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Intra-European migrants and the question of integration

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INTRA-EUROPEAN MIGRANTS
AND THE QUESTION OF INTEGRATION:
Citizenship In The Lives Of Finnish Migrants In Europe

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Abstract
Citizenship is defined in terms of national contexts, institutions, or practices. Apart from noting one's membership in a certain polity, citizenship can be understood to have – at least – three meanings as follows: it can signify *access*, *identification*, and *practice*. This article examines these three dimensions based on the experiences of highly skilled Finns living in other European Union member states. Do they adopt the legal citizenship of the new country to *gain access* to legal and civic rights? Do they begin to *identify* with and assimilate to their new home country? Is citizenship played out in the everyday life as practice? The article concludes that thanks to European citizenship, all three interpretations are present at the same time.

Introduction

Citizenship has several meanings, and the concept has been used in different disciplines to describe a multitude of phenomena. When understood from a strictly legal perspective, citizenship refers to full membership in a nation state, i.e., belonging to a category of individuals who have obligations towards, and enjoy certain rights in relation to, a particular state (Bosniak 2008: 19; Faist *et al.* 2013: 111). International migration challenges notions of national identity, sovereignty, and state control, all concepts that have conventionally been linked to state citizenship (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Gökçe 2008: 154). Furthermore, in an increasingly complex world with considerable number of people crossing borders and maintaining transnational ties to various different nation states, a simple definition

of citizenship as a legal bond between a state and an individual is no longer sufficient. For example, Koopmans *et al.* (2005: 4) have argued that migration and the ensuing increase in ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious diversity in contemporary societies have challenged the three core elements of the nation state "(...) the sovereign control over external borders, the regulation of access to citizenship, and a nation's cultural self-understanding, i.e. its national identity."

This article looks at citizenship within the framework of the European free movement regime, where the concept is defined in terms of national contexts, institutions, or practices. Namely, citizens of European Union (EU) member states are also *European citizens* and thus have access to rights when residing in other EU member states. Recchi and Kuhn (2013: 193) concluded that "Spanning over a progressively larger number of borders, this regime shakes the foundations of modern citizenship as a state-contained bunch of entitlements." Apart from noting one's membership in a certain polity, citizenship can be understood to have – at least – three meanings as follows: it can signify *access*, *identification*, and *practice*. I examine these three dimensions based on the experiences of highly skilled Finns living in other EU member states.

In the following sections of the article, I first discuss citizenship in the European context and then present the empirical data used in the article. The rest of the article includes sections on the role of European citizenship as a way to access rights, citizenship as belonging and identification, and citizenship as everyday integration in practice. The article concludes with a discussion on the different sides of citizenship that co-exist in an intra-European migrant's life.

Intra-European migrants and citizenship

Granting citizenship to those who enter the territory of a state from outside is a process of inclusion and exclusion. Joppke (2013: 159) noted that citizenship is a central integration mechanism that signifies both *access* to formal state membership with the attached rights and *inclusion* into "the unity and identity of a national society". Citizen's rights generally include, for example, the right to vote, to have a passport, enter and exit the state freely, to have legal protection, and to free speech and freedom of association. The corresponding responsibilities include the duty to obey the law, pay taxes, and serve in the armed forces, or in some countries, as a member of the jury.

The ways in which one becomes a citizen of a particular state vary considerably (e.g., Fassman *et al.* 2009). One of the two main traditions is *ius sanguinis*, i.e., a blood bond to the main population of the state. Before the citizenship laws were amended in the year 2000, a typical example of this tradition was Germany, where citizenship was solely based on an idea of a *Deutscher Volk*, with German ethnic ancestry.[1] The second tradition is *ius soli*, i.e., being born in and thus having a territorial connection to a particular state. It is common in immigrant nations, where no one ethnic group is historically predominant, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia (Kornø Rasmussen 1997: 19, Rühl 2009; 24-25, see also

Bauböck 2014: 753-756). The rules of acquiring citizenship via naturalisation (or *ius domicili*) also vary from country to country, but they typically include a requirement of legal residency and other requirements such as evidence of social and economic integration, knowledge of the country's language, or participation in a citizenship test (Bauböck & Wallace Goodman 2010; Vink & de Groot 2010).

