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**Anti-discrimination training activities
in Finland**

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Foreword

This is a paper of the ILO's Migration Branch. The objectives of the Branch are to contribute to (i) the formulation, application and evaluation of international migration policies suited to the economic and social aims of governments, employers' and workers' organizations, (ii) the increase of equality of opportunity and treatment of migrants and the protection of their rights and dignity. Its means of action include research, technical advisory services and co-operation, meetings and work concerned with international labour standards. The Branch also collects, analyses and disseminates relevant information and acts as the information source for ILO constituents, ILO units and other interested parties.

The ILO has a constitutional obligation to protect the 'interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own'. This has traditionally been effected through the elaboration, adoption and supervision on international labour standards, in particular the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97); the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111); the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143); and the non-binding Recommendations supplementing them. International legal instruments of this kind are designed to influence national legislation and regulations in each country which has ratified these Conventions; and in this way they aim at changing not only legislation but actual practices as well.

The key concern of ILO standards for migrant workers is non-discrimination or equality of opportunity and treatment. Many countries broadly adhere to this objective in the economic and social spheres. Some countries ratify ILO Conventions¹ and to their level best to fulfil the obligations deriving from them. One might expect, therefore, that discrimination would no longer be part of the legislation or practices of these countries. Unfortunately, a great deal of circumstantial evidence exists that this assumption does not hold in certain respects and especially not at the workplace in private or public enterprises; and such evidence also exists for countries not having ratified ILO Conventions.

Therefore, the ILO has launched a global programme to combat discrimination against migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work. This programme, which focuses on industrialized migrant receiving countries, aims at tackling discrimination by informing policy makers, employers, workers and trainers engaged in anti-discrimination training on how legislative measures and training activities can be rendered more effective, based on an international comparison of the efficacy of such measures and activities. The programme covers four main components: (i) empirical documentation of the occurrence of discrimination; (ii) research to assess the scope and efficacy of legislative measures designed to combat discrimination; (iii) research to document and to evaluate training and education in anti-discrimination or equal treatment; and (iv) seminars to disseminate and draw conclusions from the research findings.

This paper presents the results of the programme's third component as carried out in Finland. Although anti-discrimination training is still embryonic, the Government has in recent policy documents repeatedly stressed the importance of introducing anti-discrimination training activities. On the side of the social partners, notably the trade unions appear to be positively inclined to

¹Forty one in the case of Convention No. 97, one hundred and twenty in the case of Convention No. 111, and eighteen in the case of Convention No. 143.

actively support the wider introduction of such training. However, the research found that a fundamental prerequisite for further training to be developed is a raising of the awareness of the occurrence of discrimination against migrant and ethnic minority workers - an awareness which is still lacking among many of the labour market gatekeepers interviewed for this research - as well as of the positive effects that such training can have on the behaviour of persons involved in hiring and firing decisions. It is hoped that the research presented in this paper will contribute to this awareness and the subsequent development of anti-discrimination training activities suitable for the specific Finnish situation.

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1. Introduction

This report is part of the ILO programme 'Combatting discrimination'¹ against (im)migrant workers and ethnic minorities² in the world of work' and it covers the third component of the programme carried out in Finland at the turn of the year 1996-1997. The third component looks at anti-discrimination or equal treatment training according to the methodology proposed by Wrench and Taylor and adapted by the ILO for international use. Anti-discrimination training targeted at labour market gatekeepers - people having a functional control over recruitment, workplace training, promotion and other aspects of employment and careers - is one possible voluntary measure to be employed in an attempt to eradicate discrimination. Especially training for higher management and human resources managers, i.e. for those who are responsible for business policies and recruitment planning, can play an important part in the stimulation of equal opportunities for migrants. In some countries this type of training is already widely provided. For example, in the Netherlands and in the United Kingdom there is a variety of training offered by a large and growing number of different organizations (Wrench and Taylor, 1993).

In this paper the present situation in the field of anti-discrimination training in Finland is studied. The research focuses primarily on training related to access to employment opportunities, i.e. on training targeted at the aforementioned gatekeepers. To get a picture of the state of anti-discrimination training, 28 representatives of different quarters of the Finnish labour market were interviewed for this research. Questions were asked as to their awareness and knowledge of anti-discrimination training, as well as on their opinions on the need for such training.

This report is structured as follows. The second chapter presents a short overview of the recent migration history, of attitudes among the majority population and of migrants' position in the labour market and related social policy measures. This background is given to locate the findings on anti-discrimination training a broader social context. Chapter three lays down the methodological assumptions of this survey and describes the research process. In chapter four the existing training activities and related literature are summarized. The fifth chapter presents the results of the interviews carried out summarizing the answers of the respondents from various sectors of the Finnish labour market to questions of their awareness and knowledge of anti-discrimination training and of their opinions related to it. Chapter six concludes the report.

2. Recent migration history, attitudes among the majority population and migrants' labour market position and related social policies

¹In this report the term "discrimination" refers to discrimination on grounds of race, ethnic origin, religion, language and/or nationality. In Finland, discrimination on these grounds is generally referred to as "ethnic discrimination".

²With respect to the terminology, it is important to note that there are many different terms and definitions for the issue under discussion. No common language exists, even within Western Europe, for discussing the topic at issue. Thus, "immigrants", "foreigners" and "ethnic minorities" can refer to similar populations in some countries and to completely different groups in others. In this paper the term (im)migrant is used in the broadest sense of the word referring not only to migrant workers but also to refugees and asylum seekers, i.e. to all non-nationals that might belong to a given country's labour force. The question of preventing discrimination in the world of work is of relevance in relation to the situation of some national minorities as well. In the specific Finnish context, the term "national minority" refers to minority groups whose members are Finnish citizens and which compose a distinct and long-established group on the territory (Myntti, 1992, pp. 1-2). The Finnish national minorities are the Swedish-speaking population, the Sami, the Roma, the Jews and the Tartars. The Roma are a national minority often encountering discrimination in business activities and sometimes on the part of the authorities. (Kortteinen, 1996, pp. 104-105) There is no specific research on the possible work-related discrimination against the Roma, but it can be assumed that the Roma are the most likely among national minorities to face discrimination in the field of work.

2.1. Recent migration history

Finland has a long tradition as a country of emigration and it was not until the 1980s when a change in the migration flux took place, turning Finland rapidly into an immigration country. Immigration controls for non-Nordic nationals have always been strict and foreign labour has never been actively recruited. Today labour migration is, in practice, mainly allowed for subjects of the EU countries. The other possibility is admittance on humanitarian grounds. During the 1980s and early 1990s a considerable number of foreigners entered under the refugee or humanitarian status or through family reunification.

In March 1997, there were 75,133 foreign citizens permanently residing in Finland, of which some 13,000 were refugees. In 1987 there were only some 17,000 foreigners in the country, but by the end of 1994 the total number of foreigners had more than tripled. Finland is the European country with the highest increase in foreign population in such a short period of time (Pitkänen and Ekholm, 1995, pp. 6-7, Väestörekisterikeskus, 1997).

In the mid-1990s some two thirds of the migrant population residing in Finland was of European origin. Yet, already from 1989 onwards there have been changes in the social and ethnic composition of migrants. Numbers of Eastern European migrants have been increasing and the proportion of Asian and African origin migrants is bigger than ever before. At the turn of the year 1996-97 the biggest groups of foreign citizens residing in Finland were Russians (12,329) and Estonians (9,178) (Jaakkola, 1994, p. 52; Väestörekisterikeskus, 1997).

Even after the phase of extremely rapid growth in immigration, the share of foreign citizens in the total population remains among the lowest in the EU being 1,4 per cent. Immigration seems to be, however, a growing trend. According to a recent estimation, by 2021 the share of migrants in the total population would be approximately 5 per cent, i.e. some 250,000 foreigners residing in Finland (ETLA, 1996). An important factor for the future developments in Finnish migration trends is the progress in the integration process between the EU and Russian and Baltic states.

2.2. General attitudes

In 1993, a survey of attitudes of Swedes and Finns towards foreigners showed that during a six year period their attitudes had become more negative. The attitudes towards letting in migrant workers were especially negative among the youngest and oldest age groups. In those groups, 65% and 71% agreed with the statement "if unemployment increases, a part of the migrants should be sent away from Finland". Also, the attitudes towards the linguistic and political rights of migrants were looked upon negatively. The most negative attitudes were found among the unemployed, farmers and entrepreneurs. Those who had more positive attitudes were found among respondents with higher education. In addition to the correlation between more positive attitudes and higher education, another explanation for positive attitudes was personal contacts - both voluntary, leisure time contacts and "forced" contacts such as a co-worker or a neighbour - with foreigners (Jaakkola (a), 1994, pp. 56, 66-69).

The change in attitudes in both countries can be explained by the rapidly deteriorating employment situation which coincided with the increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers. The results of the research indicate that when a bleak employment situation prevails the majority is easily influenced by threatening images of uncontrollable streams of refugees, mass migration from the former Soviet Union put forward in the media, even though the proportion of migrants in reality remains low and has no impact on the development of the overall employment possibilities. In the survey a conclusion was drawn that irrespective of economic developments anti-racism campaigns are indispensable, if ethnic conflicts are to be avoided (Jaakkola (a), 1994, pp. 78-79).

According to the research undertaken, the Finnish media has remained one-sided and conflict-oriented, in the same way as in other European countries, in treating news matters related to migration and migrants. National minorities

are mostly excluded or forgotten in public debates and from mass media. As there have not been large scale ethnic conflicts attracting attention in the press, it has been easy to be lulled into the idea that racism does not exist in Finland. Journalists tend to present racism as a characteristic of a limited group of individuals and not as a social phenomenon (Pietikäinen and Luostarinen, 1996, pp. 178, 186).

At the beginning of 1996 the Finnish government appointed a Group of Ministers Against Racism with a mandate to promote good ethnic relations, to take a stand on racist phenomena and to prepare a plan of action with the aim of strengthening the atmosphere of tolerance within society. The plan of action by the Group of Ministers reiterates the recommendations of the Council of Europe to promote recruitment of members of ethnic minorities. The plan of action states that by estimation one third of migrants hold a higher degree or have a good vocational training from their country of origin, and, so far, the Finnish employers have utilized the resources provided by migration only to a very limited extent. According to the plan of action, there is both intentional and unintentional discrimination against migrants and some national minority groups. Discrimination manifests itself in the high unemployment rates among migrants and in the vocational downgrading. The plan of action states that negative attitudes of employers or resistance of other employees form a major obstacle for the employment of migrants (Rasisimin ehkäisy ministeriryhmä, 1996).

