

How Do Consumers Living Abroad Talk about Including Finnishness to their Identities?

Social Identity Theory in the Acculturation Process of Expatriate Finns in Madrid.

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Katariina Mäntylä
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Author Katariina Mäntylä

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Abstract

This thesis studies the acculturation process of Finnish consumers living in Madrid from the perspective of maintaining ties to Finland. The behavior of these expatriate Finns was found to be strongly affected by group behavior, since one's nationality plays an important role in social categorizations, therefore, social identity theory is used in this study. The objective of this thesis is discovering how Finnish expatriates in Spain negotiate Finnishness to participate in their identity formation process mainly at the social level of identity and in which activities this identity work results in. Also, how the participation in these activities affects acculturation to the new environment is discussed.

By performing an analysis of narratives on the narrative reports of eight Finnish nationals living in Madrid, Spain, several contributions to the study of consumer acculturation were suggested. It is argued that the expatriate Finns of this study identify themselves or at least get allocated by others to become members of the Finnish expatriate group. As they are invested in this membership, behaviors that enhance their group membership result in various activities. These activities were allocated to several themes: trying to continue their life in two places, how mother language anchors identity, Finnish networks in Madrid, Finnish possessions, enhancing distinctiveness by using their ethnic background and bringing Finnish culture to be a part of one's close relationships and thus, the relational level of social self.

it is suggested that identification as an expatriate Finn, while supporting construction of a more harmonious identity, can however, postpone deeper acculturation to the new host culture. Such an identity position can allow an identity with maintenance of certain Finnish attributes and loss of some to support desires to see oneself as more international, but can result in feelings of lower membership to the local group. On the other hand, it is suggested that modern technology can help the construction of a more unified self during movement, since it enables the membership in the expatriate group to become more meaningful for Finns, who are living abroad.

Keywords Consumer Acculturation, Acculturation of Finnish Expatriates, Social Identity Theory, Analysis of Narratives

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research objectives

The interest towards intercultural analysis in the field of marketing has been largely risen as a result of growing Hispanic population in the United States, due to which areas such as ethnic marketing and segmentation have received growing attention. The same phenomenon affects acculturation research, of which traditionally most has been made of Hispanics (O'Guinn & Faber 1985). Earlier acculturation research has centered on the idea that immigrant consumers assimilate themselves to the new consumer environment and to its cultural meanings and try to use consumption to succeed in it (Wallendorf & Reilly 1983); the logic of acculturation research has followed the modernist view of a homogenous and socially integrated nation with its own national culture (Peñaloza 1994).

The central condition for acculturation to exist is contact (symbolic or physical) between two groups, which leads to different levels of conflict, since usually one does not voluntarily give up one's culture; however, in most cases adaptation starts to occur, which refers to behavior that reduces or stabilizes the conflict (Berry 1980 p. 11). Thus, cultural assimilation or acculturation includes first of all changes in the behavior pattern, for example in elements such as language, dress and food and in consumption patterns, such as types of products purchased (Montero 1981). Secondly, it includes structural assimilation, which is the entry into different categories, such as clubs and organizations, which are dominated by members of the dominant culture (Schoen & Cohen 1980).

However, studies of consumption in mobility are now concentrated on consumer acculturation research, a paradigm that has evolved from consumer assimilation studies to better take into account that consumers do hold onto certain parts of their previous identities in their identity transitions as they move to new consumer environments (e.g. Mehta & Belk 1991; Peñaloza 1994; Askegaard et al. 2005). For example, Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) found that consumption of Mexican-American suggested "the emergence of

a unique cultural style” (p. 292). Peñaloza (1994) contemplates that the risen attention in cultural differences in the marketing research may be due to increasing heterogeneity and diversity in the United States. This development obviously holds across other countries as well. Peñaloza points out that immigrants often demonstrate critique towards major culture of the new environment, and therefore, might decide not to validate the host culture. As the boundaries of national cultures are dissolving, understanding the behavior of immigrant consumers, who are expressing their subcultural, ethnic and personal identities through consumption has become central for understanding global consumption patterns and dynamics (Ger & Østergaard 1998).

This research started with the interest to explore the acculturation process of Finnish consumers living in Madrid from the perspective of maintaining ties to Finland. Their behavior was found to be strongly affected by group behavior, since one’s nationality plays an important role in social categorizations. Therefore, this study will make use of social identity theory to better understand the behavior of expatriate Finns. Finnish expatriates show signs of holding on quite strongly to their identities as Finnish nationals and not starting to view themselves as Spaniards. Even so, their self-perception does not stay intact.

It has been pointed out that unlike many other countries, the United States due to its history of immigration can be more willing to accept new immigrants as “first-generation” Americans, while in other countries they would still be considered to be immigrants. Therefore, studying acculturation in a different environment than the U.S. premise, which largely dominates acculturation studies perhaps can offer new insights, even though some research on other countries obviously has been conducted already. In times of rapid emergence of the global culture and global culture, where frontiers of previously more homogenous national cultures are dissolving, further research on acculturation can result in new insights as global forces might constantly shape the phenomenon. For example, Verlegh called for additional research “to better understand the implications of the consumers' identification with multiple national or ethnic groups” (2007 p. 370).

Immigrant consumers are a constantly growing group, which makes the phenomenon especially interesting also from the marketers' perspective.

Finnish acculturation processes have not received attention in academic research, neither has there been much research on acculturation of groups that come from rather similar cultures like in this case two European countries with western cultures. This however, does not mean that geographical movement would not become a subject of acculturation and result in activities to cope with the distance of old and new homes. As the movement of ideas, things, and people is constantly increasing people get affected by the change, and Finns make no exception. Spain in fact attracts large numbers of expatriate Finns (unofficial approximations exceed 30 000 (Finnish Embassy of Madrid)), which makes it an interesting context for this research, especially as this study mirrors acculturation phenomena from the perspective of social identity theory. Therefore, also other Finns in Spain can affect the behavior of these expatriate Finns as do people from Finland. In addition to other Finns, other nationals in Spain, who in this case form the out-group, have their impact on the acculturation of expatriate Finns.

To name it more precisely, the objective of this thesis became discovering how Finnish expatriates in Spain negotiate Finnishness to participate in their identity formation process mainly at the social level of identity and in which activities this identity work results in. To mirror the phenomenon social identity theory is used to make sense of the identity work of these Finnish consumers living abroad. Social identity theory offers an interesting starting point for studying how the maintenance of a viable social identity affects acculturation process, since due to increasing global interdependence and geographical movement intergroup behavior is becoming increasingly complex (Tajfel 1982 p. 32). Narrative reports of the informants are used, putting emphasis on the way the expatriate Finns of this study speak about their experience. All in all, this research intends to give concepts, which can help to understand the identity work of expatriate Finns during acculturation to a new environment and to describe the connections that the

activities, which support stable identity formation have with one and another. The research questions thus follow:

- How Finnish expatriates in Spain negotiate Finnishness to participate in their identity formation process?
- In which activities does the desire for harmonious identity work result in?
- And, how does the participation in these activities affect acculturation to the new environment?

This study offers contributions to the study of consumer acculturation in several ways. Identity work at the social level of self is found very significant during movement, as one moves away from similar others. It is argued that the expatriate Finns of this study identify themselves or at least get allocated by others to become members of the Finnish expatriate group. As they are invested in this membership, behaviors that enhance their group membership result in various activities. These activities deal with various themes, such as trying to continue their life in two places, how mother language anchors identity, Finnish networks in Madrid, Finnish possessions and enhancing distinctiveness by using their ethnic background and lastly, bringing Finnish culture to be a part of one's close relationships and thus, allowing it more effectively take part in identity work at the other level of social identity, the relational level.

Later in the discussion it is suggested that Identification as an expatriate Finn while supporting construction of a more harmonious identity, can however, postpone deeper acculturation to the new host culture. Such an identity position can allow an identity with maintenance of certain Finnish attributes and loss of some to support desires to see oneself as more international, but can result in feelings of lower membership to the local group. On the other hand, it is suggested that modern technology can help the construction of a more unified self during movement, as it enables the membership in the expatriate group to become more meaningful for Finns, who are living abroad.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six parts and of a bibliography that lists the literature and other references that have been used in the prior sections. The first part offers a literature review of two different theories: consumer acculturation and social identity theory. Consumer acculturation is introduced first, as it is the main phenomenon that is studied with this thesis by using the case of expatriate Finns in Madrid. Acculturation has received considerable attention in literature of several fields, but the focus here is kept on consumer acculturation, thus on marketing literature. Nevertheless, brief referrals are also made to for example sojourner studies that belong to management literature, since acculturation is a multi-faceted phenomenon that affects life and behavior of immigrants in several ways, not just consumption.

The section on acculturation start by discussing the acculturation process; how nowadays immigrant consumers rather than assimilating in a linear way find themselves in-between two cultures and continuously negotiate the difference between them (see for example Faber et al. 1987). Construct that help integration to the new culture and, on the other hand constructs that motivate the continuance of “old” identities are presented. Research on acculturation has made attempts to categorize different modes of acculturation and different processes that the acculturation process contains, and some of them are introduced here. The review on consumer acculturation then turns to explore the role of extended self (Belk 1988) for acculturation and how possessions can help in geographical movement by anchoring one’s identity to concrete symbols that can resemble personal memories, people, local brands e.g. The section continues by examining consumer learning as a part of acculturation, which by Peñaloza (1994) are called “translations”. This consumer learning is facilitated by acculturation agents that heavily influence the acculturation process to the new environment, though also can give a “dual pull” towards the old culture (Peñaloza 1994). In addition, research on acculturation has noticed a third acculturation agent, the transnational consumer culture (Askegaard et al. 2005), whose effect on acculturation is then reviewed. Lastly, the

section deals with the role of marketing environment and media for consumer acculturation.

The second part of the literature review comprises of an overview on social identity theory, SIT. SIT in this thesis is utilized to mirror the acculturation of expatriate Finns, to find out how processes that derive from social identity can motivate the maintenance of Finnish identities. Constructs such as social identity, group and group behavior, and self-enhancement on social categorizations are touched on. The section continues to examine self-categorization theory, which is an extension to SIT. Constructs that are important behind the logic of self-categorization theory, such as deindividuation and prototype are presented. These constructs bring about certain psychological processes, of which the ones that are found most significant for acculturation are examined. Lastly, the division of the social self into the relational and collective selves (Ashmore et al. 2004) are explored.

The chapter about methodology follows. It is divided into two parts, the first deals with the research method of narrative analysis. It is first introduced in general and then in particular the analysis of narratives, which is utilized in this study. Possible issues of validity are also considered from the point of view of narrative analysis and also general issues that are common for qualitative research. The second part deals with the data-collection process of this thesis; first the sample of the study is presented and later how the interview process was conducted. Guidelines of narrative interviewing are introduced alongside. Finally, reflections on using SKYPE for the interviews are given.

The fourth chapter includes the findings of this research. The findings section starts with an introduction to the following sections, and describes how and why group identification to the Finnish in-group takes place among the expatriate Finns. It is followed by a review of activities that are motivated by the group identification and that can enhance the membership to the group of Finnish nationals. These activities deal with issues such as connection to one's home country, maintenance of the Finnish language, support from Finnish networks in Madrid, Finnish possessions, desires to stand out from the crowd and

finally, aligning one's close-ones in Spain stronger with one's identity. The discussion chapter of the thesis thereafter deals with the same themes attaching them to earlier literature on acculturation and social identity theory. Lastly, conclusions chapter follows. It offers a research summary, considerations of practical implications for the findings, analyses the limitations of the study and lastly presents some suggestions for further research. In the end of the thesis a list of references is included.

2. Literature review

2.1 Consumer Acculturation

2.1.1 The Process of Consumer Acculturation

The traditional way of viewing acculturation as a linear process of assimilating to the dominant culture, where the immigrant chooses whether to become acculturated or to maintain one's ethnicity, has been challenged in the literature (see for example Triandis et al. 1986; Faber et al. 1987; O'Guinn & Faber 1985; Wallendorf & Reilly 1983). Currently the research acknowledges the challenging nature of acculturation and no standardized method to determinate the level of acculturation exists (O'Guinn & Faber 1985). Indeed, Deshpande et al. suggest that in the case of immigrant consumers as many different consumer groups in respect to their acculturation could be found as there are people on varying degrees on the ethnic identification continuum. This suggestion was founded in the discovery of Hispanic consumers that resided in the United States, with whom differences in the level of identifying with their ethnic group were found to affect their consumption behavior (Deshpande et al. 1986).

Faber et al. (1987) discussed reasons for the deviation from the linear pattern and considered one reason to be the immigrants misperceiving the host society's norms and for that, not succeeding in their attempts to become acculturated. Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) also studied reasons for deviation from the traditional assimilation model and noted the effect of voluntary mobility. Individuals might move partly because they consider themselves being a fit better with the new host culture and thanks to that receiving personal gain from the geographical movement. The prior knowledge of the new culture might alter their behavior already before the move, due to which the length of the stay might not describe the level of acculturation correctly. In their study of Mexican-Americans Wallendorf and Reilly found that some of the immigrant consumers had assimilated towards their own "internalized conception" of the American way-of-life

that was derived from secondary sources in their old home countries and from the mass media (p. 300). For that reason, the researchers consider that motivation, in addition to structure, affect acculturation process strongly. With structure, they refer to the structural constraints, such as the law system that forces compliance in the society (Wallendorf & Reilly 1983). Adaptation indeed might not happen even after a longer stay in the new environment. For example, Mexican culture is so present in the United States that adaptation in all cases is not necessary. Therefore, it becomes a subject of motivation (Peñaloza 1994).

Triandis et al. talked of immigrant consumers “overshooting”, going beyond the mainstream in their efforts to immediately become acculturated (1986 p. 43). Opposed to “overshooting”, Triandis et al. offered the construct of ethnic affirmation to which these consumers might resort to as well and choose to hold onto their original values and deny the new environment. Ethnically affirmed consumers are highly motivated to understand events of their minority groups and of their home countries, and not those of their new societies. All in all, immigrant consumers are situated between two cultures, their old and new homes. To maintain, express and show their immigrant identity from the old home might be or not be desirable (Ger & Østergaard 1998).

Considering that immigrant consumers resort to different behavior, the research in the field of acculturation has made efforts to categorize different modes of acculturation. One example is the work of Berry (1980), who found four varieties of acculturation: assimilation, integration, rejection and deculturation. The framework of four varieties is centered on two crucial questions for group or individual acculturation: desires for retention of cultural identity and desires for positive relationships with the dominant society. Berry considers assimilation and integration to be the two positive varieties of acculturation. With assimilation the consumer intends to force the new ethnicity of the host culture and disowns the old identity. Integration on the other hand implies that the immigrant wishes to become part of the dominant culture, while maintaining cultural integrity. A key question in respect to these two varieties is the effect of dominant culture. Multicultural societies even encourage integration, while unicultural may

demand assimilation, if relationships to the dominant culture is desired. The two negative varieties are rejection and deculturation. With rejection the new cultural identity is rejected completely in favor of one's heritage, thus declining acculturation is self-imposed. Deculturation, which Berry considers the hardest to define, includes withdrawing from both identities. It involves feelings of alienation, loss of identity and acculturative stress (Berry 1980 p. 13-15). Acculturation research does not tend to treat categories as exclusive, but rather as fluid and possibly occurring with the same individual across time and across different consumption habits (Peñaloza 1994; Askegaard et al. 2005; Chung 2000).

In her study of Mexican immigrants in the United States, Peñaloza (1994) found the acculturation process to consist of the following processes: assimilation, maintenance, resistance and segregation. Informants in the study assimilated to consumption habits of the new host culture while maintaining habits that had been learned in Mexico. On the other hand, rejection was found to affect consumer activities that were considered negative, such as use of credit. Occasionally, new patterns were controversially used to maintain ties to the Mexican culture, such as in the case of the telephone, a product not familiar from their previous culture that in the United States was used to maintain contact to Mexico. As Peñaloza notes, the process of adopting to the new consumer environment is far more complex than just buying and using products associated with one of the cultures (Peñaloza 1994).

Especially, the stigma of otherness was considered an important complicating force to the acculturation process. For these immigrants being Mexican in the United States meant being a member of a stigmatized group, segregated in many ways from the host culture. These immigrant consumers lived in neighborhoods with strong ethnic cultures, since the Latino rather than the Anglo culture was dominant. As workplaces were among the few environments, where their ethnic culture was not the dominant one, the importance of the workplace for creating connections to the host culture was of vast significance. Also, for example the study of Oswald of Haitian immigrants in the United States finds the influence of the stigma of otherness. The Haitian immigrants were reported to be

shocked that they were treated as second-class citizens by the members of the host culture (Oswald 1999).

Similar to Peñaloza, Askegaard et al. (2005) found four fluid identity positions among Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark. First of these was named “Greenlandic Hyperculture”, a group of immigrants that linked their national costumes and cultural possessions directly to their identity and become more focused in consuming Greenlandic products than what they had been previously in their home country or what most consumers in Greenland are. They consumed Greenlandic food and took part in national costumes and cultural activities, such as building their own kayaks and acting in sagas e.g. These immigrants found that living in Denmark permitted them to learn new sides of their Greenlandic cultures of origin (Askegaard et al. 2005).

The second group was called “The Oscillating Pendulum”, a consumer that experiences alienation and attraction from both Greenlandic and Danish culture. These consumers experience a split in their identities and problems with consistent biculturalism. They for example criticized the Danish market-oriented culture and missed the connection to the nature from the Greenlandic culture, but at the same time considered the idea of going back difficult. They fought this problem for example with regular visits to their home country (Askegaard et al. 2005).

The third group, “The Danish Cookie”, which Askegaard et al. consider possibly the most deculturated, includes immigrants that are relative newcomers to Denmark and become enamored with the possibilities that the more developed market-oriented environment offers, such as ethnic foods etc. The last group identified was “The Best-of-Both-Worlder”. These immigrants become in terms with their double identity and value both cultures and show favorable attitudes towards consumer goods of both countries (Askegaard et al. 2005).

2.1.2 Consumer Acculturation and the Extended Self

Possessions as a Part of the Extended Self

The construct of the extended self has often been found viable for consumer acculturation studies (see for example Mehta & Belk 1991). The theory of the extended self (Belk 1988) studies how possessions can help individuals to express their identities. The research of the extended self is formulated around the notion that possessions are very important for supporting, expressing, and transforming the self, because of the possessions' symbolic connections to a person's identity. Belk writes: "We learn, define, and remind ourselves of who we are by our possessions" (p. 160). Possessions help people know where we come from and where they are going in our future. The value of these special possessions is not tied to their exchange value, as their personal meaning constitutes their worth (Grayson & Shulman 2000). Therefore, an object getting stolen or lost is not problematic for the monetary lost, but due to the loss of symbolic meaning that this possession contains for its owner.

Possessions offer links to one's past, values, people and ethnic or national culture. For example, in their studies of elderly consumers Price et al. found that for these consumers, possessions provided a narrative framework for creating a "personalized sense of place and purpose", since their treasured possessions represented links to people, times and places in a symbolic way (2000 p. 197). In addition to these, Mehta and Belk (1991) note that possessions might help people remember their past achievements, travels or their religious or ethnic identities. In fact, the extended self not only operates on an "individual level, but also on a collective level involving family, group, subcultural, and national identities" (Belk 1988 p. 160).

Cultural Meaning of Goods and Cultural Identity

Goods have been found to carry cultural meaning as "goods are an opportunity to make culture material" (McCracken 1986 p. 73). Cultural meaning is mobile and constantly in transit between different locations in the social world, a movement that is influenced by collective and individual efforts. Cultural meaning is found in three places, the culturally

constituted world, the consumer good and the individual consumer. The meaning can be moved from a good to an individual or from an individual to a good. Different consumer goods, such as clothing, food, and transportation among others can be used as a way to express cultural meaning and to represent membership in different categories, such as one's occupation, age, gender or ethnicity (McCracken 1986).

Cultural meanings can be transferred from goods to individuals through rituals. Ritual is a social action "devoted to the manipulation of cultural meaning for purposes of collective and individual communication and categorization" (McCracken 1986 p. 78). McCracken divides these rituals into four categories: exchange, possession, grooming and divestment rituals. With exchange rituals a gift-giver can try to transfer attributes that a gift contains to the gift-receiver. A gift might account for creating a desired connection to another person; "social indebtedness as well as bonding through the overlapping extended selves may be welcome" (Belk & Coon 1993 p. 403). The possession rituals allow consumers to claim objects as their own and to draw qualities and cultural meaning from the object to themselves. The ritual might include for example cleaning, discussing, showing off and even photographing objects. With possession rituals "individuals create a personal world of goods that reflects their own experience and concepts of self and the world" (McCracken 1986 p. 79). Grooming rituals are resorted to when a continuous absorbing of the qualities of a good is needed, for example when going out a person might decide to use his/her best consumer goods, like an expensive perfume to intake these especially meaningful attributes. This way one can try to enhance one's confidence. Divestment rituals are used for two purposes, firstly with previously owned possessions to delete the association with the previous owner and secondly, with dispense of a good. In this case the person attempts to erase their personal meaning that is linked to their possessions before dispensing it (McCracken 1986).

In normal situations, when the surrounding cultural world is well-known, goods can be used to constitute crucial parts of the self in a natural problem-free way (McCracken 1986). In the case with culturally similar others one's cultural identity remains unrecognized, even though cultural norms regarding the self and behavior between

individuals act as normative standards (Sussman 2000). One's family, groups of reference and key institutions are all culturally bound to the cultural norms of the society in question. Different cultures might for example find different product characteristics important (Faber et al. 1987). However, in the case of geographical movement and cosmopolitanism contradictions start to occur due to different degrees of attachment to cultures, locales and regions across individuals (Roudometof 2005).

The Extended Self and Identity Transitions

It has been established that possessions can anchor and stabilize identity (McCracken 1986) and that during a geographical move, possessions become an important tool in maintaining a connection to a place important for one's identity. People move away from people, places and things of their previous home countries, which forces them to go through identity transitions. For that reason, the importance of possessions for the extended self might become emphasized during movement (Mehta & Belk 1991). As objects can tie one to a place, time and culture, they might be used to protect the self from change (Bardhi et al. 2012). Similarly, to the behavior of consumers group of "Greenlandic Hyperculture" (Askegaard et al. 2005) it was found that Turkish immigrants living in Denmark actually had more 'Turkish' possessions than do Turks in Turkey (Ger & Østergaard 1998). The desire was to tie themselves stronger to Turkey and to their Turkishness. Ger and Østergaard concluded that immigrants can strengthen their selfhood by using consumption to deal with the changes, conflicts and uncertainties of their lives, brought to them by their own unique contexts (Ger & Østergaard 1998).

