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Temporalities of citizenship among Finnish Somali women: simultaneities, disruptions and accelerations along the refugeeness-citizenship continuum

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ABSTRACT

Time is central to both the regimes and the lived experiences of refugeeness and citizenship. Refugeeness as a spatio-temporal immobility and form of control is extensively studied. However, only a few works address the temporalities of citizenship comprehensively. This paper reveals lived temporalities of citizenship among a group of Finnish Somali women who hold various legal statuses. Building on the mutually constitutive nature of refugeeness and citizenship, I conceptualise these states as representing either end of a continuum along which people shift through time and space. Using the analytical perspective of lived citizenship, I identify various everyday dimensions of the women's citizenship and their positionings on the continuum. My analysis illuminates how institutional and individual temporalities of citizenship can be aligned (e.g. in global mobility) or disordered (due to othering and loss of daily spatio-temporal agency). The results show how this group of Finnish Somali women negotiate mainstream linear temporalities and enact complex temporal strategies to advance both their own citizenship and that of their local and transnational families.

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Introduction

Refugeeness and citizenship are closely intertwined. Legally speaking, integration is considered complete when a former refugee acquires the citizenship of the country of asylum (Lyytinen 2019, 22). However, a passport says little about people's actual experiences of citizenship and refugeeness. Even *after* obtaining formal citizenship, people of refugee background may feel immobilised or excluded in certain spheres of their everyday life. Equally, even *before* receiving a residence permit, they may feel self-realised and fulfil their political agency in various dimensions. Therefore, one may ask: *when* does refugeeness end? (*ibid.*)

The question is as temporal as it is spatial. There are many studies on the temporalities of asylum and migration regimes (Fontanari 2017; Mountz 2011; Rygiel, Baban, and Ilcan 2018; Villegas 2014), but only a few on the temporalities of citizenship (Diaz 2021; Esposito et al. 2020). Citizenship is recognised as a spatial

concept, but less as a temporal one. If migration, including refugeeness, is understood as a spatio-temporal process, the same should be applied to citizenship (Cwerner 2001, 7, 10).

Time is always political and implies relationships of power (Scheller 2019, 366). In Western traditions, time is generally conceptualised as proceeding in a straight line from past to present and future. Subsequently, at the level of individuals, migration temporalities are often idealised as a mechanic process with discrete phases and states of being: from entry, through settlement, to family reunification and, for a few, citizenship (Griffiths, Rogers, and Anderson 2013). Refugeeness is associated with the past, with pervasive time management and permanent temporariness, while citizenship is produced as a desirable and normative future of permanence. Some scholars have criticised these assumptions of temporal linearity, but I claim that further efforts should be made to understand time as 'socially and culturally constructed temporality' (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 4).

This article reveals the complex temporalities and spatialities of citizenship through the analytical lens of the lived citizen experience of a group of Finnish Somali women. Building on the idea that citizenship and refugeeness are co-constitutive (Kapur 2007), I conceptualise them as the two ends of a continuum, along which, I argue, people may position themselves and shift through time, space and various dimensions of their everyday experiences. Lived citizenship has been crucial in undoing dichotomies between public and private spheres (Lister 2007). I argue that this concept can still contribute to unmaking assumptions of linear temporality, thus helping make better sense of people's complex experiences and agencies along the refugeeness-citizenship continuum. I use lived citizenship – and participant observation data as background knowledge – to analyse interviews conducted with a group of Finnish Somali women with different legal statuses who arrived in Finland as refugees at different times and stages in their lives. By 'refugees' I not only mean people who received the official refugee status, but more generally people who were displaced, lived in refugee-like conditions and arrived in Finland as quota refugees, by applying for asylum in Europe or through family reunification.

This research substantiates understandings of citizenship as both temporal and spatial. It reveals how time is crucial to citizenship not only as an objective duration, but also as a lived experience that is constantly re-made through individuals' social relationships, locations and perceptions (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 4). While citizenship is commonly used to define people of refugee background, in this research, the participants define themselves and citizenship; both of these definitions are analysed as citizenship practices. Finally, and to a more limited extent, this paper functions as a reminder of how refugeeness is central to the production of citizenship as nativist, racialised privilege.

In what follows, firstly I revise refugeeness and citizenship through the concept of critical, multiple and intersecting temporalities; I do so to propose the idea of a spatio-temporal continuum along which people shift between refugeeness and citizenship regardless of their legal status. This idea allows us to understand how people's subjective temporalities and the institutional ones may be aligned or disordered from time to time. Secondly, I present the research methods and ethics. Before delving into analysis, I share the participants' identity narratives with the hope to amplify them. Next, I analyse the spatio-temporalities implied by various meanings that Finnish Somali women attach to

citizenship: the analysis of citizenship as a passport contributes to the argument by illustrating how people may be positioned along the continuum close to both refugeeness and to citizenship in different dimensions of their everyday life. Adding to this, the scrutiny of lived citizenship as learning a language for employment addresses the tensions between the rigid temporalities of integration processes and the participants' subjective temporalities. By examining the meaning of citizenship as family, I expand the argument by focusing on how Finnish Somali women negotiate not only their subjective and institutional temporalities, but also those of their families. To conclude, I summarise the key contributions of this study and give suggestions for future research.