These general observations are supported by some empirical evidence. The Office of the Ombudsman for Foreigners has set up a telephone and questionnaire service with the aim to get more information about alleged discriminatory situations. During the period 1 June to 30 September 1996, this service was contacted 84 times, nearly 10 per cent of which concerned complaints of alleged work related discrimination (Takalo, 1996).

A Working Group of an Integration Project in the Lahti Region pointed out in its report that an insufficient knowledge of Finnish is often put forward as an explanation for the low and slow integration of migrants into the labour market. According to the working group the unnecessarily high language skill requirements in application procedures are a common mechanism of indirect discrimination. Another indirect discriminatory practice is the mere use of informal recruiting channels. Migrants are not often part of such networks and they are thus excluded from employment possibilities. It was also brought up that employers not only have prejudices against migrant applicants but, on the whole, tend to question qualifications and training gained abroad. In relation to recruitment practices, the situation in Lahti was perceived as being similar to other Finnish cities; the employers do not perceive migrants as competent workers and do not venture to hire them. Positive experiences with migrant employees was seen as a way to increase companies' willingness to hire them and special internship programmes for migrants were suggested as a mean to provide these experiences (Hämeen läänin hallitus, 1996).

Research on the economical impacts of migration, in which 29 enterprises were consulted, concludes that the enterprises contacted had a fairly positive image of refugee employees. According to the survey, employers who had experiences with refugee origin workers had more positive estimations on their productivity than the ones who had never had a refugee employee. "Overstepping the first contact threshold" seems to be an effective way to break prejudices. The different ethnic groups got, however, very different appraisals by the employers. The employers emphasized their suppositions about differences in strengths and weaknesses of various ethnic groups in relation to the Finnish working life. The author pointed out that the authorities tend to have a more positive picture about the employability of ethnic groups than the employers. According to the author these discrepancies are not likely to disappear without active awareness raising measures (Hakala, 1992, pp. 123).

2.3. Migrants' labour market position and related social policies

Studies from the 1980s on the developments of the socio-economic position of migrants point out that existing practices in the social welfare system and the existing labour market policies were not able to secure equal opportunities for all ethnic groups. In 1985 as well as in 1988 the unemployment rate was higher among migrants than among Finns. The data collected showed an emerging ethnic hierarchy and segmentation. The studies also

confirm that in tightening education and employment markets the competitive position of ethnic minorities has remained lower than average. High unemployment, low degree of labour force participation, occupational downgrading and location in the peripheral areas of the economy have also characterized the position of migrants in the Finnish labour market in the beginning of the 1990s (Ekholm and Pitkänen, 1995, pp. 16-17, 19; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1994, p. 102; Jaakkola, 1994b, pp. 133, 160).

According to estimates by the Ministry of Labour, the unemployment rate among migrants was 47 per cent at the beginning of 1996. For certain groups the figures were as high as 80 per cent or more. The unemployment rate for the whole workforce was around 17 per cent. In the light of the figures of the 1996 estimation, the employment situation of migrants has improved. In 1994, according to the Statistics Finland, the unemployment rate was 53 per cent. The best employment situation was among the Western Europeans, the citizens of the United States and the Chinese. The biggest unemployment rates were among the Iraqis 93 per cent, the Somalis 86 per cent and the Iranians 83 per cent. According to the final report of the Committee on Migration and Refugee Policies, the special measures of the authorities, which are more closely looked at in the following sectors, have had a positive impact on the employment situation of migrant groups. The decrease in the unemployment rate can be partly explained by special labour policy measures, such as state-funded training schemes. These labour policy measures will be described more in detail in below (Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, p. 187).

Foreign citizens holding a permanent residence permit, which gives a right to work without a separate work permit, are entitled to the general welfare services and general measures aimed at decreasing unemployment. Migrants permanently residing in Finland qualify for unemployment allowance on the same ground as Finns. General labour market policy measures include labour exchange services, retraining schemes, vocational training courses for the unemployed and state subsidised work schemes through which employers can hire the long-term unemployed for a six month period. In the regions of more dense migrant settlement, such as Helsinki, Turku and Tampere labour exchange offices have special departments for migrant clientele and in recent years more attention has been paid to the special needs of migrant clientele in labour exchange activities (Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, p. 188).

Apart from the general measures various special measures also exist, such as free language and civics courses, aimed at facilitating the integration of migrants. In principle, only individuals entering under refugee or humanitarian status are entitled to these courses. During the courses the refugees get a municipal subsistence allowance. After a six-month period of the above mentioned preparatory instruction, refugees attend pre-vocational training courses. Preparatory instruction courses have been arranged for other migrant groups, but as the number of migrants increased in the early 1990s, only a few of the newcomers had the opportunity to take part in these courses.

In an attempt to decrease the high unemployment rates, the supply of state-subsidised retraining and work schemes has increased. Migrants have also been able to benefit from these schemes. In 1995 some 8,300 migrants started vocational training and 3,000 were employed through state-subsidised work schemes. Demand for language instruction and vocational retraining for migrants remains, however, bigger than supply. State-subsidised work schemes have provided employment opportunities for migrants, but in most cases these six month work periods do not lead to more permanent contracts. One example of pilot projects initiated to help migrants to enter the labour market is Migrants' Employment and Training Project in the Greater Helsinki area, which started in 1994. The project includes vocational testing, language and vocational training and drawing up study and job seek plans for participants. The project also offers special employment services with the aim of presenting migrants' skills to employers, for example, in the export and import sector (STM, 1996, p. 79; Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, p. 187).

The Committee on Migration and Refugee Policies, which was appointed in 1995, submitted its final report at the beginning of 1997. The final report is meant to serve as a basis for the government's first comprehensive

migration and integration policy. Decisions on the proposals put forward in the final report are to be taken by the Government by the autumn of 1997. The final report lays down a set of three-level integration measures. These levels are the following: 1) comprehensive national integration policy, 2) municipal migration policy and detailed integration plan and 3) individual or family level integration plans. The municipal integration plan or migration policy programme should specify aims, measures, resources and responsibilities in respect of the integration of migrants. The proposal emphasizes the importance of participation of migrant's representatives to decision-making process in respect to municipal integration plans. Migrants are expected to commit themselves to the individual integration plan, which is made in co-operation with civil servants of the municipalities. The individual integration plan would map out, for example, language and vocational training needs and measures to be taken in order to facilitate the integration process and to increase the employability of the individuals (Salmimies, 1997, p. 22; Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, p. 175).

The Committee brought up a need to strengthen professional competence needed to intervene in racist or discriminatory occurrences or practices. It was deemed necessary to provide information and training in how to recognize discriminatory practices, how to handle such occurrences and how to support victims of discrimination and racism. In the report it was suggested that, for example, in vocational training the aforementioned contents should be covered. In addition, all Ministries were encouraged to draw a plan for promoting tolerance and ethnic equality in their administrative branches (Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, pp. 207-208).

In the report of the Committee of Migration and Refugee Policies it was also proposed that the Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs should set up a working group for defining measures needed in Finland for implementing the ILO's proposals for preventing racism and discrimination and the Florence Declaration, signed up by the social partners in 1996. The Committee invited the social partners to actively promote tolerance and provide anti-discrimination training for their members (Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, pp. 206-208).

With respect to labour exchange services the Committee of Migration and Refugee Policies suggested that the employment authorities should, in co-operation with employers' associations, representatives of business and commerce and migrants' non-governmental organizations, develop systems which would take into consideration both the needs and the resources of migrants. A network of entrepreneurs and public sector employers providing internship and apprenticeship possibilities for migrants should be created (Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, pp. 187-89).

In a study looking at the Finnish refugee policy and administrative practices, Matinheikki-Kokko pointed out that until now the number of migrants in Finland has been small, which has rendered it possible to design special services for limited groups. As opposed to countries which have a long tradition of receiving relatively permanent migrant groups, the attention of policy makers and administration has not been directed towards the structures of the society which maintain inequalities, but it has concentrated on short-term receiving services for newcomers. Structural defects have not gained enough attention and, until the beginning of 1990s, positive action policies remained absent (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1994, p. 120).

In the light of the policy documents presented above, a shift in the approach in relation to integration questions can be detected. In addition to short-term receiving services, more comprehensive policies looking for solutions for structural defects are emerging.

3. Methodological remarks: scope and limitations of the work done in Finland

3.1. The research method followed

The research follows the method set out in the Wrench and Taylor research manual for documentation and evaluation of anti-discrimination training (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, pp. 8-18). The manual gives an identification of a number of activities which, although related to equal opportunities training, will be excluded from the focus of the study. The training types excluded from a closer examination are 1) training directed at migrants/ethnic minorities themselves, 2) training for service delivery to migrants/ethnic minorities and 3) broader educational campaigns on fair treatment for migrants which fall outside the workplace. The research focuses on anti-discrimination training “which has the assumption behind it that the most important way to facilitate the fair treatment and labour market integration of migrants and minorities is to tackle the discrimination - direct and indirect, formal and informal - which is operated knowingly or unknowingly by gatekeepers and organizations”. In other words, the term “anti-discrimination training” in this context refers to training activities targeted at gatekeepers: individuals who have a role to play in the access of minorities to employment, and who may also have an influence on employment careers within an organization.

In the manual, a training typology in which anti-discrimination training approaches are categorized according to training strategy and content, is laid out. Four training strategies are described. Firstly, the strategy can be one of straightforward information provision, with the underlying assumption that the problem to be tackled is largely one of ignorance, and that the provision of new information will itself produce changes in attitudes and behaviour. A second strategy might be more active and direct, using specific mechanisms to produce attitude change in the trainees. The third approach is one of aiming to produce behavioural change rather than simply restricting the focus to the attitude change of those trainees who attend the course. The fourth strategy aims at wider organizational change.

The second dimension of the training typology was that of the content of training. Firstly, the main emphasis can be multi-cultural - focusing on the characteristics of migrants and ethnic minorities themselves. Secondly, the content can concentrate on racism and discrimination, with attention focused on the actions of the majority population and the structures of society. Or, thirdly, the emphasis can be on broader issues which may include a multi-cultural and anti-racism content but locate these in a much broader social context.