In addition to national citizenships, the EU is home to a unique supranational form of citizenship: European citizenship, which grants rights traditionally reserved for national citizens, to all legally resident Europeans (Maas 2008; Aradau *et al*. 2010; Bauböck 2018). European citizenship interferes with state sovereignty and the state's gatekeeper role in granting citizenship rights as well as removes the ability of European states to discriminate between their own citizens and those originating from other EU/European Economic Area (EEA) member states (Maas 2013: 16). The introduction of European citizenship in Maastricht Treaty in 1991 was a form of deepening the process of European integration, and it can be understood as an attempt towards post-national citizenship (e.g., Delanty 1997; Rumford 2003; Soysal 1994) and as a potential basis for the collective identity of Europe and for Europeans (e.g., Eder & Giesen 2001; Risse 2010).

The process of building this new, supra-national type of citizenship was preceded by a gradual easing of transnational migration where many barriers of international migration have been lowered or completely removed within a large geographical area in Europe[2] (e.g., Kuhn 2015: 17-20; Koikkalainen 2011; Recchi 2013). The crossing of national borders has been made so simple for intra-European migrants that *international migration* has been likened to *internal mobility* (e.g., Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010). Bauböck (2013: 351) defined freedom of movement as follows: "Where there is a political or administrative border between places of departure and destination, freedom of movement is composed of three distinct elements: a right of exit, a right of entry, and a right to settle at the destination." In Europe, this right is granted to citizens of the respective states, their family members, and even to permanently resident third-country nationals, provided that they have the means to support themselves without resorting to the social welfare system of the host country (Acosta Arcarazo 2015; European Commission 2010).

The fact that many European states have a large legally resident migrant population, which falls outside of typical migrant integration measures and naturalisation procedures, makes Europe an exceptional place to examine different conceptualisations of citizenship. Several studies on intra-European mobility (Favell 2008; Recchi & Favell 2009; European Commission 2011; EUCROSS 2014) have noted the importance of exploring what increased mobility means to e.g. identity, belonging, work, political activity, and the everyday life. Risse (2010: 24-25) concluded that we all hold multiple identities: some of them set us apart from other individuals while other identities are shared within a group, such as, for example, citizens of a certain country. Some identities can be completely separate within a particular group while others are crosscutting so that some but not all members of a group also identify with another group. Identities can also be nested somewhat hierarchically in each other or be intertwined so that the components of each identity are hard to separate. Identities are, therefore, not fixed in time or place, but rather malleable and context-

dependent. Lawler (2008: 2) stresses the processual nature of identities: they are not born out of nothing but involve a process of identification of "doing identity".

Citizenship can be understood as membership of a polity or a basis of identification. Furthermore, citizenship has been used to refer to membership of local, regional, and global political communities (e.g., Bosniak 2008: 20–21; Maas 2013: 2) and as a negotiation, which takes place during interactions in one's everyday life (Hirsiaho & Vuori 2012). It has also been said to be a battle where one has to constantly justify one's position as a citizen with equal rights (Sotkasiira & Haverinen 2016) and a social construction which is continually influenced by different sites, agents, and practices (Neveu 2013).

This article examines citizenship from the point of view of tertiary-educated, highly skilled Finnish citizens who have exercised their right to free movement within the EU15[3] area. The views of such privileged, intra-European migrants are of significance, because mobility of highly skilled individuals is an important trend in intra-European migration (e.g., King 2002), and the young and the educated have been noted as the main beneficiaries of the European project (Fligstein 2008). The fact that the most important rights granted by one's European citizenship only have real value when one moves abroad (Carrera 2004: 1–5) also testifies to the fact that mobile individuals are in a central position in understanding what this type of citizenship means in practice, as mobility has made Europe "real" in their everyday life (Castano 2004, see also Bauböck 2018).

The analysis presented in this article follows an understanding that citizenship has the following three key dimensions: *access to rights*, *identification and belonging*, and *participation and practice* (see e.g., Bellamy 2008; Delanty 1997; Meehan 1993; Wiener 1998). Citizenship is, therefore, not only about "rights and duties" but it includes the important dimensions of participation, feelings of belonging as well as political and social recognition (e.g., Isin & Turner 2007; Kymlicka & Norman 1994) that are visible in the lives of intra-European migrants, here exemplified by the Finns of this study. These different sides to citizenship are not understood as separate categories, but rather as aspects that may overlap and co-exist in one's life at any given moment.