Critical temporalities along the citizenship-refugeeness continuum

Refugeeness as a legal, social and political framework is central to inquiries into citizenship: 'the migrant subject is deeply implicated in the constitution of citizenship' (Kapur 2007, 539). Refugeeness is mostly associated with forced migration, long periods of forced immobility, pressures to integrate while constantly being faced with deportation, waiting and 'permanent temporariness' (Baas and Yeoh 2019, 164), typically holding an underprivileged passport (or none) and having little to no access to safe and free international mobility and the protection bestowed by citizenship (Hyndman and Giles 2011, 366). Refugees' and asylum seekers' experiences are characterised by a lack of control over their own time, i.e. restricted temporal agency (Thorshaug and Brun 2019, 233). In contrast, acquiring citizenship is often seen as achieving permanence, self-realisation and full integration (at least in legal terms), access to often more privileged passports and significantly freer mobility. Interestingly, little is known about the temporal experiences, practices and orientations of former refugees who have become citizens.

Temporality can be understood as embodied, lived experiences of time (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 5). Multiple scales of temporalities exist and intersect with each other: for example, the institutional temporal politics of migration and citizenship regimes intersect with the embodied experiences of time of those who navigate such regimes (Baas and Yeoh 2019, 165). Migration regimes make large use of time to regulate people's mobility, rights and lives through visas, residence permits, asylum processes, containment, detention and processing times.

Likewise, the temporalities of citizenship regimes deserve equal attention. Some authors theorise citizenship across time and space; however, they engage with time mostly as a history of citizenship (Diaz 2021; Pailey 2016) or focus on the spatio-temporal criteria underlying modern forms of citizenship (Bullen and Whitehead 2005). In contrast, I focus, in this study, on embodied, lived temporalities of citizenship among people with a refugee background.

The institutional temporalities of citizenship unfold through integration programmes and citizenship application processes, which often take years. The macro-temporalities of migration and citizenship regimes alike affect the lives of refugee-background individuals, who experience citizenship and refugeeness at the microlevel of their daily routines, as well as at the meso- and macro-levels of life events and migration-citizenship regimes. Individuals 'move between micro, meso, and macro scales of temporal perception and production': everyone is embedded in the intersecting temporalities

at once, but can be positioned differently in each (Scheller 2019, 337). Time is thus to be seen as ‘principally asynchronous, operating at multiple levels that often do not run in tandem’ (Baas and Yeoh 2019, 166). In one of the few studies engaging with the temporalities of citizenship, Esposito et al. (2020) observe how citizenship rights are fragmented along a continuum, so that people are differentially included and can enjoy only part of the legal rights entailed by full citizenship. My research advances the idea of Esposito et al. of a continuum by theorising the temporalities and interconnections of citizenship and refugeeness more broadly (see also Rodrigo 2021).

Frequently, refugeeness is produced as a past which disrupts people’s lives, something they struggle with in their present and which orients them toward the desirable future of citizenship – or the frightening future of deportation (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 4). Such linear temporal assumptions fail to recognise refugees’ temporal agency and the ways in which past, presents and future are organically interconnected (*ibid.*: 5). Moreover, individuals of a refugee background may fulfil their lived citizenship in some respects even before receiving a permit or citizenship in their new country (Marucco 2018). Likewise, they may also struggle for their full citizenship in certain dimensions of their everyday life after accessing the realm of universal citizenship (Ambrosini 2012, 14). Their realities call into question assumptions of linear temporality from refugeeness to citizenship.

Building on this idea, I propose here a conceptualisation of refugeeness and citizenship as the co-constitutive extremes of a spatio-temporal continuum, along which people can shift in both directions through time and space. This conceptualisation helps to understand citizenship as constructed privilege, which is always based in the oppressive production of refugeeness and deportability (De Genova 2002; De Genova et al. 2021, 74), whether a person may ever experience refugeeness in their lives or not. Highlighting the interconnections between refugeeness and citizenship is important to unveil the nativist, racialised privilege attached to citizenship in the EU: ‘Non-citizens, but sometimes even citizens, are at constant risk of eviction or expulsion, as rules, policies, or regimes change’ (Scheller 2019, 339). Deportability and the EU border can follow refugee-background people through time, an injustice that those who were born EU citizens and are socially considered as natives do not face.

I explore the spatio-temporalities of a group of Finnish Somali women along the refugeeness-citizenship continuum through the lens of lived citizenship. The concept of lived citizenship allows the recognition of the details and peculiarity of refugee-background people’s lives and to unravel essentialist views of time, refugeeness and citizenship (Cwerner 2001, 15). For its part, the literature on lived citizenship and women of refugee background includes studies on migrant workers (Lee and Pratt 2012), women (Cherubini 2011) and mothers (Erel 2011). Several other studies concentrate on people seeking asylum and refugees *during* resettlement (Bastaki 2020; Hiitola and Vuori 2018). In contrast, it is rare to find analyses of how women of refugee background define and experience citizenship *after* resettling and obtaining a residence permit.