When these dimensions are cross-classified, twelve different types of training can be identified.

In reality it is unlikely that all these twelve will exist and for the purpose of this study, six main types can be crystallised. The six main training approaches identified can be categorised as follows: 1) Information Training (A1 or A1.A2), 2) Cultural Awareness Training (B1 or B1.A1), 3) Racism Awareness Training (B2 or B2.A2 or B2.A2.B1), 5) Equalities Training (C2 or C2.C3), 4) Anti-Racism Training (D2 including elements of C2, B2 and A2), 6) Diversity Training (D3 including elements of most types).

Anti-discrimination training typology

Content	Multi-cultural	Anti-discrimination/ Anti-racist	Broader issues
Strategy	1	2	3
Information provision A	A1 Information Training	A2 Information Training	A3

Attitude change B	B1 Cultural Awareness Training	B2 Racism Awareness Training	B3
Behaviour change C	C1	C2 Equalities Training	C3 Equalities Training
Organizational change D	D1	D2 Anti-Racism Training	D3 Diversity Training

Information Training is based on an underlying assumption that provision of correct information on migrant communities' demographic facts and their employment patterns, factual information on prejudice, the processes of discrimination and the legal context of discriminatory acts is enough to produce a behavioural change. The training methods used in Information Training are straightforward lectures, videos or written material.

Cultural Awareness Training not only provides cultural information, but engages trainees in exercises to change their attitudes. Cultural Awareness Training remains similar to Information Training in seeing behavioural change as relatively unproblematic, i.e. raising awareness and changing prejudiced attitudes will automatically reduce discriminatory behaviour.

Racism Awareness Training focuses narrowly on racism itself and aims at producing a relatively rapid change in attitudes. The methods used are generally to induce self-awareness in a group setting and confrontational techniques, such as role plays, are applied.

Equalities Training is designed primarily to affect behaviour and aims to instruct the trainees in legally or professionally appropriate behaviour. In many countries the starting point of Equalities Training will be that the law proscribes discrimination and that agencies and professionals must make sure that discrimination, whether deliberate or unintentional, does not occur.

Anti-Racism Training retains a strong commitment to combat racism directly, but is aimed at changing organizational practices rather than individual self-awareness. The training seeks to integrate both normative and behavioural aspects at the individual and organizational level. A characteristic of this training approach is that racism and discrimination are seen to constitute a problem within the organization and the existence of discrimination is the main reason for introducing the programme.

Diversity Training is the most recent development in the field of anti-discrimination training. It is seen as a strategy of fully tapping the resources within the organization and is mainly directed at managers. In this approach fairness is not described as treating people equally but treating people appropriately. The objective of the training is to assist in developing an heterogeneous organizational culture and discovering what is blocking the progress of "non-traditional" employees.

For countries in which there is relatively little activity going on which can be categorised as anti-discrimination training specifically targeted at labour market gatekeepers, a research method named as the Reserve Strategy is prescribed. The Reserve Strategy entails interviewing a selection of employers, government officials, and other labour market actors. Their opinions are to be sought as to why anti-discrimination training is rare in the country concerned. The initial research into the Finnish training scene, including going through training programmes of potential training providers and entering into discussions with the key informants from the central administration and the social partners, showed that there is scant implementation of anti-discrimination training programmes

designed for “gatekeepers”. Hence, from the outset, research was mainly carried out according to the Reserve Strategy¹ (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 65).

The method used is at the qualitative end of the research spectrum and the aim is to form a reasoned overview of the current situation on anti-discrimination training and of opinions related to the needs and usefulness of this type of training. The data collected is not statistically representative and no statistical generalizations can be drawn based on it. The data provides, however, a varied selection of the views the Finnish labour market actors and gatekeepers hold in relation to anti-discrimination training and illustrates the reasoning behind their opinions.

3.2. The research stages

As a first step of the research process the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education and informants from Continuing Education Centres were consulted in order to discover the most relevant actors in the Finnish labour market before respondents from different categories were chosen. The list of respondents based on the information gathered from the initial discussions was revised during the course of the interview process according to supplementary information provided by the respondents. All in all, 28 respondents from different categories were interviewed. In addition, this report contains summaries describing some existing training activities. With respect to these training activities, training co-ordinators and trainees were consulted.

Four different regions were chosen for carrying out the interviews: Helsinki, Turku, Häme and Jyväskylä. Most interviews took place in Helsinki, as roughly half of the foreign population lives in the region around the capital. The three other towns and the surrounding regions have relatively large migrant settlements. Furthermore, the chosen locations offer an appropriate range of diverse levels of government (municipal, provincial and central) and relevant training institutions, such as a training centre for employment authorities and faculties providing business and management studies.

Initial contacts with potential respondents were made by telephone, briefly explaining the purpose of the research and eliciting participation. In affirmative cases a time for an interview was set during the initial call. In some cases it proved to be difficult to locate a suitable and willing person within an organization. For some of the respondents the themes of the interview were new and their initial reaction was one of hesitation. They expressed concern about their lack of expertise in this field. Some authorities in charge of personnel training or human resources units wanted to gear the interviews to people specialized in dealing with minority clientele or in international activities. In this research it was, however, the gatekeepers and people in charge of training activities, as possible anti-discrimination training initiators and subsequently training purchasers, and training providers, whose opinions were sought.

Two training institutions approached were unwilling to participate. Reasons given were lack of time and the fact that they did not provide any kind of anti-discrimination training, and were not aware of any other training providers whose programmes included such contents. Also, three private sector employers contacted refused to participate in this research, without specifying their reasons.

In most cases, a fax or a letter covering the main themes of the interview was sent to the respondent before the interview took place. The interviews covered the following themes: the respondent's awareness and knowledge of anti-discrimination training, opinions as to why such training is necessary/unnecessary in their organization or in

¹Since there are no established anti-discrimination training providers, it is possible that, despite the vigorous attempt to find out about all the possible anti-discrimination training activities, some existing training activities might have escaped the researcher's attention. It must be noted as well that not all activities related to migrants' employment patterns etc., such as one-off lectures targeted at one of the gatekeepers' groups are described in this report.

Finland as a whole, why their organization has not been able in practice to develop, purchase or participate in such training and what the respondent perceives as being barriers to the wider adoption of such training. The average duration of the interviews was about an hour.

A semi-structured interview was used as the research method. While carrying out the interviews, the aim was to adopt an open manner during the interviews to encourage the respondents to develop their answers without being led. Qualitative research is characterized by its commitment to viewing events, values, etc. from the perspective of the people who are being studied (Bryman, 1988, p.61).

As mentioned above, some interviewees were unfamiliar with the topics, and terms related to the topic at the issue. Due to this unfamiliarity, the researcher was sometimes asked to explain concepts and ideas related to the questions. Clarifications deemed necessary were provided. Lengthy explanations can, however, lead the respondents towards certain types of answers and the researcher tried to avoid being too discursive during the formal interview and to keep the communication channel open without giving too ready-made definitions in order to allow the informants to express and to develop their own views.

The report contains relatively detailed summaries of the interviews. The aim is to present as illustrative a picture of the data gathered as possible. The reason for providing detailed summaries is twofold. First, as gaining an “insight into some of the main arguments against and/or barriers to anti-discrimination training which are current in that particular country” (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 65), is the main aim of this exercise, an extensive presentation of different views and opinions of the informants is called for. Secondly, no previous surveys on anti-discrimination training for gatekeepers have been compiled and, thus, the data collected through the interviews might serve as a starting point for future research activities as well as the development of specific anti-discrimination training.

4. Overview of relevant training activities

4.1. General training activities and review of the literature

In this section a brief review of the existing training activities in the field of anti-discrimination and related literature is given. As stated previously, the focus of this report is on training directed at those who hire personnel or have some role in the allocation of employment opportunities within the labour market, such as personnel and line managers in private and public sectors, labour exchanges' officials, trade union officials and shop stewards (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, p. 8).

Some of the training activities which fall outside the scope of this research are, nevertheless, briefly presented in this section. For example, a few training activities falling into the category of “Training for service delivery”, aimed at enhancing sensitivity or fairness in the delivery of services to ethnic minority clients and assisting staff to take account of the particular needs of different ethnic groups, is summarized but is to be excluded from the more detailed examination. These summaries are given so that a more comprehensive overview of the present situation in the field of training could be presented. Detailed descriptions of all training activities that could be detected which do qualify as anti-discrimination training are provided in subsection 4.1. of this report.

It must be noted that not all activities, such as one-off lectures on migrants' employment patterns etc. targeted at an audience, which includes gatekeepers, are described in this report. Firstly, it would have been an impossible task to track down all such separate occasions and secondly, occasional one or two hour lectures do not qualify as anti-discrimination training activities as defined in this report.

Several general anti-racism campaigns aimed at a wide public have been launched by national authorities. One example is an action plan "Towards a Tolerant Finland" initiated by the Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs. The aim of the project is, *inter alia*, to raise the awareness of authorities responsible for culture and leisure activities on ethnic relations and multicultural issues and to ensure that those aspects are taken into consideration when authorities carry out their duties. Under the auspices of "Towards a Tolerant Finland", of which the project co-ordinator is situated into the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, different projects promoting tolerance, such as preparing television and video material and arranging seminars, have been carried out. Also, the National Education Board produces general training material for television and videos on raising awareness on issues such as anti-discrimination. In addition it produces special material for schools.

The EU membership and the internationalization of Finnish trade and companies have intensified "internationality" training, language and European cultural tradition training aimed at improving the language skills, cultural abilities and communication skills of Finns in the context of trade and EU- co-operation. University courses, such as Cross-Cultural Business and Inter-Cultural Studies are offered to assist professionals working in a multi-cultural context.

The Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration provides a course called Cross-Cultural Business which sets its objectives as follows: "On completion of this course, students should be able to understand the phenomenon of "culture"; understand the dynamics of cross-cultural interaction; understand the impact of culture in communication; management and intracompany integration; master confronting different cultures and manage the effects of culture shock in a professional environment". The Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration also offers a course on international strategy of human resources management. The context in which effects of different culture are observed is the one of international business operations. In these courses the notion of anti-discrimination is implicit in the idea that employees from different ethnic backgrounds will be treated more fairly and managed more effectively as a result of these programmes, but anti-discrimination contents as such are not covered (The Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration, 1997).

