Usually this incident had a positive effect which strengthened informants' intimacy and trust. On the other hand, sometimes the turning point had negative outcomes to the friendship e.g. when the relationship turned into a long-distance relationship or a crucial fight took place (Lee, 2008).

Based on Lee's study (2008) IMT can be applied to real life relationships. Even those bicultural individuals, who struggle with their cultural identity aspects, might build successful relationships over cultural boundaries if a mutual culture is negotiated.

3.7 Majority culture receptivity influencing identity

Since this thesis is studied focusing on Finnish societal circumstances, host receptivity is discussed in this chapter as a factor affecting bicultural identity development. Kim (2001) contemplates host receptivity mainly from the perspective of such individuals who adapt to a new strange culture to them. This premise as such does not apply directly to F-Gs since they are not foreigners in their home country. However, host receptivity is dealt with in this chapter as the majority society's receptivity towards difference. This thesis aims to broaden the bicultural identity discussion to current Finnish societal conditions and to how these conditions are perceived by F-G young adults.

Kim (2001) uses simplified terms natives and strangers to characterize the two different parties concerning host receptivity. These terms could be replaced as quantitative majority and minority better to avoid biases.

According to Kim (2001) host receptivity includes both how open the majority is towards minorities and how the minorities perceive their possibilities and easiness to approach and be accepted by the majority members. It has to be acknowledged that for the informants of this thesis the majority-minority composition might not exist. Hence, no presumptions are made here concerning the informants. To that, there is no intention to try to create a polarity between Finns and Finnish-Germans in Finland. However, nobody grows in a vacuum but the surrounding conditions have a great impact on one's construction of the reality.

According to Kim (2001) both private and public attitudes affect the receptivity towards different groups. These attitudes can vary from openness and acceptance to closeness and hostility. Private attitudes are realized through associative and dissociative behavior in the following way (Kim, 2001). Associative communication aims to cooperation and mutual understanding. Dissociative communication can take forms of rejection and discrimination, e.g. through ignorance and offensive jokes. Within communities there are usually traditions of receptivity towards certain minority groups, which means certain groups, i.e. certain dissimilarity, may be traditionally accepted, whereas certain other groups, with which there is e.g. no earlier experience, are not as easily accepted (Kim, 2001).

Another factor describing the openness towards different cultural groups is called host conformity pressure (Kim, 2001). This term refers to the pressure the majority culture puts on minorities to adapt to the society. There are two significant approaches to treat minorities: assimilative ideology and pluralist ideology (Kim, 2001). Assimilative ideology aims to integrate the cultural differences into a melting-pot. Pluralist ideology allows the cultural minorities to maintain their distinctive cultural features. Host conformity pressure does not always occur in the official policy, but appears in everyday public and private interactions (Kim, 2001).

Host receptivity is attached to the earlier mentioned non-settler and settler societies (Sam & Berry, 2009). Settler societies have long traditions and successful results with settling immigrants into the host society in the long term. Non-settler societies, on the other hand, do not yet have strong traditions with immigrants, which create forms of separation in the immigrant groups from the majority culture (Sam & Berry, 2009).

Cheng and Lee (2013) describe the significance of host receptivity, which can be applied to F-G individuals' experiences too:

> (…) when the mainstream cultural group is friendlier toward the ethnic minority group and more open to different cultural values and experiences, members of the ethnic minority group are more likely to identify with the mainstream and ethnic cultures, and integrate both into their identities. Again, this supports the idea that positive acculturation experiences are associated with the integration of two cultural identities. (p. 1236)

Hence, attitudinal factors, e.g. as simple as friendliness, can influence a lot how biculturals can express their identity within different groups in their everyday lives. Attitudes can also vary within a society, e.g. in Finland, depending on different individuals and communities. It is important to remember that all interaction is intercultural (Cupach & Imahori, 1993) because when different individuals meet, also different realities encounter.

Different host receptivity factors in Finland, especially school environment, rise up in Talib and Lipponen's (2008) study. They studied first generation immigrant students in Finland who had moved to Finland when they were children or teenagers. Most of the 24 informants are refugees, which again is a different background in comparison with the informants in this thesis. Yet, the study has several confluences with this thesis, e.g. because Talib and Lipponen (2008) aim to find out how the informants define themselves and their belonging. They also want to know who constitute their support group. Third, they look at how governmental and non-governmental organizations are attached to immigrant youth's everyday life.

The findings of Talib and Lipponen (2008) prove that family's support is significant for young immigrants. Another important support source was found out to be friends, e.g. through hobbies. Thus, non-governmental organizations can provide access to new friends. School was found out to be an important place concerning young immigrant's adaptation (Talib & Lipponen, 2008). Also in this case, family's support and attitudes towards education affect children's' motivation to school going and its importance (Talib & Lipponen, 2008).

The teacher turns out to play a great role for the identity development of young first generation immigrants (Talib & Lipponen, 2008). Talib and Lipponen (2008) show that immigrant students wish to be treated the same way as everybody else by the teacher, i.e. in a way that no great attention is drawn to their cultural differences. Such attention is perceived negatively by the informants because the informants feel it exposes them to discrimination (Talib & Lipponen, 2008). Based on this experience Finnish school system can be looked at critically: can it tolerate and encourage differences in the class room? Talib and Lipponen (2008) explain that some of the informants experience the Finnish school as a place where students are expected to be as uniform as possible, which can lead to a situation where the differences are practically denied. This result might encourage the individual to hide or suppress his cultural background in school.

More precisely, Talib and Lipponen (2008) explain that being treated as ‘ordinary’ students is perceived positively by the informants because this creates a feeling that they are accepted as who they are. It could be discussed though whether ‘being who I am’ can actually become influenced by the Finnish school uniformity ideals of ‘being like everybody else’. The question remains, if the Finnish school is a place where young person’s identity will be influenced to be as similar as possible with others? Ceginskas (2010) confirms that state schools often aim to homogenize the pupils, whereas international schools can offer pupils more freedom to express their cultural differences.

Talib and Lipponen (2008) focus on positive teacher experiences in their study. However, they point out that there is no consistent policy or tradition on how teachers in general could support students from multicultural backgrounds but the support is currently dependent on the teacher’s personal traits only. It is also worth mentioning that all the participants had experienced discrimination in some form in school (Talib & Lipponen, 2008) All in all, teacher was perceived as the key to support positive identity development of the informants.

Also Ceginskas’ (2010) and Lu’s (2001) state school environment can effectively support the identity development of young individuals with diverse cultural backgrounds. In Lu’s study (2001) the schools in question were

Chinese schools in Chicago. According to this study Chinese schools help American-Chinese individuals to become more aware of their Chinese background and to embrace their Chinese identity. However, a weakness in this study was that only the parents of the American Chinese children were interviewed. Thus, the actual experience of the children was not described in this study. Ceginskas (2010) discusses education's position in society more profoundly. According to Ceginskas (2010) every society's education is designed to homogenize the socialization of young people and thus to reinforce the dominant cultural norms. The findings in this study show that state schools have usually unifying principles which can hinder multicultural individuals' cultural self-expression. Informants experienced the international schools more tolerant which ensued less problems with their multicultural identities (Ceginskas, 2010).

In Ceginskas' study (2010) adults from different multilingual and multicultural backgrounds and from different age groups were interviewed. The results show that all informants have a similar sense of complex belonging in common. They identify themselves with multiple linguistic, cultural and national communities (Ceginskas, 2010). School surroundings were found out to correlate with the self-perception. Those informants who visited international school did not perceive the multicultural background as a problem but they were satisfied with their identities. Question of belonging to a certain cultural group was not relevant for them. The informants who visited state schools had more negative attitudes towards their multicultural backgrounds (Ceginskas, 2010). Thus, school environment did not support their multicultural identities.

Because the informants of the study are from older generations, their experiences cannot be directly reflected to today's schools because school systems have changed since then. However, Ceginskas (2010) awakens discussion of school's responsibility and potential as a tolerant and empowering environment.

Another societal issue that may influence individual bicultural identity development is ethnic proximity (Kim, 2001). Ethnic proximity is perceived on an individual level in the following way:

> (…) a stranger with many ethnic characteristics that are close to those of the native population is likely to enjoy a smoother transition in to the local environment. (Kim, 2001, p. 169)

Thus, some cultures can be more similar than others. If the majority and minority cultures resemble each other, it may be easier for a bicultural individual to accept both cultures as a part of his/her identity. Possibly, the interference between the different cultural frames might not be that significant for the informants in this thesis if they perceive them similar to each other.

3.8 Summary

Identity can be contemplated from several points of views: from the individual's own subjective world and from how other perceive and acknowledge his identity. Identity is built in social interactions, thus, it can be different in different companies, contexts and situations in life. Several factors such as age, family background, previous experiences e.g. discrimination, and majority culture receptivity affect how one's identity is realized. *Bicultural* term is used to describe this thesis' informants.

A big debate revolves around whether bicultural frame switching happens in distinct frames or simultaneous frames. This matter might reflect to bicultural individual's identity and behavior more broadly. The question remains whether identity functions as a whole unity in all situations or whether it is fractured according to context.

Several authors confirmed in this chapter that the healthiest identity option for a bicultural individual in the long run is to identify with both the original ethnic culture and the majority culture. Yet, several identity options are possible. Even if one identity option becomes more dominant for a young person than others, it is still likely to change over the time or at least to take different forms in different contexts.

4 POSITIONING MYSELF AS A RESEARCHER

In the following chapters the data gathering process, the method used in the study and the analysis will be explained and demonstrated. First, the premise of this study in the interpretive field and positioning of myself as a researcher are discussed.