I apply recent theorisations of lived citizenship i.e. as spatial, intersubjective, performed and affective (Kallio, Wood, and Häkli 2020). In particular, I focus on the spatial aspect and combine it with non-linear temporal conceptualisations of political agency (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020). The ways in which citizenship is conceptualised both

produce space and are produced by it. Citizenship norms, laws and perceptions position some individuals at the centre and others at the margins of society based on the intersections between their gender, race, class, etc. (Painter and Philo 1995, 116). Therefore, tensions often arise between citizenship as a formal status and as lived experience thereof. Acquiring formal citizenship may not change the lives of some people, since their negotiations and claims may lie in the economic, social or cultural spheres, causing a decoupling of citizenship status and rights (Leitner and Ehrkamp 2006, 1617). The spaces where people live and negotiate their citizenship – henceforth spaces of citizenship (Painter and Philo 1995) – can be traced from their subjectivities and everyday routines. The configurations of these spaces of citizenship can change through time, following the micro-, meso- and macro-temporalities of individuals' everyday lives. In this way, through time, space and various dimensions of lived citizenship, people position themselves at different points on the citizenship-refugeeness continuum and move along it.

I investigate how a group of Finnish Somali women live citizenship – irrespective of their formal status –, as subjects in their own structured agency, their own intersubjective practices and in the sets of relationships they negotiate every day with various communities within or beyond the territorial boundaries of the state. Citizenship is increasingly recognised as being constructed through relationships and practices (Kallio, Wood, and Häkli 2020, 714, 717, 723). Thus, my analysis concentrates on citizenship as defined by individuals, as mundane 'political acts [which] often blur the boundaries between the private and public and challenge assumptions about formal and informal politics' (Chouinard 2009, 108), regardless of the observable outcome of such acts.

Practices of defining citizenship and self can be considered uses of power (Lorde 1984, 137). Therefore, I have started my research interviews by asking participants to define themselves and citizenship; I report their identity narratives in this article and analyse their subjectivities, along with the participants' priorities, everyday spaces and practices. Thus, this study differs from an analysis of the experiences of naturalisation processes or of already existing meanings and forms of citizenship (Aptekar 2016; Monforte, Bassel, and Khan 2019). I see the practice of defining as spatial and relational: every time we define our identities, we inevitably position ourselves in relation to the world and to other people.

In this paper, I use the concept of identity narratives to refer to the informants' definitions of themselves. These narratives illustrate the socially produced 'sense of self that encompasses who [they] think they are, and how other people regard them' (Blunt 2003, 72). Such an idea of a social, situated self sustains the political element of identity (Whitebrook 2001, in Kynsilehto 2001, 34). To connect the participants' self-definitions with their experiences in my analysis of lived citizenship, I employ the concept of subjectivity meaning 'the agency of migrant women in "making themselves" through engaging with social divisions and power relations of gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality' (Erel 2009, in Kynsilehto 2001, 35).

The less civic or not intentionally civic ways of performing citizenship that I discuss in this paper encompass a range of spaces and scales – private, intimate, local, national, transnational and global (Erel, Reynolds, and Kaptani 2018, 57). The claims and practices emerging from my analysis may be 'at the limit of the political': while enacting them, the participants may not consider themselves as 'citizens' nor 'doing citizenship'. Such claims

and practices nonetheless constitute lived citizenship, as they convey matters that were politicised in the participants' lives during the time of the research, 'the issues which people notice, care about, attend to and work to change' (Kallio, Wood, and Häkli 2020, 721, 723–724).

Methods

I employed group and semi-structured interviews and substantial participant observation to grasp how the participants' political agencies and their social, economic and legal frameworks interplay in their everyday lives through time and space. I conducted four months of fieldwork in 2016 in Turku, one of the largest Finnish cities, interviewing or being with Finnish Somali women on a weekly basis. The first Somalis arrived in Finland, mostly as asylum seekers, in the early 1990s (Harinen et al. 2013, 83). In 2016, when the fieldwork was carried out, of the 190,000 inhabitants of Turku, about 1,400 were Somali native speakers (City of Turku 2016). In 2017, 20,000 native Somali speakers and over 6,700 Somali citizens lived in Finland (Tilastokeskus 2019).

Associations engaged with Somali culture, Islam, womanhood and multiculturalism helped me to access the field and recruit participants, mostly through snowball sampling. I conducted semi-structured interviews with fifteen Finnish Somali women: seven were interviewed individually and eight in two groups. We held the interviews in Finnish, except for two in English. A trusted interpreter helped in one group interview. The interviews explored the participants' identity narratives, definitions of citizenship, everyday routines and any other issue that they deemed important in their lives.

To strengthen mutual trust and my understanding of their lived citizenship, I conducted participant observation by spending time with the research participants and other Finnish Somalis and taking part in social events – e.g. *Eid* celebrations and women's and girls' evenings. Participant observation allowed me to better understand the participants' subjectivities and priorities and to be with them in more unstructured, flexible situations than those represented by interviews. Such flexibility was also vital considering that most of the participants had busy schedules. After each observation, I wrote down some notes. Although the excerpts presented here are nearly all from the interviews, the observation data has provided me with invaluable background knowledge and enhanced the coherence of my analysis, especially with regards to the implicit meanings of citizenship. In 2019–2020, some gatekeepers helped me clarify relevant legal questions via e-mail and messages.