A study on Finnish expatriates assigned to the USA examines what is involved in an adjustment process to a foreign assignment situation, what factors are connected to adjustment and why. In the study pre-departure cross-cultural training courses provided by some enterprises are mentioned. These courses are aimed at facilitating expatriates' adjustment when leaving for a foreign assignment. Also, in these training activities the notion of anti-discrimination might be implicit in the idea that cross-cultural competence as such is likely to prevent discrimination. As the target group of these courses will not act as gatekeepers to the Finnish labour market, these courses are not relevant for the present study (Kauppinen, 1994, pp. 63-66).

In a study completed in 1994, Matinheikki-Kokko stated that the competence of the authorities dealing with migrants is inadequate and that there is not enough training specialized in service delivery for an ethnically diverse clientele. During 1996 the Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs carried out a survey among the authorities of different sectors on the existing training activities and training needs in dealing with migration and foreigners' issues. Target groups in public sector training have mostly been social workers, social security and other authorities from units dealing with migrant clientele. The results of the survey showed that the training supply so far appears to be rather haphazard. Some public workplaces have organized one-off occasions, but training on migration topics, cultural awareness etc. were not systematic. Training needs were identified as follows: improving language skills, cultural information, cultural awareness training both at the level of attitudes and behaviour and information with respect to relevant legislative provisions. The emphasis of both existing training and identified training needs was mainly on the service delivery. The conclusion was that public sector training on ethnic issues should be better co-ordinated and new approaches developed in order to meet training needs (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1994, p. 102; PAKSI, 1996).

The National Board for Education has been promoting the idea of a course on multicultural education to be included in the curricula of all primary and secondary school teacher training. The effort has not been successful, because there are a lot of new topics to be introduced into teacher training, and multi-cultural issues have to compete with these. The teacher training colleges also lack expertise on this topic. There are some supplementary programmes in multi-cultural education for teachers, for example, the Continuing Education Centre of Vantaa offers a study unit of 35 credits and the Continuing Education Centre of the University of Jyväskylä a study unit of 15 credits. These courses, however, are not obligatory (Jyväskylän täydennyskoulutuskeskus, 1997; Vantaan täydennyskoulutuskeskus, 1997).

The Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration provides an optional course on gender discrimination. In the Continuing Education Centre of the University of Jyväskylä there exists a Professional Development programme for "gender equality". The programme provides information, *inter alia*, on equal opportunities policies, legislation and on women's position in society. It builds up competence in equal opportunities policy planning, carrying out development projects in organizations and in negotiation and communication skills. There are plans to introduce modules on ethnic discrimination and positive action policies for migrants into the second programme starting in the spring of 1997. The aim of the programme is to train "equality consultants" qualified to plan and implement equality projects in organizations. The first Professional Development programme for "gender equality" was initiated in the context of the amendments to the Equality Act (1995), in which an obligation for big employers to draw up a gender equality plan was introduced (Jyväskylän Täydennyskoulutuskeskus, 1996).

The plan of action by the Group of Ministers Against Racism contains recommendations on the needs for training in order to facilitate the integration of minority groups and to improve ethnic relations in general. It states that Finland is currently in a process of becoming a multi-cultural society. According to the plan of action, this development places demands on authorities and political decision-makers in their attitudes and skills to encounter and to deal with different cultures. The plan of action refers to the recommendation made by the Council of Europe when emphasizing the importance of training on ethnic issues for authorities that deal with (im)migrants and ethnic minorities. The different authorities mentioned are police, border guards, military personnel, permit authorities, social, employment, education, housing and justice authorities (Rasisimin ehkäisy - ministeriryhmä, 1996).

The plan of action of the Group of Ministers Against Racism set as its aim that authorities at all levels, e.g. central administration, regional and municipal should receive training in ethnic relations and discrimination issues. "Each Ministry should secure that in their personnel training ethnic issues have an adequate treatment and that the attitudes of civil servants are humane and respect the principle of equality". The plan of action proposes that the authorities develop special measures with respect to the position and competence of migrants in the Finnish labour market. Also, the Committee of Migration and Refugee Policies sets forth proposals for anti-discrimination training. The employers are called upon to include ethnic and multicultural content in their personnel training. Trade union training provided for shop stewards and other members should treat questions related to working in a multicultural context. At the workplace level the employer and shop stewards should, in co-operation, draw up integration programmes aimed at facilitating the intake of migrant employees (Rasisimin ehkäisy - ministeriryhmä, 1996, Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1988-89, 1997, pp. 188-89).

In the following paragraphs, some examples of public sector training activities in the employment administration are given. The international unit of the Turku labour exchange office, serving both migrant clientele and Finnish clientele looking for work outside Finland, have had weekly meetings, in which cultural information was provided for the staff by lecturers from different ethnic backgrounds. Työvoimaopisto (a training institute for the employment sector) has organized occasional lectures with contents such as the history of migration with respect to Finland and Finnish values in relation to value systems in other cultures. The lectures have been given by civil servants from the Ministry of Labour and have been a part of supplementary training seminars for civil servants in the employment administration. Työvoimaopisto has also organized employment policy sessions covering topics related to gender equality, but ethnic discrimination has not been covered in those sessions.

These activities targeted at civil servants working in the labour exchange could be described as providing primarily cultural information on migrant and ethnic minority communities. An underlying rationale for this type of approach is that an insight into cultural differences form a condition to good intercultural communication. In this training approach increasing cultural sensitivity and improving intercultural skills are perceived as adequate means for preventing discrimination. Discrimination as such is not addressed in the above-mentioned training activities.

The regional government of Uusimaa and municipalities of Espoo, Helsinki and Vantaa implemented an anti-discrimination training project in 1996. This project is generally referred to as the "Against Racism in the Capital City Area" project (CARP). Participants were mainly employees working with migrant clientele in service delivery, such as refugee units, day care and youth work. One employee from the human resources unit of the regional government participated in the training. The training falls into the category of Training for Service Delivery on which this study does not focus. This type of training is aimed at enhancing cultural sensitivity or fairness in the delivery service to migrants. The project is, however, included in the ones, of which a detailed description is provided. A justification for this is that the project is probably one of the most comprehensive programmes in the public sector, concentrating not solely on disseminating cultural information but explicitly covering discrimination as an issue.

The project's workshop sessions covered topics such as intercultural communication, problems encountered by migrants and problems of a workplace dealing with a migrant clientele. The aim was to improve employees' ability to become aware of and recognize discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin and discuss how problems related to discrimination have been and should be dealt within the office. The training provided information on legislation related to the status and rights of migrants and on discrimination. The emphasis of the legislation training was on preventing discrimination in service delivery. Trainers from migrant groups were used as experts on cultural issues and a lawyer from the Human Rights League acted as a legal expert.

Training was introduced to improve intercultural communication between employees and clients, to give handles on how to tackle possible future problems related to service delivery for migrant clientele and to prevent discrimination from occurring. In the final report of this CARP project the following proposals are put forward: the training of interpreters should be improved and the use of interpreters should be made more frequent; more personnel for dealing with migrant clientele as a specific group; documents and brochures should be translated into the languages of the clientele; expanding the duration of Finnish and mother tongue courses for migrants; development of psychological research methods and improved selection and interviewing methods in the education sector; dissemination of cultural information and training for different occupational groups; increasing the recruitment of migrants into the public sector (Iduozee, Laaksonen, Liinasuo, 1996, p. 13).

The evaluation of the CARP project concluded that "racism is a difficult topic to tackle and discretion is needed". The training method used, a workshop in which group discussions were led by a legal or cultural expert, provided an opportunity for bringing up practical problems. This element is missing in lecture-type training which often leaves practices and behaviour unchanged. Mixed groups - having trainees from different units - improved the co-operation between authorities dealing with migrant clientele. The trainees gave positive feedback of the use of trainers from migrant groups (Iduozee, Laaksonen, Liinasuo, 1996, pp. 17-18).

In the evaluation report it is stressed that if ways of introducing the training and the training methods used are not well thought out, resistance from the part of trainees can hinder the success of the training. The co-ordinators of the CARP-project also emphasized the importance of commitment of the upper management, if the long-term goals, i.e. creating changes in organizational practices and increasing the recruitment of migrants, are to be reached. Anti-discrimination training is not likely to have concrete and sustainable results, if it is not embedded in the organizational policy (Iduozee, Laaksonen, Liinasuo, 1996, pp. 18-19).

Workshops were perceived as a good method of organizing training, but according to the co-ordinators of the CARP-project, a lack of time proved to be an obstacle for reaching the more ambitious aims set for training. The training co-ordinators assessed the workshops which were held as a valuable first step, but emphasized that the half-day workshops were not enough to provide skills and competence for training “discrimination experts” who could serve as consultants or support persons at workplaces. According to the training co-ordinators, there have been plans to introduce this type of anti-discrimination workshop into general personnel training. This project served as a test ground for the teaching model applied and workshops were proved to be a suitable method for personnel training (Iduozee, Laaksonen, Liinasuo, 1996, pp. 30-31).

No Finnish academic literature exists on anti-discrimination training in the field of work. Policy-makers have noticed the lack of research and of training activities. The Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Issues stated that wide research activities in the field of ethnic relations are necessary for providing inputs into policy development processes and for international co-operation. The Board also calls for research on the reactions of the majority to the existence of different ethnic groups and to cultural changes. The Ministry of Education states in its report that increasing immigration raises the need for research among authorities, the majority population and migrant groups on their reactions to social and cultural change and the appearance of new groups in society. According to Liebkind there is no institutional framework for general research on ethnic relations and the ongoing research activities are not sufficiently co-ordinated (Liebkind, 1994, pp. 15-16; OPM, 1991; PAKSI, 1994).

All in all, little research has been carried out studying the experiences of multi-ethnic Finnish workplaces. One existing case study examined a Finnish company as an arena for cross-cultural encounters. The study is based on interviews made in a small Finnish firm that manufactures neon transformers employing Finnish, Vietnamese and French employees. The research concluded that there had been difficulties and misunderstandings between the different cultures. Ambiguous and problematic situations have taken place because of the lack of knowledge of the other culture's patterns of thought and communication. According to the author, the ability to manage efficiently a diverse staff will become increasingly important in the future when more and more people from different cultures work together in the same company (Lindberg, 1992, pp. 51-52).