The data of this study is analyzed with an interpretive qualitative approach. According to the interpretive view there are multiple subjective realities of the world which all are valuable (Merrigan & Huston, 2009). Furthermore, Merrigan and Huston (2009) define the aim of interpretive research as following: "purpose of research is to understand how meaning is constructed" (p. 36). This citation refers to the constructionist orientation within interpretive approach according to which meanings are socially constructed in interaction (Neuman, 2011). Hence, reality is constantly created among interlocutors. This thesis bases on the interpretive tradition.

Thus, I position myself as an interpretive researcher. On the personal cultural level, I am a native Finn and I define myself as primarily monocultural. Therefore, I do not share the authentic bicultural identity experience with my informants. I have however completed a master's degree in the subject German language and culture. Hence, I have somehow been closely in touch with both Finnish and German cultures. Yet, whatever my background is, it is certain that it will never match another person's subjective reality. Being familiar with both Finnish and German cultures, however, can still possibly help me to build common ground with the informants.

Basing on the interpretive approach, no final truths are looked for in this thesis but the informants' comments are valuable as subjective statements. It is the reality of the informants that this thesis is looking at, i.e. a shared uniform reality or truth is not possible. Yet, it should be remembered that the reality of the informants is contemplated by the researcher. Thus, the final outcome might actually end up being closer to the researcher's own reality than the informants' original reality. To avoid complete bias of the researcher, scientific literature review and grounded theory method are used. Yet, the analysis is just an aim to understand the informants but no generalizations can be made based on it.

5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA GATHERING

The interview data was gathered and analyzed to find out the answer to the following research questions:

RQ1. How do Finnish-German young adults living in Finland perceive their cultural identity?

RQ2.a. How do Finnish-Germans negotiate their bicultural identity on a practical level in Finland?

RQ2.b. What are their strategies and concrete actions to pursue their identity?

RQ3. How is it to live in Finland as a Finnish-German?

The data was collected as individual semi-structured interviews. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and dealt with confidentially. The informants gave the permission to use the gathered data in this thesis.

Altogether nine interviews were collected in March 2014. Getting informants happened through a snowball effect. The first informants were my acquaintances who ended up becoming 'gate keepers' by knowing more people with a Finnish-German background and by giving me their contact information. The basic information sex, age, family background and in addition the interview location are specified in the table below.

	Sex	Age	Finnish mother-German father	German mother-Finnish father	Interview location
Informant 1	Female	24	x		Café
Informant 2	Female	24		x	My home
Informant 3	Female	27	x		Informant's home
Informant 4	Female	24	x		Skype
Informant 5	Male	28	x		Skype
Informant 6	Female	22		x	Skype
Informant 7	Female	27	x		Skype
Informant 8	Female	22	x		Skype
Informant 9	Male	23	x		Café

To sum this up, altogether nine informants were interviewed. Seven of them are women and two of them men. Their age varies between 20 and 30 years. Seven of the informants have a Finnish mother and a German father. Two of them have a German mother and a Finnish father. Five of the interviews took place via Skype which enabled me to reach people who were currently located in other cities in Finland or abroad.

The following interview questions were presented to all the informants in Finnish:

IQ1: Kommunikoitko mielestäsi eri tavalla sellaisissa ryhmissä Suomessa, joissa on vain suomalaistaustaisia henkilöitä verrattuna sellaisiin ryhmiin, joissa on saksalaistaustaisia henkilöitä? Miten?

IQ2: Määritteletkö itsesi kaksikulttuuriseksi?

IQ3: Mitä mieltä olet termistä suomensaksalainen (Finnish-German)? Kuvaako se sinua?

IQ4: Oletko koskaan ollut tilanteessa, jossa suomalaiset ja suomensaksalaiset/saksalaiset puolesi törmäsivät Suomessa? Kuinka toimit tilanteessa?

IQ5: Pystytkö mielestäsi ilmaisemaan kulttuuri-identiteettiäsi kokonaisvaltaisesti Suomessa?

IQ6: Millaisissa tilanteissa olet kokenut, että juuri saksalaistaustasi nähtiin positiivisesti Suomessa? Onko vastaavasti ollut tilanteita, joissa koit, että saksalaistaustaasi ei hyväksytty tai siihen suhtauduttiin negatiivisesti? Voisitko kuvailla näitä tilanteita?

IQ7: Onko sinulla ehdotuksia siihen, miten saksalaistaustaasi voitaisiin tukea paremmin Suomessa?

These questions are translated into English for this thesis in the following way:

IQ1: Do you interact differently in such groups in Finland where there are people with only Finnish background in comparison with such groups where there are people with a German background? How?

IQ2: Do you identify yourself as a bicultural?

IQ3: What do you think about the term Finnish-German? Does it describe you?

IQ4: Have you ever been in a situation in which your Finnish and Finnish-German/German background collided in Finland? How did you cope in this situation?

IQ5: Do you think you can express your cultural identity thoroughly in Finland?

IQ6: Have there been situations in Finland where your German background was seen positively? Have there been situations where you felt your German background was not accepted in Finland or it was seen negatively? Could you describe these situations?

IQ7: Do you have propositions of how your German background could be supported more effectively in Finland?

6 METHOD

The method used in this thesis to analyze the interview data is called grounded theory. Its methodology and concrete practical steps are introduced in the following chapters.

6.1 Grounded theory methodology

Sociologists Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss are considered to be the founders of the grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014). Their first publications of their grounded theory methodology were released in the late sixties (Charmaz, 2014). Glaser and Strauss ended up later on developing grounded theory into different directions partly due to their different discipline backgrounds. Glaser was influenced by Columbia University positivism which is why he emphasized quantitative approach in his grounded theory approach, e.g. through coding and constant comparison (Charmaz, 2014). He also stressed the emergence process in the data analysis where the researcher was not allowed to bring his own assumptions into the data or apply already existing theories but he was expected to find emerging discoveries with the means of strict quantitative methods (Charmaz, 2014). Strauss again represented pragmatic Chicago school's pragmatic tradition where interaction and language were seen to construct reality (Charmaz, 2014). This indicates that the researcher himself is seen to play an important role in the analysis by constantly interacting with the data, i.e. he could not be completely externalized from it by quantitative coding.

Supposedly both Glaser and Strauss had an innovative standing point when they created the original grounded theory as a mix of both traditions. Fusing both quantitative and qualitative approaches seems like an interesting starting point for a research. Apparently, however, they finally turned out to be too different, since Glaser and Strauss later on ended up disagreeing in their views.

In the 1990s Strauss joined up with his colleague Juliet M. Corbin and started to differ in their methodological publications with Glaser (Charmaz, 2014). Strauss and Corbin allowed also other techniques into the grounded theory coding process which gives the opportunity also for a broader literature review like in my thesis. By integrating other possible sources of information than just the data itself, Strauss and Corbin highlight the fact that the data does not exist in a vacuum but is in interaction not only with the researcher but also with a variety of different people, literature and phenomena in the world (Charmaz, 2014).

In my analysis and approach to grounded theory I follow Charmaz' (2014) grounded theory approach. Her stance is constructivist, i.e. she focuses on the subjectivity of the researcher whose world view and reflexivity with the data affect the construction of the theory. Charmaz is first and foremost influenced by Chicago School's and Strauss' interpretive view to grounded theory. As she puts it, a grounded theory can only offer an "*interpretive* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it" (Charmaz, 2014, 17). Charmaz is also open to influences from all kinds of different grounded theory approaches, i.e. she is not inflexibly strict with her approach.

Since I also position myself as a researcher in the interpretive field, in my analysis I aim to see myself and also my informants as individuals whose thoughts and biases are conveyed through the limitations and possibilities of language. The theory outcome of the analysis is only an interpretation, not the final truth. My reflexivity with the data is interaction, a dynamic process.

However, I want to point out that I consider this interaction somewhat imbalanced. Whereas I as a researcher within this thesis may return to my informants' interviews several times and compare them with each other, the informants themselves could not return to their interviews, revise them or change their minds in the frames of this thesis. It could be a proposition for further studies to interview my informants again to give them a chance to speak out again.

6.2 Grounded theory method review

Next, the grounded theory method is reviewed more closely step by step. In the grounded theory construction the gathered data is seen as a valuable and potential source of new undiscovered information based on which the researcher can construct a theory (Charmaz, 2014, Birks & Mills 2011). In other words, the data is not only tested against already existing theories.

It has to be acknowledged that the researcher's own world view, personality and culture affect the theory development, i.e. findings base on interpretations. The researcher is not expected to construct the theory linearly step by step but to constantly compare findings and thoughts of different stages of the analysis (Charmaz, 2014, Birks & Mills 2011). In general, grounded theory analysis is categorical by nature, trying to aim to one core category or main categories which sum up the findings. Theory development can be stopped when data analysis starts to saturate (Charmaz, 2014, Birks & Mills 2011). After the theory has been completed, further study directions can be suggested for gaps and further questions.

Theory can start emerging already in the early stages of data gathering when e.g. interviews are conducted. In order to store all valuable ideas throughout the process, e.g. memo-writing is practiced during the process (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz (2014) accentuates that apart from the interview transcription the actual encounter with the informant can provide a lot of useful information for the analysis, e.g. non-verbal behavior of the informant.

A table I created to describe the whole grounded theory process can be found in the appendix 1. It was created based on Charmaz' (2014) grounded theory method as a tool for myself, since the method seemed to have so many different steps and it helped me to clarify them and their relations. Also Charmaz (2014) herself encourages the researcher to get creative in the analysis process. The table was one way to help me as a researcher to deal with the method and the data.