On the other hand, possessions can also be used to alter identity (Mehta & Belk 1991). Tian and Belk too found the construct of the extended self to be more complex, since as people might express various identities, they might also hide and retract parts of their identities. Hence, possessions may stabilize the self, but also facilitate a shift in various self-aspects (Belk 2005). The study of Ahuvia (2005) found that possessions can symbolically support the identity as it faces conflicting sides of the self, such as the past and hopeful future self. Ahuvia found that loved things, objects or activities, helped informants to form a coherent self-narrative, even from conflicting material. It was

discovered that engaging with loved items often required a lot of effort from the consumers, thus it was considered that the time spend with them might help in including them to the self-narrative. Three strategies for creating a coherent self-narrative were found: demarcating, compromising and synthetizing. If demarcating is utilized, an individual rejects an identity position, but with the two other, individual combines aspects of the self that might be conflicting. Compromises are often necessary with combinations, but sometimes a synthesis of best of both worlds is possible (Ahuvia 2005).

Mehta and Belk (1991) found that Indian immigrants in the United States, similar to the TurkoDanes (Ger & Østergaard 1998) anchored their identity in symbols that resembled India to them. These possessions offered a way to preserve identity in concrete symbols, as they offered the informants a “sense of cultural identity and security that was taken for granted in India” (p. 407). Mehta and Belk used the term “transitional objects” to describe the connection that these possessions allowed. For example, gifts and photographs symbolized people from India. Also, the transitional objects included artifacts from India that were viewed to be authentic pieces of India, even though they might have been commercial reproductions. In addition, Indian immigrant preserved many rituals, such as praying at family shrines, celebrating Indian holidays, eating Indian foods and wearing Indian clothing. However, their consumption around these rituals did not remain unchanged from what they had been in India, as many Indian religious beliefs became disregarded. For example, while still eating Indian dishes, they started eating meat and ignoring rules of food purity (Mehta & Belk 1991).

Mehta and Belk considered that the appearance of being Indian for maintaining a viable identity perhaps held more importance than value persistence. The length of the stay in the United States in fact correlated positively with the number of the Indian artifacts. Interestingly, these artifacts were not found in the homes of informants that were still living in India, who formed a comparison group in the study. Mehta and Belk conclude that “there is little need to represent the country of origin when one lives there” (p. 406). Also, Ger and Østergaard (1998) found similar objects in the homes of TurkoDanes, which were small decorative souvenirs that, as Ger and Østergaard note, are sold for tourists in

Turkey. Mehta and Belk point out the worry among Indian immigrants that their children would lose their identities as Indians as one reason for why immigrant Indians might become more patriotic in their consumption habits. Therefore, they had mementos and souvenirs to declare Indian identity in their homes (Mehta & Belk, 1991).

Behavioral Rituals

Mehta and Belk (1991) consider the role that meaningfully-charged material possessions have offering coherent models of the self especially significant with objects that are linked to continuous behavioral rituals. These include for example eating, grooming and religious practice. With the Indian immigrants praying was found a routine that provided continuity in their lives. As Peñaloza (1994) informs food is a key cultural expression, not just nourishment. For the Mexican immigrants food offered “a taste of home” and reaffirmed their ties to Mexico (p. 42). Also, Gilly (1995) has expressed the importance of food for the acculturation process. In her study of American immigrants, food had a strong prominence in the list of products missed from the United States, as she writes: “there were certain American products, particularly food, which seemed to symbolize home. These products were sought out and obtained at great expense and effort” (p. 509). The study of Oswald (1999) of Haitian immigrants also discussed the immigrants’ consumption of food and the link that food has to their ethnic identities. Multiculturalism was found the most obvious characteristic of one family’s food consumption, where different family members identified with different ethnicities. With this family, the occasion of celebrating Thanksgiving invited the family members to “perform ‘active negotiation’ of variations on the codes” (p. 309). Turkey was served to honor the host culture, French European culture was visible in the choice of wine, cheese and desert, and the Creole identity was manifested in the form of Haitian beans and rice (Oswald 1999).

Similar to food, clothing serves as a means of cultural expression that can indicate even nationality (Peñaloza 1994). With the Mexican immigrants clothing in the United States was mainly received in a positive way as it was considered of better quality and of more variety than in Mexico. Also, the incidence of women wearing pants was reported more common in the United States than in Mexico. However, consumer activities similar to

Mexico were found for example in door-to-door sales, where consumers were able to pay “poco a poco”, little by little. With the Indian immigrants (Mehta & Belk 1991) the females were found wearing saris, although also adopting to local clothing in the United States. Askegaard et al. (2005) in addition to Ger and Østergaard too have found clothing to be important in the acculturation process of immigrant consumers as it serves for the “construction, reconstruction, maintenance, negotiation, expression, and making visible or masking of social and personal identity” (1998 p. 48).

Brands from Home Country

Similar to objects, brands can help reestablish a sense of continuity with a person’s home country. The relationship model of brands has found that consumers not only have feelings towards brands, but even form relationships with them. The model of Fournier (1998) found 15 meaningful forms of brand relationships. These relationships are a subject of change across time and situations. Rahman and Cherrier (2010) studied consumer acculturation to an unfamiliar “brandscape” with immigrants in Australia. When a person moves to a new country for longer period of time he/she needs to take part in consumer activities of the new environment, including the brands present in a particular marketplace. They found three domains to be important for the immigrant consumers’ activities: the “sentiments” domain, the “brandscape” domain and the “consumer acculturation” domain. When living in a new country immigrants go through a range of sentiments. The informants reported experiential tension from being in a new culture, patriotic reactions and nostalgic excitement. The “brandscape” domain included comprising global brands, being interested to a degree in ethno brands, missing brands from previous cultures and using beloved brands. The consumer acculturation domain emerged as the informants reported starting to adjust to the new environment, in general and in terms of brands (Rahman & Cherrier 2010).

Study of Bengtsson et al. (2010) of Americans travelers to China discovered that global brands, in this study McDonald’s and Starbucks, acquired different meanings, when consumers crossed national borders. At home these two brands symbolized corporate excess and cultural homogenization, but abroad the consumers developed divergent

brand meanings. They were seen as comfortable and safe and as a cause for national pride. These global brands enabled consumers to sustain their daily consumption rituals and evoked the experience of home in the new challenging environment. Therefore, Bengtsson et al. argue that standardization of global brands offers mobile consumers a way to anchor their identity to their previous homes (Bengtsson et al. 2010).

Similar findings have also been made for brands that are not global. A study of Dino and Cappellini (2014) studied Albanian immigrants and their relationship to a traditional Albanian brand, Skenderbeu. Skenderbeu is an Albanian cognac brand that has a long history in Albania as it is the only brand that was produced under the former communist regime (Dino & Cappellini 2014). The study discovered three types of brand relations that all incorporated a different brand meaning. Indications that brand meanings changed over time and had an effect on the immigrants' acculturation outcomes were found. These meanings depended on the context of consumption, and included feeling nostalgic about individual's past, maintaining family identity and traditions and building a collective ethnic identity (Dino & Cappellini 2014).

The first relationship type "Skenderbeu: an old friend from home" incorporates the meaning of reconnecting with one's home country and youth, since Skenderbeu was present in the memories from childhood and other important events. The Albanian immigrants reported thinking of home, when they consumed the brand and vice versa; when missing home, they turned to Skenderbeu. The consumption of the product activated a temporal reconnection with the home country (Dino & Cappellini 2014).

The second relationship was named "Skenderbeu: an authentic Albanian family member". In addition to disconnecting the Albanian immigrants from their present in their host country, the brand Skenderbeu was also associated with collective consumption experiences, where their family identities or Albanian identities were celebrated in form of Albanian food and Skenderbeu. The brand was considered an authentic Albanian brand as it was present in personal memories and for its clear geographical origin. As the brand offered a link with former life in Albania, ethnic and family identities were communicated

through Skenderbeu. Also non-Albanian family members and their children were targeted with messages of one's identity, since the Albanian immigrants hoped that they would continue consuming the product (Dino & Cappellini 2014).

The third and the last, "Skenderbeu: an ambassador from home" refers to the brand being an ambassador of Albanian culture in the new environment. With the Skenderbeu brand Albanian consumers could introduce themselves and their culture. The informants were reported showing pride in introducing a "true" Albanian product that received positive responses among other consumers. Also, it allowed connection with persons from other cultures, since some people encountered in the new host country were already familiar with the brand. A common terrain of interaction between the consumers could be built through consuming the product together. Interestingly though, the informants in the study that had returned to Albania had stopped consuming Skenderbeu. The researchers consider similar to findings of Askegaard et al. (2005) that the informants no longer felt the need to show their ethnic identity through high levels of investment in consuming Albanian products (Dino & Cappellini 2014).

Compromise Consumption Patterns

Using objects and brands and taking part in consumer activities that maintain ties to one's former national identity is not always without challenges. As the distance of a move becomes greater, so become the costs of bringing individual possessions. Returns to visit people, places and things left behind become difficult. To overcome this issue, the immigrant consumers make use of what Mehta and Belk call "compromise consumption patterns" (1991 p. 407). Due to difficulties in obtaining certain spices, Indian immigrants were reported eating American food, even though they maintained a strong preference for Indian food. They also reported serving American food for guests of different ethnicity as they feared that their guests might not like Indian food. Other example of compromise consumption patterns found with Indian immigrants were dual celebrations of both American and Indian holidays, like Divali and Thanksgiving. Therefore, desires to both adapt and preserve Indian heritage were found.

Research on acculturation has found other cases of similar behavior. The study of TurkoDanes also found food to be a subject of compromise consumption. The informants were reported to mainly cook Turkish food, but usually to make Danish desserts. In several homes Turkish flags were found, a tradition not common in Turkey. Actually, the habit was heavily affected by Danes, since the TurkoDanes considered that Danes always have flags in their homes. Therefore, they also had flags in their homes, the symbol just had been changed accordingly to a Turkish flag (Ger & Østergaard 1998).

2.1.3 Translations and Acculturation Agents

Translations

Acculturation research has often indicated the significance that the learning of consumer habits of the new environment entails (e.g. Sussman 2000; Gilly 1995; Peñaloza 1994). Since each culture has their own rules and “lenses” to view different phenomena, rules of the previous culture might become inappropriate and thus, require broadening ones understanding (McCracken 1986). This phenomenon that affects the acculturation process is the most evident during the time after the geographical movement. Especially the research on expatriates, the sojourner studies have focused on how not knowing the behavior, symbols, roles and social cognitions of the new environment can result in a culture shock, a strong negative response, both psychological and physiological. In cases where immigrants have enough motivation, adjustment starts to occur thereafter leading to cross-cultural adaptation and finally to acculturation (Sussman 2000). Gilly’s study on the acculturation process of American immigrants in Madrid also discussed the phenomenon. Informants in her study reported of all things missing the most being familiar with the consumer environment and knowing how things work in it. However, by trial and error and observation consumer learning took place, over time leading to deeper adaptation (Gilly 1995).

Peñaloza (1994) called the processes of immigrant consumer learning “translations”. Through a process of translation an immigrant takes the cultural signs and heuristics of the old environment and applies them logically to the new one. One informant in the particular study even after years found it difficult to use coins, since the American coins did not match the logic of coins in Mexico, as the size of the coins did not match their worth in all cases (bigger size meaning more worth). Therefore, lack of a “translation”, made many every-day situations demanding (Peñaloza 1994).

Immigrants have to go through a tremendous amount of translations. For informants in the study of Peñaloza consumer acculturation entailed performing context-appropriate signs of language, clothing, food etc. depending on whether the environment was their home, workplace or for example school. The importance of language to acculturation has been noted in other studies as well, for example Faber et al. write that “the adoption of language has long been associated with advancing acculturation” (1987 p. 126). Chung (2000) on the other hand points out that language is often associated with ethnic identification. However, possibly as the most important translation for the acculturation process, Peñaloza suggests learning one’s place in the new society and how memberships to particular social categories are decided and communicated in the new environment (Peñaloza 1994).

Acculturation Agents

Vastly significant for making these cultural translations are acculturation agents that facilitate the consumer learning through behavioral processes. The process of becoming acculturated is to be “by definition accomplished through communication” (O’Guinn & Faber 1985 p. 114). The communication takes place both through direct (social relations) and indirect acculturation agents, such as mass media (Lee & Tse 1994). Peñaloza (1994) counted the acculturation agents to include immigrants’ families, friends, churches, schools and media of both cultures. For the Mexican-American informants, schools and English-language media offered the main sources of contact with the Anglo culture, and the other agents were mainly aligned with the Mexican culture. Even the retail environment in this case was highly influenced by the Mexican culture. These agents

served as social coping structures facilitating the physical move and the transition phase afterwards by giving information and help in many forms, such as money for example (Peñaloza 1994).

Also, with immigrant groups that are not so high in quantity as Mexicans in the United States, points of contact with other members of the immigrant groups are listed. For example, in her study of Haitian immigrants in the United States, Oswald (1999) recognizes Catholic churches that held masses entirely in French as places, where the community was able to get together. Of the importance of social connections for acculturation speaks also the study of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Chung used the framework on acculturation from Berry and found that deculturation, alienation from both the previous and the new culture was likely linked with lack of weak ties that is, social connections (Chung 2000).

The importance of communication with the members of host culture has been noted to be significant, as O'Guinn and Faber write "interpersonal communication with members of the host society allows immigrants to experience and learn the behavioral norms of the new culture" (1985 p. 114). However, the research on immigrant groups often has pointed out the importance of fellow immigrants for the acculturation process (see for example Peñaloza 1994). Also, the study of Gilly found that when American immigrants were considering where to go for a product or service, the clear tendency was to ask for the advice of another immigrant. Rather than relying on expertise that the Spaniards most likely possessed, they relied on "perceived homophily, (i.e. shared needs)" with other expatriates (Gilly 1995 p. 509).

However, important group of acculturation agents are not merely the people of the new environment, but also agents from the previous culture. Peñaloza (1994) talks of the "dual acculturation agents" and of the "dual pull" that these agents have on the immigrants. These conflicting two sets of acculturation agents toward the mainstream and the immigrant social relations can affect the acculturation processes in several ways. In their study of TurkoDanes Ger and Østergaard (1998) found that these ethnic

consumers had several influential referents from Danish friends, their parents, the TurkoDane Community in Odense, relatives and friends in Turkey and in other European countries. They found that the frequency of visits to Turkey, in addition to the type of destination in Turkey (countryside or resorts or cities) influenced the informants' style and notions of appropriate ways to dress. Therefore, both the immigrant community in the destination country, but also influential people in their previous countries affect the immigrants' behavior (Ger & Østergaard 1998).

Also, Mehta and Belk (1991) established the importance of people from old home countries. The Indian immigrants most missed people from India and the values and interaction associated with them. Mehta and Belk note the importance of abstract culture for acculturation and the concern it can cause, which is more severe than that of the material culture. Even so, pull from home country can also be associated with material culture. Gilly (1995) discovered that all of the American informants in her study had sources for U.S. products and that typically these included family and friends coming for a visit to Madrid coupled with the informants own trips back to the United States.

2.1.4 Acculturation as a Context-Tied Phenomenon

It has been discovered that one's cultural identity depends on one's daily roles and might vary depending on the role that the immigrant consumer assumes in a particular situation (see for example Stayman & Deshpande 1989). The content and structure theories of the self in fact argue that people hold multiple self-schemas, which are different beliefs of themselves. Depending on the role, be it me as a child, me as parent the person includes different attributes about the self (e.g. traits, characteristics and dispositions) in addition to ideas of belonging to different social groups. The membership might be based on gender, ethnicity, social class, religion or culture etc. (Sussman 2000).

Therefore, to understand the behavior of an immigrant in a given situation, one needs to be aware of the level of acculturation that this particular role brings to the individual

(O'Guinn & Faber 1985). It has been suggested that more adaptation is likely to take place in work environment than in domestic, private environment (Triandis et al. 1986). Stayman and Deshpande (1989) too argue that the connection between ethnicity and consumption is influenced by the situations, where choices are made. Therefore, ethnicity is situationally determined, not just who one is, but also how this person feels about his/herself in a given situation. Due to this, one's ethnicity is not just a stable sociological trait, but also a temporal state of mind. Stayman and Deshpande use the term "felt ethnicity" to depict the variance that an individual can experience in their cultural identity (p. 361). They find that how strongly one identifies with the group that accompanies one in a given situation affect behavior. People in their study who sensed high levels of ethnicity appeared to be driven towards ethnically related food in an ethnically consistent situation (for example with one's parents) and in ethnically inconsistent situations (for example in business meetings with representatives of different ethnicities) towards non-ethnic foods (Stayman & Deshpande 1989).

Oswald (1999) introduced the term "culture swapping" to extend the claim of Peñaloza (1994) of immigrants maintaining transcultural identified to varying degrees. She concluded that immigrant consumers might indefinitely postpone assimilation and negotiate between boundaries of several cultures at once. Contradictions between respondents' self-concepts and self-images and their behavior occurred in several situations due to adopting to expectations of both host and home cultures. Oswald considers that these immigrants do not erase differences gradually, but "navigate an uneven path between both worlds, culture swapping as they go" (Oswald 1999 p. 315).

To culture swap, to negotiate between home and host cultures, ethnic consumers often utilize goods. Oswald (1999) concludes that in the case of Haitian immigrant consumers, their behavior did not exemplify simply lifestyle shopping, or "buying ethnicity" by code switching. Rather the code switching was part of culture swapping, where the code was switched according to the culture of reference of a certain every-day situation. By switching the code, the meaning of goods changed between two or more cultural frames of reference. In the case of Haitian immigrants, the most obvious code switching observed was the transition from one language to another, however, not being limited to

it, but including also codes such as food preparation and dress etc. Also, these negotiations included with one informant celebrating her son's birthday twice using a different culture as a reference for the appropriate code. Therefore, as goods can be used to forge a new identity, the immigrant can as Oswald describes it "wear an identity". Ethnicity becomes kind of a "garment, a commodity that can be purchased, sold discarded, or traded as the situation demands" losing its "anchor in living culture". Rather than being a part of the self, ethnicity becomes an "accessory" (Oswald 1999 p. 314).

The study of Oswald (1999) well captures the complex nature of immigrant consumers lives as their cultures of reference might not just be two, but multiple. Among the informants was a family where part of the family associated with the French colonial culture and part with the Creole culture as their previous culture. In addition to this, day-to-day encounters with the host culture had an effect. Therefore, members of even the same family can show their ethnicity independently of each other's, and switch the code based on their individual experience of what is the appropriate code in each situation (Oswald 1999).

Ger and Østergaard (1998) also found consumption to be a way to balance between the two ethnicities with which the TurkoDanes of the study associated themselves at varying degrees. Depending on the occasion and the specific referents active in each situation, the informants felt varying degrees of "Danishness" and "Turkishness". With this immigrant group clothing was found the most ambiguous, conflicting and fluid issue. The choice of clothes was influenced by a variety of sociocultural forces that caused worry and ambivalence. Thus, norms that these consumers faced were context-specific and the notion that one should behave just like the others, be it Turks or Danes, hold a heavy impact. Ger and Østergaard found that the TurkoDanes seemed to try to mask their Turkishness in public, while supporting their Turkishness in private. The TurkoDanes negotiated and mixed different types of clothing depending on the people around them and their degree of assimilation, resistance and hybridization of the cultures varied depending on the context. The researchers interpreted that the identity becomes conceptualized as the combination of diverse cultural and subcultural influences and that

the conceptualized identity is in movement during different contexts and times (Ger & Østergaard 1998).

Askegaard et al. (2005) also acknowledged that immigrants take the surrounding people into consideration while showcasing ethnicity. They found that the Greenlandic immigrants attempted to modify behaviors that they expected to be a subject of conflict in the new environment in Denmark. This was done to avoid cultural misunderstanding, not to participate in “border policing” (2005 p. 163). One example of these acculturative modifications was the incident of traditional Greenlandic jewelry that is made by animal bone. As this jewelry was considered essential for their ethnic identity the immigrants brought this jewelry with them to Denmark, but did not wear it in public as they feared that it could become a subject of disapproval among Danes (Askegaard et al. 2005).

2.1.5 Transnational Consumer Culture and Fluid Consumption

In addition to the two acculturative agents, the addition of a third has been suggested, the transnational consumer culture. Askegaard et al. (2005) identified that in addition to the institutional forces of home and host cultures “the influence of a transnational set of cultural ideas and practices” is significant for the acculturation process (p. 165). Some of the Greenlandic immigrants reported the positive impact that the access to global consumer choices in Denmark had to their experience. They were able to find more variety of exotic goods that had not been accessible in Greenland and found this restriction a big issue when considering moving back to Greenland. Therefore, some of the Greenlandic immigrants were suggested to have become “worldly Inuits” or “wandering eskimos” as the “increasing global and local mobility is loosening locally oriented identification structures among the Greenlanders” (p. 166). Due to this increasing mobility, the writers call for questioning of the construct of ethnic identity, since most of the cultural identities in the world are now “refracted through experiences in other parts of the world”, where the North American consumer culture is largely present (p. 166). Therefore, both cultures are a subject of influence from the third acculturation agent that can be experienced both as a threat to authenticity of the two

cultures, but also serve as a “sort of neutral cultural ground” (Askegaard et al. 2005 p. 169).

Other research too has discussed the impact of the global culture in consumer acculturation. The intensifying mobility is carrying cultures and fostering “diversity and hybridization of global consumer cultures” (Ger & Østergaard 1998 p. 48). As they describe, consumers are exposed to the culture of “others” in form of Mexican restaurants, Indian clothes and world music thus, they can cross cultural boundaries through consumption and by “trying” the culture of others. Also, Oswald thinks that the global consumer culture brings into question the concepts of dominant, mainstream and original cultures as all environments face influences of multiple cultures (Oswald 1999).

Acculturation research has often demonstrated how possessions can help the acculturation process, but also evidence of lower meaning of possessions for defining the self has been suggested for certain consumer groups. Bardhi et al. (2012) studied the acculturation of modern-date corporate nomads that are characterized by serial relocations, frequent short-term international travel, and deterritorialization. These corporate nomads are not bound by a nationality or a home country, due to which their identity is not territorialized, that is linked to particular place of origin. As Bardhi et al. note acculturation research normally assumes that consumers would be territorialized to a certain place, which would anchor the immigrant’s identity. Therefore, objects that are linked to a place can help the identity work of the immigrant. Contrary to this “nomadic consumers do not look back and contextualize their identity projects in each destination. They avoid nostalgia and endorse a fluid and flexible sense of self” (Bardhi et al. 2012 p. 525).