The Working in Europe (WiE) study

The impact of the Finnish membership first in the EEA in 1994 and in the EU in 1995 is clearly visible in the statistics of outgoing migration from Finland: since then the overall numbers of Finnish citizens moving abroad each year have ranged from 7,138 (in 1994) to 10,996 (in 2001) and been on average around 9,300/year (Statistics Finland 2017). This article is based on the WiE study consisting of an online survey (2008: n=364), a follow-up survey with the same population (2010: n=194), and interviews (2011: n=18) of tertiary-educated Finns living in other EU countries. The participants of the study belong to a new trend in outgoing migration from Finland where especially the young and the educated experiment with living abroad.

The vast majority of the survey respondents had moved abroad after the Finnish EU membership in 1995. For those who finished senior secondary school or graduated from a Finnish university after the severe recession of the early 1990s, the opening of doors to Europe provided an exciting possibility to break away from the beaten track of their peers. Cities such as Brussels, Strasbourg, and Luxembourg appeared on the map as new destinations, and studying at a university in the United Kingdom became an option for those who did not wish to spend years trying to enter Finnish universities through the highly competitive entrance examinations. For those who left after the year 2000, the possibility of taking one's chances abroad was already something that was taken for granted: freedom to choose where to study or work was their right as European citizens. For those who simply wanted to leave their peripheral and boring life behind, deciding to live abroad at a global city like London or Paris had become as easy as buying a low-cost airline ticket (Koikkalainen 2013b).

I gathered the first set of WiE online survey data in 2008 and sent a link to the follow-up questionnaire in 2010 to those who had volunteered their e-mail addresses. I used a combination of techniques in generating the original sample to the survey. Three possible methods identified by Richie, Lewis & Elam (2006: 93–94) were combined for maximum coverage: *sampling through an organisation*, *targeting flow populations*, and *snowballing*. As the sample is based on participant self-selection, it cannot be used to generalise on all expatriate Finns living in Europe. The respondents of the original 2008 survey lived in 12 different EU countries, the largest shares of respondents living in the United Kingdom (39%), Germany (20%), Belgium (11%), France (10%), and Spain (6%).

The survey reached more women interested in taking part, so there is a clear gender imbalance (female 77% vs. male 23%). The respondents had diverse educational backgrounds both in terms of their fields of study, the level of degrees, and the country where the education was obtained. They had moved abroad due to different reasons, at different age and career stage, and with different motivations in finding work, starting a family, or for simply the adventure of living abroad. The average age of the respondents was 32 years (median age 31.5 years). In terms of their relationship status, the largest group among the respondents were those who were cohabiting (45%), whereas 28% of them were married and 27% were single. Most respondents (76%) did not have any children.

In an effort to "bring a human face to the study of global highly skilled mobility" (Favell, Feldblum & Smith 2006) and to complement the overall picture given by the two surveys, I also interviewed six male and 12 female participants via Skype in 2011. The interviewees were selected from among the survey respondents with maximum diversity in mind. At the time of the interview, the 18 participants lived in Austria (1), Belgium (1), Denmark (1), France (2), Germany (2), Iceland (1)[4], Ireland (1), Italy (1), Luxembourg (1), Portugal (1), Spain (1), and United Kingdom (5) (Koikkalainen 2013b). This interview data, in addition to selected survey questions related to citizenship, identity, and integration, are used in this article to examine the ways in which citizenship plays a role in the migrant's lives. To protect the identity of the interviewees, they are referred to with pseudonyms.

It is good to note that the data have some limitations related to how and when the data were collected. The survey also addressed other topics related to living and working abroad, and so the number of questions focusing on citizenship was limited. Also, the data set was gathered prior to the Brexit process began, and so the nearly 40% of the survey respondents who were living in the United Kingdom had no idea that their residence and civic rights might be under jeopardy as the country negotiates its exit from the EU (e.g., Shaw 2018).

European citizenship as a substitute for national citizenship

Moving within the EU/EEA free movement area as a European citizen[5] includes a number of concrete advantages. Namely, in addition to the free movement and settlement rights, European citizens are – at least on paper – protected from discrimination based on their nationality.[6] They can also stand as candidates and vote in European and local elections and are entitled to consular protection in the embassies of all EU member states when travelling outside the EU/EEA area (European Union 2010). European citizens thus have access to rights traditionally reserved for national citizens and enjoy a position that differs remarkably from that of migrants originating from outside the EU/EEA area (e.g., Heinikoski 2017). This form of supranational citizenship has therefore made adopting the citizenship of the country of destination largely unnecessary. David Reichel and Bernhard Perchinig (2015: 33) concluded that "The more rights persons already possess in the country without having national citizenship, the lower the value added by acquiring citizenship of the host country."