6.2.1 Different steps in the grounded theory development

Birks and Mills 2011 define *theory* as "an explanatory scheme comprising a set of concepts related to each other through logical patterns of connectivity" (p.113). The goal is not to generalize facts but to *interpret* the world (Birks & Mills 2011). Since the number of the participants in this thesis is limited, a complete and final theory cannot be the outcome of this thesis but it would require further research to develop a theory.

One of the greatest challenges in grounded theory building is to get beyond from lumping categories together to actually *integrating* the findings together (Charmaz, 2014). There is a 'danger' that the grounded theory construction ends up only testing already existing theories. Yet, “extant codes”, as already existing information is called, can be a part of the coding process as well (Birks & Mills 2011, 125). In the case of this study, extant codes are codes which base on the theoretical framework of the Intercultural Communication discipline. Thus, literature review can be used to define more precisely the meaning and context of the grounded theory within the specific study field. In addition, the researcher can point out his study’s significance in relation to other field specific studies. In this study, previous literature is used as extant data alongside with the interviews which were collected as the primary ‘new’ data.

Next, different steps in grounded theory are reviewed more precisely. *Coding* is one of the most commonly used tools in the grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014). After the researcher has transcribed the interview material, he can start coding the transcription. Coding helps to filter the data into a more structured form e.g. by describing, naming, comparing and connecting data (Charmaz, 2014). It breaks the data into smaller units and gives the researcher something tangible to work with analytically.

Coding can start by observing meanings and actions which come up in the data (Charmaz, 2014). Next steps of coding are to develop levels of processes, categories and concepts. Finally, a theory begins to emerge (Charmaz, 2014). The researcher should review the data openly and let the analysis develop freely, without attempts of trying to prove already existing theories or ideas (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz (2014) however acknowledges the researcher’s active role in the theory emergence process by saying that coding stems from what the researches “sees”, not about what the informant sees

(Charmaz, 2014, p. 114). At the same time, researcher's interaction with the data is a prerequisite for coding and theory emergence (Charmaz, 2014).

6.2.2 Coding

Charmaz (2014) encourages the researcher to deal with emerging codes as *actions* instead of topics. This way Charmaz (2014) guides the researcher into a direction where he/she would not start coding the informants into types but would focus on what is *happening* in the interviews. The aim is to keep the data alive and allow different options for those points where the theory might start developing. One way to keep the coding process dynamic is to make comparisons within the initial interview data and return to it again even after coding has already been done (Charmaz, 2014). Memo-writing supports keeping up with earlier and later observations during the process (Charmaz, 2014).

As important as it is in the initial coding to name and interpret things that were said and observed during and after the interview, it is also important to ponder on what was not said and what did not happen. In the coding process the researcher can start noticing that her data might have *gaps* where further interviews or other data gathering might be needed (Charmaz, 2014).

Charmaz (2014) calls testing the functionality of the discovered codes as *fitting*. The researcher should test whether the code really fits to the data, not to the pre-existing theories. If the code can capture actions and meanings, it is useful. Another criterion is *relevance* (Charmaz, 2014). If the analysis can show relationships and hidden structures in the data, it is relevant. Both fit and relevance are required to build a grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014).

This kind of reviewing of one's own working process demands a lot of self-reflection and responsibility from the researcher. It might be an interesting idea to actually share the researcher's final findings with the informants to figure out whether they agree or disagree with the grounded theory and why. Birks and Mills (2011) call this *member checking*. In the member checking the findings are given to the informants in order for them to comment on them. Member checking could be a good idea for further studies. Within this thesis time limitations, member checking is not unfortunately possible.

Especially if member checking is left out, it seems to be possible that grounded theory would not finally represent the informants' views but the interpretations of the researcher, which can be seen as one its weaknesses. Even though Charmaz (2014) guides the researcher not to "freeze" the data and people in it (p.117), it seems like an impossible to task to commit despite the attempts to approach the data through interaction. Finally, the researcher is the more interactive part who gets to return to the data several times whereas the informants may not.

Another restriction of grounded theory is that it is possible the informant might have completely changed his/her mind after the interview. It is also possible that the informant, for instance, could not build enough trust with the researcher during the interview to share his/her real thoughts or he/she was bad at expressing himself verbally.

Coding aims to prevent the researcher to get too attached to his personal perspectives or to get too blinded by the data. It is meant to bring the analysis on a scientific level by splitting the data into analytic units, codes (Charmaz, 2014). In sum, coding is a process of dividing the data into structures but also a process of distancing the researcher of the data to be able to gain unexpected insights.

Line-by-Line Coding is a frequent starting point for the initial coding (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz (2014) prefers using gerunds, i.e. –ing endings for words, to describe the actions and processes in the data. In the line-by-line coding each line is given a name. This detailed coding helps the researcher see the wider picture of how bigger phenomena are constituted and which actions and meaning are connected to them. In the initial coding ideas are sketched for later theoretical categories.

Another way to code in the initial stage of the analysis is to code *incident with incident* (Charmaz 2014). Comparing incidents can be more reasonable than comparing lines because the incident holds more information. Incident represents a larger analytic unit than the line and thus brings the researcher further in the theoretical development. Incidents can be compared e.g. based on the context where they took place (Charmaz 2014). Incident comparison can reveal patterns and contrasts in the data (Charmaz 2014).

Coding can be done by using *vivo codes* too (Charmaz 2014). Vivo codes are special words or expressions that the informants themselves have invented to describe their thoughts (Charmaz, 2014). Using the informants' own 'language' can help the researcher understand how they construct meanings and what kind of meanings they attach to what kind of phenomena.

Vivo codes can capture the informant's own experience and perspective effectively into the grounded theory.

Initial coding is an early stage of making sense of the data. One of its goal is to distance the researcher from the data to a more professional and analytic level. Another goal is to build an early ground for the theory building where the researcher can start seeing bridges to the first emerging categories.

Focused coding (Charmaz, 2014), also known *as intermediate coding (*Birks & Mills, 2011), follows initial coding by taking a deeper look at the initial coding material. Focused coding deals with the data on a more conceptual level and takes a stronger stance on the theoretical development. Its expected end-products should be *categories* which can be theorized later on (Charmaz, 2014).

In the focused coding phase the researcher should focus on the most frequent and significant codes which have come up in the initial coding (Charmaz, 2014). The frequency and significance are figured out by comparing and assessing the initial codes (Charmaz, 2014). The researcher should review, for instance, if the initial codes reveal patterns and gaps in the data (Charmaz, 2014). As in other stages of the theory development, also in focused coding the researcher herself is the vital force driving the theory further by his/her involvement with it.

Charmaz (2014) emphasizes that in the coding process the theory starts to *emerge* from the data little by little. The data should remain as the prior source of indicating emerging concepts, despite the researcher's own activity in the theory building process. The researcher has to be able to point out those moments in the data when the data indicates something that can be further developed into categories. Analytic interpretations have to fit the data, not come from the outside.

Another type of coding that sometimes is used at this stage is called *axial coding* (Charmaz 2014). In the axial coding a step has already been taken to a level of *categories*. The purpose of the axial coding is to examine the links between categories and subcategories (Birks & Mills, 2011). Charmaz (2014) sees the axial coding as a possibly unnecessary and even superficial phase since she stresses that the theory is *emergent*. Therefore, the emergent nature of the theory development already gives room for unexpected and surprising findings which do not necessarily have to be 'digged' out from the data through axial coding. For this reason, axial coding is not used in this thesis. Yet, in some cases axial coding can still support focused coding by giving a clearer analytic frame for the next steps in the theory development.

After the focused coding *theoretical coding* can take place (Charmaz 2014). Charmaz (2014) emphasizes, however, that the theory development does not have to follow a linear pattern but the researcher can return to his earlier memos, codes and to the raw data anytime.

Once again, theoretical coding builds upon what has earlier been processed. Theoretical codes are supposed to integrate the different pieces of the analysis which have been discovered so far. Their aim is show relationships between the already existing codes instead of replacing them with new ones. Charmaz (2014) points out that the researcher does not need to force theoretical structures out of the data but he can leave space and freedom for them to emerge.

In the theoretical coding it is especially important for the researcher to try to differ between what the data proposes and what the earlier theories propose. The researcher should also be aware of his preconceptions which “emanate from such standpoints as class, race, gender, age, embodiment, culture and historical era” (Charmaz 2014, 156). These preconceptions do not stop the researcher from developing grounded theory even though it has a great influence on it. By being aware of his/her preconceptions and by being reflexive with them, the researcher can avoid determining his/her theory based on his/her preconceptions.

Memos support researcher’s work throughout the theory development. They are especially useful in constructing theoretical categories (Charmaz 2014). Memos can be considered as a parallel process which is continuous while the other steps, such as coding, proceed more systematically. There are different methods to do memos, e.g. using a notebook, clustering, free-writing etc. (Charmaz 2014), whatever works for the researcher.

Memo writing is a pretty basic tool which means writing your thoughts down whenever they come up during the process. However, it is important to keep track on *when* the memo has been written, because the chronological comparison can be useful for noticing emerging theory (Charmaz, 2014). Usually the later advanced memos are more theoretical because they stem from more advanced coding than the early memos based on the initial codes (Charmaz, 2014).