4.2. Specific anti-discrimination training

In this section the two specific anti-discrimination training activities investigated are described and typified according to the Wrench and Taylor methodology. Semi-structured interviews were carried with trainers/training co-ordinators within the client organizations to gather information with regard to the realisation of the aims of training, effects of training and identification of problems and barriers to effectiveness. In the case of the second training also the trainees were available for interviews.

The first anti-discrimination training course, which was targeted at shop stewards and other trade union officials, is described according to the information gained by interviewing the co-ordinator of the training, who had both initiated the course to be taken into the organization's training provision and selected the lecturers for the course. Interviews with the trainees could not be arranged.

A regional office of an industrial sector trade union, Metalliliitto, organized a one day “tolerance course” in autumn 1996 and another one is planned to be held during spring 1997. These activities were funded by the “Towards a Tolerant Finland” campaign under the auspice of the Ministry of Social Affairs. The course was targeted at shop stewards and occupational health and safety officers. It covered topics such as migration and integration policy and social welfare and employment services for migrants and the lecturers were officials in charge of the aforementioned topics. For the 1997 course, one of the trainers/lecturers is planned to be from an ethnic minority. A follow-up to this training was an assignment to draft a plan of action for receiving an employee from a different ethnic group in the participant's own workplace. Three participants of the first course had completed the plan of action assignment. In total, the first course had some 20 trainees.

The co-ordinator named providing correct information about the situation and rights of migrants as the main aim of the training. The point of departure for the training was that correct information will produce changes in attitudes of the trainees. The course was voluntary and the trainer regretted that “there was not as much interest as we wished”. The lack of interest was explained by the small number of migrants at the workplaces in the region. Getting the “tolerance course” into the training programme had met resistance in the decision-making committee composed of local trade union groups representatives. Arguments such as “the money should be used for improving the situation of unemployed Finnish members” were put forward during the discussions. The training proposal was, however, adopted “because people do not want to be labelled as racists”.

The sole training session organized by the time of writing this report was well received by the trainees. According to the evaluation carried out by the training provider, even participants who had opposed the training in the decision-making committee had been satisfied with the training. “We learnt a lot. The training opened my eyes and widened my perspectives. My former opinions of migrants and refugees were unfounded”, were among the comments given in the training evaluation. All in all, the tolerance training got a better assessment than average for training organized by this regional trade union office. The co-ordinator pointed out, however, that most trainees were “people who already had a relatively positive attitude on these issues, since this was voluntary training”.

The training presented above falls into the type A1.A2 training, which provides cultural information and information on the position of migrants in society. The training included an assignment of drafting an integration plan. This component points to the category of Equalities Training, type C2.C3, which seeks directly to affect behaviour. Also, according to the co-ordinator, the assignment was aimed at ensuring that the training would have concrete, behavioural effects. The training did not, however, provide specific guidance on drawing up the integration plan, but the assignment was used as a somewhat separate measure to engage the trainees more actively in the topics. As only three participants completed the assignment, the effectiveness of this training component can be questioned.

Liikealan liitto, a trade union in the service sector, had introduced an “Internationality” course in 1996. According to the respondent, from the training section of the trade union, the course was planned to be repeated in future years. With respect to ethnic issues, Liikealan liitto aims at “mainstreaming”, i.e. racism and anti-discrimination should be touched upon in all relevant training activities. When drawing up the training programme negotiations were held with the employer's association, in order to decide for which training activities employers would be obliged to give paid leave for shop stewards participating in the training. The stand of the employer's association has been that anti-discrimination training does not qualify as training for which paid leave should be granted, i.e. employers are free to decide themselves, if they are willing to grant paid leave for shop stewards participating in the course or not.

The course organized by Liikealan liitto is described in the light of interviews with both the trainers and the trainees. The course had two trainers who were responsible of planning and co-ordinating the course and led most of the activities and a few guest lecturers. The two trainers, of which another was an official from Liikealan liitto's training section, were interviewed. From the 20 participants 10 were willing to give an appraisal of the course.

The course held was a three-day course covering a wide range of topics such as structures of world trade, multinationals, trade union co-operation and the EU, the EU and group co-operation, the Roma culture and traditions, racism and its origins, migrant workers in the service sector and cultural awareness and information. Lectures, role plays and group discussions were the teaching methods used. The trainees were shop stewards who attended the course voluntarily. For most of the trainees this was a first course including equality or cultural awareness issues.

According to the trainers the aim of this training was to provide information, and to change attitudes with the final aim of changing behaviour. The trainers stated that the goal was to change behaviour, but that tackling attitudes was

a necessary precondition for pursuing this aim. “The most difficult thing to tackle by training is hidden behaviour which includes racist, pejorative jokes, stereotyping etc. If trainees have had negative experiences with migrants or foreigners it is very difficult to change their views. The easiest training task would be to plan and implement concrete anti-discriminatory practices with a person who already had positive attitudes and clear anti-racist and anti-discriminatory values.”

The trainers of the course had a strong moral stand on equality and fair trade issues and were also actively involved in NGO activities in those fields. According to their experiences, introducing anti-discrimination training activities to the trade union training programme has been slow, because it is not very high up on the list of employers' priorities. “Ethnic discrimination is a new topic in Finland, because of the homogenous population we have had so far. Preventing gender and age discrimination is considered important, but ethnic discrimination is probably more difficult to recognize.”

The trainees had some influence on the contents of the course and had hoped for information on the effects of EU regulations. One of the trainers stated that this training would have not been carried out without the EU contents. “Internationalization tends to be seen only in relation to the EU, in a very eurocentric way. This is why, in Finland, training is mainly provided on EU legislation and language skills.”

During the training session some topics and teaching methods, such as child labour, racism and role-playing exercises, had met with resistance. Despite these reactions the trainers felt that experimental learning, discussions and learning-by-doing were the most effective training methods. The presence of a trainee from an ethnic minority background was perceived as being very effective as well. “It is important for Finnish trainees to encounter people from different ethnic groups. The prejudices can be dispelled through positive intercultural experiences.”

Expectations of the trainees had to do both with EU legislation and discrimination. Some expected practical instruction, “I wanted to get advice on how shop stewards can improve equality and enforce equal opportunities”. However, most participants did not expect to learn skills or competence directly linked with work.

Many of the trainees were of the opinion that the training provided useful information for personal development, but did not perceive it as having direct effects on their abilities to deal with possible discriminatory situations at the workplace. Some felt that the training had an effect on their attitudes and behaviour. “After this course I have started to recognize discrimination and have a better understanding of the racism as a phenomenon.” “Now I have the courage to take a stand, if somebody passes degrading remarks on refugees and migrants.” One trainee stated that his attitudes had changed, but did not think these changes in attitudes would have any practical consequences.

The use of the role-playing exercise as a teaching method encountered conflicting appraisals. While most respondents saw it as the most effective part of the training, some described it as being “too emotional and it is impossible to put its results into a practical use”. In general, however, the participatory teaching methods were perceived as the most useful ones. The presence of a trainee from an ethnic minority was mentioned as a valuable component of the learning experience. “This type of training is efficient, especially, if there are participants from other ethnic groups.”

All in all, eight of the trainee respondents perceived this type of training as an effective means of preventing discrimination at the workplace. One respondent raised the question that, if training is voluntary “only people who already have anti-racist attitudes will participate”. A few trainees were rather sceptic about the practical effects of this type of training.

Taking into account the trainers' approaches and the contents of the course, this training can be labelled as a broader form of Racism Awareness Training, type B3, which focuses on personal attitudes and provides information both on migrant communities and racism. The training was aimed at raising the awareness of racism

and prejudices both within the trainees and at structural level. Besides providing information, the role-playing and the presence of migrant trainee were used to bring about awareness.

The trainers saw the training as a first step aimed at raising the awareness of both structural discrimination and personal prejudices, but no immediate results in the behaviour in practical workplace situation were expected. Not many of the trainees expressed expectations or goals in relation to the part of the training, which did not deal with the EU. According to the trainees the training raised their awareness of racism and sensitized them to the existence of prejudices. It seems, however, that practical skills and effects on the behaviour at the workplace, obtained through the training remain modest. Considering the very short duration of the training course, creating behavioural changes might be too ambitious an aim, irrespective of the point of departure, contents or methods of the training.

5. Summaries of the interviews

As set out in section 3.1, the research process involved interviews with key informants in 11 categories. The categories included are private and public sector employers, central administration, official training board, regional administration, employers associations, trade unions, training organizations, the Ombudsman for Foreigners, private employment agencies, NGOs and academics. Informants from these categories are well placed to provide an informed overview about the current situation. In this chapter the results of these consultations are set out under each category heading (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, pp. 22, 65).

5.1. Private and public sector employers

In the category of private and public sector employers, five employers were consulted. Three were private sector employers (one established with national capital, one multinational franchising company and one multinational) and the remaining two were public sector employers from Helsinki and Turku. The interviewees were human resources or training managers.

In the national private sector company, there was neither a specific racial equality policy nor a broader equal opportunities policy. The respondent also pointed out that there had not been many job-seekers from ethnic minorities and assumed this was the case because of the insufficient command of Finnish among the ethnic minorities.

As to whether anti-discrimination training activities were deemed necessary within the organization or in Finland as a whole, the respondent did not adopt a categorical position, dismissing such training as unnecessary. The respondent did not perceive an acute need for this type of in-house training but held an opinion that, in general, discrimination and prejudices are a problem in the Finnish labour market. "In minimizing risks in the hiring process, recruiters tend to take a prejudiced attitude towards everything unfamiliar."

As for possible training needs, the respondent identified "general training aimed at internationalization" targeted at human resources managers and people in charge of recruitment. It was believed that training should change attitudes and organizational practices through providing information on preventing discrimination, codes of practices and different cultures and that, in training activities, practical skills should be underlined in order to facilitate the implementation of the principle of unbiased recruitment.