The analytical categories were drawn from both the data and the theory. In my analysis, I distinguish between explicit and implicit meanings of citizenship. The explicit meanings of citizenship are derived from my scrutiny of the informants' definitions of citizenship. Asking people what citizenship means to them is important if we want to attend to how citizenship is understood by those in the process. In the following analysis, this question will be discussed in the first section (concerning citizenship as a passport) and in the beginning of the second section (concerning citizenship as learning and employment). In turn, the implicit meanings are derived from my analysis of the participants' self-definitions, subjectivities, priorities, everyday spaces and practices (Dickinson et al. 2008; Staeheli et al. 2012). Critically examining such implicit meanings allows us to better understand lived experiences of citizenship, especially its unspoken,

unintentional and mundane aspects. This basis for the implicit meanings connects with an understanding of lived citizenship as ‘both a status and a set of relationships by which membership is constructed through physical and metaphorical boundaries and in the sites and practices that give it meaning’ (Kallio, Häkli, and Bäcklund 2015, 113). These implicit dimensions of lived citizenship are discussed in most of the second section (citizenship as learning towards employment) and in the third and final section (citizenship as family) of my analysis.

Due to the limited spaces that provided access to the field, some participants were active in civil society and many were in integration training. Most participants migrated to Finland as adolescents or adults. At the time of the fieldwork, nine participants were in their twenties, five in their forties and one in her fifties. Except for one participant, all the others were mothers; of these, at least six had small children. Five participants had a Finnish passport. Nine were in integration training, at least two were employed and two were on work practice. I have translated into English and edited the interview excerpts presented here. Pseudonyms are used throughout this article. Before the fieldwork, I was concerned about being one of countless white researchers studying Somali people and about the colonial ties between my country of origin and Somalia. During the fieldwork, other power hierarchies emerged between Finnish Somalis and me. Some Finnish Somali men asked if I worked for the authorities, which I understood as complicating trust-building and destabilising our power relations. Indeed, police stops and control are a present reality in the lives of many Finnish Somalis (Keskinen et al. 2018, 99). These Somali men showed me how to avoid this positionality and to build trust by, for example, shaking hands with them when entering their space and by sitting with them to chat, eat and drink tea. Some Somali women shared with me the difficulties of learning Finnish and considered me as ‘a foreigner like them’.

Class was another dimension which emerged significantly during the fieldwork. Several women did not know what doing a PhD meant and I also knew the unemployment rate among Finnish Somalis was high. Therefore, I felt the need to clarify that I made a living by researching their lives. Some of the women who were unfamiliar with doctoral research work accepted participation in the study ‘to help me do my homework’, as they considered me a student. To ensure that their possible consent to participate in the research would be informed, I found it important to clarify how, in Finland, I was positioned as a desirable worker, yet a precarious researcher.

Despite the power I held as a researcher, my doctoral student status and the fact I had no children might have positioned me as a somehow less experienced person compared to the participants. In general, through our discussions, I came to understand how my presence in the Somali spaces of an overwhelmingly white European city could be simultaneously questionable and welcomed, and I learned to deal with the power hierarchies as justly as possible.

Due to the resources available, nearly all the interviews and interactions were held in Finnish, a language many participants and I were still learning at that time. Nonetheless, the Finnish language helped create some common ground between the participants and myself: like most of the participants, I also learned Finnish as an adult. With time, we built trust and the rapport became positive; many of us are still friends.

Observation revealed that research practices may cause uneasiness or recall painful memories of the asylum process. With this in mind, I took measures to avoid or to minimise the risk of such negative emotions. As a white immigrant researching Finnish Somalis, I have had to constantly reflect on the power relationships between us and have discussed our positions openly with some of them. I based my analysis of lived citizenship on the women's own priorities and subjectivities (Rastas 2013). Whenever feasible and suitable, I shared the research results with these Finnish Somali women and included their feedback in my work.

Finnish Somali women's identity narratives

Here I report the main identity narratives of the participants as they have been expressed by the women themselves. I believe this is necessary because, in the broader political and societal context of the research, Finnish Somali women have been constantly defined by others.

The participants' most recurrent self-definitions included 'woman', 'Somali', 'Finnish' and 'resident of Turku'. Some women also identified as 'foreigners', 'immigrants' or 'refugees'. A few participants drew their self-definitions from family relationships, such as 'mothers', and with adjectives like 'hardworking', 'sociable', 'kind' and 'good', echoing the language of job applications. These subjectivities are connected with and lived according to different scales (intimate, local, national, transnational) as well as in different discourses (womanhood, refugeeness, national and local belonging, employment and integration, family life), as the analysis will show.

These subjectivities were expressed in interactions with a researcher perceived as non-Finnish, also foreign, without children, studying and assumed to be Christian. Through the practice of self-definition, Finnish Somali women used their power to negotiate subjectivities in relation to me, the surrounding world and possibly the imagined future readership of the research. They practised citizenship through their subjectivities 'created by the contingent intersections of often conflicting and multiple discourses' (Entrikin and Tepple 2012, 35). Later in this paper, I will use the participants' subjectivities – together with their priorities, everyday spaces and practices – to ground my analysis of the implicit meanings of citizenship.