6.2.3 Theoretical sampling and emerging theory

After the previously described steps, the next step is *theoretical sampling* (Charmaz 2014). Charmaz (2014) crystallizes its purpose in the following way: “You conduct theoretical sampling by sampling to develop the properties of your categories until no new properties emerge” (p. 192). Thus, theoretical sampling focuses on the already emerged categories and in their elaboration (Charmaz, 2014). This thesis, however, has some limitations for sampling because of the limited time and number of participants.

One of theoretical sampling’s greatest benefits is to make distinctions between those phenomena in the already processed data which might have seemed similar so far but might still contain undiscovered differences (Charmaz, 2014). Sometimes this outcome requires repeated data gathering with revised interview questions (Charmaz, 2014). In the theoretical sampling it is also possible to focus on the data which has not fitted to conformities in the data so far (Charmaz, 2014). The researcher can take a new look at this unsolved data which might turn out significant.

Concrete techniques to sample the data are e.g. sorting, diagramming and integrating (Charmaz 2014). The researcher can get creative and playful with different techniques, e.g. start by sorting by titles, then listing, demonstrating by drawing and diagramming, extending definitions etc. Constant comparison and linking the categories with each other should be kept as one of the most important goals of the sampling.

In the theoretical sampling phase, a core category or categories can start to emerge (Skeat & Perry, 2007). Core category or categories summarize something that unites all the informants. They are the key findings in the data that capture the larger picture.

In short, theoretical sampling aims to define the preliminary categories more clearly. It can specify the meaning of the categories and links, gaps and variations between them. Theoretical sampling can help the researcher solve his analytic problems by focusing on those issues where the researcher has felt stuck earlier (Charmaz, 2014). A core category or categories clarify the most important findings (Skeat & Perry, 2007).

“Categories are ‘saturated’ when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories” (Charmaz 2014, p. 213). The research objective, sample size and its quality have to be taken into account as well when decisions are made whether or not to continue saturation through new data gathering (Charmaz, 2014). Sometimes time and resources are limited in the saturation process, which can be considered as limitations within this thesis as well.

6.2.4 Theory

The goal of grounded theory method is a theory. However, within the limits of this thesis a complete theory was not possible but it would require further studies.

A grounded theory can be discussed through two central approaches. The first one is Straussian interpretive constructivist approach to a theory. The second one is Glaserian positivist objectivist approach (Charmaz, 2014). This thesis bases on the interpretive approach.

One of the biggest differences between these approaches lie in the representation of the data (Charmaz, 2014). The interpretive constructivist approach sees data representation problematic and relativistic because of multiple realities, i.e. the informants' realities are seen different from each other and from the researcher's reality. On the contrary, the positivist objectivist approach sees the data representation as unproblematic and more context-free and the researcher is seen rather as an authoritarian and neutral observer (Charmaz, 2014).

Interpretive constructivist theorists concentrate on meanings and actions an on how people construct them in specific environment and circumstances (Charmaz, 2014). They acknowledge multiple realities of different individuals, groups, time and place, culture and societies, and aim to research and reveal these different factors. Thus, there cannot be only one truth but facts and values merge (Charmaz, 2014). Positivist objectivist theorists on the contrary believe that facts and values can be separated (Charmaz, 2014). They also see the researcher as an observer to whom it would be possible not to let his presumptions affect the analysis (Charmaz, 2014).

Even though the interpretive constructivist theorizing approach is used in this thesis, the theoretical outcomes are not mere interpretation. The coding and theorizing processes are there to make sense of the data systematically and scientifically. It is intended to transform the data into a coherent and logical form, to reveal hidden structures and multiple realities and to become conscious of them.

7 ANALYSIS

In this chapter it is explained how the analysis was done based on the grounded theory method. The grounded theory analysis is a big process which is not easy to be summarized and presented. I started first by transcribing all the interviews and using the line-by-line coding to name what I found to happen in the data. Most of the interviews were 20-30 minutes long. The longest interview was over 40 minutes and the shortest one less than ten minutes. I transcribed about 50 pages in total.

From the start, I did early memos and continued writing memos throughout the process. They helped a lot to see in which direction the findings were starting to go. I also marked carefully when the memo was done to be able to compare memos also chronologically.

After line-by-line coding and the early memos, I continued by comparing incidents in the data with each other. The incident comparisons were followed by the focused coding. In the next chapters I aim to present the most significant findings of the initial and focused coding. I skipped the line-by-line coding because it would have made the presentation of the analysis too long.

The initial and focused coding were not originally categorized by research questions as they are shown in the next chapters. Presenting them according to the research questions and the interview questions was done to clarify the relations of the findings to the reader. Therefore, I did not want to just list the codes unorganized because I wanted to avoid a too messy overview. Presenting the codes with the research questions can already be seen as breaking the data into a more cohesive form and showing relations with different phenomena in the data. On the other hand, this approach could be seen as a restriction because obviously all the codes and research questions are connected with each other and not as strictly apart as they might now seem in the presentation of the analysis.

Charmaz (2014) uses tables to demonstrate her coding of the original data and I have followed her example in the way I present the codes to the reader. Using tables is supposed to give the reader a more tangible idea about how codes and memos emerge to the researcher from the data. The early initial coding is depicted on the right side of the tables and the focused more advanced and categorical coding is shown on the left side of the tables. Also some of the memos I made during the analysis are mentioned. Original interview data is shown as evidence alongside with the codes. Therefore, the transcription codes I use are explained next. (Pause) refers to a pause in speech which is longer than three seconds, … refers to a pause which is shorter than three seconds. Laughter is marked in brackets. I refers to ‘informant’ and R to ‘researcher’.

The initial and focused coding were the most time-consuming parts in the grounded theory process. I see them as the foundation for the further steps in the theorizing process which is why they have been dedicated so much space in the presentation of the analysis. After comparing initial and focused coding and the memos, it is clearer to see emerging categories in the data and relationships between them.

After the initial and focused coding are shown and explained in the next chapters, a leap to the core categories, to the main findings in this thesis are made. The content of the core categories are something that emerged in the data continuously and turned out to be the most relevant issues within this thesis' data. Due to the fact that the amount of this thesis' informants is limited, a complete theory is not possible but instead the theoretical findings are discussed and they are seen as a good starting point for further studies. No generalizations can be made based on this thesis' findings only.

7.1 Initial and focused coding

In this phase informants' answers were sorted according to the research questions. Also the interview questions were sorted by focusing on a few interview questions per research question. Of course, finally, all the answers and questions complement each other but the goal at this point of the analysis is to code and divide the data into pieces.

In this chapter both the focused and initial coding stages are presented together in the form of tables. As already mentioned, on the left side of each table, the focused code and the initial informant data is presented whereas on the right side of the table the initial coding process is described.

7.1.1 Research question 1

The answers to the interview questions 2 and 3 were picked as the most representative to the research question 1. Below, both the research question and the interview questions can be found.

RQ1. How do Finnish-German young adults living in Finland perceive their cultural identity?

IQ2: Do you identify yourself as a bicultural?

IQ3: What do you think about the term Finnish-German? Does it describe you?

When the informants were asked whether they identified themselves as bicultural (IQ2), most of them answered yes to this question. The most common reason was that both Finnish and German cultures were somehow cherished at home, .i.e. the informants were brought up to become bicultural at home. The meaning of home is one of the earliest memos that was made during the analysis. Home's influence was brought up several times by the informants in answers to different questions. Below an incident example is shown where the informant specifies the meaning and value of her German background conveyed to her at home:

Interview Question 2	
Focused Code: Identity developing over the time	Initial Coding
Informant 3: ”mutta niinku vanhempana sen on ymmärtäny oikeesti sen sen arvon siinä et mikä…niin…että s se kielitaito on niinkun siirtynyt myös mulle ja…että pystyn kommunikoimaan oman isäni ja hänen perheensä kanssa tai suvun kanssa niinkun saksaksi niin kyllä se on tota hieno asia minkä toivon että pystysin niinkun edes jollakin tapaa	

omalle lapselle tai omille lapsille sitte joskus” Translation: ”but like as I have become older I have really understood the value of what…yes…that the language has like been passed on to me too and…I can communicate with my own father and with his family or with relatives like in German so it is indeed a very wonderful thing that I hope I could pass on at least somehow to my own kid or kids then someday”	Realizing the value of cultural heritage as becoming older Memo: meaning of home Hoping to continue passing on the cultural heritage to the next generation

Age phase and the development of identity over the time are emphasized in this incident. This could have an interface with the literature review concerning identity exploring and achieved identity (Phinney et al. 2007) as external codes.

A few informants did not see themselves as bicultural. They either wanted to expand the definition of bicultural or they saw themselves as monocultural. Informant 2 defined herself as “multicultural”. She claimed herself to belong to both Finnish and German “society” but also to a “bicultural Finnish-German” community, i.e. she listed three different identifiable groups for herself. Informant 4 specified that the different surroundings where she is at different times defines who she is and therefore she would not be only bicultural.

Most of the informants were content or just neutral with term *Finnish-German* (IQ3) which is used frequently in this thesis. A few informants started to ponder on the differences between the Finnish-Swedes and Finnish-Germans in Finland. Most of them wanted to specify that Finnish-Swedes have a different position and history in the Finnish society in comparison with the Finnish-Germans. However, they saw Finnish-German as a suitable term to describe them as individuals.

7.1.2 Research questions 2a and 2b

The answers to the interview questions 1 and 4 were picked as the most representative to the research questions 2a and 2b. Below, both the research questions and the interview questions can be found.