The public sector employers had a gender equality plan in accordance with The Equality Act. One respondent mentioned that even though their plan originates from the Equality Act, it referred to equality in general and only in some special cases specifically mentions equality between men and women. Both public sector employers had

attempted to organize training on gender equality issues, but this training had been unsuccessful. Training suffered from a lack of interest among potential participants. "People were not eager to participate in training perceived as 'fussing of feminists'." Public sector employers provided courses related to EU activities, including introductions to different cultures and customs and intercultural communication. These courses were not specifically targeted at the gatekeepers or human resources personnel of the organization.

One of the two informants from the public sector saw a need for training of gatekeepers on ethnic and anti-discrimination topics. In her view, the training should provide cultural information and general interaction and communication skills. Public sector employers have an adequate knowledge of existing anti-discrimination legislation and administrative practices and no additional training on those themes were considered necessary.

The other respondent from the public sector stated that, since the probability of getting co-workers from minority groups is very small, providing anti-discrimination training would be a far-fetched initiative. Also, the informant did not see discrimination as being a problem at the workplace. The resources allocated for personnel training were limited and anti-discrimination training was not high on the list of priorities. This respondent could not see what possible contents anti-discrimination training could have. "People are already familiar with the fact that there are different cultures and, all in all, providing information is not very effective in changing organizational practices." If anti-discrimination training should be provided, learning-by-doing and commitment of upper management were seen as crucial factors for sustained change processes by the informant.

Both respondents expressed doubts about the willingness of gatekeepers to participate in anti-discrimination training. They considered that in order to overcome unresponsive attitudes and attract a wider audience, anti-discrimination training themes could be brought up in the context of a wider development or quality-enhancing project, if the topic emerged naturally during the process. One respondent emphasized that "overreacting could harm equal opportunities of new employees and produce counterproductive attitudes among majority employees".

Both multinationals consulted had explicit equality policies. One of the two had a policy establishing the categories of individuals or groups to be protected against discrimination. Their guidelines, which are distributed to all employees read, "we have a policy and philosophy to treat employees and applicants for employment fairly and without regard to race, colour, sex, age, religion, national origin or disability. We will also make reasonable accommodations as necessary for people with disabilities. Discrimination against any employee or applicant based on any of these categories is illegal and will not be allowed or tolerated. The policy applies to all employment practices including recruiting, hiring, pay rates, training and development, promotion and other terms and conditions of employment including terminations, and also prohibits any form of harassment, joking remarks or other abusive conduct directed at employees".

Also, in the other multinational company, guidelines on gender equality and impartial treatment have been distributed to all employees. The company's headquarters had recruitment targets for ethnic minorities, but in Finland these were not seen as relevant, due to the small number of migrants and other ethnic groups. "At the moment the problem is only theoretical". The Finnish unit has, however, specific recruitment and managerial position targets for women. In attempting to reach the targets, special measures, such as job advertising in which applications from female candidates are especially welcomed, are used. In 1995 an equality survey, covering topics such as career development, work atmosphere and combining family and work, was carried out. The results of the survey did not give cause for changes in the implementation of the personnel policy.

Neither of the multinationals has implemented anti-discrimination training, nor do they have plans to introduce such training in the future. One of the two company's training package for managers and licence holders, from the US-based head unit, includes modules on preventing discrimination, but each country is free to choose the modules which are thought to be relevant to the country in question. The respondent added that if the need should arise, the anti-discrimination modules could be introduced into the in-house training with two weeks' notice.

Both informants of multinationals held the opinion that their organizational values and “multinationality” make for a tolerant working environment which respects differences. “The equality and impartiality principles are so strong that I do not think ethnic diversity would create any problems”. Consequently, no anti-discrimination training needs were perceived inside the organizations. As for the Finnish labour market in general, one respondent said that there might be needs for anti-discrimination training. “These issues will become more relevant in Finland in the future, when the second generation of migrants and other foreign origin groups will start to participate in the Finnish labour market.”

In summary, all respondents agreed that there is no major problem related to ethnic discrimination in the workplace. The enterprises consulted agreed that this line of training is not known in Finland. Some felt that training would be needed, but were worried about its counterproductive effects. In multinationals which do have an explicit equality policy, the dissemination of these contents comes through rules and provisions, but no specific anti-discrimination training in the sense of this research is provided.

5.2. Central administration

At the level of the central administration, the unit of the Ministry of Labour dealing with the labour market and migrant or foreign labour and the Council for Roma Issues were consulted. The Advisory Board for Migration and Refugee Issues carried out a survey among the authorities on the training needs in dealing with migration and foreigners' issues. This study is presented in the section 4 of this report.

The respondent from the Ministry of Labour was not surprised that the existing anti-discrimination training supply is scarce. “The whole phenomenon, discrimination on grounds of ethnic factors, has not yet been recognized in Finland. Since people do not know what discrimination is, they tend to think it does not exist.”

The informant's outlook on the training was that anti-discrimination training should be part of general personnel training within the employment administration. Anti-discrimination contents should be included also in training activities targeted at the managerial level. This “mainstreaming” approach encounters resistance within administrative structures. “Ethnic relations and the prevention of ethnic discrimination are still seen as concerning only the authorities specifically dealing with migration or migrant clientele.”

The following training needs were identified by the respondent: training on anti-discrimination legislation, information about the minority groups in Finland and intercultural communication. It was believed that training should be aimed at changing attitudes, which would lead to changes in behaviour.

Both respondents from the central administration emphasized the role and responsibility of the social partners in preventing discrimination. The support of the social partners was seen as being necessary for possible training activities. A publicly expressed joint commitment on behalf of major employees' and employers' federations would give a signal which would facilitate the launching of anti-discrimination training programmes. As one respondent formulated: “Initiative on the part of the social partners would raise the awareness of the labour market actors of the existence of this kind of problem and, thus, create a demand for the training”.

The respondents assumed that in the private sector there is no demand or supply in training on ethnic relations or anti-discrimination at the workplace, because employers recognize neither migrants' potential nor the existence of ethnic discrimination. A change in employers' attitudes in the future was perceived as possible, because EU co-operation puts ethnic discrimination in the labour market on the agenda.

The informant for the Council for Roma Issues stated that discrimination is a problem for the Roma, but that tackling discrimination had not had a prominent role in the activities of the Council. According to the respondent, research on the discrimination faced by the Roma could be a first step towards anti-discrimination training. Debates on the position of ethnic minorities were seen as concentrated on migrants, and national minorities were often forgotten from the policy-making agenda.

Anti-discrimination training for labour market actors would be needed, but at the same time the informant was concerned about possible counterproductive effects. "Ethnic minority groups are relatively small in Finland and it might be difficult to justify training activities on a large scale because in many regions the possibility of even having a job applicant from an ethnic minority group is unlikely. Employers might find this type of training futile and a waste of resources." This respondent suggested that, if anti-discrimination training targeted at gatekeepers is organized it should be comprehensive in nature, one hour of racism awareness training would not be adequate. The informant also brought up training needs of the Roma on labour market issues, *inter alia* rights and responsibilities of employees and named trade unions as a possible providers of such a training.

5.3. Official training boards

In this category the National Board for Education was contacted. The National Board of Education's sphere of responsibility is educational policies, covering all levels and types of official education. It is a central planning body for curricula and supervises the contents of teacher training.

According to the respondent from the National Board for Education, teachers were interested in topics such as multi-culturalism, but if tolerance and racism were mentioned their attitudes became more cautious. "In general, internationality is seen in an attractive light, but if training involves issues such as discrimination, attitudes are fairly unresponsive. When aiming at more tolerance and prevention of discrimination at all levels of the educational system, the approach has to be gentle in order to avoid conflicts and resistance. Internationality is seen as something that is outside Finland - Finns going abroad or acting at the international level, not as everyday interaction between different ethnic groups in Finland."

At the moment, teachers from migrant groups are rare, they are mainly teaching migrant pupils or students, with the exception of language teachers in adult education. Consequently, it was thought that it would be difficult to market anti-discrimination training to gatekeepers of schools and training institutions.

The respondent from the National Board for Education saw needs for training activities aimed at creating a more tolerant atmosphere in education sector, but working towards tolerance and elimination of discrimination was thought to be a slow process. "Discrimination will never be completely abolished and prevention of discrimination is a process in which a balance between the interests of the majority population and minorities is sought."

5.4. Regional administration

In this category the provincial governments of Uusimaa and Häme, the labour district of Uusimaa and the employment exchange office of Turku were consulted.

In the provincial government of Häme there is no anti-discrimination training for gatekeepers, but there have been several municipal and regional level projects related to the prevention of racism and the integration of migrant groups. For example, a project exists in which police officers were trained as civic information trainers in training activities targeted at migrant groups.

Both respondents from the labour exchanges emphasized that the legislation and regulations lay down that equality and impartiality are the principles according to which the employment authorities should carry out their duties.

In administrative regulations and induction training programmes for newly employed civil servants no special emphasis is put on ethnic equality.

One of the respondents stated that Finland's bleak employment situation can, however, lead to partiality in the activities of the employment exchange. "The civil servants follow requests made by employers. The emphasis in the employment services at the moment is on the long-term unemployed and providing good quality services for employers." The other respondent from the labour districts stated that "there have been clients accusing employers of discriminatory practices, but according to my judgement these were cases in which the person in question was simply unsuitable for the given job".

One of the informants from the provincial governments put emphasis on the activities of the employment authorities in finding job opportunities for migrants. "Migrants are more dependent on employment services than the majority, because they lack the contacts and networks through which most recruitment takes place at the moment. Building links and contacts between employers and job seekers from minority groups is an essential component of effective employment exchanges. In regions where such activities have been carried out, the immediate results have been seen in the improvement of employment rates of migrants."

As for future training needs all respondents listed continuous dissemination of cultural information and development of intercultural communication skills. The importance of having trainers from different ethnic groups was emphasized by some respondents. According to two respondents, civil servants in the employment sector are familiar with the legislation and administrative regulations. Two respondents saw a need for training in relevant legislation and in recognizing discrimination as well. The respondents from the regional government of Uusimaa, who were also the co-ordinators of the CARP project (see section 4.1 of this report), were of the opinion that participatory training methods, such as socio-drama and role plays, could be the most effective training methods to be used in anti-discrimination training activities.

According to the respondents training is needed in order to increase the efficiency of recruitment from minority groups, but all informants agreed that methods of "marketing" and disseminating anti-discrimination training should be carefully thought out. Otherwise training and information provided could be dismissed or rejected. For example, anti-discrimination training could be a part of training programmes included in quality projects aimed at improving the effectiveness of service delivery.