Several spaces that can be traced through the participants' identity narratives presented here will re-emerge in my analysis of the women's various spatio-temporalities of citizenship, except for their religious citizenship. During our warm-up talks and the interviews, some participants stressed that 'Islam is not what the media say', 'Muslims (and Somalis) are diverse', 'Religion and Allah are important' (observation notes). It can be surprising that religion has little space in this study, probably due to our respective positions and the focus of my research. Indeed, Islam plays a meaningful role in the daily lives of most Finnish Somalis, also through identity building, integration and family welfare (Marucco 2020, 94).

The spatio-temporalities of citizenship as a passport

This section, and the beginning of the following section concerning language learning and employment, investigate the participants' explicit definitions of citizenship. During the interviews, I asked participants what the word 'citizenship' meant to them. I was

careful not to pre-define citizenship as meaning a Finnish or Somali nationality or as a legal status. Interestingly, most participants understood citizenship as having the formal Finnish citizenship.

Just a few informants explicitly connected citizenship with belonging; they were both Finnish and Somali nationals and associated belonging mainly with Somali citizenship. These participants distinguished citizenship as a passport from citizenship as belonging. As such, their Somali citizenship existed alongside the Finnish one and formal citizenship did not define their multiple subjectivities (Aptekar 2016, 1147). Although belonging is not the topic of this paper, its multiplicities are at the centre of several studies about diaspora Somalis (Horst 2018; Van Liempt 2011).

Many participants defined citizenship as acquiring a (Finnish) passport to be able to travel (Birkvad 2019); the women, especially those holding only Somali citizenship agreed with this. Travelling correlated with transnational family ties and friendships encompassing Europe, Somalia and the world: 'Rihan says that Finnish citizenship is important because she wants to travel to England and the US. Half of her family is in England, the other half in the US' (interview notes). Samira shared similar views:

When Samira gets [Finnish] citizenship, then she has 'a big passport', allowing her to visit her friends in Italy, in the UK and elsewhere. If you want to travel, it's easy if you are a [Finnish] citizen, she explains: there is a border, on this side there are the citizens, on the other side the non-citizens. You can't go anywhere with the Somali passport, it has no value, Samira says. (Interview notes)

Formal national citizenship can be seen as an instrument of Finnish Somali women's transnational agency. The privileged mobility granted by the Finnish passport stands in stark contrast with the underprivileged Somali passport and the experiences of immobility usually linked with refugeeness. In this case, to fulfil their lived citizenship as free mobility, Finnish Somali women need formal citizenship: the institutional and individual temporalities are thus aligned as desirable futures along the refugeeness-citizenship continuum.

Nonetheless, institutional definitions of citizenship tend to focus on the rights and obligations of naturalised citizens – not native ones –, rather than on mobility. For example, the Finnish Ministry of the Interior mentions the right to 'vote in all elections and participate fully in political life and other societal activities' (Ministry of the Interior Finland 2021). Such more formal political and societal participation among Finnish Somalis has been researched to a certain extent in Finland (Pirkkalainen 2013; Pirkkalainen, Wass, and Weide 2016), but it did not emerge significantly from my fieldwork. Moreover, according to the official view, Finnish citizenship can also help foreigners permanently residing in Finland to integrate into Finnish society: however, how this formal status may help migrants accelerate toward integration is not specified.

An equally recurrent meaning of citizenship as a Finnish passport was access to online banking credentials. Again, this meaning mostly concerned women with only Somali citizenship. In Finland, these credentials allow swift online payments and access to all public services, from residence permit renewals to social provision, from health care to tax services. Online banking credentials enable people to administer their own daily spatio-temporalities. Samira continued:

If you have [Finnish] citizenship, you can use internet banking. [If you don't have Finnish citizenship], the bank will say that they do not know your [identity]. Somali people apply for [Finnish] citizenship to travel and for the bank. (Interview notes)

Online banking credentials require that the holder's identity is legally ascertained, usually by Somali documents. However, Somalis – women especially – often lack documents from their homeland (Bassel 2008, 309); moreover, at the moment, Finland does not recognise documents issued by Somalia. In these cases, the person's identity cannot be confirmed. Following restrictions made to the legislation which aims at tackling money laundering and curbing financial support to terrorism, Finnish banks have increasingly tightened the requirements for identity confirmation, thus affecting countless Somali citizens in Finland.

I encountered diverging opinions about Samira's idea that Finnish citizenship may be necessary for Somalis to receive banking credentials. Therefore, I contacted some Somali gatekeepers, who said that the likelihood of receiving banking credentials can depend on the practices of individual bank workers, too. Thus, Samira's claim may also stem from a misunderstanding or from the discriminatory practice of some banks. However, the impossibility to obtain online banking credentials is recognised as a major problem among Finnish Somalis (Suomen somalialaisten liitto 2015). Thus, the online banking credentials can become a space of citizenship where Somali citizens in Finland end up negotiating their daily spatio-temporal agency – something that white native Finnish citizens or other nationals with a Finnish permanent residence permit do not have to do. Indeed, if recorded as unidentified, Somali citizens are denied online banking credentials: therefore, they have to use their time to queue in spatially distant offices for any payment and service. For these Somalis, the only keys to obtaining online banking credentials are the Finnish driving licence and Finnish passport, both demanding considerable time, money and skills (Suomen somalialaisten liitto 2015). The global positioning of Somalia in relation to Finland and the positioning of Somali women in both states intersect with Finnish law and bank regulations. These, together with possible discrimination perpetrated by some bank workers, can strip Somalis of control over their own time and produce a rigid temporality of queueing and waiting. In this respect, even Somalis with a permanent residence permit can be seen as shifting on the continuum toward refugeeness. Again, their full lived citizenship as a daily spatio-temporal agency requires a Finnish passport.