RQ2.a. How do Finnish-Germans negotiate their bicultural identity on a practical level in Finland?
RQ2.b. What are their strategies and concrete actions to pursue their identity?
IQ1: Do you interact differently in such groups in Finland where there are only Finns or Finnish speaking people in comparison with such groups where there are people with a German background? How?
IQ4: Have you ever been in a situation in which your Finnish and Finnish-German identities collided in Finland? How did you cope in this situation?

Several informants stated that they modify their cultural behavior in different companies and contexts. Language was seen as one of the most remarkable elements that created the division between different cultural frames. Below there is an incident example of one of the informant's behavior modification. Language plays an important role in it as well.

Interview Question 1	
Focused Code: Modifying cultural behavior in different groups	Initial Coding
Informant 2: ”tota kyl se varmaa riippuu ehkä niinku siitä jos ois vähän vanhempaa porukkaa ni sitte mä varmaan tota ehkä niit saksalaisii yrittäisin ehkä teititellä riippuen kuinka paljon kokemusta niillä on suomalaisesta kulttuurista ja tota mm (tauko) nii emmä nyt muuten välttämättä nää että mä käyttäytyisin erilailla varsinki nuorien keskuudessa” Translation: ” well it kind of depends maybe like if there were a bit older folks then I would probably like try to teititellä* depending on how much experience they have about Finnish culture and well mm (pause) otherwise I do not necessarily see I would behave differently especially amongst young people” * “Teititellä” verb does not translate well in English since it does not	-Using honorable language form with the elders → language as a trigger of cultural frames -Recognizing different cultural groups/contexts -Adjusting behavior based on estimations on how well informed the old people are about Finnish culture. -By “teititellä” she can become a member of the ingroup even in a different age group -Not changing behavior among peers. -Behavior among young people less effortless.

exist in the English language the same way as it does in German and Finnish. In German the term is called “siezen”. In the written English language “te” oder “Sie” would probably be similar with the expression “Sir” which could be used at least in the American English.	

The next incidents concern the IQ4. The IQ4 provided a lot of interesting data about different challenging situations for F-Gs and also about different coping methods.

Interview Question 4	
Focused Code: Failing in the intercultural negotiation about personal space	
Informant 1: ” mut jotenkin niinku et ku Saksassa niinku halataan ja annetaan poskipusut ihmisille vaik sää et juurikaan tunne niitä ja sit jotenki mä ite oon kans silleen yleensä tai joskus ku on tehny niin et on vaan halannu ihmisen jonka kaa on vaikka istunu sen yhen illan jossain silleen et on vaihtanu pari sanaa ni sit mä saatan vaan mennä halaan sen niinku sitä sitten lopuks silleen niinku kaikkia muita ja sitte	

huomaa vaan että se niinku ihminen on tosi silleen jäykkä ” Translation: ”but like somehow in Germany you like hug people and give kisses on the cheek to people even though you don’t necessarily know them well and so I somehow have like usually or sometimes when I have done that like I have just hugged a person with whom I have been hanging out with for one night somewhere like we have exchanged a few words so then I might just go to hug her like at the end of the night like everybody else too and then I notice that that person is like kind of very stiff’	Hugging and giving kisses on the cheek in the German way Noticing a stiff reaction → failure in intercultural communication? Physicality, distance and personal space as distinct cultural elements

As can be seen in the upper incident, cultural behavior modification does not happen only on the language level but also e.g. on the level of personal space. The informants’ cultural self-management among different ingroups resembles phenomena such as frame switching and identity management discussed in the literature review (e.g. Luna et al., 2008, Cupach & Imahori, 1993). The next two incidents which are shown in a row below deal more with the coping methods the informants use in tricky situations.

Interview Question 4	
Focused Code: Coping methods for cultural collisions	Initial Coding
Informant 1: ”niin…no välillä sitä ei mieti ja sitä käy vaikka halaamassa jotakuta ni sit vaa niinku yrittää olla ku tai yrittää olla miettimättä sitä liikaa että kyl se ihminen siitä sitte kasvaa vähän (nauraa) R: okei I: vaikka sitä halataan vaikkei se haluu emmä tiedä mutta et enhän mä sitä niinku ilkeyttäni tee niin…ei emmä tiedä (tauko) joskus ehkä koittaa vähä ennakoida et jos joku on tosi tosi ujon olonen tai semmonen niinku…voiks sanoo epäsosiaalinen (nauraa)” Translation: ”yes…well sometimes you don’t think about it and you go to hug somebody and you just try not to think about it too much and just be like that person will get over it (laughs) R: okay I: even though she gets hugged even though she doesn’t want to I don’t know but I mean I don’t do it to be mean so…no I don’t know (pause) sometimes you maybe try to anticipate it if somebody is looking	Not thinking about the consequences too much Allowing possible face threats (Cupach & Imahori, 1993) Not meaning the action in a bad way/having good intentions Anticipating the interaction according to the interlocutor’s features

really shy or like…can I say antisocial (laughs)”	
Informant 1: ”mun veli on sanonu siitä että tai se on sanoo et hän halaa kaikkia et ihan sama häntä ei kiinnosta et mitä mieltä ne on ja sit mun äiti on taas sanonu et se on kyllä ihan hyvä ehkä vähän ajattelee sitä että se ei tunnu kaikista niin kivalta” Translation: ”my brother has said that or he says that he hugs everybody like whatever he doesn't care what they think but then my mother has said that it would be good to think about it that it might not feel that comfortable to everybody”	Brother's decision: no matter what the context or situation is he will stick to his German way of dealing with the personal space Mother's Finnish approach on the contrary: respecting the Finnish concept of personal space

It is pretty interesting in the upper incident how the Informant 1 calls “shy” behavior even “antisocial”. The phrase “antisocial” could just be a joke of the informant since she laughs after it but it could also refer to different cultural expectations between Finnish and Finnish-German cultures. Furthermore, the same informant brought up how her brother had solved the same issue differently. Basically the brother has made a radical decision that no matter what context or situation in question is, he will stick to his own cultural way of dealing with the personal space. On the other hand, their Finnish mother has brought it up that they should ponder on their behavior and the consequences in the Finnish context. All in all, there can apparently be different ways to approach cultural frame management even within the same family. It can also be stated that the bicultural Finnish young people have to go through certain thinking, choosing and decision process about how they manage and realize their cultural identity.

In the following incident an interface with the concept *belonging* of Jones & Krzyzanowski (2008) could be found. In the incident the informant tells about a school exchange where German students visited their school in Finland:

Interview Question 4	
Focused Code: Struggling with belonging to different ingroups	Initial Coding
Informant 3: ” niin siinä on ehkä ollu semmonen tilanne et missä on pitäny vähän miettiä että et mitä kieltä sitä oikein puhuu koska toisaalta se myös se saksa tuli aika luontevasti itselle kun oli kyse saksalaisista niin sit sitä puhuu saksaa mutta sitten se taas niitten niinku omien suomalaisten koulukaverien huomioon ottaminen siinä niinku ymmärtämisessä tai että hekin pystyisivät osallistumaan keskusteluun niin R: joo I: niin se oli ehkä tai on ollu semmonen niinku haasteellisempi et on vähä pitäny miettiä mitä puhuu ja miten millä kielellä ja vai puhuuko kaikkia kieliä (naurahtaa)”	

Translation: ”yeah so that was maybe that kind of a situation where you really had to think about which language you use because on the other hand also German worked pretty naturally for me when we it is about Germans so then you just speak German but then having to take my own Finnish school mates into consideration in understanding or like enabling them to participate in the conversation then R: yeah I: like that was maybe or has been like more challenging like I have had to think what I say and in which language or do I speak all the languages (laughs lightly)”	Choosing language Trying to take both Finnish school mates and German guests into consideration Feeling challenged

In this comment the Informant 3 is trying to manage between different cultural groups. She calls it “challenging” to decide which language to use when different groups are present at the same time. Both Finnish and German groups are her potential ingroups.

What stands out from her speech is the statement “my own Finnish school mates”. “Own” could refer to an extent of belonging or loyalty towards the everyday school mates even though it at the same time would be “natural” for her to speak German with the German guests. However, it might not represent loyalty between cultures only but just the level of loyalty towards guests in comparison with the loyalty towards everyday familiar people in general. The informant might be attached to her school mates and even feel obligation towards them as they are her everyday ingroup at school. On the other hand, she might feel obligation towards the German quests too, since polite behavior might be expected from her towards guests and on the other hand she might see them as a possible desirable ingroup as well. The informant might even represent a cultural gatekeeper in this incident between the Finnish group and the German group since she is the only one who has knowledge of both languages and cultures. The gatekeeper role makes her also powerful, since she has the choice, but on the other hand the responsibility might feel heavy.

Belonging and loyalty seem to create a mixture in this incident. It could be that when this incident took place, the informant was maybe momentarily struggling with trying to define where she primarily belonged among those groups, or then she was struggling with bigger questions of identity.