One respondent proposed anti-discrimination training targeted at the gatekeepers of the public sector to be organized by the Ministry of Labour. She thought that training groups should consist of officials from different sectors, the employment and social sector and personnel managers of different units. "The commitment of upper management is also crucial for getting sustainable results and changes in organizational practices through training. Without a strong and visible commitment of the top management it is impossible to reach long-term goals, such as a larger influx and flow-through of migrants."

One respondent mentioned shop stewards and occupational health and safety officials as important target groups for anti-discrimination training. "In many instances the employer refrains from hiring a migrant applicant because of the real or perceived resistance on the part of the personnel. The shop stewards can have an impact on negative attitudes at work floor level."

One barrier mentioned for introducing this type of training was that organizations do not seek information on discrimination and issues related to multiethnic clientele or staff before problems arise. Anti-discrimination issues are not high on the list of priorities and dealing with migrant clientele is perceived as a concern for a few "specialists" not as an issue concerning all employees.

One respondent held the opinion that discrimination in the world of work is not recognized in Finland. “Indirect discrimination, especially, passes unnoticed and discriminative structural practices are not identified. The awareness of discrimination among civil servants can be raised through wider co-operation between different authorities. Better defined and wider co-operation also brings along changes in practices in the public sector.”

One respondent brought up the view that employers would not be interested in any kind of anti-discrimination training and doubted that anti-discrimination training provision for the private sector would have any effects in practice. “There is neither a need, nor a demand for training on these issues on the employers' side. For them productivity and cost-effectiveness are the decisive factors.” This respondent pointed out that in most cases migrants have to go a long way before they can be productive participants in a Finnish labour market. They need to become familiar with the Finnish work culture, learn the language and computer and office technology skills.

5.5. Employers' associations

From this category representatives of two employers' associations were interviewed. Neither association had an official position on ethnic discrimination, because members have not raised this issue as a problem. One of the associations had run a campaign some years ago with the slogan “Immigrants as Finns among Finns”, stressing that everybody legally residing in Finland should have equal rights and responsibilities. Neither of the informants were aware of any training activities aimed at building competence in managing ethnically diverse staff or designing equal opportunities personnel policies among personnel managers. One of the associations provides training for its members on recruitment processes. This training aims at securing the effectiveness of the recruitment, i.e. “how to ensure that the best person is found for a position”.

One of the respondents noted that “the principle of equality is taken as a matter of course and there are no problems related to ethnic discrimination in sight. Admittedly, there are prejudices against certain groups, such as the Roma, and risks are considered higher in relation to certain groups. In some cases the intention to minimize risks in recruitment might look like discrimination if judged from the outside.”

The respondents also expressed misgivings about the usefulness of migrant workers for Finnish enterprises. “Small and medium size enterprises operate in a Finnish culture. Adequate language skills and an ability to assimilate into the Finnish work culture are needed, and thus, cultural differences and insufficient language skills can justifiably hinder the recruitment of a foreign-born applicant”. On the other hand, one respondent pointed out that enterprises needed employees competent in various cultures and that the potential of foreign-born workers and ethnic minorities were recognised by the Finnish employers. “Hiring personnel from those groups can also be positive for the image of the enterprise and employees from different ethnic backgrounds internationalize the whole staff.”

Neither one of the respondents saw an acute training need in their reference group with respect to discrimination. One saw an eventual need in the future for training in how to manage a multi-cultural workforce so that differences create an additional strength factor instead of forcefully homogenizing differences. “It might be possible to include anti-discrimination contents into general training on management skills, but it should not be force-fed to avoid counterproductive effects.”

One of the respondents put forward a suggestion that vocational training centres could introduce anti-discrimination training into their curricula. “This could be an effective way of providing training without having to wait until a demand for this type of training arises.”

5.6. Trade unions

This section presents the summary of the interviews carried out with the representatives of one trade union and two trade union confederations. During the research process, two anti-discrimination training activities organized

by trade unions were investigated. These anti-discrimination training activities are described in subsection 4.1 of this report. In addition to the aforementioned training activities, some confederations have provided occasional lectures in their training centres on topics related to migration and migrant communities as a part of other training.

A survey charting problems related to ethnic discrimination in the workplace co-ordinated by the European Trade Union Confederation was carried out in Finland during the autumn of 1996. The aim of the survey was to map out what trade unions have done to prevent or solve possible problems and to gather information on good practices in personnel policy, especially in recruitment. Finnish confederations had consulted their member trade unions, but only a few replied. One of the respondents said that his confederation had sent out the questionnaire to its member unions and that none of them had answered. One respondent referred to the Joint Declaration on the Prevention of Racial Discrimination and Xenophobia and Promotion of Equal Treatment at the Workplace, adopted by the European Social Partners in Florence in October 1995, and stated that up until now follow-up activities to the Declaration have not taken place in Finland. The respondent presumed that there might be joint efforts by the social partners during the year 1997 because 1997 is also the European Year Against Racism.

One of the confederations has prepared an equality plan and puts emphasis on the gender perspective in all activities. The equality plan underlines the importance of research in the field of gender equality, on issues such as remuneration and the hierarchical positions of women and men within the organizations. The plan also urges employers to provide resources for preparing equality plans as part of personnel and training policies. The confederation provides equality training as a part of general trade union training. The main aim of this training is to increase women's skills to participate in decision making. The confederation has organized a gender equality seminar for the trade union management and the respondent emphasized that promoting gender equality lends support to anti-discrimination issues in general.

Organizing anti-discrimination training at the workplace was perceived by one of the respondents as being difficult because of the indifference of employers. "Maybe the need for training will be recognized when more migrants start to participate in the labour market. Finnish employers are law-abiding and treat employees impartially, if they happen to hire a migrant worker. They are not, however, willing to invest in making the integration process smoother or recruitment more impartial." In order to integrate migrant workers into the workplace both majority and minority employees need training, according to this respondent.

Another barrier for introducing anti-discrimination training activities put forward was that ethnic minorities and discrimination issues are not prioritized within trade unions and that the limited resources are directed to other types of training. The respondents were of the opinion that trade unions cannot organize wide training on their own. Both of the social partners should be involved, otherwise participation rates would be low.

One of the respondents emphasized that trade unions cannot advocate each special groups' interest and another informant also confirmed the counterproductive effects of special campaigns and training, which might heighten the juxtaposition of different groups. According to one informant, anti-discrimination training could be included in the shop steward training, but the need was not considered to be urgent, because "our shop stewards tend to get along with all kinds of people in any case".

One respondent referred to gender equality, in which, despite comprehensive legislation, raising awareness of the nature of discrimination remained difficult. Discriminatory practices passed easily unnoticed and changing attitudes were seen to be crucial in preventing discrimination, but this was thought to be difficult to achieve through training.

According to one of the informants, "racist or discriminatory attitudes are caused by misinformation and providing correct information would improve the attitude climate. Information is needed on ethnic groups residing in Finland, their rights and benefits and on existing anti-discrimination legislation". The respondent felt that training

activities should also address the recognition of both direct and indirect discrimination. Anti-discrimination training should provide shop stewards with skills in how to intervene if discrimination should occur at the workplace. The respondent emphasized that training should provide practical skills and disseminate good practices on, *inter alia*, recruitment. “Both managers and employees should understand the meaning of equal opportunities and know how to put this principle into practice. Equal treatment should be a permanent part of the organizational culture.”

Another respondent brought up the view that, since Finland is a newcomer as a migrant receiving country, it might be desirable to tackle problems before they are blown up. “The bleak employment situation exacerbates attitudes, and during the recession, recruitment decisions tend to be more conservative. Employers hire applicants which are felt to be the safest and the most familiar. Migrants' skills and qualifications obtained abroad are not necessarily recognized in Finland.” According to one respondent, in workplaces with ethnically diverse staff, considerable tension between migrant and national employees is caused by the cultural differences. Employers would need guidance on how to train personnel in such a way that problems stemming from cultural differences could be prevented.

A proposition was put forward that more training on basic facts about Finnish society and the labour market should be targeted at migrants. “Migrants would complain less about discrimination if they were better aware of the rules of the Finnish labour market. When uninformed, migrants suspect discrimination where in reality they were treated as anyone else. On the other hand, this kind of training would provide migrants with knowledge how to handle discrimination, in case they were to encounter it.”

5.7. Training organizations

Under this category the representatives of Työvoimaopisto (a general training institute for the public sector) and Kuntakoulutus (a training centre for municipalities) were consulted. Two private management and business administration training providers were also approached, but they were not willing to participate. Reasons given were lack of time and the fact that they did not provide any kind of anti-discrimination training, and were not aware of any other training providers whose programme included such contents.

Työvoimaopisto provides training for civil servants in the employment administration and labour exchange. The existing training activities of Työvoimaopisto related to the migrant clientele are described in chapter 4.1. Kuntakoulutus provides training for municipal civil servants and elected officials, *inter alia* in human resources management, in forms and procedures of meetings and in negotiation skills. It had also organized seminars on gender equality.

According to the informant from Työvoimaopisto, anti-discrimination and multicultural contents have been left aside in the existing training activities, because other topics, such as structural changes in the labour market, long term unemployment, cost-effectiveness, etc., have dominated the training scene. “Equality and other 'soft' values have lost their status at the workplaces and organizations during the recession and there is no demand for anti-discrimination training.” The respondent saw, however, a need for anti-discrimination training. Joint training targeted at civil servants from different sectors and levels of the administration could be helpful, but it was difficult to say if civil servants would participate in voluntary training. In the respondent's view, there might be an interest for training in which intercultural communication skills were the main content. The respondent suggested that anti-discrimination training should be established as a part of the contents of the induction training given for new recruits to the employment services. Training should be provided both on anti-discrimination legislation and intercultural communication skills.

The other respondent perceived needs for anti-discrimination training aimed at changing attitudes. The respondent held the opinion that anti-discrimination training contents should be a part of wider training programmes and, in

order to bring about changes in organizational practices, it should be suggested by the upper management. The respondent also thought that the training should provide examples of concrete discrimination cases. "Training might have more chance of succeeding, if there would be more discrimination cases brought before the courts. This would shed light on the extent and concrete nature of the problem and would also serve to publicize the issue."