Bardhi et al. propose an alternative relationship to possessions termed as “liquid”. The liquid relationship to possessions is characterized by detachment and flexibility. The possessions become strategic resources in managing mobility, since during nomadism possessions tie one to a place both physically and symbolically. For that reason, the relationship to possessions for these corporate nomads is based on the object’s

instrumental use-value and immateriality and the relationship is temporary to favor mobility rather than acculturation. Instrumental use-value also transfers better culturally. These nomadic consumers benefit to a great degree from modern technology as virtual consumption facilitates their mobility without commitment to solid possessions. Bardhi et al. consider that modern technology is likely relevant for the acculturation process of other consumer groups as well. Also, the research of Gilly has found evidence of possessions losing their value overall. Nonetheless, while general attachment to materialism got lower, certain products retained or even grew their importance (Gilly 1995).

2.1.6 Marketing Environment and Media

The acculturation process is considered to be impacted by marketing. Peñaloza (1994) found the importance that marketing practices can have on acculturation, since they shape the consumer's identity: "Marketing segmentation strategies are not only predicated on cultural differences; they can effectively reproduce and/or neutralize them" (p. 51). Marketers can encourage a new cultural category to create a new market segment (McCracken 1986). As cultural differences teach consumers which product attributes are to be considered favorable and for that reason, Faber et al. (1987) consider that the marketers and advertisers should take these cultural factors into consideration. Also, O'Guinn and Faber (1986) note that a better understanding of consumer acculturation may allow more effective targeting strategies in different ethnic markets. One evident case of such ethnic targeting was found in the United States with clear intranational boundaries of Latino and Anglo market segment. Products and services that were targeting the Latinos offered the Mexican immigrants a strong validation of their culture and therefore, could enable the maintenance of previous consumption habits that in the United States are associated with the Mexican culture (Peñaloza 1994).

Similarly, Spanish-language media was considered to reinforce and validate the culture of the Mexican immigrants. Music, movies and advertisements that were in Spanish, and especially those that used celebrities and other cultural signs linked with the Mexican

culture were impactful, as they provided a “dose of the familiar” (Peñaloza 1994 p. 45). Also, Lee and Tse (1994) discuss the role of media for acculturation. They expected ethnic media be more appealing when an immigrant first comes to a country and that with time as their language skills would become better they would become less restricted in their media consumption. However, their study of immigrants from Hong Kong found that the long-time immigrants (with at least 7 years spend in Canada) still spent a considerable 41 % of their total media time on ethnic media (Lee & Tse 1994).

2.2 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (see for example Tajfel 1982) is a concept that has largely revoked the interest for group processes and identities within the social psychology. With the growing interest, emphasis on the concept of the self, “the concept the individual has of himself as a physical, social, and spiritual or moral being” (Gecas 1982 p. 3) has resulted in studying how the self is determined by membership to different groups and how social cognitive processes result in group behavior (Hogg & Terry 2000). Social identity theory, SIT considers that the social nature of the self is constituted by the society and that the self is divided to multiple identities (Hogg et al. 1995). When people define themselves in terms of groups that they are allocated to, social identification takes place (Reicher et al. 1995). Especially after the Second World War the global interdependence and geographical movement has resulted in growing diversity and therefore, the intergroup behavior has become increasingly complex (Tajfel 1982 p. 32).

To define the self by social comparisons is a difficult multi-faceted activity, behind which exists simultaneous processes that are both complementary and conflicting: “The individual's need, on the one hand, for social conformity, which tends toward standardization and de-individualization; on the other hand, his simultaneous search for social differentiation and individualization” (Codol 1975 p. 457). Indeed, the social identities are descriptive and prescriptive, but also evaluative (Hogg 1993). The optimal distinctiveness theory, ODT argues that dynamic tensions take place between competing drives for inclusiveness and distinctiveness (Brewer 1991) and that people might be

driven towards subgroup distinctiveness in the case of an overly inclusive group (Hornsey & Hogg 1999). Hence, minority groups and majority groups can use different criteria on in their evaluations. Minority in-group members have been found to display more intergroup comparisons and majority in-group members more interpersonal comparisons. Brewer and Weber considered this to be due to majority in-group members considering their group as overly inclusive and therefore, searching for more distinctiveness, whereas minority in-group members were not affected by the lack of distinctiveness and thus, their behavior aimed more towards inclusiveness (Brewer & Weber 1994).

In the center of social identity theory is the construct of group. A group can be defined based on internal or external criteria, which refers to outside designations. Internal criteria have to do with group identification and to achieve a stage of identification two components need to be met. First component is the cognitive one, a person needs to be aware of his/her membership to a group. The second component is the evaluative one, which means that the awareness of a membership is related to some value connotations. A third component that often is associated with the two previous ones is the emotional investment in the awareness and evaluations. Group is also strongly affected by other groups as relations between groups strongly determinate the behavior of individuals in them. For the internal group identification and thus, group behavior to take place, outside consensus that such a group exists is needed. However, outside recognition still needs to be grouped together with the group members' awareness of their membership for the creation of a group (Tajfel 1982).

Two characteristics of intergroup behavior are especially important (Tajfel 1982). First characteristic deals with the uniformities of group members in their behavior and their attitude towards an out-group. Transition towards uniformities as the group members' behavior is increasingly affected by joint group membership of constituent individuals. The second is another type of uniformity, the decrease in the degree of variability seen in outgroup members by the in-group members. Through the process of social stereotyping the "others" become undifferentiated (Tajfel 1982).

Indeed, social identity theory suggests that two underlying sociocognitive processes for the group processes are significant: categorization and self-enhancement. Categorization sharpens the boundaries and produces normative perceptions and actions and helps to assign others to the contextually relevant category, and also to assign their own selves to categories. This basic cognitive process brings out aspects of experience that are relevant in a certain situation. The self-enhancement steers the categorization process to make in-group norms and stereotypes favor the in-group. This is due to peoples' basic need to see themselves in positive light, to have an "evaluatively positive self-concept" (Hogg et al. 1995 p. 260). People have actually been found to showcase significant amounts of intergroup attributional bias and that when explaining in-group members' behavior their evaluations are often biased (Islam & Hewston 1993; Chatman & von Hippel 2001). It has been suggested that as people want to favor their own group that they would disfavor the out-groups to enhance their in-group. However, the validity of this presumption has been questioned by Brewer, who found in-group favoritism and out-group prejudice to be separate phenomena and that in-group attachment is not dependent on intergroup conflict (Brewer 1999).

Categorization and self-enhancement are articulated with subjective belief structures, which refer to the beliefs concerning the nature of relations between the in-group and relevant out-groups. These belief structures do not necessarily reflect of the reality, usually they are ideological constructs. They concern the legitimacy and stability of intergroup relations and the prospects for social mobility (moving from one group to the other) and social change (changing the subjective belief structures of existing in-group members for different evaluative criteria to be used in categorizations). In the case of felt illegitimacy for a lower social status with one's in-group it has been found that the members are more willing to participate in in-group competition and show more solidarity to their group (to aim for social change). If a member feels the lower status to be legitimate, the person is more likely to act in favor of social mobility (Hogg et al. 1995).

2.2.1 Self-Categorization Theory

As Tajfel (1982) already noted, division to different groups calls for “social categorization” (Tajfel 1982 p. 31). Indeed, social identity theory was later continued with self-categorization theory (see for example Turner 1987). It explains in detail how the categorization process is the cognitive basis of group behavior as it brings attention to both the perceived likeness between stimuli (the self or other people that belong to the same group) of the in-group and perceived differences between stimuli belonging to another group. This accentuation operates on levels that the categorizer believes to be correlated with categorization. At these levels it is likely that the categorizer exaggerates the differentiating attributes and behaviors between him/herself and the other category. For example, a feminist might see all men as aggressive to find a difference between men and women. Ultimately, the process renders a subjectively meaningful experience of the world and defines person’s social identity (Hogg et al. 1995).

In the process of categorization, depersonalization occurs, due to which people are perceived based on relevant prototype of a category rather than as individuals. The prototype is a portrayal of the attributes (beliefs, attitudes and behaviors) of a social category in the form of the most representative in-group members or an ideal member. Usually group members are relatively similarly placed in their social environment and therefore, prototypes are usually “shared” as they are very similar. Depersonalization does not mean loss of identity however, rather it involves a contextual change in the level of identity as behavior is depersonalized to fit the in-group prototype that is activated in the moment (Hogg 1993). This transformation is the base for group phenomena as behavior and self-perception are brought in line with the relevant prototype. Normative behavior, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, positive in-group attitudes, cooperation, cohesion, empathy, collective behavior and mutual influence are examples of group behavior (Reicher et al. 1995).

Ashmore et al. (2004) note that even though SIT research might be concentrated on studying the collective identity, all three levels of identity (personal, relational and collective) exist simultaneously, even if one of them might hold greater influence on the

behavior of an individual in a given situation. When interacting with other people categorical labels of these persons might be more readily apparent than personal attributes and therefore, offer a heuristic means for choosing behaviors that are likely to be functional (Banks et al. 2015). Of the difference between personal and social levels also speaks Hogg's (1993) distinction between personal and social attraction. With social attraction the object is not the individual, but the group prototype that the person embodies. The degree of perceived prototypicality thus becomes the factor determining how much a group member is liked. Personal attraction on the other hand is personalized and tied to a specific target (Hogg 1993).

As social identity is responsive to the social context, the information about categorization that is the most available is used to make sense of the context, e.g. categorizing people to men and women, or Finns and Spaniards etc. To enhance themselves, people make these categorizations based on what conceptualization of the self is the most favorable for them. In fact, the specific social identities are contextually salient (Hogg et al. 1995). Indeed, persons might label themselves based on a number of categories, such as gender, ethnic group, religious group, nationality or political group. It might also be a community or an organization in which they work at. A field of study labelled as "organizational identification" (Ashforth & Mael 1989) considers that people are likely to be drawn to organizations that enable them to enhance their social selves (Banks et al. 2015). People have a variety of category memberships that differ in their importance for the self-concept. Number of different levels of abstraction might be used for these categorizations, but for defining one's social identity the most relevant is simply the level of in-group and out-group (Reicher et al. 1995).

Reicher et al. (1995) continue the theory of the self being defined at various levels and present a social identity model of deindividuation (SIDE) that consists of two elements. Firstly, they argue that deindividuation manipulations play a role in the cognitive salience of social identity and in the conformity to categorical norms. Secondly, by using deindividuation manipulations that are strategic considerations in respect to showcasing social identities, the group members gain ability to express their social identities towards outgroup opposition. The anonymity with a social group maximizes the group members'

opportunity to “give full voice to their collective identities” (p. 161). As the articulation of social identity includes considerations of the opposition, members of a social group might be willing to exhibit behaviors related to the group only when it is viewed positively by the outgroup members, especially if the outgroup has a lot of power in the society. If one’s behavior is disapproved, or anticipated to be disapproved by the out-group, the expression of social identity might become less obvious (Reicher et al. 1995).

2.2.2 Psychological Processes from Group Membership

A large number of psychological processes follow from membership to a group. One classic example of these psychological processes is the concept of ethnocentrism (Tajfel 1982 p. 7). Shrimp and Sharma’s (1987) work on determining the level of ethnocentrism by using the CETSCALE offered pioneering work to suit the construct of ethnocentrism to the fields of marketing and consumer behavior. They used the term “‘consumer ethnocentrism’ to represent the beliefs held by American consumers about the appropriateness, indeed morality, of purchasing foreign-made products” (p. 280). An ethnocentric consumer would thus favor local products from their own country to benefit the domestic economy and avoid products from other countries (that represent out-groups). Consumer ethnocentric behavior is enhanced as it “gives the individual a sense of identity, feelings of belongingness, and, most important -- an understanding of what purchase behavior is acceptable or unacceptable to the ingroup” (Shrimp & Sharma 1987 p. 280).

Shimp and Sharma’s construct of consumer ethnocentrism was heavily affected by economical aspects, but other research has noted that consumer ethnocentrism phenomenon goes far beyond imported products. In the country context, the home country in general is considered the focal in-group and foreign countries are considered to be out-groups (Shankarmahesh & Mahesh 2006). Verlegh (2007) introduced national identification as a motive for home country bias as it can be driven by self-enhancement following the logic of social identity theory. People who identify strongly with their country have a complementary motivation for home country bias in addition to the economic motivation derived from consumer ethnocentrism. As Verlegh contemplates

“Consumers' attachment to their country goes well beyond economic concerns, as nationality is part of consumers' identity” (p. 362). That is why consuming domestic products can become a symbol for national identity (Askegaard & Ger 1998). Thus, the two constructs are considered complementary, although the study of Verlegh found a modest positive relationship between the two (Verlegh 2007).

The level of consumer ethnocentrism and national identification affect the perceived quality of domestic and foreign products. Foreign products on the other hand might serve as a strategy to dissociate a consumer from their own culture and enhance ties to a favorable social identity. Indeed, people's attachment to a nation varies between negative and positive poles (Crocker & Luhtanen 1990). Usually people, who want to view themselves in a positive light transfer this to their nation that they belong to (Mackie & Smith, 1998), but the contra-identity is also possible, for example Josiassen (2011) has studied national disidentification. In the global world social identities face even more considerations. For example, increasing the global presence of the Heineken brand that led to international success supported the Dutch nation's collective pride (Verlegh 2007). This was because Heineken is a brand that is perceived both as being a global and also a strong local icon (Steenkamp et al. 2003). Zeugner-Roth et al. (2015) considered the consumer cosmopolitanism to be one pro-out-group construct in addition to national identity (pro-in-group construct) and consumer ethnocentrism (anti-out-group construct).

Brand identification is one application of social identity as members of brand communities take part in collective behavior (Schouten & Koenig 2002). Brands interplay the process of defining the self on two levels. In the case of the private self, consumers use the brand and attributions associated with it to define who they are. In the case of the social self, consumers can start to view themselves as members of an in-group of customers who identify with a particular brand (Lam et al. 2010). Lam et al. found that three components usually constitute the consumer brand identification, CBI. These are the cognitive component, the evaluative component and finally the emotional component. First of all, consumer needs to be aware of the membership. Secondly the evoked awareness can then be related to some value connotations. And thirdly, there can

be emotional investment in the awareness and evaluations. Thus, CBI is defined as “a customer’s psychological state of perceiving, feeling, and valuing his or her belongingness with a brand (Lam et al. 2010 p. 129).

2.2.3 Interpersonal Relationships and the Relational Self

It has been suggested that people might include others in the self, due to which close relationships can hold great importance for one’s self-perception (Aron & Aron 1986). This is because close relationships can be used to expand the self with resources, perspectives and characteristic of the other person. These close relationships not only include romantic relationships, but for example parent-child, friendships and sibling relationships (Aron & Aron 1986). Also, Brewer and Gardner (1996) suggested that the individual has three levels of the self and presented the relational self in addition to the personal and collective identities. The relational self refers to interpersonal relationships and interdependence with specific others. They are personalized bonds compared to impersonal bonds between group members. Therefore, distinction between two levels of social selves is made by adding the construct of relational self (Brewer & Gardner 1996).

The socially extended self means that “the boundaries of the self are redrawn, and the content of the self-concept is focused on those characteristics that make one a ‘good’ representative of the group or of the relationship” (Brewer & Gardner 1996 p. 84). Hence, it goes beyond the perceived similarity between the self and the others. Sluss and Ashford (2007) define the relational identity “as the nature of one’s role relationships” (for example coworker-coworker, parent-child e.g.) and relational identification as “the extent to which one defines oneself in terms of a given role-relationship” (p. 11). Prototypic interpersonal identities derive from intimate relationships, but might also include identities derived from memberships in small face-to-face groups (Brewer & Gardner 1996).

In respect to the three levels of the self, Brewer and Gardner (1996) consider that similarly as the simultaneous demands for assimilation and differentiation create a

dynamic equilibrium, so do the shifts between the three levels of self-categorization. For example, when a person's needs for intimacy at interpersonal levels are not met, the collective identity might become more salient for this person. On the other hand, after prolonged periods of immersion to a group and processes of depersonalization, the recognition of the personal self might become more important and thus make the personal self the salient one in respect to the other levels (Brewer & Gardner 1996).

3. Methodology

3.1 Narrative Research in Human Sciences and Narrative Identity

Narrative research is a field of qualitative studies, which is especially suited for studying human actions and to reveal experiences and meaning people attach to these actions. As Polkinghorne writes: "The increasing interest is merited because narrative is the linguistic form uniquely suited for displaying human existence as situated action. Narrative descriptions exhibit human activity as purposeful engagement in the world" (1995 p. 5). Indeed, narrative theory finds that our sense of identity is structured as a story and such a conceptualization of the self has become to dominate identity studies (Ahuvia 2005). Narratives can be utilized to study individuals, but also other groups, since not just individuals construct stories of experiences, but "narrative has a life beyond the individual". Narratives are also suited for analyzing identity groups, communities, organizations etc. (Riessman 2008 p. 7-11).

The evolvement of narrative research has its roots in the 1970 reformists that also included narrative researchers. The reformists were especially interested in the temporal unfolding of the human lives for which personal and social realms are important aspects. They felt that to be able to investigate these aspects, new type of evidence needed to be accepted (Polkinghorne 2007). In 1980's psychologists continued this development as growing interest around how culture and history affect psychological processes led towards studying persons as storytellers with their dialogical selves (Hermans et al. 1992). Therefore, a third point to studying development of personality was added to two existing levels, studying persons as actors and as agents. The first, studying persons as actors is mainly concentrated on the effects of dispositional traits and the second, studying persons as agents, on studying their strivings and motivation. The third, studying persons as authors that narrate their stories is used to unravel their personal strivings and motivational constructs (McAdams & Olson 2010). Researchers studying human life found constructs such as "story" and "narrative" useful for studying the meaning of lives (McAdams 2001).

Narrative analysis in human sciences refers to cross-disciplinary methods that study texts, which have in common a storied form (Riessman 2008 p. 11). Polkinghorne defines narrative inquiry as “a subset of qualitative research designs in which stories are used to describe human action” (1988 p.14). Human motivation, temporal sequence and changing interpersonal and environmental contexts can be found in the storied narrative (Polkinghorne 1995). When people act as narrators to create meaning for their lives, they author a narrative identity (McAdams & Olson 2010). Riessman suggests that the push towards narrative research comes precisely from “contemporary preoccupations with identity” (2008 p. 7). Polkinghorne too notes the recent importance that the role of narrative in establishing personal identity has had in psychology (1988 p. 105-107).

In addition to making sense of one’s identity by a list of attributes, one can connect these attributes to key life events, which together form the story line. Not just attributes are connected to life events, but also certain people. The role of other people for the self can be seen in their allotted roles as characters in the narrative story (Ahuvia 2005). Identity indeed “takes the form of a story” (McAdams 2001 p. 101). This is because people maintain important information mentally in narrative form, since it effectively stores critical information regarding necessary steps toward goal attainment (Adler & McAdams 2007). Identity thus consists not just of self-narrating the past into a coherent story, but also of integrating it to the future story to avoid making the past indeterminate (Polkinghorne 1988 p. 107).

Thus, the narrative identity is a storied understanding, which people use to make sense of their past and how they came to their present and where they are going in the future. To help this process their culture offers an anthology of stories (found in stories, TV, novels etc.) with resonant meanings of how to live a life in a particular cultural setting (Riessman 2008 p. 14; McAdams & Olson 2010). It has also been found that consumer goods can offer strategies for the formation of the self-narrative by offering lifestyle consumption strategies. Indeed, consumption choices cannot be made sense without taking into consideration the context of individual’s life world as “the intertextual nature of style reflects a dialogue among personal narrative, the discursive possibilities, and context-specific interests” (Murray 2002 p. 437).

McAdams defines identity as an “integrative configuration of self-in-the-adult-world” that integrates in two ways. Firstly, in a synchronic sense for a set of possibly conflicting roles and relationships to take parts of the same self-configuration. Secondly, integration happens diachronically, that is in time (McAdams 2001 p. 102). Similarly, the construct of the “dialogical self” by Hermans et al. considers that opposed to the individualistic self, the dialogical self is both spatially organized and embodied, and social, which means that “the other” is inside the self-structure. Thus, one can embody multiple dialogically interacting selves, occupy different positions. For example, a particular dialogical self might be against something, whereas another dialogical self-position might be pro it. Thus, opposed to the rational or individualistic self, the embodied dialogical self is tied to a certain space and time (Hermans et al. 1992).

Critical information of meaning-making of a person are stored in ordinary events as well, as Sommer et al. argue people “seek meaning in ordinary events along the same lines that they seek meaning in life generally” (1998 p. 3). The expression of ordinary language and the qualitative nuances found in it are best suited for the study of narratives (Polkinghorne 1988 p. 13). To study meaning found in narratives, storytelling needs to be allowed. Storytelling is a process of engaging the audience in the experience of the narrator, to his/her perspective of the matter (Riessman 2008 p. 9). The definition, narrative analysis, emphasizes the “contextual nature of oral stories” as they are told to an audience that actively participates in the process and that affects the outcomes as narratives are designed to fulfill certain aims. Therefore, narratives are strategic, functional and have a purpose (Riessman 2008 p. 6-8). Narrative enrichment happens as the storyteller retrospectively selects and modifies the details of the past to offer a justification for one’s present situation that is the outcome of the story (Polkinghorne 1988 p. 106). The narrative meaning comes out, when experiences are configured or emplotted, as through the formation of a story line happenings are understood in the light of their contribution to an outcome (Polkinghorne 1995).

3.1.1 Analysis of Narratives / Thematic Analysis

The type of narrative analysis used in this particular study is analysis of narratives (Polkinghorne 1995) or a similar concept, thematic analysis as Riessman names it (2008 p. 53). Analysis of narratives are studies where the “data consist of narratives or stories, but whose analysis produces paradigmatic typologies or categories” (Polkinghorne 1995 p. 5). Polkinghorne further describes that the process starts from the researcher collecting stories that are used as data, from which by using paradigmatic analysis one gets results in the form of descriptions of themes that hold across stories. Analysis of narratives or thematic analysis are in the first place case-centered, but can still generate categories or general concepts (Riessman 2008 p. 13). In the analysis phase the researcher focuses exclusively on content, when as in other forms of narrative analysis more linguistic methods are generally used. In thematic analysis “language is viewed as a resource, rather than a topic of inquiry” although choices of words are occasionally attended to. Therefore, thematic analysis is the most straightforward and also the most commonly used as it is suitable for many different types of narrative texts (Riessman 2008 p. 59).