In fact, in the EU area the vast majority of those applying for citizenship currently originate from outside the EU. In 2013, for example, in 12 member states at least nine out of 10 persons who were granted citizenship were non-EU citizens, whereas only in Hungary and Luxembourg the EU migrants were the majority (Eurostat 2015). The responses of the WiE survey participants (2008) also reflect this trend: 97% of the respondents were still Finnish citizens, 10 (3%) had acquired dual citizenship, and only one respondent had adopted the citizenship of her current home country. There is very little interest towards naturalisation also later in life: 78% of the respondents stated that they are not planning to change citizenship, 9% were considering dual citizenship, and 4% stated that perhaps they could consider naturalisation in the future.[7]

European citizenship thus has real value for intra-European migrants: because of the rights granted it reduces the need and urgency of applying for the citizenship of the host country even when the stay is considered permanent. The lack of access to perhaps the most important civic duty, the right to vote in national elections, was according to the study participants, not considered important enough to warrant the trouble and cost of applying for naturalisation. Instead, many of the participants stated that they continue to vote in Finnish parliamentary elections. Tapio (male, b. 1977, UK), one of the interviewees, explains that "In the last elections in April [2011] I was there again in the voting queue outside the

Embassy on Saturday morning with other expatriate Finns (…) even though who wins does not turn my life one way or the other (…) Finland is still the place where I am away from.[8]"

Thanks to European citizenship, intra-European migrants have, therefore, little need to see citizenship as means of access to rights and responsibilities in their new home countries. Only two of the 18 interviewees had chosen to apply for dual citizenship after it became legally possible in Finland in 2003. Maarit (female, b. 1964, France) and Anneli (female, b. 1967, Italy) are the oldest among the interviewees, and they already moved to their respective countries in the late 1980s. The reason for applying for citizenship was tiredness with the constant need to prove that they were legal residents, and Maarit puts it: "many French officials did not know that Finland was an EU member state". Sari (female, b. 1969, Portugal) is an example of a more recent migrant who moved abroad in 2007. She is also somewhat annoyed that whenever dealing with a public authority she has to carry her "passport and 30-odd pieces of paper" to prove that she lives there permanently. She might consider dual citizenship, but still concludes that "I have learned to live with the situation (…) perhaps one day I will apply for citizenship, but for now the EU citizenship is enough, and there is not really much value added."

Adopting the citizenship of the new country of residence is an important signifier of integration for migrants who wish to live their life in a new society. The reasons that the interviewees gave for *not* being interested in adopting the legal, national citizenship of the country of residence were mainly related to the following three things: not seeing any practical benefits to the change, not being sure how long one lives in the current country, and identifying with Finland emotionally and thus wishing to keep one's Finnish passport as a sign of one's Finnishness.

Multiple belongings and nested identities

All migrants are forced – at least to a degree – to reconsider their ties and feelings of belonging to both the country of origin and country of destination, as migration changes the context of the everyday life and has consequences for identity, language, and culture. Bauman (1996: 19) has noted that "One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs (…) 'Identity' is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty". From the perspective of the state, along with adopting the legal citizenship, increased identification with the new country of residence is another major indication of integration. At the face of diverse migratory pressures, many European states have increasingly called for assertions of belonging and loyalty (Kofman 2005). Citizenship tests are a way of testing this loyalty before granting access to membership of the polity (e.g., Michalowski 2011). Yet many researchers have, however, noted that migrants continue to engage in complex negotiations of several, and at times conflicting, identities that link them to different localities, nations, diasporas, and religious or cultural groups (e.g., Brinkerhoff 2009; Glick Schiller *et al*. 1992; Guarnizo & Smith 1998; Faist 2000; Favell 2008).