Natural is a vivo code which comes up in several interviews. In other words, something being *natural* is the informants' own expression and a direct quotation. As an example, the Informant 3 explains that she, her cousin and their dads always speak German together even though the informant and the cousin otherwise speak Finnish together. She calls this interpersonal agreement on the mutual language "natural" because "his dad is also German so it has maybe been more natural to speak German" and also because "German worked pretty naturally for me". In addition, Informant 5 describes *natural* in the following way:

Interview question 4	
Focused Code: Natural	Initial Coding
Informant 5:" jos on oikeasti vaikka joku joka on sanotaan puhtaasti saksalainen tai sitten öö ihmisiä jotka on asuneet suurimman osan elämästään Saksassa että he he puhuu mieluummin mieluummin saksaa niin et se ratkee yleensä silleen et et millä mikä on se yleinen konsensus se yleensä se niinku vaan tulee luonnostaan" Translation: "if somebody is like let's say purely German or then oh well there are people who have lived the majority of their lives in Germany which is why they they prefer to speak German then usually that is the solution like like what is the general consensus usually comes up just naturally"	Negotiating mutual language Solution comes naturally, vivo code "natural"

The Informant 5 explains in this incident that the "consensus" about the mutual language in the company comes up "naturally". In general, informants found it difficult or even impossible to analyze their cultural behavior which came up as comments like "mä en osaa vertailla" meaning "I can't compare" or "mä en tiedä", i.e. "I don't know". 'Not knowing' probably refers to the same experience of something being natural, i.e. something happens naturally and it cannot be explained in another way.

Whereas many informants stated their language and action somehow to differentiate between different cultural groups, also an opposite perspective turned up where informants emphasized that no significant cultural differentiations were needed among different cultural groups, as can be seen in the following two incidents:

Interview Question 4	
Focused Code: No cultural differentiation between groups	Initial Coding
Informant 6: ”no sisältö on aina sama niinku periaatteessa nyt vaan toi kieli aina vähä erilainen mut se kumminki riippu niinku aina ihmisistä et kenen kans puhuu et miten puhuu niitten kaa et mää en niinku osaa sitte karsii niinku suomalaisii ja sitten niinku saksalaisia et se…sisältö on periaattees nii sama (naurahtaa)” Translation: ”well the content is always the same like basically only the language is a little bit different but it still depends always like on the people with whom you are talking like how you speak with them so I cannot like separate Finns and then like Germans because like…the content is basically the same (laughs lightly)”	Communicating in the same way with both Finns and Germans
Informant 8: ”totaa…vitsi…en mun mielest niinku riippuu…ihan ihmisistä	

mut niinku en mä sen taustan takia mun mielestä mitenkään erilailla kommunikoi…riippuu enemmän et riippuu siitä että minkä ikäsiä ne on ja millanen suhde mul on niihin ihmisiin…mut ei sen kielitaustan perusteella…mitenkään erilailla” Translation: ”oh well…jeez…no I think it depends…on the people themselves but like I don’t communicate anyhow differently because of the background…it depends more it depends on how old they are and what kind of relationship I have with those people…but it is not based on the language background…anyhow differently”	Other factors than culture being emphasized: age, relationship etc.

Changing language and/or cultural frame is stated to have a rather minor effect on communication in these incidents. Individual and interpersonal factors are given priority over cultural differences. Language and culture are seen as secondary factors for communication or even almost non-existent.

The viewpoint that the meaning of culture is diminished or even denied in these two incidents could have a confluence with the *natural* vivo code, i.e. with things happening naturally. It might be that for the informants the natural way of being is something that would be defined as *culture* from the research perspective. It brings up a big question about what culture actually is. Is it something that separates people into groups and separates thinking into separate mindsets and frames or does it naturally and smoothly encompass the human way of being and cannot be analyzed very well? Or could culture be seen as something like breathing, something which on the other hand just happens naturally but can also be scientifically observed and explained?

One of the informants explained a very intriguing story about her struggle with her cultural identity at one point of her life:

Interview question 4	
Focused Coding: Exploring one's cultural identity and finding solution	Initial Coding
Informant 3: ”no ehkä jossain vaiheessa teini-iässä mä en tiiä mistä mä olin sen niinku jotenki saanu saanu päähäni tai…emmä voiko nyt sitäkään sinänsä törmäämiseks kutsua mutta siis sain jostain käsityksen että mun täysi-ikäiseks tultua pitäis päättää siis mulla on sekä suomen että saksan kansalaisuus R: aa joo I: et niinkun et mun pitää valita jompikumpi kansalaisuuksista R: mm I: ja mää muistan aina välillä niinku miettineeni sitä että vaikka toisaalta odotti hirveen innokkaasti sitä et täyttää kaheksantoista ja täysikäistyy mut sit toisaalta välillä tuli sit semmonen niinkun et ainiin et sillonko mun pitää sit päättää et	

kumpi mää oon ja se oli mulle aika kova pala niinkun kunnes mää sitten kuulin että mun ei tarvitse sitä päättää että mulla on ihan ne kummatkin kansalaisuudet ja niitä ei multa oteta pois”	
Translation: ”Well I guess at some point of my teen age years I don’t know how I somehow came up with the idea or…I don’t know if it can be	A specific age phase
called a collision but I anyways got the idea that after turning 18 I should	Gap: Where did she get the idea?
decide or I mean I have both Finnish and German citizenship R: oh right	Reflecting and evaluating her own identity
I: so like I would have to choose one of the nationalities R: mm I: and I remember like you know every once in a while having pondered that even though on the other hand I was so excited about	Experiencing a (temporary) disharmony between the two cultural identities, even struggling with the decision process
turning 18 and coming of age then on the other hand I felt like oh yeah is that the time when I have to decide	Feeling pressure to make a decision about the cultural identity
which one I am and that was a really tough place for me you know like until I heard that I don’t need to decide that I have both nationalities	Taking the matter seriously and being anxious → a turning point in life?
just as much and nobody will take them away from me”	Finding a solution/conclusion

	Gap: mysterious support → who told her and how?

This incident could have an interface again with the identity development theories (Phinney et al. 2007) where identity is actively being formed by the individual. In this incident the informant felt that she had to make a choice and instead of choosing one identity option over another, she chose to keep both and combine them. All in all, she explored her identity and committed to it (Phinney et al. 2007). For a moment, the identities seemed incompatible. It can also be pointed out that the exploration took place in a certain age phase when the informant came of age. There were also two clear gaps. Firstly, the informant did not tell how she developed the idea that she had to choose her identity. Secondly, it was not clarified where she got the support for her final decision and solution.

7.1.3 Research question 3

The answers to the interview questions 5, 6 and 7 were picked as the most representative to the research question 3. Below, both the research question and the interview questions can be found.

RQ3. How is it to live in Finland as a Finnish-German?

IQ5: Do you think you can express both Finnish and Finnish-German identities equally in Finland?

IQ6: Have there been situations in Finland where your German background was seen positively? Have there been situations where you felt your German background was not accepted in Finland or it was seen negatively? Could you describe these situations?

IQ7: Do you have propositions of how your German background could be supported more effectively in Finland?

When the informants were asked RQ5, most of them responded positively stating that they could express their cultural identity comprehensively in Finland. However, two informants answered negatively because they felt they could not express the German identity completely in Finland. On the other hand, they also stated that the current circumstances are sufficient for them. Below there are the two incidents where the informant answered negatively:

Interview Question 5	
Focused Code: Reasons for not being able to express German cultural identity	Initial Coding
Informant 3: ”se saksalainen kulttuuri niin sehän niinkun ilmenee ainoastaan meillä kotona…niinkun kanssakäymisissä isän kanssa et koska mulla ei saksalaisia sukulaisia täällä asu ja loppujen lopuks aika vähän on niinkun olen oon missään kontaktissa kenenkään muuhun saksalais saksalais tai suomalaissaksalaisen kanssa (tauko) että niinkun (tauko) et sillä lailla ehkä en että toisaalta se on mulle	

myös riittäny se että niinkun puhun saksaa isäni kanssa ja satunnaisesti sitten ehkä jonkun jonkun tutun tai puolitutun kanssa tai ehkä sitten jonkun vieraankin kanssa jos niinkun huomaan että joku puhuu saksaa” Translation: ”the German culture it pretty much only shows at home…like in the interaction with dad because I don’t have German relatives living here and finally I am only quite rarely in contact with any other German German or Finnish-German (pause) so like (pause) with that respect maybe not on the other hand it has been enough for me that I like speak German with my dad and sometimes maybe with somebody somebody with an acquaintance or half acquaintance or then maybe with a stranger too if I notice that somebody speaks German”	No, because the German culture is restricted to home Being content with the current circumstances
Informant 7:” en koska…äh Suomessa se on mahdollista ainoastaan jos asut Helsingissä Translation: no because…äh in Finland it is possible only if you live in Helsinki“	No, because the informant does not live in Helsinki Helsinki has the best services

The significance of region came up frequently in the interviews which can be seen in the previous incident too. Most of the informants had gone to the German School in Helsinki which seemed to influence their experience of their cultural identity in a very positive way. Two of the informants live in Central Finland and one is originally from Eastern Finland. These three informants were first of all not well informed about German speaking regional services or they did not see them approachable for themselves. Informant 7 from the Eastern Finland stated that she cannot express her cultural identity fully because "it is possible only if you live in Helsinki", whereas Informant 2 from Helsinki listed a variety of different services and organizations that are available to her in Helsinki: "well I have lived like in Helsinki and I went to the German kindergarten there to German school äh…we have a German church there we have…yoga in German (laughs) we are pretty much everything there". Clearly there are regional differences in how many and how versatile German cultural events and services are available within Finland. This matter would be an interesting object for further studies. The research could be conducted more broadly in other parts of Finland as well.