In the interpretation of narrative texts, thematics developed by the investigator are used. The thematics can be influenced by prior or emergent theory, by concrete purpose etc. (Riessman 2008 p. 54). Polkinghorne finds that two options are possible, deriving concepts from previous theory or logical possibilities to see whether they can be found in the texts or the second option is deriving concepts inductively from the data (Polkinghorne 1995). In this study the latter was used, even though prior to the interviews I had studied the research of the consumer acculturation process, thus affecting the inquiry during the open interviews.

Lastly, when common categories are discovered, the analysis also “notes relationships among categories” and therefore further intends to capture the nature of the phenomenon that is studied (Polkinghorne 1995 p. 14). Although the analysis is perhaps more straightforward than in other forms of narrative analysis, a good narrative analysis still “prompts the reader to think beyond the surface of text” and “aims to offer a broader

commentary” (Riessman 2008 p. 13). She continues by saying that “with a strong theory as resource the investigator can link every-day, seemingly insignificant acts people do, with social processes” (2008 p. 62). Hence, the method is very suited for this research as it focuses on every-day activities that these Finnish immigrants in Spain take part in to support their identity work, what meaning they give these activities and how the social process of group behavior affects it.

3.1.2 Validity, Limitations and General Research Ethics

The narrative approach has its limitations as well, although it is considered very suitable for studying the meanings people attach to every-day activities (see for example Riessman 2008 p. 62). The validation of claims about human experience demands for evidence from personally reflective descriptions that are in the form of ordinary language (Polkinghorne 2007). Thus, the narrative approach concentrates on the discovery derived from language, but that is also where a part of its limitations lie. As Polkinghorne suggests, narrative approach has three major groups of limits, the limits of language, reflection and resistance. First limit, the limits of language derives from the simplification and abstraction that takes place when complicated phenomena is described, since language is limited to concepts and words of the particular language that is used in each case. The second limit, the limits of reflection originates from the layers of meaning, which are left outside the awareness of the informants. Therefore, an interviewer needs to allow time for the interviewees to have enough time to reflect their experience. Thirdly, social desirability might cause resistance to reveal fully the reasons and thoughts behind activities, even if the informants would be aware of these to protect their positive self-image to others. This limitation can be made smaller by the interviewer avoiding to show judgement and by offering acceptance of felt meanings of the interviewees (Polkinghorne 2007).

Polkinghorne concludes that validity threats derive from the language and from people not telling all. Due to this, the descriptions of experiences are not “mirrored reflections of this meaning” (2007 p. 480). This is why one validity issue lies in how well the actual

experienced meanings of assembled texts are understood by the researcher. It is necessary that the actual operating story behind the lived identity story and the represented story are inferred by the researcher. This is so also attributable to that the effects on individuals' identity work caused by certain events sometimes go beyond their understanding. Thus, a gap might exist between the actual effect and the level of understanding (Polkinghorne 1996).

The researcher in fact takes part in creation of narratives through the process of co-construction. Before, the essence of science required that the subjective voice of the researcher was eliminated from the text. However, today many methods accept the voice of the researcher as a part of the discovery, especially in the field of ethnography, where researcher's ethnographic notes can form the data (Alasuutari et al. 2008 p. 609). As Morgan and Smircich write "scientists can no longer remain as external observers, measuring what they see; they must move to investigate from within the subject of study and employ research techniques appropriate to that task" (1980 p. 498). Thus, active participation from the researcher's side is accepted with many techniques of qualitative research, such as narrative methods. Polkinghorne indeed notes that for "the storied outcome of narrative inquiry, the researcher is the narrator of the story, and often the story is told in his or her voice" (1995 p. 19). As Polkinghorne argues, it is the researcher who needs to make sense of the narratives with his or her disciplinary expertise to offer a realistic description of the participants' experiences concerning the phenomenon that is studied. For the analysis purposes, the researcher forms "an integrated plot that synthesizes the cultural, biological, historical, and individual aspects of the person into a unified story". Thus, whether the story is "true" or not, from scientific perspective, is not relevant, since it concerns the plausibility of the plot, which is separate from accuracy of data (Polkinghorne 1995 p. 20). Indeed, narrative research not only includes the informants telling stories, but also researchers representing these stories. Keeping in mind the readability of scientific texts for its audiences, the researcher takes the decision of which information to represent for communicating the essence of meaning of participants' narratives. Due to the heavy role of both participant and researcher, the positioning of both the teller and listener needs to be considered, their cultural, political and social backgrounds and their impact on for the narrative process (Flick 2014 p. 205).

McCracken in fact argues for a shared cultural background for the two, as similar positioning helps the researcher to ask better questions, listen more skillfully and analyze more sensitively. However, care is needed for not to blunt critical skills in front of such familiarity with the phenomena of discussion (McCracken 1988).

As the analysis of narratives involves the participation of the researcher, Polkinghorne defines the validity as the “believability of a statement or knowledge claim” and for scientific merit it is required that they are based on “the weight of the evidence and argument offered in support of a statement or knowledge claim” (2007 p. 474). Thus, statement’s validity comes from “a consensus within a community of speakers” (p. 474) and the validity judgements are based on the likelihood that a claim is believable and that the evidence gathered makes it possible to make a claim at an acceptable level of certainty. Therefore, “readers should be able to follow the presented evidence and argument enough to make their own judgment as to the relative validity of the claim” (Polkinghorne 2007 p. 476).

While conducting narrative research, one should also remain considerate about ethical issues of qualitative research. Alasuutari et al. (2008) offer four critical constructs to consider for research to be ethically conducted: conflict of interest, informed consent, fair distribution of the benefits and burdens of research and monetary incentives. First of all, one should remain sensible in respect to the research being conducted with interest to analyze data objectively and not with other interests. Secondly, privacy and autonomy of informants need to be secured as does their willingness to take part in a research; they need to be aware of the objectives of the research and any other information that might affect their voluntary participation. In qualitative research the privacy of the informants is of especial importance, since their autonomy is not as easily secured as with quantitative research. Thirdly, there needs to be a fair distribution of benefits and burdens of research under the principle of justice. For example, in respect to population generalizability, when classifying persons under certain ethnicities or cultures (implying that they behave according to the norms of a certain group) special care need to be taken. Lastly, use of

monetary incentives requires extensive consideration, and in most cases is not acceptable (Alasuutari et al. 2008 p. 95- 102).

Willig and Stainton-Rogers also call for considering ethical issues in qualitative research, since they consider that “there is always an ethical why in research” (2008 p. 265). They also offer four fields of uncertainty to be taken into consideration in all research. These include first of all informed consent, confidentiality, consequences and the need for carefulness of the researcher in qualitative research projects. Informed consent and confidentiality refer to same phenomena as do the earlier steps described by Alasuutari et al., and consequences refers to similar considerations as the principle of justice. The findings should be beneficial enough for the informants in relation to the burden of taking part in the research. The role of the researcher is magnified, since the interviewer takes part in gaining the knowledge as an active participant. Thus, his/her knowledge with value issues, ethical guidelines and theories can be a considerable benefit for the validity of any research (Willig & Stainton-Rogers 2008 p. 266-268).

3.2 The Data-Collection Process

3.2.1 The Sample

The sample of interviewees consisted of eight Finnish nationals that all were living in the Madrid region in Spain. All were females, ages ranging from 23-37. All eight of them had moved to Madrid as adults from Finland and all except one had been born in Finland (one interviewee had lived her first 7 years in Sweden). The time span that the interviewees had lived in Madrid varied a lot, from more than a decade to about one year. The person with the least time spent in Madrid had come to Madrid a bit less than six months ago, but had lived in Madrid before while doing an exchange and was currently working in a Spanish company. All except one were working during the time of the interview, one who had finished an internship a few months ago was writing her Master's Thesis in Madrid. Considering the ethical issues of conducting research, the informed consent of all

participants was secured, the informants knew the purpose of the study and were aware of their talk being recorded. Since one informant wished for not to be traceable, all informants have been given new names. Informants spoke sometimes of other people with their names, however, in this study they are referred to as “my son” or “my dog” etc.

The interviewees were found mainly through my personal contacts as I had spent one year in Madrid and possessed a certain level of knowledge of the acculturation process of an expatriate Finn through my personal experiences. Some of the interviewees came from suggestions of other interviewees in the sample. I had at least once met all of the interviewees, some of them a few times and with some of them I had had more contact from working in the same organization. This allowed a certain level of confidence and openness during the interviews, but on the other hand demanded more concentration from my side as the interviewer to make sure not to make direct conclusions. In the analysis part of this study special attention has been given to making sure that analysis is written in a transparent way using a large number of direct citations. This way the validity of claims can best be secured, since the readers have more access to the meanings found in narratives. This follows the requirements of Polkinghorne of including enough evidence to support the plausibility of the offered story, since the story in itself is offered as scholarly explanation to describe realistic human episodes (Polkinghorne 1995). Although one should keep in mind that the nature of qualitative research especially with narrative approaches acknowledges that the findings have been co-constructed by the informants and the researcher.

Already, the voice of the informants is diluted to some degree by the transcripts of interviews being translated from Finnish to English. Conducting interviews with other languages than the language of presentation calls for further considerations. In these cases, the readers need to be informed of the language that has been used and considerations of how analysis was affected and how translations impact the overall presentation of findings (Flick 2014 p. 300). In this research, the same person did the interviewing, translations, analysis and presentation of results. Thus issues of translations are lessened, since I was present, when participants explained their meaning-making

processes. Also, considering that phenomena related to one's Finnish identity was discussed, the choice of Finnish language was natural. Also, it is advisable to allow informants construct their answers in a language that they are the most familiar with. In addition, this thesis utilizes the analysis of narratives, which does not include study of intricate linguistic features. Readers though need to be aware of translations that have been made to be able to utilize their own judgement to analyze the plausibility of the story.

Eight interviewees, although a small sample, still give a chance to find taxonomies among their stories and to find common patterns. In fact, McCracken (1988) suggests that "less is more" in qualitative interviewing and that "for many research projects, eight respondents will be perfectly sufficient." The aim is not to find how many people and what types of people share certain characteristics, but to get "an opportunity to glimpse the complicated character, organization, and logic of culture" (McCracken 1988 p. 17). The fact that many of the interviewees knew each other's obviously may have had an effect in the findings, but even so, clear differences among the interviewees were found. For example, some of them did not have any Finnish friends in Madrid, whereas some of them were working in Finnish organizations with Finnish colleagues and thus, had daily contact with other Finns. It is possible that in Madrid you have Finnish nationals that are in less contact with Finland and with other Finns and perhaps would be more acculturated to the local environment, but these individuals would be hard to find for an interview. Thus, the results presented here are not expected to hold across all the Finns living in Madrid, but this limitation is common in all qualitative research. Also, as Riessman notes, purposeful sampling is typical in narrative analysis (Riessman 2008 p. 60).

3.2.2 Narrative Interviewing and the Interview Process

The interviews were conducted as open interviews using SKYPE. Even if many different types of texts can be used in narrative analysis, the most traditional and common is obtaining them through interviews (Riessman 2008 p. 23). The length of each interview was approximately one hour, though some lasted longer. The interviews started by asking

the interviewees to tell their thoughts about living in Spain as a Finn and from there, the interview continued as a relaxed conversation, where the interviewer mainly asked specifying questions about the informants' earlier accounts. In some points a previously created interest-domain that included themes from the literature was utilized, since positioning to the prior literature has several benefits. For example, McCracken (1988) argues for the use of it for qualitative research as by doing so new discovery can benefit from previous research and not risk alienation from the scholarly community. However, usually new themes were not presented by the interviewer. When conducting qualitative research one should remain open in regards of the data, not to only apply concepts from the literature, even though the search for the phenomenon is theoretically driven (Flick 2014 p. 305).

Riessman suggests that narrative analysis asks for "a form of interviewing that involves the generation of detailed 'stories' of experience, not generalized descriptions" (2006 p. 3). To achieve this, the intent was to keep the interviews as little pre-structured as possible. By following the story lines that the informants brought up, I intended to allow for a story-like flow of discussion and to keep the discussion in themes that felt most important for the interviewees. As Riessman (2008 p. 24) explains, allowing storytelling is key for getting narratives of experience, and this it affects the practices of interviewing; The interview should be considered a conversation type discourse between speakers with everyday rules of conversations such as turn-taking and open-ended questions. The interviewer needs to give up control to let interviewees construct their answers in a way that they find meaningful and to listen in an engaged way to help participants feel comfortable to explore themselves and their thoughts. To ensure lengthy answer this is key, since the length of the answers depend largely on the expectations of the question-maker (Riessman 2008 p. 23-25). An important feature of the narrative interviewing is co-creation, Polkinghorne notes that it is "the interviewer's task to empower participants by acknowledging that they are the only ones who have access to their experienced meaning" (2007 p. 482).

Due to the heavy role that the interviewer has, Riessman (2008 p. 28) argues for the benefits of the investigator taking part in all steps starting from the interview and continuing to the construction of the transcript wherefrom to constituting the narratives and finally analyzing those. As she writes “we participate in creation of narratives, rather than ‘finding’ them in interviews” (Riessman 2008 p. 41). Thus, as the interviews are co-constructed, the research inquiry is affected by the influence of the researcher not only during the interview, but also during interpretations and representation of results. Therefore, he/she needs to account for their influence and consider how it might influence the data that is represented in reports. However, this limitation is common to qualitative research in general, not just narrative methods. Especial care not to force data to fit hypotheses is required, and researchers are also required to take responsibility for the partiality of the findings. Analysis of interview data is never complete as it can be approached from different perspectives and thus it is the researcher’s responsibility to account for plausible interpretation (Flick 2014 p. 308).

The interviews also utilized the “autodriving” technique (Heisley & Levy 1991). This technique makes use of materials gotten from informants and therefore, the autodriving encourages consumers to comment on their consumption behavior as the photographs or recordings represent it. Therefore, pictures or other materials can “drive” the interview, because informants become self-aware and start justifying their behavior as they are seeing and hearing their own behavior. The autodriving method “uses this motivation to enhance informant involvement and to elicit enriched qualitative information concerning events as informants perceive them” (p. 257). The term “auto” on the other hand indicates that the response comes from stimuli rather than directly from the informants’ lives (Heisley & Levy 1991).

In this study, the interviewees were asked prior to the interview to take pictures of Finnish things and objects that they had in Madrid. This was done to solicit more information about Finnish consumption as visits to the interviewees’ homes to make use of ethnographic observations were not possible due to the interviewer being in a

different country. The brief for taking the pictures asked the interviewees to photograph Finnish things that could for example be brought from Finland, be Finnish brands or just remind the interviewees of Finland in some way. A rather vague brief helped to make sure that the interviewees did not feel limited to show objects that in their mind were linked to Finland. For example, one informant sent a picture of YLE Areena, Finnish online television server and another informant a picture of a Samsonite suitcase, as for her Finland meant “a trip”. During the interviews discussion of these possessions were held. The interviewer asked the participants to tell the story behind the objects that they had sent pictures of. This helped to discover many of the meanings of experiences presented in the findings.

3.2.3 Reflections on Using SKYPE in the Interviews

In this study the interviews were conducted using SKYPE, since I didn't have the chance to visit Madrid during this period. For this reason, the interviews faced some challenges, although these limitations were not thought to be considerable in comparison to face-to-face interviews. However, here the fact that the interviewees were at least to some degree familiar with the interviewer (all of them having met the interviewer at least once briefly) might have had an effect. Also, some benefits from using SKYPE for the interviews were experienced.

Considering problematics of SKYPE-interviewing in a situation where no prior contact existed, challenges might arise from the lack of chances to create a personal connection and for that a lack of goodwill among the interviewer and interviewee. As mentioned, in narrative interviewing a close-enough connection between the participants is key and the interviewee needs to feel secure enough to reveal his/her experiences with the interviewer (Riessman 2008 p. 27). When the interview is done face-to-face for example in a coffee house, some time to discuss in a more relaxed manner before interviewing might feel more natural than on SKYPE. Also, creating a personal connection through shaking hands e.g. is not possible. In this study however, these issues were not

experienced. Rather, the fact that the interviewees had the comfort of their own home might have added to their willingness to openly share their thoughts.

Another source for limitations could result from problems with the internet connection and also from the quality of the SKYPE call. Occasionally, the connection was lost, talk became blurry etc. due to which the story that the interviewee was sharing got paused and the interviewee had to repeat things they had just said. However, at least in these particular cases the informants did not express signs of irritation for having to repeat few points. Bigger issue regarding the connection problems was that in few interviews the video camera had to be shut down, thus only voice was used. In few points this made it hard to know when interviewees had stopped their turn of talk and in fact where just making a pause. The interviewer kept aware of this possibility, especially in later interviews, so it did not become too big a limitation that would have jeopardized the story-telling of the informants.

The benefits of SKYPE-interviewing included the easiness to organize the interview and also note-taking was easier than in a face-to-face interview and could be utilized more. What made it easier was that the interviewees were not able to see what the interviewer was writing down. This made it less challenging especially for an unexperienced interviewer to follow the story-lines of the informants and later on return to interesting themes that had been brought up during an explanation of some other turn of talk. Also, using SKYPE-interviews made it easy to find a suitable date for the interviews, which with other studies could be a big help in putting up a sample or getting busy persons to accept the invitation for an interview.

4. Research Findings

This research was set out to explore the acculturation process of Finnish consumers living in Madrid. Insights on how their identity work affects their behavior in the new environment was researched with the focus on activities that were used to help maintain their identities as Finns and thus, create a sense of continuity to their lives. To mirror the phenomenon social identity theory was used to make sense of the identity work of these Finnish consumers living abroad. In researching the narrative reports of the informants, many traces of the importance of belonging to a group was found and how it was used to make sense of one's identity during geographical movement. Therefore, special focus is given on the identity work on the level of the social self, or collective self and how it activates and motivates the behavior of the informants. Nonetheless, since the three levels of the identity (Ashmore et al. 2004) are aligned, when studying one's identity other levels should not be disregarded. Having said that, the most salient level of the identity in a given situation might evoke different meanings (Ashmore et al. 2004).

The analysis part first starts by discussing how and why identification to a Finnish in-group takes place. Like social identity theory has argued, for a group and thus group behavior to exist, both acknowledgement of one's membership to a particular group needs to take place in addition to outside recognition of the existence of such a group (see Tajfel 1982). In the case of most informants their own recognition of their nationality as Finns and of the importance of this for their identities is obvious and strong as could be expected due to the desire of seeing oneself in a positive light. Nonetheless, informants also showcase desires to introduce new attributes to their identities, which can distance themselves in varying degrees from their "old" identities as Finnish nationals. The informants are Finns, but due to living in a foreign country the effect that their home country has had on them and still has becomes emphasized and viewed with a new perspective. Informants express desires to integrate themselves to their new home country, which requires them to interact with the new environment and to act by its norms. When the informants face these identity transitions, changes in their identities become possible.

However, it is found that at the collective level, membership to the local Spanish group is in many ways denied, even if a few informants might appear to hope for it. As others allocate the informants to the Finnish group, or to a Nordic group, they automatically become members of an out-group in respect to the Spanish group. Therefore, when using the criteria of one's nationality in social categorization, the informants become members of the Finnish (or Nordic) in-group. All informants showcase emotional investment in this membership, although at varying degrees, and thus, it results in behaviors that enhance their group membership. Even so, informants do not necessarily accept the Finnish identity without some limitations. In many cases they find that they differ from most Finns due to living abroad and view themselves rather as Finns that live in Madrid or abroad in general that are separated from Finns living in Finland. For this reason, their ideal group prototype includes a certain level of internationality in addition to the Finnish identity. This is manifested for example in their desire to separate themselves from the traditional prototype of a Finn living in Spain, a pensioner living in the large Finnish communities in Southern Spain.

After discussing the importance of the Finnish identity for the informants, the analysis turns to examine the activities in which the informants engage in that are motivated by their Finnish identities. First of all, the informants showcase a desire to maintain ties to Finland, to people and to events that takes place in the Finnish society. This behavior gives the impression of being motivated by hopes of maintaining a "home base". Also, people in Finland are revealed to contribute to the maintenance of these ties by providing a 'pull' effect. Strongly linked to this desire of keeping a "safe harbor" are the activities that aim at maintaining one's mother tongue. As informants only can have Finnish as their mother tongue, they become invested in it and search for changes to use Finnish as the level of one's mother tongue can become jeopardized when living in a foreign country. The wish to use their mother tongue can among other reasons motivate expatriate Finns to find networks, whose membership is decided on one's Finnishness. Informants also use consumption to strengthen their connection to Finland, to people and to memories, since their new environment does not offer such links without the informants' own participation. Also, through possession, the expatriate Finns can

participate in Finnish in-group behavior by owning similar products than do other Finns. In addition, standing out with Finnish possessions and with behavior that is linked with their nationality as Finns is found to be used as the informants show desires to strengthen their own distinctiveness from others in their environment. Being a Finn can in fact be exotic and different in the new environment. Finally, behavior that intends to bring one's close-ones in Spain a part of one's Finnish in-group was detected. As the expatriate Finns are Finns themselves and remain Finns even while living in the new environment to a considerable degree, they might wish that their close-ones also engage in behavior that maintains Finnishness.

4.1 Identifying with other Expatriate Finns

As mentioned, group identification is key for group behavior. Usually people identify with their home country, but research has also found the contra identity possible for example with the construct of national disidentification (Josiassen 2011). However, as the participants point out, due to their personal histories, their families and even their mother tongue they will always be connected to Finland and a part of their identity will always be derived from their home country. As Kiira (25) contemplates, in the case of Finns their identities are rather unified and that Finns identify mainly themselves as coming from Finland and not for example a specific area in Finland:

“maybe it is that Finland is a pretty small country and in a way pretty, in a way all, or I think that all Finns have a pretty strong Finnish identity that we are in the first place Finns or not like here in Spain where part of the people say that they are from Catalonia - - that the identity isn't in the same way homogenous”. (Kiira, 25)

She continues that she thinks that Finns in their core are rather proud of being Finns and that it is easy to say that one comes from Finland. Other informants also often speak of feeling welcomed as Finns and that Finns mainly evoke positive images and are appreciated in many ways. Milla (26) remarks that this time being in Madrid and people already knowing more about her home country makes her feel that it is easier to get to know people as “you feel that you are already a bit closer”. Positive outside reactions can thus aid the identification to the Finnish in-group.