Identities may be in conflict with each other or be easily mixed and compatible so that the migrant creates a hybrid identity encompassing elements of both (Rother & Nebe 2009: 124-129, see also Ronkainen 2011). The question of compatibility of many identities is especially salient in Europe, where the migrant may be faced with several culturally or territorially based possibilities for identification: local (be it urban or rural) and regional identities are supplemented with identities from the country of origin and destination, as well as the supranational European identity – or in the case of migrants from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, and even a Nordic one (Parker 2002). Rother and Nebe (2009) studied the identities of intra-European migrants from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain by using the European Internal Movers Social Survey (EIMSS) data. They found that almost half of their sample hold *tripartite identities*: strong country of origin and country of residence identities as well as strong European identities. The other half of their sample seems to have experienced some sort of identity conflict, as they are either (a) attached to both of the respective countries, but not to the EU, (b) hold European identities but only one national identity, or (c) hold only one of the possible identities or no identity at all (Rother & Nebe 2009: 151-154).

As European free movers, the participants of the WiE study are not targets of integration measures, language and culture courses, or citizenship tests. Rather, they have the privilege of "doing identity" (Lawler 2008) in their own way. The participants of the 2008 survey were asked to choose a country or regional identification by completing "I am firstly...".[9] Living abroad had not shifted their primary identification towards their new home: 72% of the respondents selected "Finnish", 12% selected "European", and a further 2% chose "EU citizen". Only a few (7%) chose to identify primarily with their new home country and selected "resident of the country where I now live". The respondents were then asked to complete "Secondly I am..." which yielded more diversity; 30% chose "European", 28% "a resident of the country where I live", 22% "Finnish", and 14% "EU citizen". A majority of them feel strongly connected to Finland: 93% of the respondents said that they identify either first or second as Finnish (Koikkalainen 2013a). Pauliina (female, b. 1980, Denmark) is a good example: "My home country is still Finland, even though Denmark also feels like home. Having moved abroad has kind of underlined my Finnishness, my own ways and culture and made it really important. That is why I will never change my citizenship."

In addition to feeling predominantly Finnish, nearly 60% of the participants of the study also identified with Europe/EU either primarily or secondarily, whereas only one-third identified with their country of residence. It would appear that for such privileged migrants turning one's focus towards the country of residence was less important than continuing to identify with the country of origin – at least when presented with a simple survey question on identity. Many also wanted to keep the option of which identity to choose at any given time open and fostered different types of nested identities, where in some respects they felt European, or as citizens of their current home countries, while in others mainly as expatriate Finns. Juhani (male, b. 1977, Spain), who has lived abroad in Ireland, the Netherlands, and Spain explains that "Finland is my home country, but it does not mean I would be necessarily returning there any time soon and I guess I also feel at

home in Europe; so I could live in other countries as well. (...) In Spain I feel quite satisfied and well-integrated, and even though they always notice I am foreign, it feels almost like home."

There were also other interviewees, who had lived in multiple European countries and displayed little interest in integrating in any particular country. Susanna (female, b. 1978, UK) who has lived in the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany explains that "I feel very Finnish deep down, and when someone says to me that hey you could become a British citizen, then I say that I would never change that... no matter where I live, I will always be Finnish". These views suggest that they do not base their identity on becoming British, Spanish, or Danish, for example, but rather appear to be content with living their lives as active members of the host society. Tapio (male, b. 1977, UK) explains his view on integration that "...at work you have to kind of integrate to Britain, but London as a city is such, that there is no need to integrate to the society at any deeper level, you pay your taxes and perform a couple of bureaucratic duties, that is it."

Everyday integration and lived citizenship

Citizenship can be used to refer to certain activities in one's everyday life (e.g., Bloemraad, Korteweg & Gökçe 2008; Bosniak 2008; Koopmans *et al.* 2005; Maas 2013). Kabeer (2005: 23) has concluded that in this "horizontal dimension" of citizenship "(...) the relationship between citizens is at least as important as the more traditional 'vertical' view of citizenship as the relationship between the state and the individual." So how is this side of citizenship visible in the lives of intra-European migrants? In which ways do they engage with the social and political community of their new home? The respondents of the WiE study showed three different kinds of citizenship constellations in the everyday life: *civic engagement in the local society*, *integration via the international workplace* and *fulfilling one's duties as a stakeholder citizen.*

Civic engagement in the local society may take different forms and refer to civic activities or duties as a citizen, or for example, citizen activists (Isin 2009). The "societal" aspects of citizenship can be manifested in one's everyday life: a citizen is someone who belongs to different collective associations and participates in activities that also inform his or her identity (Kabeer 2005: 21–22). Marika (female, b. 1976, UK) explains how she partakes in her community: "I think it helps with integration if you are active in your micro-community or neighbourhood (...) taking part in some communal or civic participation or citizen engagement (...) We have this neighbourhood group in our urban area that organizes all kinds of events (...) it makes you feel part of something, feel at home, you have a sense of place."