The realities shaped by national citizenship laws are part of the unequal global 'citizenship market', which positions individuals hierarchically depending on how well they 'fit' a specific category and on the passport they hold at birth (Kallio and Mitchell 2016, 260). This global dimension intersects with the institutional temporalities of immigration laws and bank regulations, and with individual lived temporalities of discrimination and negotiations. As a result, Finnish Somalis with a refugee background may shift simultaneously to different points along the continuum in ways that are not experienced by native Finnish citizens.

Some participants, both people with Somali and Finnish citizenship, understood (Finnish) citizenship as a formal status which did not really change their lives. These women seemed to be satisfied with the access to public social and health services that they and their families could enjoy since they had been recognised as refugees or granted another residence permit. As Amina recounted:

I got Finnish citizenship, but it means nothing, it's nothing important. . . . Because I am an [alien]. . . . *before* I did not have Finnish citizenship, I was a stranger. I changed with Finnish citizenship . . . Nothing special came . . . *Before* [obtaining Finnish citizenship] we could live, study, life went well, everything worked well. (Amina, recorded interview)

Seemingly, what matters to Amina's feelings of a full membership in society – i.e. having a full life despite being positioned as a non-belonging foreigner – may precede formal citizenship and lie elsewhere than that provided by legal citizenship. Amina's statement that Finnish citizenship is not important clashes with the mobility privilege and transnational ties illustrated by Samira and Rihan; it also conflicts with the relevance of the formal citizenship status and of its consequent security from deportation to the lives of refugee-background people. However, every individual's everyday life is unique (Dickinson et al. 2008, 103). Therefore, citizenship experiences may be complex and incoherent, following the sometimes-conflicting discourses that create subjectivities. According to this excerpt, Amina and her family could move towards the citizenship end of the continuum well before receiving a Finnish passport or a permanent residence permit. However, both before and after accessing formal citizenship, Amina experienced the subjective position of 'alien other', close to the identity narratives of the participants as 'foreigners', 'immigrants' and 'refugees' that I have presented earlier. This subjectivity translates into what Cwerner called the 'heteronomous times' linked with uprooting, displacement and refugeeeness (Cwerner 2001, 19). Therefore, the same person may be positioned at different points on the continuum simultaneously in different spaces of citizenship. Again, such positionings can change through time.

Destination: Finnish language learning and employment

Several participants expressed the idea of citizenship as a learning process oriented toward their independence in Finnish society. Somali citizens especially said that, for them, citizenship meant studying the Finnish language. As with obtaining online banking codes, this meaning links to managing one's own time and space. Reflecting on the broader context, such views seem harmonious with official national understandings of citizenship as integration, which emphasise Finnish language learning. My data cannot answer the question about where the possible disjuncture between the integrating refugee subject and the everyday, woman subject lies, whether there is such a disjuncture at all and whether other subjectivities are at play in this meaning of citizenship.

The Finnish language appears to be crucial throughout the learning process. Based on the interview and observation data, the power relations at play in Finnish language learning were often formal and hierarchical, often in the form of teacher-student relationships. However, some participants also portrayed their everyday encounters with Finns as moments of mutual learning when Somali women were active agents, not just recipients of learning.

Turning to the implicit meanings of citizenship, the participants' accounts suggest that citizenship meant studying for a professional degree to become employed. As emerged in one group interview:

Aar seems to speak on behalf of the rest of the group: they study Finnish five days a week. It's hard to get citizenship. They strive for a professional degree or a job. In this sense, Aar continues, citizenship is just a certificate: [to be a full citizen,] you need education, a qualification and a job. (Group interview notes)

For both Somali and Finnish nationals, lived citizenship implicitly meant employment as the culmination of a years-long learning path. Employment included economic independence and recognition of one's value. As such, it was not only produced as a mainstream linear temporality by the integration process and citizenship law, but also as a more embodied, personal future, as my emphasis on Samira's words shows:

Samira likes the [idea of] work. . . . The work is *beautiful for yourself*, she explains: if you work, you can pay everything, but now there is social money [welfare support] in your hand. *To feel good*, you need both citizenship and work. (Interview notes)

The aim of Finnish integration trainings is to make people of refugee background employable as quickly as possible (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2016, 14). The agencies of women of refugee background should be acknowledged in this respect. One should be careful not to interpret Samira's words as absolute acceptance of the Finnish welfare state's emphasis on self-reliance. Due to the structural barriers in the labour market, such as racism, this welfare regime can cause dependency and increased reliance on social benefits (Vandevoordt and Verschraegen 2019, 6). Samira may experience social benefits as 'a gift' impossible to reciprocate, instead of benefitting from the emancipatory possibilities of employment (*ibid.*: 7). If people cannot reciprocate the gift and earn money themselves, they may feel inferior, indebted and constrained in their financial choices, in contrast with several participants' self-definitions as 'hard-working'.