Many of the informants in fact come across as being very strongly connected to Finland, especially due to work, but also due to friendships and other types of connections to their old home country. Almost all informants indicate that their feelings of their national identities have in fact remained rather intact:

“Somehow I feel that I am very strongly a Finn here. It is very strongly present every day actually.” (Emilia, 31)

“actually most time of my week days I spend with Finns - - I think that this basic, basic feeling of the nationality is this quite permanent that I don’t feel that I would have changed that much here.” (Ilona, 34)

“you mirror things here compared to how those are in Finland and how or that it is just like that experience. But I do think that with me, even if I would live a long time here or elsewhere that it would stay pretty strong.” (Milla, 26)

However, since the informants are living in a new environment to which they wish to integrate themselves, they do go through identity changes and showcase desires to change their behaviors to better fit the norms of their new home as well. Still, as most of the informants note, these changes concern mainly certain every-day habits, such as eating and that they have perhaps acquired some new features from the new environment that they themselves prefer over features that are more appreciated in Finland. For example, Ilona notes that “Spanish features which agree with me stuck”. Anni (26) puts it that she has “these Spanish features, or glimpses of it”. Many of the informants note that they prefer norms of social life in the new environment and that in these aspects they sense a lot of difference towards Finland and Finns living in Finland. Kiira for example notes that now going to Finland could give her a reverse cultural shock due to less spontaneous way of life. Johanna (28) points out that she and her family and her friends from Finland often have trouble understanding the behavior of the other. Laura (37) also notes that she feels more and more like a stranger when she goes to Finland and that things that earlier bothered her in Spain, like less punctuality, now can feel like “freedom”. She notes that now as she knows how all things work in Spain, for her it is more pleasant to be in Spain and that now in Finland she would struggle with more

things. Even so, she does say that “then I am on the other hand quite proud of that being a Finn and of those things that are well in Finland”.

Even if some of the participants showcase desires to integrate new attributes to their identities, they do not show much signs of viewing themselves like part of the Spanish group. It might be that the reaction from the local group affects the acculturation process of Finns strongly. The interviewees often feel that they get treated as outsiders from the Spaniards’ side, for example Kiira says that “they like treat us as foreigners, so then in a way it becomes emphasized, often that you are an outsider here”. Milla too describes, how she feels that she gets treated differently due to her origin:

“well I do feel very Finnish that somehow that I look so different than most people here - - at work many do, like customers that I meet, they ask where I come from, so I don’t really feel like a blend in that much to these locals and that many do like look pretty long in the streets and so on, I do feel different.” (Milla, 26)

Also Anni points out how other people treat her differently: “we are not locals here, Spaniards still treat however, well even if, well they see that I am a foreigner. Not so strongly in Madrid as in Barcelona, but still”. The interviewees in fact often refer to the fact that Madrid has a large number of residents from other countries and also that the city draws large numbers of tourists. Anni mentions as one reason for the differences in treatment in the two cities the fact that in Madrid hosts less tourists and also more Spaniards that have come from other cities. Milla too speaks of how other non-Spaniards can further the separation from Spaniards: “(in the center) you have a lot of foreigners and tourists and so on, so then I feel more that I belong to them than to locals than when I am in places where you have a lot of them”.

Reasons offered by the interviewees for separation include for example Spanish language abilities, but more importantly their appearance. Emilia for example notes: “being here as a blond, here it feels that you are always in this way a bit outsider and then the language that when it doesn’t go that well, then of course you are left out of some things.” Anni speaks of people wondering where she comes from as she does not have an accent, “of

that it is always good to make a joke that I try to insist that I am from Madrid, but it doesn't go through always". The reason for this she notes is her appearance. Also, Laura talks about the effect of her appearance on her experience of fitting in. She notes that "in my group of friends, I am the Finn. - -that is how other's see me". When asked about the reason she answers:

"I am so much lighter than they. - - I personally think that I am much more, for example with my appearance, much more similar to other's than what I actually am- - then I jump to an elevator and see there in the mirror that 'oh well' that I wasn't so similar to them. - - That this self-picture somehow gets influenced to look like this local population, even though it isn't and I am still as blond as ever, but I don't, I just forget about it". (Laura, 37)

As can be seen from the comment of Laura, at least with her, physical features will always make her stand out, no matter how much she would change in her way of thinking and behaving. On the other hand, Johanna who has darker features points out that the fact that she is foreigner does not necessarily come up in shorter discussions. However, with most informants their appearance makes them stand out. Sanna (23) mentions controversially to the other comments about feeling like an outsider due to belonging more to the group of foreigners than Spaniards that the lack of other foreigners can also cause similar feelings, since she does not blend in with locals:

"Here outside of the city it is much more difficult to live as a Finn, because you stand out so much more. And you don't have so many contacts to Finland that you would have in the city like for example in the city you have H&M and Zara and more Finnish products and more, and maybe even Finnish tourists and other foreigners that you don't feel so much like the outsider". (Sanna, 23)

Be it because of the informants own wish to identify towards Finland and other Finns, or due to pressure from other people, the informants associate themselves with other Finns; when using the criteria of a nationality in social categorization, the informants become members of the Finnish in-group, or in some cases Nordic in-group. Even so, they do not identify with their Finnish identities without limitations, rather they seem to associate themselves as members of other Finnish expatriates and therefore as more international than Finns living in Finland. Anni when considering her nationality contemplates "well

Finnish yes, but European. Or like international. - - yes I am Finnish, there is no changing it and I don't want to. But then as I live in another country I have this, and I have a lot of friends around Europe. So then a world citizen." On another note she makes further emphasis on her difference, "not at least any 'Perussuomalainen' (True Finn)".

The interviewees often talk of an instant connection that they detect with other Finns that also live in Spain or in general abroad outside of Finland. For example, Sanna says "I feel that Finns that live in Madrid are maybe hmm as a group in other ways as well a bit different from other Finns". They talk about other Finns understanding where the other one comes from and therefore being able to talk about certain things more easily. Kiira for example considers that "in foreign countries you get a feeling of connection if you meet another Finn, and that maybe you have some things that only expatriate Finns can understand." She for example notes that such themes can be how it feels being away from one's home country, differences between Finland and Spain, each other's backgrounds and changes that living in another country has brought to their personalities and identities. Also Sanna notes the following, when discussing certain behavior of hers: "for sure nobody else would understand that but Finns who live abroad". She also discusses how most of her better friends live abroad like she and thinks that this makes them different towards others: "I feel that some people get this at a really young age longing that you want to experience something else, but then you have these people that are really satisfied hmm of being in Finland."

Of the need to view themselves as international indicates that the interviews don't find all Finns that come to Spain a homogenous group, and especially evident is the difference felt between the Finns that live in the south, "the pensioners", compared to others. When asking about being a Finn in Spain part of the interviewees start talking about the difference that they sense with their experience compared to the Finns living in the South of Spain. Costa del Sol region attracts large numbers of Finns (by June 2013, 11 026 Finns that had moved indefinitely to Spain, a number having experienced a rapid growth rate (Aamulehti) and is well-known of that in Finland. For the actual number of Finns living in Spain only approximations exists, since many live during the winter months without

official registration as a sort of “temporal immigrant” (Aamulehtiⁱⁱⁱ) For example Kiira points out the saying that in Fuengirola “you have like a Mini-Finland, Finland in small scale” but that living in Madrid as a Finn is very different from that. She considers that in Madrid it is not “so present that you are a Finn Finn, since here to begin with you have much less Finns.” The emphasis on distancing themselves from the group of Finns in Southern Spain is rather clear with other comments as well. For example, Laura makes known how expatriate Finns in Southern Spain do not necessarily even know the Spanish language, since they live in such tight Finnish communities. Ilona compares the Finnish community in Madrid to the community in Southern Spain: “as we are in Madrid maybe the community isn’t so tight as in then for example on Costa del Sol - - maybe not exactly this same communality that in some (town) in Costa del Sol, where all sit in the same beach bar (laughs) and live in the same block”.

Furthermore, one process to be noticed in the acculturation process of Finns living in Madrid is extending their in-group from Finnish to Nordic. One reason for this seems to be to respond to the local level of knowledge about the background of the interviewees. Sanna says that some people cannot connect her to Finland, but can make the connection that she comes from the North. In addition, these interviewees themselves consider the association as a positive thing, as Sanna explain that “although earlier I wasn’t necessarily that big of a fan of Swedish, now, now somehow it feels that all Nordic is welcomed and is like a part of myself”.

4.2 Not Disappearing between Countries

One reason behind maintaining ties to their Finnish identities appears to come from the wish to hold on to a security net that the interviewees feel that they have in Finland. For example, Anni talks of her Finnish home in comparison to her other home countries so far “one that is and stays, and also kind of this safe spot where I always know that I can go back as there are my family and relatives”. If the interviewees did not maintain ties to Finland they consider that it could result in feeling a lack of a connection to an important group for the interviewees, as Milla comments “I feel that if I didn’t keep track at all then

I would get quite, like this isolated feeling”. The interviewees might indeed fear falling outside a group in respect to their nationality, and country:

“Although I wouldn’t now want to live in Finland it still is very dear to me. And I don’t want to lose it, the feeling to it. That maybe because I have, necessarily still don’t have such a strong connection with Spain, so you in a way maybe want to maintain a strong tie to Finland that you still have kind of a place where you are from that you don’t just disappear between those nationalities. Or between countries.” (Sanna, 23)

Although Sanna acknowledges the possibility of the lack of time spent in Spain affecting her fear of falling without a safety net in Finland, she still feels that spending more time in Spain would probably not erase the importance of holding onto a connection to Finland:

“when I was working at the embassy and I met Finns, they did, all of them, in despite of how much they would have forgotten for example the language or some other things, from them you still did, they did still put emphasis on being a Finn in some way or other.” (Sanna, 23)

She further reasoned that the desire for a connection to Finland: “even if my habits and language would change I still somehow feel that I am Finnish that maybe it is just somehow like that you want to maintain this tie to this, to homeland or I can’t really say that what is it.” Thus, home country in itself can anchor one’s identity with a sense of nationality.

Since the interviewees are aware of the importance of maintaining ties to their homeland, they take part in various activities. Ways to erase such lack of a connection include among other’s maintaining contact with important people, especially family and childhood friends that informants do not have in Spain, and for example keeping track of Finnish media. The informants can find their situation indeed very problematic. Kiira for example talks of living her life in two places:

“in a way that even if you live here, because you are a Finn, so always in a way your life is in two cultures partly, even if you physically are here, but then you still have a, in Finland, your family and likely those old friends and in a way sometimes, even though your everyday life is here, but then you still want to in some amount (take part) to your life in Finland - - in way you get the contradiction that you would like to be in two places at the same

time, you would like to take part evenly in both lives, but then on the other hand you know that it is impossible.” (Kiira, 25)

As ways to overcome this issue she notes trying to keep contact the best ways possible with close-ones on daily basis, as do other informants also, even though Kiira recognizes that friendships go through changes by the other being in another country, since you get “left out of the little things” that happen in the lives of her close-ones. As ways to maintain contact she points out “yes I try, of course I try to keep in contact with them, now that you have technology, for example through WhatsApp, Facebook or through Skype always on regular basis and, and through Instagram you can follow what happens in lives of friends a little”. Sanna too mentions how following her friends’ lives on social media had an effect on herself and her behavior “some pictures, or like Finnish things that maybe I had seen in like social media, so to these things kind of a belonging lit up. That you want to swim in a lake or, or something like that.” Indeed, the modern technology has facilitated more constant contact with close-ones or even with certain places as can be seen from Sanna’s citation about swimming in the lakes of her home country. Laura has lived in Madrid already during a time when she maintained contact by first just sending post cards and later with occasional short phone calls. The current situation has changed, how she feels about being connected to Finland:

“well though my family, even though mainly we just are on WhatsApp, but still with them I am daily in contact nowadays thanks to that that you have WhatsApp and Facebook and such. Earlier the amount of contact was much less because you had to always call and that was difficult - - But that somehow keeps certain Finnishness”. (Laura, 37)

She describes how this daily relaxed way of communication of “throwing to family’s shared chat that ‘wait, how did you do that pizza dough?’” has changed how she senses the distance to Finland. Earlier she felt more distance to Finland, as if she was much further away from home:

“That you have this closeness all the time so it is, it has then made it easier that I don’t feel that I am so far away. And then you maybe don’t have such a need to go to there to Finland so often.” (Laura, 37)

She notes that only after starting to be able to talk occasionally on the phone after months did she hear Finnish language. However, she considers that it might have made it easier for her to adopt to the new environment, because “you didn’t have this connection to Finland”. The other informants, who have moved away from Finland during the time of modern technology find the situation quite different. Milla explains her thoughts about how keeping contact affect her feelings about being away from home:

“I do in other ways as well have this feeling that Finland is close and I can be in contact with many and I am in contact with many and therefore in a way at least until now I haven’t gotten any like feelings that it I was really far from home”. (Milla, 26)

Later she continues: “I feel that I am much in contact with people in Finland, to friends from there and to family so then I feel like that it is easy to be here and I don’t even think of things like that I would be somehow very far away or outside - - that I have enough contact makes it easy”. She points out how living in Madrid compared to Mexico feels like she is much closer to Finland as it enables a larger amount of contact, since for example the time difference is just one hour. She also expresses how knowing that she could arrange a flight to Finland at any moment makes it easier for her to live in Madrid.

Most interviewees talk of mainly following Finnish media, even though they acknowledge that following more Spanish media might have many benefits, like for example improving language skills. They consider it important for them personally to keep track of what happens in Finland as otherwise the possibility of returning someday might be jeopardized:

“Plus it is that if you want to return to Finland that. It does have its benefits that I have not ruled out any doors to there that at least I am well aware in all things of my field and such.” (Emilia, 31)

Almost all of the interviewees talk of the importance of following media and watching series etc. to remain up-to-date. For example, Anni tells that she watches some Finnish series from Yle Areena, “well these of that you also talk in Finland, in a way I want to stay on top or because you talk of those”. Emilia has started actively to watching Finnish TV only while in Madrid:

"I have started to watch more Finnish TV, which is quite interesting as I didn't even have a TV in Finland and I didn't follow any series, but now I have started to watch here - - Relaxing, relaxing to watch Finnish TV. - - you have the same types and humor and all so it is somehow like this familiar and safe - - And it is also nice to stay up to date a bit of what they talk there." (Emilia, 31)

Milla too makes known the significance of staying informed about events that receive attention in Finland. She expresses very clearly, how she might sense feeling like she lost connection to Finland, if she did not participate in keeping track of Finnish media:

"I do kind of want to stay informed, especially now that there is these kind of exceptional times so of what do people talk in Finland - - I feel that if I didn't keep track at all then I would get quite, like this isolated feeling". (Milla, 26)

In fact, Milla names YLE AREENA as the most valuable Finnish "possession" to her and that without other objects she could come by alright, but that not being able to watch Finnish TV content would be really upsetting to her.

Therefore, a pull from people in Finland can affect the activities of Finns living in Spain. Their effect isn't just limited to the interviewees following Finnish media and going through other activities to remain informed, but they aim to strengthen the bond in other ways as well. In fact, it appears that close-ones in Finland take actively part in supporting this process for which the "dual pull" (Peñaloza, 1994) might results to be a powerful factor for the acculturation process. For example, when Johanna (28) talks about possessions that she has from Finland she notes that her parents run a habit of sending her a package by post a few times a year. As a reason for this habit she states the importance that sending those packages has for her parents:

"well basically nothing is like a that I really would need it, that I couldn't make it if I didn't have it here, but then my parents are even very excited about it that they want to send me those, I think that it is also for them somehow really important that they can send me those things". (Johanna, 28)

She makes known that almost all of her Finnish possessions are sent by her parents. Even her dog receives gifts from Finland, a certain type of chewing toys as “My dog is now at the moment their only grandchild”. Johanna also has some objects that her god mother has given her, especially fondly she speaks of a Kalevala bracelet, and how its value to her was increased by it having been sent to her from Finland, “it is really precious to me, because my god mom gave it to me once, I hadn’t lived here for that long, she sent it to me by post and all for my birthday”. Also, Sanna acknowledges the added importance that an object can have if it has been brought or sent by someone from Finland:

“It is usually friends who bring those Fazerin Sininen and else. - - I don’t usually buy like chocolate or bring it for myself. - - The most important, or the nicest feeling I get when it (Fazer chocolate) is brought all the way from Finland”. (Sanna, 23)

The others also receive a lot of gifts from Finland. For example, Anni pointed out that her mom called her to ask what products she wished to get when Anni’s brother came to visit her. Laura notes that all guests always bring rye bread. Milla even says that she has received so many Finnish food products, especially Finnish chocolate that she hasn’t still had change to long for those. Emilia has a collection of Moomin mugs that all have been received as gifts from her mom and she says that she doesn’t even like Moomin mugs so much. Although she isn’t very fond of them she still considers that it was a “lovely thought” that her mom wanted her to have something Finnish in her home. Also, Kiira’s mom has facilitated Kiira to hold onto familiar habits by sending her by post the scouts’ traditional Christmas calendar, “maybe it’s a kind of, mom thinks that I want to keep up the tradition”, and by bringing her a Finnish flag. The Finnish flag represents memories from Finland as it is linked to Kiira’s sister:

“because my little sister does figure skating and in international competitions they always have those cheering Finnish flags, so then mom brought me them, she just thought that I might like to have Finnish flags in my home”. (Kiira, 25)

Close-ones not only urge a connection towards Finland by sending objects, but also by personally visiting the informants. “Maybe there the Finnish shows in my every-day life

that I have a lot of friends who come here. That now one reason for this bigger apartment is that we definitely need a guest room”, says Emilia. For example, Milla notes the value that those visits have to her: “then altogether well I can speak Finnish and so on so it is important in any case”. Furthermore, physical presence in the life of close-ones in Finland is maintained also by the informants themselves; Almost all interviewees maintain a habit of visiting Finland at least two times a year, during summer and Christmas, and possibly additional times during major life events, such as weddings etc. For example, Milla’s comment indicates how people in Finland motivate these visits:

“I do want to go and visit Finland always when I have holidays - - Well I don’t know, just that I see my family, maybe for me it isn’t so difficult to be apart but then maybe, even more than before I do acknowledge that for my parents it is quite difficult.” (Milla, 26)

Even though these visits give the informants the opportunity to see their close-ones, to visit important places and engage the fullest in familiar consumption in form of food, bicycling etc. some still note contradictory feelings about these visits to the old homeland. For example, Laura finds the trip really long and the behavior of people in Finland stranger every visit. Johanna says that trips to Finland are “such a thing that gives me joy and stress - - joy is that I get to first of all there to Finland and I can always eat like all Finnish foods, or I don’t know if it’s necessarily Finnish but all that I like ate when I lived there.” Stress on the other hand arises from different expectations and ways to conduct among herself and her friends especially in respect to making plans. As she says “because if their way of life is that they plan two months before everything that does not mean that it is the only right way to live and that everybody else should live like that.”

4.3 Not Losing an Identifying Language

The importance of languages for maintaining identity becomes very evident with the interviewees. They find it important to be able to speak Finnish and can express a lot of anxiety if they feel that they are lacking changes to use it. For example, one interviewee points out “I do think that for me at least language largely depicts your identity” (Kiira,

25). She also points out about her considerations of the role that languages have in building identity:

“As long as Finnish is my strongest language, or well Finnish is my mother tongue, so it is, yes I am Finnish, heh. I don’t know, maybe, I have sometimes thought that if I would be for example bilingual in a way that I would speak another language like at a native level, maybe then, you might feel yourself also as of the other nationality”. (Kiira, 25)

Therefore, knowing a language can be considered important to a membership of a nationality, especially mother tongue. All of the interviewees make emphasis of the fact that only Finnish can be their mother language and that with Spanish they could never possess that. Ilona for example notes the following:

“Even though I speak good fluent Spanish, but still you have this, these nuances and such, you just don’t get them because it is not your mother tongue - - you can of course perfect some language to almost perfect.” (Ilona, 34)

Milla too points out that with Spanish she could never express herself like with her mother tongue, “I can’t 100 %, even close, express like myself even though a lot I can, but never like at that same level.” Laura, who has lived in Madrid the longest talks of how she still faces limitations, even if her Spanish appears seemingly perfect to others:

“I mean that I have as the more active language now I have Spanish. And here my friends say to me that you are bilingual and bla bla bla, but that is not true however. That when I read, especially if I read Spanish literature so that the writer is Spanish - - the written language is very different than the spoken language, it is so complicated and long sentences and that does make understanding it harder. That you need some work with it however. Traduced Spanish isn’t so complicated.” (Laura, 37)

As the interviewees recognize the restrictions that they face with the Spanish language they can sense stress about maintaining their mother tongue. How Laura describes:

“Because Spanish will never be this mother tongue for me like Finnish, if I lose my Finnish then I lose this, this strong language, and then I am left totally incomplete.” Laura further considers that “you need to have this one language that is this anchoring language, the

starting point, and then the rest on top of that". She talks of the difficulties that she encounters while trying to speak Finnish with her son and that due to this she experiences "perhaps like panic" because she gets "this sense of unfamiliarity" when speaking Finnish. She even considers that she gets "this like, well sensation of being mute that I have now no way of telling these things like fluently". She recognizes the contradictory situations that she is confronted by the two languages:

"I have this small like - -sense of panic that I need to make the Spanish better always that it doesn't go out of shape, but then that Finnish I need to maintain somehow that I have this some that would have been all the way from birth". (Laura, 37)

Also, Kiira talks of similar feelings of being mute:

"I sometimes get a feeling that maybe that I am not quite the same person. Or that in Finland I can easily make more jokes or through, yes here I can also, but, but yet it isn't quite at the same, or that I can't in the same way play with the language." (Kiira, 25)

Based on these considerations, mother language can be considered a key anchoring factor and therefore, it may be a strong factor in maintaining Finnishness and favoring in-group activities with other Finns. As Finnish is a very rare language, Finns living abroad don't necessarily automatically get to use it often. For example, Sanna points out that she at the moment does not have Finnish friends in Madrid and how it makes her feel: "I actually don't have any Finnish friends, which is a little sad, because I would really like to speak Finnish face-to-face with someone". Ilona talks of how she feels, when she meets other expatriate Finns that lack chances to use Finnish: "I think that it is that I have had gotten to know a few Finns who like search for words because they are in such a Spanish-speaking environment and more, so to me that would be completely awful". She further continues to talk about, how to her it is very important especially as a Finnish teacher from education that she gets to speak Finnish at work. Emilia states how speaking in Finnish holds different meaning than in other languages and how it is important, "even if it were on Skype or whatever". Anni also contemplates the difference with the languages and how it might have aid making close-friends with other Finns:

“well with language still it is that you get deeper in a way as you are with a Finn, especially if you go, if it goes well together with the two of you, then you notice that you speak a lot, you talk deeper stuff quite fast through compared to some person from another country, even though my knowledge of languages is quite good.” (Anni, 25)

Thus, the wish to use their mother tongue can encourage Finns to seek surroundings, where they can be in the company of other Finnish-speakers, by for example finding groups, where to speak Finnish or going to events of Finnish organizations. However, in addition to social situations, where they can speak in Finnish, the interviewees often talk of the significance of reading in Finnish language or watching Finnish TV online. For example, Kiira tells the following:

“I find it nice, I have to say that I find it nice to read in Finnish, it somehow relaxes in a different way than for example reading in Spanish or in English, and maybe just because you don’t hear Finnish language so much here, so I do find it nice to in a way read in your own mother tongue. - - it feels relaxing that you don’t need to, or that, exactly that you understand ALL of it.” (Kiira, 25)

The informants in fact speak a lot of the automatism of reading in Finnish and the relaxing effect it has on them. For example, Anni even though she acknowledges, how beneficial reading in Spanish is, tells that she still has given herself permission to read in Finnish as well. Many interviewees point out bringing books from Finland, which due to the challenges of carrying heavier possessions from Finland speak of the importance that these activities hold; “those books are this that they need to be and those I hoard always more from Finland”, says Laura. Also, for example Ilona notes that she always brings books from Finland. She and Emilia have actually with their friends together formed a reading group, where they discuss in Finnish about books that they have read. Even though not limited to Finnish literature because of the difficulties in obtaining a certain Finnish book for all of them, for example last time they had read a Finlandia winner Oneiron.