The civic engagement may be official citizen's activism, as Marika explains above, or consist of much more mundane activities outside one's workplace or home. Mikael (male, b. 1976, Luxembourg/Germany) notes that "... I have tried to integrate in different ways, such as joining the local sports club to meet people (...) the everyday life revolves around children

so you also have social circle through them." Anna (female, b. 1980, Iceland), on the other hand, notes that "... the start-up scene is quite lively in Reykjavik and I take part in many functions and meet people, I've tried to avoid hanging out just with other Finns, not that it matters much where people originate from." In their everyday life, both these migrants are therefore actively seeking out places where to meet new people and to interact with the local society.

Integration via the international workplace signifies a situation, where the bonds of commitment are directed towards the expatriate community. For many, life in a city such as London, Paris, or Brussels with large expatriate communities requires little effort in integrating into the local society, especially if one works in a company or organisation where most of one's colleagues are also foreign. Favell (2008) has labelled the allure of this kind of lifestyle in a cosmopolitan city as *denationalised freedom*. Also, Sassen (2002a; 2002b) has argued that global cities with their urban spaces are especially salient sites for the repositioning of citizenship in practice because of their "(...) dynamics that signal the possibilities for a politics of membership that is simultaneously localised and transnational." Mika (male, b. 1976, UK) explains that he feels attached to his multicultural workplace and home city: "(...) everyone here is from someplace else, and I see myself as a citizen of London, more than as English." This is a rather typical comment for a London, a unique global hub, where the city itself has taken the place of the nation.

Nearly one-third of the WiE respondents (2008, n=364) wrote that they work in an international environment, in a multinational company, or with international clients or colleagues, and so their immediate working environment does not necessarily put particular pressure towards integration into the national society. Migrants on transnational careers also develop their own strategies in how they engage with the societies of their current place of residence. Minna (female, b. 1976, Ireland), who has worked in France, United Kingdom, Sweden, and now Ireland, notes that "I went to Britain last weekend and realised how homesick I have been towards that country. All the countries I've lived in are kind of *adopted countries* for me, like I get the same feeling whenever I go to Sweden. How familiar everything is".

Fulfilling one's duties as a stakeholder signifies respecting the duties that are expected from all residents: paying taxes, complying with regulations, and living an ordinary life like the locals. Bauböck (2009: 21) defined the concept of a stakeholder as follows: "The basic idea is that all those and only those individuals have a claim to membership in a particular polity who can be seen as stakeholders because their individual flourishing is linked to the future of that polity."[10] In a sense, it, thus, means adopting the "rights and duties" model and doing one's part, even though the bond between the state and the individual is not based on national citizenship but rather on European citizenship. Marko (male, b. 1977, UK) explains his philosophy as follows: "I try to integrate in the sense that I am inconspicuous in the Finnish way; I do not make noise of myself or make trouble in any way." For Anneli (female, b. 1967, Italy) being a stakeholder and full-fledged participant in the Italian society has signified the following: "When my kids were born I decided that it is time to put down

my roots here (...) I've been in the school board, attended local party meetings, and now I am working; so I am trying to do the same things I would do in Finland."

In the intra-European context lived citizenship can, therefore, have a multitude of different meanings and integration into the country where one lives can happen via everyday encounters in one's workplace, through paying taxes and contributing to society, through engagement with new friends and neighbours, with officials and the state bureaucracy and through the networks generated by one's family and children in the locality. These activities can naturally take different forms, but are essentially a form or interaction outside the immediate circle of family or one's workplace. The ways this integration is done and the effort invested in it also changes over time, as one grows older, has children, or begins to consider to move abroad permanently. Susanna (female, b. 1978, UK), who has lived in four different countries during her time as a consultant, has been thinking more about participation in local life – of being a stakeholder citizen – since her latest return to London: "I think my situation is different now, I have more British friends and a more close-knit network, I feel more integrated to this place than ever before, I follow the news and politics and am interested in what goes on in this country."