Both Finnish and Somali citizens shared the difficulties of finding jobs in general, but also for being positioned as 'immigrants' and racialised subjects, as previously shown by their identity narratives. Aar felt that employment would remain difficult after getting Finnish citizenship, as employers would hire (white, native) 'Finns' in preference to her. Finnish Somalis are among the most discriminated against ethnic groups in Europe as regards the field of employment, in addition to various other everyday spaces (Open Society Foundations 2013, 44).

Some participants felt that their skills were not recognised, as Amina recounted:

This is a person, she does not have a professional qualification, but she's hardworking and knows well how to do things: the job, things done until finished, in time, everything working well. Finnish people don't understand, they only write into the computer 'Tic tic tic', this is Amina, has no professional diploma, gets no job. The computer can't understand who I am. (Amina, recorded interview)

Amina never attended school in Somalia, but she learned Finnish well enough to manage her daily life and to obtain citizenship. Like other women of refugee background, she has been involved in professional trainings for years, gaining knowledge of multicultural work. However, without a formal qualification, her value as a worker is made invisible. A diploma can thus be seen as a 'passport' for the employment world, with all its ambiguities: it is essential to be considered employable, but this is not necessarily enough to secure a job.

In the data, the learning process orients Finnish Somali women toward independence and employment. While this process is assumed to be temporally linear (Nyers 2013), disruptions, changes and waiting occur throughout the path. In addition, in mainstream linear views, the full citizenship of people of refugee background would pertain solely to the future toward which they are oriented by integration programmes. Because subjectivity ‘grounds our understanding of who we are, as well as our knowledge claims’ (Gregory et al. 2009, 728), linear assumptions imply that people of refugee background may be unexperienced, nescient and ahistorical individuals, who fulfil their agency only through this learning process in Finland. In reality, Finland is just one of the countless spaces in the history of women of refugee background, a history made of steps forward and backward, pauses and accelerations. The knowledge that refugee-background women bring with them from their past through their present should be recognised and supported through time and space.

As Dawo summarised it: ‘Having a Finnish passport is different from having a job’ (interview notes). Whether Finnish Somali women have formal citizenship or not, they may be pushed toward the refugeeeness side of the continuum by racism, broader lack of jobs and temporally linear approaches to their agency and integration.

Family life as reclaimed future in and beyond Finland

The idea of lived citizenship as motherhood and family life emerged from my analysis of the implicit dimensions of lived citizenship, i.e. from the participants’ subjectivities, their priorities, their everyday practices and spaces. The data suggest that, to feel to be full citizens, participants need to balance between employment and family life.

The family recurred in the everyday spatio-temporalities of several participants. In addition to studying or working, the daily time of many Finnish Somali women goes into housework and providing their families with food and clothes. Regardless of their citizenship status, migrant mothers ‘are already contributing to the societies they live in . . . through bringing up a new generation’ (Erel and Reynolds 2018, 1–2) and supporting their men while these are studying or working. As the data shows, for example:

Khadija hopes that her children will be able to study, will go to the professional school and will be hardworking. She goes to the kindergarten regularly because she wants to know about her child’s development. (Interview notes)

Khadija’s care work aims at securing her children’s full citizenship as she envisages it, i.e. as a learning process oriented toward employment, which echoes her own and the institutional temporalities of citizenship. How her children understand their own temporalities of citizenship, however, remains an open question. Thus, Finnish Somali women reshape the linear temporality of Finnish citizenship, oriented towards their own employment, by simultaneously accelerating the self-realisation of their children and partners in employment terms. In this way, they can be seen as producing a more open-ended sense of futurity, in addition or alternative to ‘their future fixed in linear temporality’ (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 9). Thus Finnish Somali mothers like Khadija partially remake the power positions and relationships that the integration process in Finland makes available for them (*ibid.*).

Through their daily routines, all the mothers interviewed – all participants except Asha – moved around the city with or without their children. Some got to know Turku through their everyday tasks:

I know . . . Turku because . . . my child plays football and so I take him somewhere . . . I take them all [to their hobby venues]. . . . I always move and move. . . . I go to the shop, if we need, because I have a large family, so all the time goes into moving [around]. For this reason, I know the Turku region. . . . for years I have been doing job trainings and working . . . Not just in one place . . . – lots of places! . . . I move all the time. (Amina, recorded interview)

Such daily routines of ‘urban learning’ can foster belonging, allowing individuals to progressively appropriate city space, incorporate it and adapt it to different subjectivities (Pascucci 2016, 337–338). Therefore, family life can help women move towards fuller citizenship in terms of urban belonging. Simultaneously, however, it can slow down their move towards citizenship as employment.