4.4 Taking Part in Finnish Networks

The acculturation process of the Finns living in Spain is also largely affected by membership in different groups, which are heavily influenced by Finland. Through these groups expatriate Finns in Madrid meet other Finns, give advice and network. An especially obvious case of these kinds of groups were the interviewees' workplaces, since many worked in Finnish organizations and almost all of them had at some point done a few months' internship at one of these organizations. The importance of these job opportunities for expatriate Finns in Spain is obvious in the comment of Anni, where she mentions that she wants to be in contact with Finns among other reasons to know about job opportunities: "why with Finns is that I want to kind of stay on top who is here and it is so strongly due to future jobs". Emilia points out that other foreigners know more about the opportunities for foreigners and where to search work from. Many interviewees mention the influence that working in these environments has to their maintenance of Finnishness. For example, Ilona comments, "with Finns still it is like more regular that we see each other and somehow, I have this maybe because of this work". Laura notes that all her Finnish friends come from her work. Anni points out the contrast of her experiences of now being working in Madrid rather than being an exchanger "maybe at the moment as a Finn in Spain is strongly connected to work, because now I work there at the institute so I am in contact with Finns a lot, I have more to do with them than perhaps otherwise I would be". Kiira also points out that her work has contributed to her being more in contact with other Finns in Madrid than she otherwise would perhaps had as "on the streets you don't really, you know just by chance, run into Finns."

They consider that these organizations mean working by certain rules and that at their workplace these rules were heavily influenced by Finland. For example Ilona reflects on the matter: "here you are usually mainly on time at work as I am Finnish and I have this certain maybe punctuality at least with myself I try to be - - but I don't know then if our office would be Spanish that would it be even more lively with the schedules." Anni for example tells that she has baked Finnish buns to work and that at work they exchange

Finnish magazines and other products. Therefore, their Finnishness is strengthened as favorable in-group activities of these work organizations include such activities.

In addition to the workplace, other group activities where Finnishness was important for the membership were found. For example, Anni mentions that she occasionally works at a Finnish language school, where Finnish-speaking children and their parents get together to speak in Finnish, “also tomorrow I am going there to be an instructor, so I am more in contact with the Finnish society.” In addition, less regular group activities of Finns included for example celebrating Finnish festivities with other Finns while maintaining traditional habits that had been learned in Finland. Kiira for example talks about celebrating the Independence Day of Finland in a very traditional way with her Finnish friends in Madrid. Laura has joined a choir that has a Finnish program and tells that she gets a nostalgic feeling from it. Finally, the informants state that both the Finnish Embassy and Cultural Institute that are placed in Madrid offer chances for the Finns to get together as the two organize events directed at audience, who is interested in Finland.

Still, possibly the most important network for these groups was the Facebook-group “Suomalaiset Madridissa” (Finns in Madrid) that 27.4.2016 had 316 members and according to its group description “aims to offer a forum for us to keep in touch, share tips, event or work advertisements and to suggest networking possibilities”. Six of the eight interviewees are members in this group and of these six, all mention the group during their interview. The effect of these groups is not restricted to virtual space, but regular get-togethers “Suomitapaamiset” for the group of Finns are organized on monthly bases. The informants, who have taken part in these meetings say that they find it interesting to meet different types of people that come to the meeting and to hear their stories of ending up in Madrid. As Emilia notes, the only common factor is that all are Finns. The meetings are organized largely due to networking opportunities, as Emilia points out that “it is more this networking and such, which is really important in that sense if you are here like permanently”. Ilona tells that the meetings are quite popular to her surprise and that about 20 persons take part in each meeting. Therefore, taking part in these get-togethers can enable the expatriate Finns to build quite a big network of

Finnish acquaintances, especially since as Kiira point out, through one Finn one easily gets to know another.

4.5 Using Possessions to Strengthen Finnishness

Possessions from Finland come across as significant for the maintenance of Finnish. For example, when talking about things that connect herself to Finland Sanna mentions possessions, “well then I have here those Finnish things. That bring me a lot like this funny joy that others here maybe don’t understand”. When living abroad, the meaning of objects from the home country can go through changes, since it can be difficult to bring them. For example, most informants still have dishes in Finland due to high costs of shipping them and many have just brought possessions that fit in suitcases. However, the informants make mention of their importance and wish to have those possessions, but some might have decided to leave it for later to ensure their mobility. “If I am here for longer it would be nice to have these like own things”, says for example Milla. She continues: “especially the longer you have been away then maybe the distance also grows towards Finland so maybe you would want to with things like that maintain the connection.” She says that to her current apartment such possessions would not feel like they belonged, but that in the future, if she stayed, then she would like to have an apartment that she could decorate. For those purposes, she would like to use also Finnish things, “those would probably add to this like feeling of home and well even Finnishness.” Kiira notes that if she would move to a new apartment that was not decorated she would “put it more like that it looked like you, and then I think that there would be more Finnish things that, for sure”.

Nonetheless, also shipping has been used by some informants, even though financially it might not make sense. As Ilona opens up her reasoning for the shipping: “It was an emotional decision! (Laughs) That was also something that I have had (armchair) and I didn’t want to lose it, so then it just was put there in the loading and was paid for”. She also notes that, even though shipping it would be difficult, later she would like to get some Finnish art to her apartment in Spain. Sanna has shipped some possessions,

although she acknowledges that with the same money she could have bought new substitutes from Spain. Both of them have a rather extensive amount of Finnish possessions, Sanna talks of her “Finnish collection” and Ilona in addition to an armchair has brought for example her bicycle and a dish cabinet from Finland, “so I then wanted this altar for these Marimekkos (Marimekko dishes) of mine”. For some of the informants though, the process has been less conscious and they have been surprised by the amount of Finnish objects that they possess; “When you said about those photos then I was like I have nothing Finnish and then when I started thinking then I did find really a lot a lot of things”, says for example Laura.

Important reason for bringing Finnish possessions to Madrid is that they can reconnect the informants to personal memories and to people, and thus bring homeliness and a “sense of familiarity” as Ilona describes it. For example, Anni tells that she has wanted to bring a lot of books from Finland, since she has always had a lot of books in her home and for that reason they make a home “homely”. Certain objects might be linked to important events in the informants’ lives as can be with any consumer, but as Sanna explains, their role can become more important in the life of an expatriate:

“it was my graduation party table cloth and then we bought it with my mom and then it has always been really important but now especially that I am here and to here it is really difficult to drag such big objects - - to here so then, the value somehow even grows. - - this sentimental value that you don’t like, for example in Finland I would have a lot of things that would connect me to my graduation party and to my high school moments, but at the moment in here I don’t have anything besides that.” (Sanna, 23)

She continues by explaining how these possessions now have gotten “this Finnish status” due to their role in linking her to important life events that have taken place in Finland. Due to the “Finnish status” newly found emotional investment has been attached to the possessions: “before I didn’t understand the value of those things - - But then before I got here I felt somehow very important that I would get all those cups here.”

The connection can also be more abstract than a certain object having been used in a particular situation. Sanna has a kitchen towel that has names of familiar places in Helsinki that brings up memories of her childhood. Also, object that have not previously been owned can become meaningful: “I feel like that a piece of Finland has come here as well. That it maybe a little lessens that home sickness”, say Sanna. Laura speaks of the importance that familiar smells can have to her as “at least with me it (scents) speak to such primitive feelings”. She for example brings Havin määntysuopa (a Finnish washing liquid brand) from Finland, “you do get such a nostalgic feeling, if you wash your carpets with määntysuopa”. Another product that evokes memories is apple-scented fabric softener:

“during university I lived in a shared apartment with another Finnish girl. So there we always had apple fabric softener - - So for me this, the youth comes to mind from this apple scent. And as I have not found it here I drag it from Finland. And then it is also my rent payment (for visitors from Finland).” (Laura, 37)

Laura speaks as well of using grillimauste (a barbeque-tasting seasoning) when cooking and notes how the smell brings her dad to her mind as he often uses it and it is something that is not found in Spain, “I got this homely feeling, when I could put, when I was frying minced meat, I could put dad’s grillimauste on top of it.” Often certain objects indeed are important, because they remind the informants of their close-ones in Finland and can help in maintaining a connection to them. Laura describes how using grillimauste can remind her of her parents and incent her to make a WhatsApp call or to send a message to them while cooking. Almost all informants have woolen socks that are knitted by a close-one, “these (woolen socks) are made by my mom’s mom so they also have emotional value”, says Anni. Sanna points out that one cup is especially important to her as it has been given to her by her dad, since as Sanna points out, usually women are the ones buying design objects. Ilona has a decorative globe that is from her grandparents’ home. Kiira has a jewelry box that she has inherited from her grandma that reminds Kiira of her grandma. She also has pictures of her family on show. Kiira contemplates the meaning of these pictures: “I don’t know if you could really forget the family but somehow, it has felt that it is nice, nice that I have some memories of them here.”

Possessions though are not only used to connection oneself to close-ones in Finland, but appear to be aimed at bringing inclusiveness towards other Finns in general. For example, Kiira mentions that she would like to bring Iittala Kivilyhty candle holders to Spain because: "I think they are also a very Finnish thing, since so many have them in their homes. And also if you would see them, you would probably think they, ah, these are a Finnish thing". Also, Emilia expresses similar thoughts: "now I would wish that I would get those Finnish things here more. Those same Mariskooli and such that everyone has". In another instance she also expresses how owning certain products for example from Marimekko connects Finns, "Yes, all those same Iittalas and such have been given as gifts to us what others also have there in Finland." When inquired about her desire to bring these possessions, she ponders on their role as a starting point for joint behavior:

"I think it is probably this in-build thing with Finns. That all have those same Iittalas and Marimekkos and such. - - I don't know, probably just because you have looked at those since you were small and gotten those for your confirmation presents and graduation presents." (Emilia, 31)

She further refers to her boyfriend having problems understanding why "all have the same dishes" and that due to that she also has started to question, where the need comes from. However, as she notes, "still you somehow just carry it out." Indeed, dishes seem to be really important for many informants, and Finnish design in general, for example all except one informant have products from Marimekko. Sanna, who has a rather extensive Finnish dish collection, considers that only in Spain she has become a fan of Finnish design. For her the mere fact that an object is Finnish holds significance; "I don't even know which brand it is. But it is some Finnish design - I just know that it is Finnish and because of that it is just, that's why I use it." Moreover, she has a "weird wooden thing" that she does not know what it is, but still keeps it "on show, because it is Finnish".

However, the informants can show flexibility in negotiating the boundaries of what constitutes a Finnish object to them, and what not. Many Swedish or Nordic products that remind the informants of Finnish products or that already are familiar to them from their life in Finland are more easily available in Madrid. The informants often talk of IKEA being

important for them as from there “you get many normal products”, says Ilona. For example, Laura speaks turning to IKEA, when she is making a Finnish-style apple pie that she wants to eat with vanilla sauce like she did in Finland. She reasons her standing point for these products, such as vanilla sauce and meatballs from IKEA in respect to her identity work: “those are not Finnish, not made in Finland, but for me they are Finnish. - - because they remind me of Finland however, and they are closer to Finnish meatballs than these local meatballs”. Other brands are also purchased due to their familiarity, for example Ilona speaks of buying Felix products “just for some reason it’s like ‘ah, that can be familiar’”.

4.6 Standing out from the Crowd with Finnishness

As the informants talk about their Finnishness and about consuming Finnish products they often bring out how these activities can differentiate themselves from others in Madrid, as they can make themselves “exotic”; “Here those what everyone has there in Finland are then more a personal style”, says Emilia. As described earlier, Finns living in Madrid can sense standing out as different negative in certain situations. Even so, the informants mainly talk about being connected to Finland in a positive way and as something that they want to be associated with. Sanna talks of the matter:

“But then on the other hand I do, myself as well promote this Finnishness or I bring it out with pleasure. That I think that maybe with me it has more gotten stronger this Finland love here, while being here, that I do like, or for example in Finland I hadn’t used that much like this blue-white-striped shirt, but here I use them like gladly. And I do gladly bring it out or tell to people”. (Sanna, 23)

The interviewees find that by consuming Finnish products they can further the differentiation as such products that in Finland are very common, and can help bring inclusiveness towards the other Finns, are rare in Madrid. For example, while talking about her Finnish possessions Johanna often expresses the uniqueness of the product: “Here can’t be another one that was the same, because Kalevala is like a Finnish thing and then all these that come from it, these jewelries and all”. She even talks in a similar

way about abstract things. She described the proudness that she experienced when seeing a beautiful winter scenery from Finland during a Facetime talk and the meaning it has to her, “you kind of see that nature and it was like very wonderful and just like - - a post card, such a picture that I got like a feeling that in a way that is a Finnish scenery, so it’s like my scenery that I’m Finnish, those other’s they are not, they don’t have such a scenery”. However, she notes that after two days of actually seeing such a winter scenery in person would again make her want to leave Finland, since she hates the cold.

The informants often talk about showing off Finnish things to others that they themselves are proud of. These objects are mainly products that are traditionally considered to be very Finnish by Finns themselves, such as Marimekko, Iittala, Kalevala etc. Johanna states that she would like to own a piece of clothing from Marimekko that she could show off to others. She mentions that not just any piece of clothing from a Finnish store, for example she mentions Seppälä, would not do, but that the products would have to be something she is proud of and that has a status internationally as well:

“Marimekko is in the end maybe the one of the rare Finnish of like these fashion brands that has in a way gotten, or that it is known, like in the world, so therefore to me it is really great that I have in my home something from Marimekko”. (Johanna, 28)

When asked, why she especially wishes to buy a piece of clothing from Marimekko to have in addition to other products that she has from Marimekko, she tells the following:

“Because from clothes, it is like something that others see then, if I go outside and then somebody compliments me that ‘oh, you have a fancy piece of clothing’ and then I could explain that ‘yes, it is this Finnish clothing brand’, because not, not that many come to my home or notice my robe, heh, so it could be that, if I had a piece of clothing, I could like show it off there outside”. (Johanna, 28)

Other incident of showing off Finnish products for Johanna is Napue gin. Since Gin & Tonic, as Johanna mentions, is very much in fashion in Madrid, the award winning Finnish gin becomes a subject of proudness to be shown off to others: “then I like really told everyone that ‘hey, did you by the way know that the world’s best gin is Finnish’.” Also,

she tells that immediately she asked her parents to bring a bottle of Napue gin to her and that they went through quite a lot of trouble to get the product to her. Johanna herself notes that she could become “like an ambassador” for Finnish brands that she herself is proud of:

“for me it would be really important if there would be Finnish brands that I could like be proud of, be it like Marimekko or Kalevala jewelry, that I could like bring those out here that ‘look, this is like a Finnish brand’”. (Johanna, 28)

Many other informants engage in similar behavior, for example Laura tells how with a Finnish board game they can bring out their Finnishness to others: “(Afrikan Tähti) is somehow a very Finnish game that you don’t have here - - Yeah, with which you can then brag about then.” Anni finds that buying certain Moomin sneakers might have been affected by her being outside of Finland:

“(it is) fitting to this Expatriate Finn’s life that I have some Moomin here. - - I did fell in love with these, but somehow to this (buying the Moomin sneakers) affected as well that I am here, so a little bit like “hah, look what I have”. (Anni, 25)

Ilona too finds it positive to stand out in public with Finnish possessions and to be able to communicate their origin:

“I find it quite funny that as I do like Finnish cultural exportation for work. So then I have for example these, some dresses from Marimekko, Ivana’s dresses that then I can put that on if here I go so then, if people happen to ask where is from, then I can say that it is from Finland.” (Ilona, 34)

Sanna tells that she “pushes” Finnish things to her guests by always using Finnish products, when she has visitors, even though she notes that earlier she didn’t feel “necessary” to decorate her home just with Finnish things. For example, she always puts on a certain table cloth from Marimekko and has an Arabia Taika jug that she only uses if she gets visitors. Ilona also shows her Finnishness to others in Spain by giving Finnish products as presents and in fact always keeps a stock of for example Finnish chocolates

and small bags from Marimekko. She notes that she expresses her Finnishness by giving those presents as it is easier for her since it is something “exciting here for these people that are not Finnish”.

4.7 Including own Close-Ones in Spain to the Finnish In-Group

The acculturation process and activities that maintain ties to Finland are also affected by close-ones in Spain as Finnish consumers might want to consume certain products or maintain certain consumer activities to include people in Spain to their own group. This group is influenced by Finland, since the informants themselves consider that they still are Finnish nationals at least to considerable degree. Finland is where they come from and where they have history. The most evident example of such behavior is found with Laura, who being a mom shows desires to tie her son to his Finnish roots. The other informants do not have children, but Milla notes the possibility of finding activities for maintaining Finnishness more important in the future, if she had children while living abroad:

“I do think that it might get stronger if you think further, further that maybe not in one year, but if I had for example children or so and I would still live here, so I do think that that might like get stronger that you would want to like very much maintain that what you can about being a Finn and so on. Now I have more like that I enjoy being here and that it isn’t so important to me right now like those Finnish objects or such -- but I could think that later it could become more important.” (Milla, 26)

Laura finds it very important to make sure that her child maintains a reasonable level of Finnish and goes through a lot of effort to achieve that. She talks of times, when she feeling tired after a long day at work would wish to speak in Spanish with her son, since it is the language that is more prominent in her every-day life. Also, her son prefers using Spanish especially knowing that his mom can speak the language almost perfectly. Nonetheless, she tries to use Finnish with her son for him to be able to speak in Finnish with their Finnish relatives. Her Finnish possessions include a large number of products to help achieve this. These include for example children’ board games in Finnish, a toy that

calls numbers in Finnish, DVDs and children's movies. She tells that "those (DVDs) I want Finnish that my son watches cartoons in Finnish so that he maintains the language" and especially "books in Finnish, because we read a lot evening stories, so with these books I have tried that we would have as much Finnish as possible". She even has made a "lorupussi", a bag that includes laminated cards with Finnish poems and songs that she and her son have read a lot together.

However, language does not seem to be the only reason behind these activities. Many times Laura hints on wanting to create similar experiences for her son that she had in her own childhood in Finland. Laura speaks about how in Spain no children are to be found in the parks when the weather is bad. Opposite to this, she and her son still go and play in the park during rainy weather "well during winter you notice that we are carved from a different tree, my son and I. Or at least me, he is maybe a bit more Spanish than I". A connection to her own childhood is clear as she speaks fondly of her happy memories of playing outside during rainy days in her rubber boots and overalls:

"And those have been then for us, when we were young, those great days when we got to splash in those mud puddles and make rivers and dams and such, so that I have tried to teach my son, even though we are then there at the park the two of us, but at least we have space. So that these kind of stuff. That to me is really Finnish. What they wonder here really a lot that we put outdoor clothes on and go splash to mud." (Laura, 37)

Another incidence of a clear consumption activity that is used to link her son to her own history is Finnish candy. Laura describes in detail the happy memories from childhood that included candy:

"So that candy, this is maybe the hardest part - - we had Makuuni 5 minutes away in Turku. So just put on the jacket and quilted pants and beanie and quickly go to get some candy and watched a movie and drank milk. So, so that I miss a lot. I bring kilos of candy so we have it for the whole year. And then I ask my parents to send it" (Laura, 37)

She then continues the turn of talk by including her son, and how she wants him to be able to take part in the activity of eating candy, even if it was unhealthy:

“And my son has learned to eat licorice. It maybe makes me a bad parent, but (laughs) still because I think it is such a big pleasure that, even though I eat candy and you get wholes in your teeth and it is unhealthy, but still I want that my son can enjoy it”. (Laura, 37)

Other family members as well are introduced to Finnish activities. Emilia explains that the reason for bringing a Hanoi Rocks vinyl album to her boyfriend was that she thought that he would be interested to listen to Finnish music. She also refers to her boyfriend being expected to show interest in her background: “Well it is a bit from both directions, yes it interests him, but I also do want that he is a bit interested”. When asked why she thought it to be important, she answered that it is important knowing, where your close-one comes from and as music is really important for her, her boyfriend should get more familiar with Finnish music.

Therefore, as the interviewees come from Finland and feel that it is a part of them, their close-ones are not only expected to take part in activities that maintain Finnishness, but often they willingly do so. For example, Milla talked about woolen socks being important for her and how this first caused wonder in her Mexican boyfriend: “at first he was like ‘what are those!’ But now he already has his own pair and we use it both, ha-ha.” Also with Ilona, her spouse and his family are keen on consuming certain Finnish products. When talking about the considerable amount of Finnish objects that they have, she turned to describe instances, where her man had participated in collecting these objects:

“Well that is picked up by my man actually that we went when we were in Finland for the first time in bit more than a year ago, so then we, was it in Suomenlinna? I think we were there, so there you had these posters, it was this touristic shop, café -- so then this he felt he needed to get. It was as he said nice.”