When the interview question 6 was asked, most of the informants stated their German cultural heritage had been seen mostly positively by others in Finland and they had had only very few negative experiences about their cultural background. Many informants experienced the curiousness and even the admiration of other people towards their bilingualism and German cultural background as a positive thing. In the incident below it even seems that being linked with a "hyped" German city added a certain amount of 'coolness' to the person's social status:

Interview Question 6	
Focused Code: Becoming a cool person by linking with a cool German city	Initial Coding
Informant 1: ”no siis silleen ku isä on Berliinistä ja on niinku siellä aina käyny niin sehän on nyt aika silleen hypetetty kaupunki R: joo I: niin ni sit siihen liittyen jotenki ehkä niinku…ollu jotain et ihmiset on saattanu kysyy jotain paikkaa tai niinku jotai missä kannattaa käydä tai tai muutenki ollu vaan sillee että uu jee että Berliini” Translation: “well yeah like my dad is from Berlin and I have like always been there and it’s like at the moment a quite hyped city R: yeah I: so so like concerning that like…people might have asked about some place or something like what would be worth visiting or or just in generally they have been like oh yeah Berlin”	Being linked to a popular city A “hyped” and cool city makes the informant cool in others’ eyes too Being a wanted person with a special knowledge Excitement of other people (“oh yeah Berlin”)

The German background was also seen as a practical asset e.g. in school:

Interview Question 6	
Focused Code: Being seen as an important person based on cultural knowledge	Initial Coding
Informant 4:" no jos joku on kaivannu apua saksan kielen tehtävissä tai muissa niin niin sit on tota kysytty apua ja ja oltu tosi il niinku onnellisia et mä oon voinu auttaa" Translation: "well sometimes if somebody has needed help in German assignments or with other stuff then then I have been asked for help and they have been really hap like happy that I could have helped them"	Cultural background being an asset when helping others Making others happy The informant is feeling like an important person

Also general curiousness of other people towards bilingualism was seen as a positive thing:

Interview Question 6	
Focused Cod : Becoming an interesting person based on the bicultural background	Initial Coding
Informant 6: "että niinku jotkut ihmiset niitten mielestä se on tosi kivaa tavata joku kakskielinen ja sitte vaikka kysyy kaikkee että minkälaista se on ollu tai…kumpi	

kieli on niinku parempi tai jotkut on kans kysyny et millä (naurahtaa) kielellä mä niinku ajattelen tai niinku…nään unia (naurahtaa) tollasta kaikkee et öm…et niinku se on kyl ollu ihan positiivista […] ja kylhän se on niinku…am ku mä oon kans niinku saksalainen niin se on niinku kans osa mua niin se oli sitten ihan kiva että ihmisiä kiinnosti se että minkälaista se on” Translation: “like some people they think that it is a lot of fun to meet somebody bilingual and then like for instance ask everything like what it has been like or…which language is like better or some people have also asked like in which (light laughter) language I think or like…see dreams (light laughter) stuff like that like öm…so that has been like quite positive […] and for sure it is like…am because I am also a German so it is like also a part of me so it was then pretty nice that people were interested in what it is like”	People being interested in the bicultural background Being happy about the interest → positive self-image

Next, the negative experiences are discussed. As mentioned, most of the informants stated they had had experienced only little or no negativity towards their cultural background in Finland. If they had had negative experiences, they had taken place in the early childhood and not after that, for example:

Interview Question 6	
Focused Code: Having only few negative experiences and giving little importance to them	Initial Coding
Informant 9: ”ei ei tuu itse asiassa yhtään tilannetta mieleen lukuun ottamatta jotain ehkä…ala-asteiässä tapahtuneita juttuja mitkä muistaa vaan ihan hämärästi missä jotkut on saattanu kiusotella siitä kun ettää vähän niinkun et on puoliks suom ulkomaalainen ja tämmönen mut muttaa…mut ei oo mitään mikä ois jääny kunnolla mieleen” Translation:” no no incident comes to mind apart from something maybe…some things that happened in the primary school age that I can hardly remember where some people might have teased about something like referring to me as half Fin foreign and stuff but but…but nothing what would have stuck to my mind properly”	No frequent negative memories Primary school age Seeing negative experiences as not important or irrelevant

Negative memories in the early age came up in several other interviews too but in the current adult life there seemed not to be any influential negative experiences for the informants' life or self-image. The informants emphasized the positive experiences which were described earlier above.

When the informants were asked RQ7, those informants who went to the German School in Helsinki started by pointing out that they have already received a lot of support through it. All in all, the German School seems to be the best source of support for the Finnish-German young people in Finland at the moment, for example one of the informants explains:

Interview Question 7	
Focused Code: German School seen as a successful support to cultural identity	Initial Coding
Informant 4: ”meidän koulu kuitenkin teki tosi hyvän työn siinä…et me mei meil käytettiin saksalaist tota systeemiä et se oli täysin saksan kaikki opettajat Saksast ja näin mun mielest se oli hienosti toteutettu […] koulul oli tosi suuri merkitys” Translation: "our school did a really good job…like we we had the German like system in the school like it was completely German all the teachers were from Germany and so to my opinion it was very well organized […] the school was very meaningful"	School is seen as an important source of support School is seen to have succeeded as the source of support

The informants who had gone to the German School in Helsinki did not express as much need for more support as the informants from other parts of Finland. The informants from the other parts of Finland on the other hand at the same time were relatively content with the current circumstances but when they were asked about propositions for improvements, they did come up with different improvement propositions, whereas the Helsinki originated informants did not as easily. One of the biggest needs was for more peer support and encounters with people with same cultural background and interests. Here are some examples:

Interview Question 7	
Focused Code: Need for cultural peer support with the emphasis on common interests	Initial Coding
Informant 3: ”jos nyt ajattelee että haluais itse ylläpitää sitä kieltä ja kulttuuria jollain muullakin tapaa kuin sitten oman isän kanssa niin se vois olla semmonen niinkun paikka missä sitää sitä sitten vois tehdä ehkä kun olis semmoset yhteiset intressit tai joku yhdistävä tekijä oli se sitten ne lapset tai mahollisesti käsityö tai joku muu harrastus liikunta […] suomalaissaksalaisen yhdistyksen tapaamiset ei oo se miten mää haluaisin ylläpitää sitä kieltä koska siellä on hyvin eri-ikäisiä ihmisiä hyvin eri erilaisista elämäntilanteista	Home already provides support for realizing cultural background/identity

ja se et löytäiskö sieltä sit semmosta niinkun syytä mennä sinne aina ja käyttää sitä kieltä…ja niinkun kommunikoida ja keskustella niiden muiden ihmisten kanssa että et olisko se sitten..en tiiä siis nyt vaan spekuloin…enhän mää tiiä voishan olla että mä löytäisin sieltä hyvinkin…jotenkin kaltaistani seuraa mutta ehkä se olis tosiaan mukavaa että olis niinkun…jotenkin semmosia ryhmiä mihin… mitkä jotenkin kohtais omien in mielenkiinnonkohteiden ja oman elämäntilanteen kanssa ni…niin sillon se olis jotenkin motivoivaa” Translation: “If you think that you would like to maintain the language and culture in another way than with your own dad it could be in a place where you could do maybe where you would have such common interests or something in common no matter if it is the children or it could be handicrafts or some other hobby sports […] the meetings of the Finnish-German association aren’t the way I would like to maintain language because there are people from very different ages and situations in life and like	Common interests with people with similar cultural background essential Awareness of the local Finnish-German association Local Finnish-German association not responding to the informant’s needs Similar cultural background not sufficient for bringing people together, common interests and/or situation in life necessary Memo: Different services in different regions

would you then find a reason to like to go there every time and use the language…and like communicate and discuss with those other people like would that be…I don't know I just speculate now…I don't know after all maybe I could very well find there…somehow my kind of company but maybe it would be nice as I said that you would have like…such groups where…who would somehow meet with your own interests and with your own situation in life so…so in that case it would be somehow motivating"	
Informant 7: "ehkä semmosille niillä joilla on lapsia jotka on puolikkaita he tarttis ehkä enemmän tukiverkkoja" Translation: "maybe those people who are halfs and have children could use more support networks"	Vivo code: "halfs" implying to half Finnish-half German Wishing for peer support for people in the similar situation in life

Some of the improvement propositions were also very concrete:

Interview Question 7	
Focused Code: Concrete cultural manifestations as improvements in the current environment	Initial Coding

Informant 1: ”no leffois vois tulla mun mielest kans joskus tai niinku jotai saksalaisii leffoja tekstityksellä” Translation: “well in the movies I think sometimes there could like some German movies with subtitles”	Concrete improvement proposition: German movies in movie theatres
Informant 9: ”oishan se kiva jos vaikka jotain saksalais saksalaiseen kulttuuriin liittyviä…palveluita tulis tänne tai tai oli se sitten jotain elintarvikekauppoja tai joku baari missä ois vähän niinkun…tällasta saksalaista kulttuuria yritettäis jotenkin tuua se olis itse asias aika siistiä et Jyväskylästä ei oikeen löydy mitään ainakaan mun tiedon mukaan missä niinkun ois näkyvillä semmonen saksalaisuus tai saksalainen kulttuuri silleen että…ehkä just jossain tommosen baarin tai ravintolan muodossa niin semmonen vois olla kiva” Translation: “well it would be nice if there were like for instance some services having something to do German German culture…that would come here or or no matter if they were grocery stores or a bar where you would have like…this sort of German culture would be brought out	Concrete cultural manifestations: grocery stores, a bar, a restaurant

it would be kind of cool actually since in Jyväskylä there isn't really at least according to what I know anything where such Germannes or German culture would be visible like…like maybe in the form of such a bar or restaurant it could be nice"	

A few informants pretty clearly expressed that they did not need any extra support but were happy with the current services, for instance:

Interview Question 7	
Focused Code: New ways of support not necessary	Initial Coding
Informant 6: "mä en oo periaattees tarvinnu mitään lisää tukea " Translation: "I haven't basically needed any extra support"	 Expressing no need for further support

7.2 Theoretical coding and sampling

In the theoretical coding process four core categories were found. The theoretical coding based on the earlier initial and focused coding and memos. Four core categories started to saturate and emerge. They are explained below.