Discussion: the different sides of citizenship

The long history of Finland's co-existence with its powerful neighbour Russia/The Soviet Union has generated a need to constantly look towards the West for allies and ideals, while balancing on the margins. In the 1990s, and especially after Finland's EU membership in 1995, the overwhelming mindset was to escape from this marginality and move towards the centre to become one of the core states of the EU (Browning & Lehti 2007; see also Joenniemi 2002). The expatriate Finns of this study are part of a generation that had internalised this idea and was aware of the importance of gaining international experience. In this context, those who left for careers in Europe were seen as successful and valuable, as pioneers who had what it took to make it abroad. A view through the eyes of such a privileged migrant group can, therefore, contribute to the way citizenship as a legal, social, and symbolic construction is embodied and played out in the everyday life in today's Europe.

The highly skilled Finns of the WiE study have benefited from the ease of transnational mobility, guaranteed by the European free movement regime. As European citizens, they have the right to stay in their current countries of residence without the fear of deportation or need to prove their allegiance to that state. In addition, the Finnish residence-based social security system grants them the right of relatively protected return migration, should the life abroad turn out to be a disappointment. Many survey respondents and interviewees noted how privileged a position they hold in this respect when compared with those originating from outside the EU/EEA area. Many of the study participants had long-term plans to stay in their current country of residence, but they were still rather reluctant to integrate into that country by adopting the legal, national citizenship of that polity. Their European citizenship provides them with good enough rights and only a few obligations, and so the citizenship

change would bring only a little added value. As a political-administrative construct, European citizenship is thus truly supplementary to national citizenship and it does have practical value for those who are mobile within the European free movement area.

The practical benefits of European citizenship are obvious in the lives of intra-European migrants. However, its role as a source of identity is less clear. Even though many of the study participants moved away from Finland with the notion of leaving the margins of Europe and entering its central stage, European identity has not readily replaced their primary sense of belonging when asked for their primary and secondary identities as a part of a survey. Risse (2003: 171) concluded that "European identity is not a given or falls from heaven: it is a specific construct in time and space whose content actually changes depending on the social and political context in which it is enacted". The fact that more survey respondents were willing to identify as Europeans than as residents of their country of residence can also reflect this fluidity. For a mobile individual and a high-skilled free mover it is easy to note that one is European, as that choice leaves the doors open for another move abroad in the future, be it based on career or lifestyle reasons.

Citizenship, for these intra-European migrants is an intertwined construct that includes access to rights and duties, is a form of identification and something that is lived in the everyday life as practice through *civic engagement in the local society*, *integration via the international workplace* and *fulfilling one's duties as a stakeholder citizen*. Many continue to uphold their civic duties by voting in Finnish elections while trying to integrate into their countries of residence via more unofficial routes: taking part in the activities of sports clubs, neighbourhood associations, and interacting with work colleagues outside the office or with the other parents at their children's schools. In addition, learning the nuances of the new language, voting in local elections, keeping up with the current news and celebrity gossip by watching local television and reading newspapers, as well as complying dutifully with paying taxes and fulfilling all the necessary bureaucratic duties, are ways in which they slowly begin to put down roots in their new country. For intra-European migrants – some of whom are there only in passing while others are determined to stay – these relatively mundane activities represent lived citizenship in the everyday life as stakeholders in their new home countries.

Notes

1. In 2000, some *ius soli* elements were introduced to the process of acquiring German citizenship. For more information see Rühl 2009.
2. The area of free movement within the EEA consists of 28 EU member states and 3 members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA): Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein. The fourth member of EFTA, Switzerland, has separate agreements with the EU. If Brexit takes place and Britain leaves the EU, it may also resign from the free movement area.
3. EU15: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

4. Iceland is not a member of the EU. The respondent interviewed from there lived in Spain during the surveys in 2008 and 2010 and was thus included in the original survey sample of migrants living within the EU area.
5. For an analysis of the situation of third-country nationals who are long-term residents of an EU member state, see Acosta Arcarazo 2015.
6. For an analysis how intra-European migrants do experience situations of "precarious citizenship", see Simola 2018.
7. The answer choices were as follows: *No (77.7 %), Yes (0.8 %), Considering dual citizenship (9.1 %), Perhaps in the future (3.6 %),* and *I have already changed citizenship (0.5 %).* Data were missing from 30 respondents (8.2%).
8. The interviews were conducted in Finnish. Translations by the author, Saara Koikkalainen.
9. The answer choices given were as follows: *Finnish, resident of the country where I live, European, citizen of the European Union, global citizen, none of the above.*
10. See Bauböck 2007 on an argument how expatriates can be stakeholders also to their countries of origin.

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