“Well that is actually good that my man has also been, he has liked a lot these so he for example wanted these festivos of ours (littala candle holders) that we have now”. (Ilona, 34)

In addition, with Ilona not only her Spanish boyfriend is taking part in Finnish activities and consumer behavior that is linked with Finland, but as well the extended family from his side. As Ilona explains, her boyfriend’s parents are always asking her about Finland

and keen on having possessions linked to Finland. The Spanish relatives seem to want to identify towards their Finnish daughter-in-law and want to take part in activities related to Finland:

“(programs) about Finnish education and else, so they always watch those or if some Finnish travelling show comes out they comment about it and of course it is like that as we see them once a week or so that way it interests them. It is a bit like different, we are on the other end of Europe, so I have brought (many things), we have made them taste Salmiakikossu (Finnish licorice vodka) and reindeer and rye bread and we have made salmon soup and hooked them to lemon pepper. So now I always have to bring lemon pepper and well, Fazer chocolate.” (Ilona, 34)

Other instances similar to these that Ilona mentions are for example Christmas time celebrations. She talks of inviting her boyfriend’s parents over for mulled wine and educating them to drink it with raisins and almonds. She mentions how Finnish possessions are taking over Getafe, their neighborhood in Madrid as she and her boyfriend in addition to the parents-in-law use Moomin bags on shopping trips to the grocery stores among other things. However, the most important Finnish possession for the extended family have been littala: “they are completely taken with littala, there at parents-in-law you have already these festivos”. In addition, family members in Barcelona also have littala products. Ilona mentions that she finds it “funny” that her extended family is so keen on littala, but that she gladly helps them with collecting these Finnish possessions for example by helping them order products online.

5. Discussion

As has been established, for the informants of this study group identification to the Finnish in-group takes place and the expatriate Finns take part in several activities that enhance this membership of being a Finnish national. However, the expatriate Finns make clear differences between themselves and Finns in general; thus, I argue that with the expatriate Finns the group identification takes place with their minority group of Finns that live abroad. The informants view themselves as Finnish nationals, thus allowing a continuance with their home country and upbringing etc. by writing their past as part of their current narrative identity, but with the addition of certain features from living abroad. As they live in Spain, they might experience a split in their identities, which has been established also with other immigrant groups in acculturation literature (see for example Askegaard et al. 2005).

As was argued, the informants find clear obstacles for becoming members of the Spanish in-group; even the informants who most strongly add “Spanish” attributes to their selves find that in many ways they do still stand out as different from the others in the new home country. Their personal identities might have experienced a split, but in respect to their social identities, since they appear to face difficulties in personating the prototype of a Spanish national they might be more prone towards identifying to another group. Spaniards might also be reluctant to accept a membership of persons from other countries to protect their own national culture from outsider influence. In addition, Ahuvia (2005) found that even though research has discovered that establishing a coherent self has become more difficult due to a larger variety of roles that one person assumes, the desire for a unified self is not lost. Thus, it is likely for the formation of an identity one national background to be dominant. The reason might derive from outside or inside (personal) pressure, but indeed with their social identities the informants do not show a lot of signs of experiencing a “split” between Finland and Spain. They for example do not refer to themselves as being Spanish e.g. “Finnish-Spanish”, but as Finns or expatriate Finns. They only speak of having added Spanish features to their selves. More

so it appears that the contradiction that they sense in their social identity as a Finn derive already from “previous” lives.

The informants often expressed contradictions, when talking about themselves being Finnish; they clearly stated that they felt that being Finnish was a part of them, but also often made clear, how they might be different from other Finns. Especially they put emphasis on being more international than many other Finns. Sanna talked in an interesting way about how she and many of her friends, who now live abroad would be different in respect to other Finns: “I do think that we have always had this kind of different vibe, or this different, hmm programming, in our body.” She further explains her thoughts:

“I feel that some people get this at a really young age longing that you want to experience something else, but then you have these people that are really satisfied hmm of being in Finland and, that has nothing wrong with it, but that for some reason in my friends by a change have ended up such persons that maybe have also missed something new. Or that have wanted to get to know some other culture than the Finnish one.” (Sanna, 23)

Many of them also referred to being different from Finns living in Southern Spain, who were considered less international, because they were living in a very “Finnish environment”. Clearly, being allocated to such a group of “Finns living like Finns in Finland on Spanish ground” was not desirable. It appears that at least in the case of these informants, their personal identities have long been influenced by a sensation of wanting to be more international and not “just a Finn Finn”, thus their identities as Finns have been exposed to contradictions. Living in one’s home country, but simultaneously wanting to add attributes of international influence, can bring difficulties in respect to ethnocentric behavior. Acting like the prototype of how one is supposed to behave as a Finn might become a source for distress; others expect one to behave in a certain culturally normative way. As one does not wish to portray “just a Finnish national”, but rather an international Finn, behavior related to being a Finn might become viewed as a restriction to embody one’s international side.

Nonetheless, when living in another country such issue is not present, since they clearly embody the “international extension” of their identity. They do not face such pressures to behave “just like a Finn”, since their internationality becomes a clear factor in determining their identity. Thus, showing Finnishness is perhaps no longer such a contradiction to their identity work. In fact, many informants became emotionally more attached to their Finnishness and expressed being proud of being a Finn, especially due to the positive images it evoked with other people. Thus, expression of social identity does not face pressures of being disapproved by the out-group, which can be a big influence to the willingness of showing one’s social identity (Reicher et al. 1995). By living in another country, the informants perhaps became more aware of the many ways that their self was influenced by Finland and by them being a Finn. Research on acculturation has found that one reason for moving to a new country can be the belief of fitting better to the new environment (Wallendorf & Reilly 1983). This might also be true with expatriate Finns; moving to Madrid might have been considered a good fit in respect to certain characteristics of these persons, such as certain spontaneity etc. The new environment can support the expression of these characteristics, but it does not, however, mean that the fit occurs with all aspects of one’s personality and identity especially considering their history of growing up with the Finnish cultural frame.

The influence of Finland becomes emphasized, when one notices how one does not take things of the new environment as granted and how one might have difficulties in fitting the prototype of a Spaniard. Performing a nationality indeed is a difficult task, as it involves understanding such a multifaceted cultural frame, whose logic might not even be clear in all respects to the nationals, who have been brought up in it. Many informants did speak of having become more analytical in respect to understanding different social phenomena after living in a new environment, and not taking that many things for granted, although this appeared to affect both Finnish and Spanish culture. For example, Laura said that she feels more and more like a stranger every time she goes to Finland, since she does not anymore understand the logic of why the society works in a certain way in many situations. Once having understood the limitations of one’s previous thought process, one might not be willing to start to perform the new role of a Spaniard, when

one is very aware of the certain “lenses” that it might bring; however, this does not mean that they would wish to “go back” to the old logic.

Hence, identifying towards the expatriate Finn group becomes possibly the best fit to these persons that struggle between at least two sets of influence for their personal identities; Also third countries or global consumer culture are possible points of reference (Askegaard et al. 2005)). In respect to their personal identities they might indeed find themselves at any point between the two cultures, but however, in respect to belonging to a group, the position of an expatriate Finn appears to be the closest available choice that is recognized by other people. The logic of social categorizations indeed derives from the need to make sense of complicated phenomena by allocating people to groups, and then expecting them to adjust their behavior to fit the group prototype of these groups. Thus, the group needs to be recognized both by the people that are in it, but also by other people (see for example Reicher et al. 1995). By accepting the category of an expatriate Finn, the informants can also help other people to understand their behavior in areas, where it does not follow the “Spanish logic” and also make other people to expect that the informants have certain attributes. As the informants widen their in-group to Nordic rather than just Finnish, they seem to react to local knowledge. Since people in Spain might have more knowledge of what constitutes the Nordic culture and what attributes to expect from Nordic people, the expatriate Finns allow other people to make more effective use of social categorizations. This is done likely due to the attributes linked to the Nordic group being considered positive by the majority of people. As the Nordic culture feels like the closest equivalent of Finnish culture, it becomes an easy reference point for their Finnish identities.

All in all, living abroad allows the informants to include their international side to take part of their identity work and also, to lessen expectations of behaving like a Finn. Thus, they might be able to negotiate their split in identity more efficiently by referring to the group of Finns living outside of Finland; being a Finn, but with additional attributes and loss of some “Finnish” attributes. By being able to make such a categorization, they could

experience less struggles in supporting such sides of their Finnish identities that they do not see contradictory to their personal identities. Instead, they might become more willing to participate in behavior that supports continuance of their Finnish identities in chosen aspects to support their membership to the expatriate Finn group. Thus, the contradiction of their personal identity in respect to international attributes can be solved, while still maintaining a membership in a group that is relevant for their social identity, and which prototype they are able to personate to a satisfying degree. Especially as by embodying it, the expatriate Finns can for example benefit from optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991) in their new social environment. The following sections deal with the activities that were found to be utilized for identity work of these expatriate Finns in respect to the discussed themes; why they are relevant and how they can affect the identity work.

5.1 Postponing Acculturation by Being Present in the “Other Life”

Considering the desire to maintain a continuance with one's identity building process, the wish to narrate one's history to be a part of the current and future self, it is not surprising that the informants hoped to maintain a security net in Finland, even if they were not actively considering a return back. As Anni described her home in Finland: “the one that is and stays”. The way how the informants speak of the Finland as a stable place to which they always want to be connected to make it appear that for them Finland is kind of a “home base”. Also, in respect to their nationality, it is the one group, where they possess an automatic membership and where their belongingness is not likely to be questioned. Thus, their membership to the in-group with other Finns is also “safe”. Of the importance of feelings of belongingness and connection with similar others speaks for example comments, such as experiencing “an isolated feeling” if lacking connection with close-ones in Finland. Sanna even spoke of the change of disappearing between two nationalities, or countries, if a connection to Finland was neglected. However, one might ask, would a person disappear between two countries, if a connection to the other would not be nurtured? Probably, if a membership to the other place was not secured. Thus,

stronger identification with other Finns is needed for one not to disappear between groups.

As a result, expatriate Finns end up living in-between two cultures, as continuity with the Finnish origin is desired. The expatriate Finns can find themselves living their lives in two cultures as Kiira puts it. Similarly, to their identities experiencing a split, so do their lives. As the expatriate Finns hope to ensure their connection to Finland, to not lose their security net, relationships in Finland must be nurtured. The same goes for their knowledge of the language, but also of the Finnish culture, the events that take place in the society, 'what people talk about' as many informants put it. It was often brought up that nowadays with the modern communication methods, the expatriate Finns can actually feel that they are not that far away, since they can stay up-to-date of what takes place in Finland and in the lives of loved-ones. If not physically, except during holidays, they can be present in the "other" life in Finland virtually, even on daily bases. Laura even considered that now that she can be daily in contact with her family in Finland, she feels that there is less need for frequent trips to Finland. The expatriate Finns indeed can get influence from Finland daily, thus enabling even stronger "dual pull" (Peñaloza 1994) towards their identities as Finns. Like Kiira said, she would like to "take part evenly in both lives" even if it is not possible like she herself acknowledges.

Indeed, the expatriate Finns find themselves in-between dual pull from two cultures, a pull that derives from both external and internal sources. Thus, the informants constantly have to deal with the contradictions of two "realities". Johanna described how trips to Finland can cause her contradictory feelings of both joy and stress. On the other hand, she is happy to be in the company of close-ones, but however, due to having undergone changes during the time spend in Spain, contradictions occur, since she did not apply the logic of the Finnish culture to all fields, like in scheduling activities. However, as Johanna told, even though her behavior had changes in certain respects to not match the "prototype" of a Finn, she did not feel like she embodied a Spanish person either. Similar thoughts were expressed by Laura as well, who together with Johanna showed most signs

of adding Spanish features to their identities. Thus, their identities were perhaps to most split of the informants.

Both Laura and Johanna hinted on similar logics to negotiate the split in their identities. They both appeared to engage in activities that resembled code swapping (Oswald 1999) by switching the code of reference depending on the situation. As the positive side of her situation of living in-between two cultures, Laura mentioned her “triumph” of not having to follow the dominant code of conduct, but change to the culture of reference according to her own liking. Johanna also told how she feels like she can take the liberty to think and act how she herself wants to, but appears to have accepted the split in her identity even further than Laura, by stating that she did not feel strongly of belonging to either nationalities, but that she was simply herself:

“I don’t really find it, or think that I have like some nationality, but that I live here, and I’m me of course, but I don’t think whether I’m Finnish or Spanish or which nationality am I. So for me it isn’t like, like hmm in presence all the time.” (Johanna, 28)

She continued later to explain, how not seeing herself as Finnish or Spanish is visible in her way of thinking: “I think how I think in despite of how Finns think or how those Spaniards think or how a third person thinks, but I think of things how I want to, not depending on where... I come from, or where I live or with whom I, or those you are around me”.

Distancing oneself in the respect of a national identity can indeed give more freedom to constructing one’s way of thinking and acting. It might be that Johanna is able to fight the two contradictory pulls better by avoiding identification to a nationality, thus neglecting such a side of her social identity construction. However, the position that Johanna has taken could be sensed as rather a lonely position, since it allocates more weight to the personal level of identity, because social identity with the category of a nationality is disregarded to a considerable degree. As was argued, most other expatriate Finns negotiate the logic differently. They were willing to identify themselves with the group of

other expatriate Finns; thus, demands from the home country are allowed as a part of identity construction and affect one's behavior.

Earlier it might have been that a stronger identification to the new home country received more motivation, since one was not able to live in two cultures at the same time in the same way as nowadays. In fact, Laura considers that it might have made it easier for her to adopt to the new environment, since she had less cues about the Finnish culture and of people there:

"So it maybe made it easier in that way that I didn't like, it made it faster this adopting to here. Because you didn't have this connection to Finland. And I couldn't for example complain how awful all is, - - the distance has gotten shorter in that sense that then it was, it felt that I left for further away". (Laura, 37)

She then continues to tell how she now has a different type of "closeness" with her family, as she is able to talk to them always even about every-day mundane topics, such as food recipes. Earlier such an intimate connection to Finland was lost, when one decided to move to another country. Thus, now one can identify stronger with Finland, as a stable connection does not get lost, like it did for Laura during the first years she passed in Madrid. However, it might also act as a buffer against deeper acculturation to the new environment, as continuance for the Finnish identity gets more support. Since the expatriate Finns can more equally live in two cultures, they might at the same time postpone building characteristics that would enable a stronger membership with the local group and thus, help bring the new environment a stronger part of one's social identity. The modern environment might indeed make group behavior more complicated as virtual participation facilitates stronger group membership to nations of "old" homes.

5.2 Language in Restricting and Enabling Group Membership

The significance of the Finnish language, the mother tongue for the group in this study came across clearly in the narrative reports of the informants. The importance of language skills has been noted in acculturation research before, but usually by noting the role of advancing the language of the new environment (see for example Faber et al.

1987). Lee and Tse (1994) though have discovered that immigrant consumers might be to a surprising degree invested in the media from previous home countries, even though by doing so they deprive themselves from changes to improve their language skills. The informants in this study did speak of the importance of learning the Spanish language, but considering for example their investment in following Finnish media over the Spanish one and reading in Finnish rather than in other languages, one can draw the conclusion that advancing Spanish skills is not done on the expense of maintaining Finnish skills. The informants point out in many situations how one's mother tongue is something unique and express fear of falling out from having a truly native language for themselves.

It seems that one's mother tongue can be key for self-expressions, when in geographical movement, since the informants consider that with a foreign language one could never possess a skill level, where one could use nor understand all nuances that a language entails. Another reason for why using one's mother language can feel easier is the cultural heritage that is included in each language. Emilia for example explained, why she had started to watch more television after moving to Spain; Due to it being relaxing as both the language and the culture in it as easier to understand. Anni talked about making new friends and while doing so noted that with other Finns the process is faster as "it is that you get deeper in a way as you are with a Finn". She considers that it is partly due to the language, but also as "if thinking about Spaniards, then maybe it is a bit, well maybe we speak of different things".

Indeed, the cultural heritage is deeply attached to a language, one informant Kiira even voiced her thoughts of language depicting one's identity and of how perhaps being raced bilingual might enhance feelings of belongingness to the other culture. Laura spoke of Finnish being her anchoring language, the starting point, similar to one's nationality and home country. Thus, the continuance of their identities is deeply rooted in maintenance of the language, and thus, fear of losing the ability to speak one's mother can motivate one to favor in-group activities with other Finns. However, by getting changes to speak Finnish, feelings of being an outsider might be made stronger:

“And then on the other hand it is funny that when you are in a company that only has Finns then I get a feeling that I am here totally like as a tourist, if we are in some restaurant let’s say, and then we speak in a foreign language, then they like treat us like foreigners, so then in a way, it becomes emphasized, often that you are an outsider here.” (Kiira, 25)

Hence, language also brings a conflict between acculturation and maintenance of one’s identity. Laura also spoke of the conflict between maintaining the Finnish language, while continuously improving her Spanish. Though if we consider the thoughts of the informants of never being able to speak Spanish like a native speaker, an obstacle exists between portraying a Spanish national as changes for self-expression are restricted; hence, identification with the expatriate Finn group once again is supported.

5.3 More Efficient Networking Helping to Build the Expatriate Group

The expatriate Finns take part to a considerable degree with groups, where Finland is a determining factor for membership. Madrid hosts enough Finns that different “Finnish networks” have been established in form of workplaces, language schools, Facebook-groups and even governmental organizations. The informants often referred to the importance of maintaining contact with other expatriate Finns by for example taking part in the “Finnish get-togethers” due to getting advice and contacts that could enable the informants to find work to enable their stay in Madrid. As was found by Gilly (1995) the tendency among expatriate Americans was also to rely on the advice of other expatriates, since they share the same needs. Same phenomenon appears to take place with expatriate Finns.

As was pointed out by the informants, getting to the company of other Finns does not happen without conscious effort, at least usually. Like Kiira pointed out, one does not “just by change run into Finns”. Therefore, taking part in groups that enable networking with other Finns can become very important for one’s future prospects in Madrid. Obviously, not all make use of the Finnish networks, but still many expatriate Finns do

work in certain organizations, where Finnish-language skills might be needed or where Finnish or Nordic workers have established a good reputation. Another reason could be that these organizations have a working culture that for the expatriate Finns is easier to adapt to. The two informants, who worked at Spanish organizations clearly noted that for them the culture at their workplace had been a source of distress. They considered that the more hierarchal structure meant that they had to endure treatment that they would not expect if working in Finland. Milla for example stated that for her the biggest cultural shocks had derived from the workplace. Therefore, their workplaces appeared to have demanded them to go through more changes in their own behavior, demanding higher level of assimilation to the local norms. The research on acculturation in fact has found that more adaptation is likely to occur in the work environment.

Nonetheless, among other informants the opposite might be true. It can be that expatriate Finns are drawn to workplaces, where the identity of the work organization and their personal identity are a good fit. The organizational identification theory (Ashforth & Mael 1989) within social identity theory has established that people identify themselves to a large degree by their workplaces and are more drawn to organizations that better enable a desirable self-perception (Banks et al. 2015). Thus, by working in these organizations stronger identification to Finland is supported; and therefore, identity work that brings continuance to Finland.

Even if one's work might lack connection to Finland, just for example maintaining one's Finnish language skills can often be a reason for building Finnish networks. Even though of course nowadays with modern technologies one can speak Finnish daily with Finns in Finland; however, not face-to-face. In fact, modern technology and social media do not seem to have lessened the need for networking with other expatriate Finns, but quite the contrary. Ilona contemplates on the difference that she has witnessed before and after social media. For example, she recalls the time before the Facebook group existed, when she first came to Madrid about 10 years ago and notes that for some, the group has had a big impact on their networking with other Finns. She tells that some people have lived in

Madrid even for decades without much contact with other Finns, but who after finding the group have come to meetings and been surprised by the amount of other Finns living in Madrid. Ilona considers that in fact new easier access to the networking opportunities might have attributed to the wish to get to the company of other expatriate Finns. As she ponders:

“(some are) because of a Spanish man here, and it is that they have stuck to that Spanish family and Spanish group of friends and they mainly hang out there - - But then some of them have been like, who have been here for longer that “oh here are so many Finns” that have come to those meetings for example. So therefore I just feel that they haven’t had this need as well, because earlier there hasn’t been these kind of groups before based on my understanding.” (Ilona, 34)

In fact, other informants also consider that the easiness of getting to the company of other Finns has largely affected in the creation of such “Finnish networks”. Many of the informants, who have many Finnish contacts speak of it having ended up so “by coincidence”. It might be that currently with the modern technology the expatriate Finns might not just get more security from a home base in Finland, but also get more connection with the expatriate in-group, considering for example Ilona’s thoughts on Facebook having brought more contact with other expatriate Finns. Thus, it’s importance for identity work is likely to be more significant as the value of the membership grows, bringing along various group processes such as collective behavior, whose effect is noted on the following section as well.

5.5 Newly-Found Ethnocentric Finnish Consumption

Finnish expatriates, like other immigrant consumers use possessions to bring continuance to their identities both at the levels of their individual and social identities. Similarly, to possessions providing a narrative framework for a sense of place and purpose (Price et al. 2000), possessions also seem to help the Finnish expatriates to maintain a connection to their past in the new environment that lacks clues to many earlier life events. Important reason for bringing Finnish possessions to Madrid is that they can link the informants to

their own personal memories, to people and to Finland. For example, with the gifts that informants receive from other Finns, the extended self of the gift-giver perhaps is more welcomed to take part in her identity work rather than just the product itself.

Objects that preserved the function of transitional objects were found; however, with Finnish expatriates the Finnish possessions they owned did not seem to include 'Finnish artifacts' (Mehta & Belk 1991) e.g. touristic objects that are viewed as authentic presentations of culture of origin. Rather, the Finnish objects that the informants had included objects that they themselves consider to be found in every Finn's home, such as dishes and home linen from well-known traditional Finnish brands, like from Iittala, Marimekko, Kalevala etc. Only with Sanna and her 'Finnish collection' traces of relying on preserving her Finnish identity in artifacts was clear. For example, her wooden design object was on show just for the sake of it being Finnish and a gift. Sanna is the one of the informants, who most clearly lacks changes to interact with other Finns in Madrid and she says that feels sad for it. It might be that the other Finnish expatriates are able to preserve their identity as Finns with other activities more strongly than Sanna, due to which they resort to those more than to preserving their identity in objects.