7.2.1 Core category 1: Bicultural, multicultural and monocultural identity options

Concerning the RQ1, the informants defined themselves in different categories: bicultural, multicultural and even monocultural. Yet, the majority of them at the same time thought that the term *Finnish-German* was suitable to describe their cultural background. The focused codes of RQ1 link with the focused codes of the RQ3 because in the focused coding of the RQ3 it becomes evident that the circumstances where the informants live and have lived, especially the significance of region and home, turn out to correlate with the personal perception of cultural identity.

It can be stated that when asked, the Finnish-German young adults can define their cultural identity. However, whether it is something that they would normally do or whether this kind of discussion is meaningful for them is another thing. Researches tend to problematize things but I think at this point the core category 3 *Natural experience of cultural navigating* (s. chapter 7.2.3) describes the identity question perhaps better from the perspective of the informants themselves.

On the other hand, the identity question is not irrelevant, since for instance Phinney (1996, 2007) has proved the benefits of an achieved identity. Sam and Berry (2009) also point out that maintaining both cultural backgrounds is the healthiest identity option for bicultural people. The integration of both cultural backgrounds seems to be possible for the Finnish-German young adults in Finland, at least within this thesis. This finding is not completely consistent with Sam and Berry’s (2009) finding of Finland being a non-settler society. Even though a few informants in this thesis defined their identity as monocultural, all of them still mostly felt quite content with their possibilities to be Finnish-German in Finland, even though especially regional improvements could still be implemented. Consequently, it could be suggested that since Sam and Berry (2009) studied different cultural groups in comparison with this study, Finland could be seen as a settler society for certain cultural groups but not necessarily for some other cultural groups. This finding links closely with host country receptivity and ethnic proximity (Kim, 2001). After all, German immigrants have a long history in Finland which might create ethnic proximity between Finnish and Finnish-German people and contribute to the Finnish-German young people's fitting into the Finnish society.

It is one thing to be able to categorize or explain one's own identity to another person but it is even more important to individually internally go through the personal process of identity exploration and commitment which might go on throughout life. This internal process is something very hard to grasp or show in research.

7.2.2 Core category 2: The meaning of region

The German School in Helsinki where the majority of the informants went is the most positively influential factor which affects the informants' perception of their cultural identity and its realization. In the coding of the RQ3 it is stressed that there are great differences in the regional services for bicultural

Finnish-German young adults in Finland. The best services turn out to be in Helsinki.

In the Central Finland and Eastern Finland, the informants did not have positive experiences of the services directed especially to Finnish-German people. These informants had also more propositions about improvements than the other informants who had experience of Helsinki’s services.

Most of the propositions dealt with having groups for Finnish-German people with common interests, i.e. the shared interests were emphasized, not the cultural background per se. There is potential here for further studies about the services and their possible improvements in different regions in Finland.

7.2.3 Core category 3: Natural experience of cultural navigating

In general, the informants were found to be very skilled with negotiating their cultural identity in different cultural situations and environments. Even when the informants sometimes struggled in the cultural identity management in company (s. chapter 7.1.2., e.g. Focused Code: Struggling with belonging to different ingroups), they still coped in those situations. Some of the informants were able to specify their coping methods for pursuing harmony in culturally diverse company (s. chapter 7.1.2., e.g. Focused Code: Coping methods for cultural collisions).

In the interviews it was many times difficult for the informants at first to express their strategies or coping methods in different cultural frames. Many of them explained that cultural behavior adjustment in different situations was “natural” (vivo code) for them. Something being natural seems to sum up the Finnish-German bicultural experience for the most of the informants.

Based on the finding of “natural”, it seems that at least for the Finnish-German young adults’ group Finnish society provides such circumstances where they can feel and live at least somewhat naturally. On the other hand, it is rather difficult to draw conclusions on whether it is the Finnish society which enables the informants to feel comfortable in different cultural frames or whether other factors such as the region, home background and the informant’s own personality for instance, play a greater role in it. It is anyways a positive finding that the Finnish-German young adults experience effortlessness in their process of balancing in different cultural frames in Finland.

7.2.4 Core category 4: Finnish-German cultural background seen as a positive trait in Finland

The coding concerning especially the RQ3 shows that the informants had had mostly positive experiences about their Finnish-German cultural background in Finland. The informants felt that other people in Finland had mostly given positive feedback of their bicultural Finnish-German background (s. chapter 7.1.3, e.g. Focused code: Being seen as an important person based on cultural knowledge). The attitudes towards culturally diverse people in Finland could still be studied further and wider. Based on the data in this thesis the attitudes are positive, at least towards this specific group of informants.

7.3 Summary of the theoretical findings

In this chapter, the result of the grounded theory is presented. This chapter was not, however, named as *Theory* because based on this thesis' findings only it feels a bit early to write a detailed full-extent theory. However, this chapter summarizes the theoretical findings basing on the grounded theory method used and explained in the previous chapters.

The German School in Helsinki turns out to play a significant role to those informants' positive self-perception who had gone to it. Here is a clear confluence with Talib and Lipponen (2008) and Ceginskas (2010) who point out in their studies the importance of the school environment to pupils' cultural identity development. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the school environment is and would have been an important factor in the positive self-perception of the informants' cultural background, and the German School in Helsinki has succeeded in supporting the informants' cultural identity development in a positive way.

One of the most essential findings which also come up in the discussion about the German School in Helsinki is that the subjective cultural identity perception and the abilities to realize the cultural identity in Finland are dependent on the region in Finland. According to the informants, the services for Finnish-German young people in Finland could still be improved outside of Helsinki. This situation might correlate with other cultural groups in Finland as well. Also the meaning of home, age developmental phase and personality factors play a role in the cultural identity perception of the Finnish-German young adults in Finland.

Yet, regardless of the region where the F-G young adults in Finland live, they feel that their cultural background is mostly seen positively by others, which probably strengthens their own positive perception of their cultural identity as well. This is an encouraging finding which refers to the fact that based on this thesis' findings cultural diversity is valued in Finland and on the other hand, as long as the cultural diversity is valued in Finland, Finland is an attractive country and society for culturally diverse people.

Although the majority of the informants admit that the term *Finnish-German* is proper and sufficient to describe their cultural background, they also propose other identity options apart from it. These other identity options apart from the bicultural Finnish-German identity are either monoculturally Finnish or bicultural identity expanded into a multicultural identity.

The findings concerning bicultural identity management of the informants could relate with other bicultural groups in Finland as well. Again, further and wider studies are proposed here for deeper understanding of the bicultural mindset in Finnish conditions. The vivo code "natural" sums up the bicultural identity experience in a way that it appears to the informants themselves. It is a description that is not easy to understand for me as a monocultural person and researcher but it crystallizes the informants' own subjective experience.

Finally, it has to be emphasized that the findings represent what the informants were able to tell about their experiences at that specific moment in their lives within one interview only. The cultural identity is seen as dynamic, vivid and changing phenomenon of human life in this thesis. Therefore, if the interviews were to be done with the same informants again, their answers might be different. The findings should not be generalized to apply for all the Finnish-German young adults but at the same time the informants' individual viewpoints in the interviews are valued and appreciated. It is also worth mentioning that the choice and even order of the interview questions define the informants' answers to some extent. There are time and extent limitations to every thesis which is why this subject shall be further researched in other studies.

8 CONCLUSION

The general finding is that the F-G young adult informants are mostly content with their cultural background and their possibilities to realize it in Finland. A clear proposal for improvement in the current circumstances in Finland to support the F-G young adults' cultural identity development based on this thesis' findings would be to develop the services for F-G young adults nationally in other regions outside of Helsinki too. The informants who gave improvement propositions mostly wished for more peer support and peer group meetings.

Most of the informants identified their cultural identity as bicultural but also multicultural and monocultural identity options were mentioned. There is still a lot to learn about how bicultural individuals negotiate their identity with other people in different cultural frames. This thesis' finding the *natural* way of doing things represents the F-G young adults' subjective experience of this cultural negotiation.

All in all, based on this thesis, the Finnish society provides fairly good prerequisites for F-G young adults to realize and express their cultural identity in Finland. Yet, this thesis' findings should not be generalized. Further studies are proposed especially concerning the regional differences in Finland concerning F-G and also other bicultural and multicultural individuals' services which support their cultural identity development.

Furthermore, different individuals with various cultural backgrounds in different societies could be wider researched in the future. Many studies concerning bicultural individuals concentrate on immigrants or on the same cultural groups but many other individuals and groups could still be wider researcher, i.e. this thesis' informant group the Finnish-German natives in Finland. In addition, bicultural mindset is an interesting matter which could be further studied from different cultural and individual viewpoints, not only through linguistic perspective but also on other levels.

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APPENDIX 1

Grounded Theory based on Charmaz (2014), Tommila 2015.

Data Collection

Transcription

Extant Codes
(throughout the process)
-Literature Review

1.Initial Coding
(choosing codes by Fit and relevance)
-Gaps
-Line-by-line
-Incident-by-incident
-Vivo codes

2.Focused Coding
(emerging categories)
-Frequency and significance
-Axial coding

Memo Writing
(constant)

Not a linear process
(Researcher may return to any of the 4 stages anytime)

3.Theoretical coding
-Links between categories

4.Theoretical Sampling
-Saturation
-Core category/categories

Theory