The family is lived locally, transnationally and globally – as the meaning of citizenship as international mobility also showed. Across state borders, Somali relatives partake in securing family livelihood, rearing children and younger siblings and looking after older or family members with disabilities (Al-Sharmani 2007, 5). Such cultural, affective and material practices, from keeping contact to sending remittances, can be understood as asynchronous times (Cwerner 2001, 22). Somalis bring their past (family relations) with them throughout the present. Furthermore, they contribute to their diasporic families’ self-realisation and shifts towards the citizenship side of the continuum, in and beyond Finland.

As mentioned, Finnish Somali women often have to balance family life with studying for a diploma and becoming employed. The data show that a balance is possible, but women may struggle to achieve and maintain it. Several Somali families manage their micro- and meso-temporalities by dividing the labour in and out of the home space between the women and men respectively: women first focus on the home and children while men participate in education and work (Marucco 2020). These women tend to start their professional careers when their children go to kindergarten; sometimes, this can complicate the women’s own development of Finnish language skills and employment. A larger number of children can make the employment of women difficult, although with individual and family differences. Consequently, the time the women have spent in Finland and learning Finnish may not be directly proportional to their language skills and un-/employment status. Women of refugee background may have to make compromises between their temporalities as mothers and their temporalities as students and workers.

To conclude, the Finnish State interpellates Finnish Somali women as future workers, emphasising this subjectivity as the one worth receiving public support and recognition (Bassel 2008, 314). However, many Finnish Somali women hope to be both workers and mothers and cultivate the past and future of their family in their present through creative temporal strategies (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 13).

Conclusions

This article has improved understandings of the spatio-temporalities of citizenship by analysing the everyday experiences of Finnish Somali women living in Turku. The findings highlight how citizenship is as temporal as it is spatial.

For many Finnish Somali women, citizenship explicitly meant obtaining a Finnish passport to visit their families and friends worldwide and to receive online banking credentials, which in Finland are crucial to individuals' spatio-temporal agency on a daily basis. As regards mobility, the institutional temporalities of citizenship and the participants' individual temporalities are aligned as desirable futures along the refugeeness-citizenship continuum: the futurity of acquiring formal Finnish citizenship is needed to enjoy mobility.

Moreover, with regard to online banking credentials, Finnish Somali women's daily spatio-temporal agency requires formal citizenship, meaning that the institutional and individual temporalities of citizenship are often aligned. Finnish citizenship laws are part of the unequal global citizenship market, where individuals are positioned hierarchically depending on the passport they hold at birth. In addition, local bank regulations and possible discrimination can force even Somalis with a permanent residence permit towards the refugeeness end of the continuum by stripping them of their daily spatio-temporal agency (Thorshaug and Brun 2019). The online banking credentials create a space of citizenship where Somali citizens in Finland negotiate their everyday spatio-temporalities in ways that are not experienced by native Finnish citizens, especially those racialised as white.

Some participants claimed that accessing formal Finnish citizenship did not change their lives: their priorities were already satisfied by their residence permits and their citizenship struggles lay elsewhere, such as in being positioned as racialised alien subjects. In this regard, Finnish Somali women can experience precarious temporalities, a disjuncture between their legal status and lived reality. This translates into what Cwerner defined as 'heteronomous times' (Cwerner 2001, 19). In such cases, legal citizenship cannot support Finnish Somali women's effort to unmake their positioning as 'others' (Baas and Yeoh 2019, 165). The 'temporal confinement' of refugeeness (De Genova et al. 2021, 54) may continue to affect the lives of Finnish Somali women despite them holding a permanent residence permit or Finnish citizenship.

Looking at both the explicit and implicit meanings of citizenship, to many participants citizenship meant learning the Finnish language in order to become independent and employed. In this regard, the institutional temporalities of citizenship are permeated by linear assumptions (Nyers 2013), which locate the full agency of Finnish Somali women into the future, overlooking their subjectivities and knowledge before and beyond integration. In addition, the participants' temporalities express the disruptions, changes and waiting along the path, for example due to being racialised in the job recruitment process. Linear assumptions and racism may propel Finnish Somali women back toward the refugeeness end of the continuum, regardless of whether they have Finnish citizenship or not.

Last but not least, the analysis of the implicit dimensions of lived citizenship – i.e. of the participants' subjectivities, priorities, everyday spaces and practices – unveiled the spatio-temporalities of their family life. By securing their children and partners' full realisation in terms of employability, Finnish Somali women can be said to reclaim their future in the present, cultivating alternative ways of being citizens as both mothers and workers (Kallio, Meier, and Häkli 2020, 9). In such ways, these women reshape the linear temporality of Finnish integration, which interpellates them only as individual, future

workers. Furthermore, Finnish Somali women simultaneously accelerate the self-realisation of their transnational families, helping them move from refugeeness toward fuller agency through the ‘asynchronous times’ of transnational cultural, material and affective practices (Cwerner 2001, 22). By taking care of their families, Finnish Somali women can be seen as producing a more open-ended and collective sense of futurity, although, sometimes, at the expense of their own employability.

Future research could clarify the temporalities of citizenship among refugee-background people of other nationalities than Somali as well as in other spaces of citizenship, such as religion and womanhood at large. Intersubjective investigations of the spatio-temporalities of citizenship among various family members and across generations could provide extremely interesting insights. Hopefully, increasingly more researchers will work to reveal and unmake the native, racialised privilege of citizenship across time and space.

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