Nevertheless, often the possessions that the Finnish expatriates have appear to be aimed at bringing inclusiveness towards other Finns in general. As goods can express cultural meaning and represent membership in different categories (McCracken 1986) one can strengthen their membership to the Finnish in-group by owning, displaying and using products that include meaningful properties in the Finnish cultural frame. Since acceptance of items that are part of group identities to one's extended self means stronger identification with the group in question (Ahuvia 2005) the informants owning many products from Finnish brands implies clear identification with one's nationality. The citations of the informants that point to all Finns having dishes and other products from Iittala and Marimekko make it seem that these items indeed are accepted by the group of Finns. Thus, expatriate Finns participate in ethnocentric behavior, which gives an individual a sense of identity and belongingness (Shrimp & Sharma 1987). "Finnish possessions" can effectively help expression of a particular social identity and show the

level of attachment to it, also to themselves. Like said, the informants especially resorted to certain brands, which likely were seen as “authentic Finnish brands” (Dino & Cappellini 2014). It indeed appears that brand identification (Lam et al. 2010) takes places with many traditional Finnish brands. Interestingly though, informants spoke of the increased importance of these brands, and of even not having found them important before the geographical movement and how it was fitting for an expatriate Finn to own items of traditional Finnish culture. Perhaps the informants start to connect consuming certain products now with their identities as expatriate Finns rather than identities as Finns like before; thus, they find consuming them more fitting to their identity work now than before the movement.

Not just local, but also global brands have found to offer mobile consumers a way to anchor their identity (Bengtsson et al. 2010). However, when abroad expatriate Finns are not surrounded by many Finnish brands like the Americans of the study of Bengtsson et al. with Starbucks, McDonald’s e.g. Therefore, they have to rely on themselves in bringing such possessions. Alternatively, they can search for familiar brands and products that might hold a connection with their home countries. Sanna even spoke of, how now living outside of the city means lack of similarities to Finland that the city center would have. These similarities that she mentions, like Zara & H&Ms are not Finnish, but indeed present in the Finnish city environment, such as they are present in Madrid due to global market forces and mobility of people. As such, “the third acculturation agent” (Askegaard et al. 2005) can enable the continuance of the old identity that has been influenced by international forces.

In addition, many Swedish brands or stores in fact are present in the “brandscape” (Rahman & Cherrier 2010) of Madrid. These objects often are closer to the Finnish culture than other alternatives. Therefore, the expatriate Finns might negotiate the borders of Finnish and Swedish cultures less strictly than they would if they would still be living in Finland and consider that they can bring continuity to their Finnish identities by consuming products that in fact are of Swedish origin. Consuming Swedish products that are available in Madrid and which resemble Finnish products can be considered one example of “compromise consumption” (Mehta & Belk 1991) but however, they might be

linked to the newly negotiated group that the expatriate Finns identify with. Like was discussed, the informants seemed to have negotiated their social identity to be more strongly linked with being Nordic than it had been before to react to local knowledge that is utilized to make social categorizations. As such, consuming products from other Nordic countries can be seen as making material their social identities.

5.6 Positive Finnish or Nordic Distinctiveness

Using Finnish possessions and behaving in a way that showcases Finnishness is not just used to support the feelings of belongingness with other Finns, be it other expatriate Finns or Finns in Finland. Another reason that arises among the informants of this study is standing out by being a member of a nationality that in Madrid can be considered to be exotic. Expatriate Finns, by strengthening their Finnish identities and for example by engaging in Finnish consumption can add distance to other groups that are found in Madrid, since they can showcase differentiating attributes that they possess. People face competing drives for inclusiveness and distinctiveness (Brewer 1991). However, as the Finnish in-group in Madrid does not face issues of being overly inclusive due to the low number of Finnish expatriates, they can find that by taking part in activities that add inclusiveness towards the Finnish group can at the same time be differentiating in respect to the majority of people that they face in their environment.

Another reason for wishing to bring continuity to their Finnish identities is that the informants find that being associated with Finns attracts almost none negative responds. Thus, being a Finnish national in Madrid does not appear to mean allocation to a stigmatized group, such as for example the Mexican or Haitian immigrants in the United States (Peñaloza 1994; Oswald 1999). The SIDE model (Reicher et al. 1995) suggests that the expression of a social identity includes consideration of the opposition, especially if the opposition has a lot of power in the society. The informants speak of the feelings of being unwelcomed having more to do with being a foreigner in general, but that as Finnish nationals they receive positive reactions. Taking into consideration the large foreign population in Madrid with representation of multiple nationalities, categorizing

people based on their nationality to make sense of one's environment perhaps is resorted to quite often as categorical labels can offer heuristic means for choosing behavioral standards that are likely functional (Banks et al. 2015). This way one can make sense of events and people by using stereotyping. Thus, as membership to the Finnish out-group might be more positive than to other out-groups, additional motivation to bring out one's Finnishness exists.

Many of the informants speak of wishing to "show off" Finnish products and brands that they are proud of and that have been internationally successful. As clothing, such as other possessions, can serve as a means of cultural expression and even indicate nationality (Peñaloza 1994) wearing a piece of clothing from Marimekko e.g. can acquire different meanings in the new environment. Expatriate Finns might have a further incentive to use certain Finnish products and to show those off to others, since success of a national brand can increase the collective national pride of a nation (Verlegh, 2007). One reason, why the brand Marimekko was named so often might in fact have something to do with the expected positive reaction from the locals, since Emilia's comments that: "to me it is somehow really a pity that here you can't get Marimekko, here in Madrid, because it would be a pretty Spanish thing - - That Marimekko style-wise would fit here really well." Informants do note it as desirable to receive compliments for their clothing and other products that are from Finnish brands and to be then able to tell others that the complimented product is Finnish. Johanna even points out that she would like to be "like an ambassador" for the Finnish brands that she likes and that she could explain to others that a product "has been made with this idea".

However, it is interesting that Johanna, who stated that she did not find nationality that important for her identity formation takes part in such clear ethnocentric behavior with these Finnish products. One reason could be the outside reactions; other people might still allocate her to the Finnish in-group, even if she did not find it important for her identity formation. Thus, even Johanna might not be able to escape the membership to the Finnish in-group; therefore, in certain aspects that can increase her ethnic pride she takes part in activities that bring continuance to her Finnish identity.

Wishing to tell the idea behind a product is not limited to well-known brands that can add the pride of expatriate Finns. In fact, it seems that one reason, why Finnish expatriates want to stand out from other people in their lives is the wish to be able to educate them about their roots and heritage. Sanna speaks of her reasons to use Finnish possessions:

"Maybe it's that we get now quite many guests - - so, hmm I want to somehow spread this Finnish message also to them, or try to get them understand me better where I come from. I find it really important that I hmm tell them about my country and show like objects and more things like that. That, because of course I know a lot about their country, or about Spain. But then on the other hand here you don't have any like, this bond to Finland than me and my things". (Sanna, 23)

It appears that she wishes to show Finnish possessions to her guests and by doing so, educate them about herself. As she points out, she does know a lot about the Spanish culture, but others do not know her cultural background. By using products that stand out, others are likely to notice those and be given clues of the other person's culture. They might even start a conversation about those products offering a chance to explain certain aspects of Finland and the Finnish culture, or why the other person is behaving in a certain way.

In fact, being Finnish and referring to one's Finnish background can allow the informants to behave in a different way from the cultural norms of the host society, as was suggested earlier. For example, Laura talks of being a Finn as a triumph of hers, since she can choose her behavior according to the norms of being in Spain, or of being a Finn:

"Maybe it brings this certain liberty here that I don't then have to on the other hand be so Spanish that I don't have to blend in, if I don't want to blend in. That it works as a good excuse for me that well 'I am Finnish and I will do so, because I will do so, since I am Finnish' - - if people look strangely that then I can say 'well I am Finnish'". (Laura, 37)

Another example is eating candy, what in Spain is not common with adults, points out Laura. However, as Laura says "in this I am very very Finnish and I defend this eating candy - - Here they don't understand it." In situations where her way of behaving could

be considered unorthodox, she refers to her Finnish roots to give herself a liberty to behave in a certain way, however, to enable that, she needs to make herself stand out from the others.

5.7 Including Finnish Attributes in the Relational Self

Among the activities that were used to maintain Finnishness, some were motivated by the informants' own close-ones in Spain. A tendency to try to educate them or to bring out certain features in them that would link other people closer to Finland was suggested. Taking that into consideration that Finland will always form a part of their identity is not surprising that the informants want to share these sides of themselves with people in Spain with whom they have a meaningful relationship with. In the case of children of expatriate Finns, the desire to bring out Finnish attributes in their children could be expected, since their children are in fact Finnish nationals as well. However, since they are living in another country these children do not get as much exposure to Finnish culture and to their Finnish roots as they do with the Spanish environment, the Spanish culture and language. As physical presence in Finland is limited to occasional trips to Finland, many other strategies were resorted to. Close-ones can increase the motivation to take part in activities that have been suggested in this study.

However, activities that help others to take part in the "Finnish in-group" are not just found with children, but also with other close-ones. Many informants' life-partners take part in Finnish consumption of which many examples were offered earlier. With Ilona even the family of her boyfriend is very actively taking part in activities that are linked to Finland. As the literature has demonstrated, peoples' identities are not merely shaped by who they are, but also by their close-ones, since people can include others in their selves. Due to this, close relationships can hold great importance for one's self-perception (Aron & Aron 1986). That's why Finnish consumers might be motivated to attach certain attributes to their close-ones in Spain.

Taking into consideration that some of the close-ones are linked to Finland only due to their relationship with these Finnish expatriates, purposeful actions might be needed to enhance this connection. Ilona gives as one reason for bringing a lot of products from Finland that her new family can try them: "it is a bit like different, we are on the other end of Europe". She might want to lessen the distance that they have between each other's cultural backgrounds. Brewer and Gardner (1996) found that the social self in fact includes two levels, the collective self and the relational self. Therefore, not only social categorizations on the "big scale" bring out group behavior that aligns one's behavior according to the relevant prototype, but also intimate relationships and memberships in small face-to-face groups. One's family definitely fits this criteria of a meaningful membership with an intimate group. As one member of these families included a Finnish national, these prototypic interpersonal identities could become altered and bring changes in the group behavior to include Finnish activities. Also, in respect to other people, the distinctiveness of their small "family in-group" might be enhanced by additional "rare" attributes. The fact that Laura is very willing to add Spanish attributes to her individual identity, but still makes use of distinctiveness of Finnish behavior with her role as a mom, thus on the relational level of her social identity, could hint of such a thought process.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Research Summary

This research started with the interest to explore the acculturation process of Finnish consumers living in Madrid from the perspective of maintaining ties to Finland. Their acculturation process was researched with the focus on activities that are used to bring continuance to their identities as Finns and thus creating a sense of continuity to their lives. In researching the informants' narrative reports social identity theory was used to make sense of their identity work. Therefore, the identity work on the social self, and how it guides behavior was the main point of interest. However, different levels of the identity are aligned, thus the social self is a part of the same identity construction as the personal self. During the research process, the aim of this research was defined to discover how Finnish expatriates in Spain negotiate Finnishness to participate in their identity formation mainly at the social level of identity and in which activities it results in.

The analysis started by establishing how the Finnish identities affect their self-perception. With most informants the importance of Finland for their identity is significant as could be expected due to the desire of seeing oneself in a positive light. Positive outside reactions also aid the identification to the Finnish in-group. Nonetheless, desires to introduce new attributes to their identities existed. Finnish expatriates go through changes to integrate themselves to their new home country; thus, new features that are preferred over certain "Finnish features" are accepted to take part of their selves.

However, at the collective level, membership to the local Spanish group is in many ways denied and the expatriate Finns do not express signs of starting to view themselves as members of the Spanish group. Often they feel that they get treated like outsiders, even like tourists. Reasons for this separation include for example Spanish language abilities, but more importantly their appearance. Therefore, when using the criteria of nationality in social categorization, the informants become members of the Finnish (or Nordic) in-

group. They extend their in-group from Finnish to Nordic as a response to the knowledge of other people to allow more efficient use of social categorization. Informants express emotional investment in this membership, and thus it results in behaviors that enhance their group membership. However, they find that they differ from most Finns due to being more international than Finns living in Finland; thus, they associate themselves as members of other Finnish expatriates. The interviewees often talk of an instant connection with other expatriate Finns and of things that only they can understand; they seem similarly placed with other expatriate Finns. Identification with expatriate Finns allows them to write their past in Finland as part of their current narrative identity, but with the addition of certain features from living abroad.

Activities that the informants engage in to support their identities as Finns are presented. These include first of all maintaining a “home base” in Finland, since they might fear falling outside a group in respect to their nationality, and country. Thus, a security net is maintained. Modern technology support greatly the maintenance of “life in two places”. Also people in Finland contribute actively to the preservation of these ties by providing a ‘pull’ effect for example by sending Finnish possessions. The informants also express a fear of falling without a mother tongue, an anchoring language, which could result as loss of identity, since language is found to depict one’s identity significantly. They consider that with other languages their self-expression could never be as rich as with Finnish. The wish to use their mother tongue can motivate expatriate Finns to find “Finnish networks”; through these groups expatriate Finns in Madrid meet other Finns, give advice and network. Many interviewees work in Finnish organizations, which supports maintenance of Finnishness due to favorable in-group activities of these work organizations. Other networks include for example the Finnish language school, but most importantly the Facebook-group and the regular get-togethers of the group; again modern technology has a key impact in supporting “Finnish activities”.

Informants also use consumption to strengthen their connection to Finland, to people and to memories, which are missed without the informants’ own participation. Through possession, the expatriate Finns can participate in Finnish in-group behavior by owning

similar products than do other Finns. They become more flexible in negotiating a Finnish object, as many Swedish or Nordic products are accepted to take part of identity formation. Also, standing out with Finnish possessions and with “Finnish behavior” is used to strengthen their distinctiveness. They find that Finnish products help to bring inclusiveness towards other Finns, while standing out in a positive way from others in Madrid. The informants speak of wishing to become ambassadors for Finnish brands and of pushing Finnish things to guests to help them understand the other’s cultural background. Finally, behavior that aims to make close-ones in Spain a part of the Finnish in-group was found; thus, they might wish that their close-ones also to engage in behavior that maintains Finnishness.

In the discussion part started by arguing in more detail why identification takes place with their minority group for example by noting the desire of unified identity even when faced with multiple identity roles, such as me as a Finn or me as a Spaniard (Ahuvia 2005). It is suggested that their identity work not necessarily becomes a subject of conflict just from acculturation to Spain, but from previous lives already. The expatriate Finns think that the international attributes of their identities derive from time, when they were still living in Finland. At that time participating in activities that are linked to Finland might have seem contradictory to their international identity, thus, making ethnocentric behavior difficult. However, when living abroad their international side becomes an obvious extension of their identity, while they might better notice the effect of Finland for their identities. Thus they might not voluntary validate all Spanish behavioral norms. Hence, the position of an expatriate Finn, or an immigrant from Nordic countries appears to be the closest available choice that is recognized by other people; thus enabling people to expect certain attributes from the expatriate Finns through process of social stereotyping.

All in all, they perhaps can negotiate the split in identity more efficiently by referring to membership with other expatriate Finns. Thanks to the new identity logic, they might become more willing to take part in activities that support their membership to the Finnish expatriate group in areas that are not found contrary to personal identities. The

discussion part of the thesis continued by investigating these Finnish-identity-supporting activities in light of their relevance for the identity work during movement.

Their membership with other Finns can be considered as “safe” if ties to close-ones and to Finnish culture are nurtured. With the modern technology they can indeed be “present” in the “other life”, which brings continuance to their identities, but simultaneously can derive them from building characteristics that would bring stronger identification with Spaniards. In-group activities with other Finns are motivated by the Finnish language, since obstacles of portraying the Spanish prototype arrive from not being able to become a native Spanish-speaker. However, using a foreign language can highlight the feelings of being an outsider, hence, mother tongue can discourage acculturation to the new environment. Maintaining their mother tongue on the other hand strongly supports taking part in “Finnish networks”, where favorable in-group activities are influenced by Finland. Often workplaces supported Finland to take part of the identity formation on the social level, since many worked in Finnish organizations. On the other hand, “Finnish networks” of other type, like the Facebook group helped them find employment at such organizations. The virtual networks are found also to have increased identification with Finland as expatriate Finns can become more connected with the expatriate in-group that lives abroad like they and not just with people in Finland.

Possessions were used to maintain Finnishness in respect to both individual and social identity. Possessions brought back memories of past life events, of people and places. As the cultural meaning (McCracken 1986) of goods can indicate membership to social categories, high levels of investment in certain “authentic” Finnish brands ((Dino & Cappellini 2014) was detected, implying clear identification with one’s Finnish nationality; also participating in such ethnocentric behavior supported impersonating the Finnish prototype. It was suggested that Finnish possessions became associated with their identities as expatriate Finns rather than as Finns, and thus many had started more willingly to collect such possessions. Also, the Nordic extension of the group identity was visible in Nordic products becoming a tool for one’s identity work.

Possessions also aided the informants to stand out positively with their Finnish identities. They might wish to bring out their Finnishness or Nordic side to not be allocated to foreigners in general. Referring to one's Finnish origin and educating them about it also enabled informants to behave in a different way from the cultural norms. The final activity that was detected was adding "Finnish attributes" to close-ones in Spain to lessen the distance between each other's cultural backgrounds, and thus, identities. If the social self includes two levels, collective and relational self, social categorizations not only on the "big scale" result in group behavior. Thus, they might wish that their Finnish identities affect their roles in intimate relationships and small face-to-face groups. Also, rare "Finnish attributes" can enhance the distinctiveness of their small "family in-group".

6.2 Research Contributions

This thesis offers several contributions to acculturation research and to the study of identity work during geographic movement especially at the social level of identity. Acculturation process of Finnish expatriates has not received attention in academic research, and in general acculturation process outside of the U.S. premise has not dominated in research. Especially rare are studies of consumer acculturation between two rather similar cultural frames, such as two European countries with Western cultures. However, considering the dissolving national cultures in front of the global culture and increasing movement of people, research in cases, where cultural differences are subtler can offer valuable knowledge, since acculturation process will increasingly be affected by more common ground between cultures of old and new homes. Also, the rapid emergence of modern technology can constantly affect the acculturation process by offering new tools to cope with the distance.

By researching the narrative reports of Finns living in Madrid from the perspective of identity work at the social level, insights for their behavior in respect to acculturation process were revealed. The research questions of this study dealt with how Finnishness is negotiated to take part in the identity formation, while one is no longer living in Finland, what activities it results in and how these activities affect acculturation to the new

environment. The work on social self is found a crucial factor in affecting one's behavior, since moving away from similar others creates contradictions. On the other hand, it is found to be a way to deal with an already existing split in personal identity in respect to the desire of seeing oneself as international, rather than just Finnish. Such a group that willingly accepts a partial loss of national identity in favor of a more international identity most likely is constantly growing in the modern global world. When living away international extension to one's identity becomes clear and enables identification to the expatriate in-group. With such an identity position one can include both Finnish and non-Finnish attributes to oneself and still impersonate the group prototype to a satisfying degree. Identification to the expatriate group results in group behavior, which includes supporting the Finnish identity. This research found modern technology to support maintenance of Finnish identity as it enables being more present in two lives and to network more effectively with other expatriates. Identification as an expatriate Finn though, while supporting construction of a more harmonious identity can on the other hand postpone stronger acculturation to the new culture and result in feelings of less membership with the local group. Verlegh called for additional research "to better understand the implications of the consumers' identification with multiple national or ethnic groups" (2007 p. 370). The findings of this study however suggest that modern technology can help the construction of a more unified self during movement, by enabling the position of a member in an expatriate group to become more meaningful.

As movement of people and cultural influence is constantly increasing, studies about acculturation and how identity work is negotiated during movement offer many important points to consider from the marketers' perspective to better understand global consumption patterns. It was found that identification with the expatriate Finnish group resulted in becoming more ethnocentric in respect to Finnish brands and products and that increasing one's distinctiveness with products from old homes often is desired. The informants of this study even expressed desires to become ambassadors for Finnish products to aid their self-image by increasing the reputation of possessions that are seen to carry Finnish culture. Indeed, deeper understanding of identity work of consumers in

movement can help a marketer better realize how processes that are linked to the construction of the social self might affect global consumption.

6.3 Limitations of the Study

This research offered many insights about identity work during movement and how it affects the acculturation process. However, this study is not without its limitations. First of all, considering that this study used qualitative methods, the results cannot be generalized to hold with other groups and not even with all other expatriate Finns, since the sample of this study comprised of eight participants, some of whom knew each other's; thus, they were rather similarly placed in their social surroundings. However, a smaller participant group can allow more in-depth research of complicated phenomena.

Considering other immigrant consumer groups, the results can hold to some extent. One should though be careful in making direct conclusions considering the argued effect of social categorizations for group identification and expression, thus research with other immigrant groups could result in different ways to negotiate one's identity work and behavior. For example, findings, which were argued to be affected by the positive image of Finns or people from Nordic countries should be considered carefully before extending those to other groups. Also, as identity work is affected strongly by the culture of the surrounding society, it is possible that studying Finnish expatriate groups that live in other countries than Spain would yield different results. Also, the differences in the immigrant group of each destination inside each country could result in alternative logics to negotiate two cultural references for one's identity work. Considering the differences that the participants of this study found in respect to living in Madrid and in Southern Spain, their identity work during movement and activities to support it might be altered.

Also, the use of narrative analysis brings its own limitations, as would any research method. At the core of narrative analysis is the fact that the narratives, which form the data, are not accurate "truthful" explanations, but attempts to explain experienced

meanings. From participants' stories the researcher narrates the story, which includes the research findings. Thus, it is always dependent of the personal analysis of the researcher, and some other person might have drawn different conclusions or decide to present different findings as the most relevant ones to explain certain behavior. Hence, the responsibility of the reader always remains to make the decision whether to validate findings in the light of offered evidence and plausibility of arguments. All in all, the findings should be considered to offer constructs and thought processes that often affect behavior of Finnish expatriates, and in some cases expatriates of other countries, and thus, can help understand possible reasons for behavior of these immigrant consumers.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Both studies of acculturation and identity work at the social level of the self are facing new impulses from increasing movement of people, ideas and products, which bring more heterogeneity to one's social surroundings. The continuous development of modern technology increases the influence of these new forces that complicate one's thought process in respect to group behavior and identity formation. As the presence of immigrant consumer groups and their number is constantly rising, it offers interesting perspectives for studies of various kinds. For example, it would be interesting to find out what changes occur with the identity work of people, who are from the hosting culture, but have a meaningful relationship with expatriate consumers. Also, acculturation process of Finnish expatriates living in different hosting countries would be interesting to conduct to see, how the different cultural frame would affect the findings.

In addition, different identity theories could be utilized to study acculturation of expatriate Finns. As identity work is such a complicated construct with various levels and various theories about the identity, the logic behind one's identity construction during acculturation process has a multitude of possibilities for discovery of new insights. Also, by using different methods new insights could be revealed, for example ethnography could offer interesting possibilities for studies about Finnish acculturation.

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