As for the possible barriers for introducing anti-discrimination training, the respondent from the training centre for municipalities gave an example in relation to gender equality training. Recently, scheduled gender equality seminars had been cancelled, because of the lack of participants. According to the respondent anti-discrimination training would incite even less interest and demand. "At the moment, ethnic discrimination is not an issue in Finland due to the small number of migrants."

5.8. Equal rights' agencies and Ombudsmen

Under this category the representative from the Office of the Ombudsman for Foreigners was interviewed. The Office of the Ombudsman for Foreigners was instituted in 1991. It is linked to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health and the mandate of the Ombudsman covers monitoring the status of foreigners, safeguarding their rights and promoting collaboration between foreigners, authorities and non-governmental organizations. In its final report the Committee on Migration and Refugee Policies put forward a proposal that ethnic discrimination should explicitly be included in the mandate of the Ombudsman for Foreigners (Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispoliittinen toimikunta, 1997, p. 207).

The Office of the Ombudsman for Foreigners provides training for other authorities on issues related to residence and work permits and administrative practices in dealings with foreigners and migrants, on the role of the Ombudsman and on the legal status of foreigners and migrants residing in Finland. According to the informant's knowledge, some training activities related to the migrants' position already existed in the public sector, but so far, the training supply has concentrated on delivering facts about the practices of the administrative process related to the issuance of permits or service delivery training targeted at the police and the health care and social sector.

The informant pointed out that the high unemployment rates of ethnic minorities indicated the existence of structural discrimination. "The problem is that migrants do not recognize discrimination and are not aware of their legal rights." The Ombudsman's Office deals mainly with complaints about residence permit and asylum seeking processes and has not been concentrating on issues related to the employment. Some clients' descriptions of their job seeking experiences, did imply the existence of discriminatory attitudes and practices. None of the cases of the alleged work-related discrimination have thus far led to further action by the Ombudsman.

The respondent saw anti-discrimination training needs both in the public sector and on the trade unions' side. According to the respondent, a problem with providing voluntary anti-discrimination training for authorities was that only people already holding positive attitudes would participate. The informant suggested that anti-discrimination training should be part of wider training programmes, otherwise people would not be interested. In the respondent's view, anti-discrimination training was especially difficult to market to the private sector, because it is hard to find convincing arguments for why an effective prevention of discrimination would be beneficial for their activities. "The private sector has not yet been exposed to the fact the foreign born population is increasing, and that soon there will be more job seekers from ethnic minorities. Private sector employers are probably completely unfamiliar with the idea of anti-discrimination training." According to the respondent, the potential among the highly educated migrants for the Finnish labour market is not recognized. Thus, anti-discrimination training should present encouraging examples of workplaces recruiting from ethnic minority groups and the concrete benefits gained from this endeavour.

Based on the Office's experiences with migrant employers recruited through the special scheme for unemployed, the informant stated that the employment service's efficacy in placing migrant job-seekers leaves a lot to be desired. According to the respondent's experiences, migrant job-seekers were not aware of existing schemes for unemployed, despite the fact that all unemployed on benefits have to contact the employment exchange regularly. The respondent left it an open question as to whether these shortcomings are caused by discriminatory practices or pure ignorance. "The specialized units know how to serve ethnic minority clients, but normal units seem to lack knowledge and skills." According to the respondent, affirmative action on the part of employment authorities would be needed, i.e. the employment services should actively propose unemployed migrants to private sector employers who are seeking people entitled to work scheme benefits. Only then employers and their recruiters would be effectively exposed to job applicants from ethnic minorities.

The respondent held the opinion that introducing anti-discrimination training targeted at gatekeepers would be timely, because larger groups of migrants who have been residing in Finland for several years would by now be ready to participate in the labour market. "The future of the second generation should also be taken into the consideration. The second generation will not suffer from language, cultural or other handicaps in the way their parents did and employers and employment agencies should be prepared to provide equal opportunities for these groups."

5.9. Private employment agencies

One private employment agency, which has its head office in Turku and regional offices in Helsinki, Tampere and Jyväskylä was consulted. It recruits short-term and temporary personnel, such as stock clerks, cleaners and builders. Clients are notably from the construction and the light industry sectors.

According to the respondent, the agency has no guidelines or regulations in relation to equal recruitment practices. "Each office is more or less independently responsible for their own recruitment criteria. The head office has advised neither for nor against hiring people from different ethnic groups. For our part, I can say that we have had job-seekers from different ethnic groups, but have not recruited them. There are various reasons for this, one is the preferences of the clients, another inadequate language skills of job-seekers and difficulties in checking their qualifications and recommendations."

As regards anti-discrimination training, the respondent felt that training and attitude campaigns would be needed, but could not identify any specific training needs. The respondent brought up the difficulty of creating changes in attitudes and behaviour in relation to ethnic minorities. "It might be possible to train the younger generation to be more tolerant, but changing the attitudes of the older generations might be an impossible task."

5.10. Non-governmental organizations

The three non-governmental organizations consulted were the Helsinki Branch of the Finnish Support Group of the European Union Migrants Forum, a co-operation body in the EU serving as a common forum for different national migrants' associations; Ulkomaalaisyhdistys (the Association for Foreigners), one of the oldest national associations; and Ihmisoikeusliitto (the Human Rights League), which has been actively involved in public debates on migrants' rights and racism.

Ihmisoikeusliitto provides training on anti-discrimination legislation and legislation related to the status and rights of foreigners and migrants for courses organized by public sector or other NGOs, for example, the ICRC. The Red Cross has used trainers from Ihmisoikeusliitto in their induction courses for volunteers working with

refugees. Their training activities have been *ad hoc* consultations on request, because at the moment they have no resources for developing a more permanent training supply.

All respondents agreed that there is a need for anti-discrimination training in Finland, because the different actors in the labour market have not yet become aware of the reality that Finland has become ethnically more diverse. All pointed out that there is not enough awareness of the existence of discrimination and, particularly, structural discrimination is not recognized.

One respondent underlined that training provision is one way of promoting anti-discrimination and equality principles in general. "If training is organized on a certain topic, it raises the status of the topic. Issues can be brought onto the general agenda through training activities." In the respondent's view, target groups for anti-discrimination training should be 1) authorities supervising employment legislation 2) trade union activists 3) employers' associations 4) people likely to face discrimination. Training sessions, in which participants from all these groups would be present, would be the most effective. "Trade unions and employers' associations have massive training schemes and it should not be too difficult to include anti-discrimination modules in those. The most effective way would be to train shop stewards and employers' representatives in the same sessions." The respondent also emphasized that training should have practical goals and aim at changing organizational practices.

According to another informant, the training provided on intercultural communication, for example in business schools, is not linked with the anti-discrimination perspective. In his view, one reason for this is that there is no research on work-related discrimination, these themes are not part of the academic curricula and there is no training material. The informant stressed that it would be necessary to launch pilot training projects, even if target groups and various organizations would not explicitly express demand for such a training. "Training is a process, and contents and methods can only be developed by experimenting. Pilot projects would provide a springboard for testing and improving different training approaches."

One respondent suggested that anti-discrimination training should be a part of normal curricula and syllabi, for example in vocational and trade union training and human resources management training. This "mainstreamed" training supply could be supplemented with more specific courses addressing different practical problems. The respondent emphasized that a crucial aspect for creating more training supply is to train possible trainers. "Anti-discrimination training is a complex field and in Finland there are no ready concepts for this type of training. The risk involved is that training concentrates on the negative examples instead of enforcing good practices." According to this respondent, in order to reach a situation of anti-discrimination and equal treatment, a wider training strategy would be required and aims of the training should be agreed at the policy-making level.

According to all respondents, the major barrier for introducing anti-discrimination was a lack of demand in the private sector. "Personnel managers and recruitment officers are unaware of the existence of discrimination and even if the problem is recognized, it is not considered an issue worth allocating resources for." In this context, one respondent singled out the role of effective anti-discrimination legislation. "Good legislation forces employers to be careful in recruiting and management, an effective equality act punishes negligence during the recruitment process, i.e. forces the employer to make sure that nobody is intentionally or unintentionally discriminated against. When somebody is racist and expresses it openly, stronger measures are needed, training is not always enough."

5.11. Academics and experts

In this last category, four respondents were consulted, two of whom were specialists in business and human resources management and two researchers in the field of ethnic relations.

The high unemployment rates and low hierarchical positions of migrants were seen as indicators of a need for anti-discrimination training for labour market gatekeepers by one respondent. "In Finland there is not yet sufficient sensitivity for issues related to ethnic discrimination, but gender equality policies and change processes set an example for other types of equal opportunity policies. In the field of gender equality a whole range of positive action measures, such as special legislation, awareness raising and training efforts, exist." One respondent pointed out that discrimination and other terms and concepts related to it are not known and the phenomenon itself is not recognized among the gatekeepers of the Finnish labour market.

Both informants from the field of ethnic relations research emphasized that anti-discrimination or equal opportunities training should not remain solely aimed at attitude changes, but should have concrete contents and goals, such as what kind of practical implications the implementation of an equality plan has. "The training should be tied in practical situations and problems and provide tools for tackling those, not only disseminate information on an abstract level. Trainees should be able to have an influence on the contents and aims of the training. If training is introduced from above, and trainees cannot participate in shaping the course, the training is likely to provoke resistance."

The provision of adequate training material was seen as important. At the moment there is no ready-made anti-discrimination training material suitable for different target groups. According to the respondents, the training material should be motivating and provide the basis for experiential learning processes. "Anti-discrimination training should be participatory, learning by doing. Arousing trainee's own thought processes is the core of this type of training." The use of trainers from migrant groups was seen as important. "Training sessions benefit from the presence of a migrant trainer, but s/he must possess good language and communication skills. Creating positive interaction is crucial for the success of the anti-discrimination training."

One of the respondents held the view that anti-discrimination training should be introduced into the curricula of primary education, but especially into vocational training, as in this way future gatekeepers could be addressed. Foremen and human resources managers were also mentioned by the respondent as needing training in recognizing and managing conflict situations stemming from cultural differences. One respondent emphasized that when the labour force becomes more diverse it would be important to provide orientation training both for "old" employees and newcomers, i.e. for employees from minority groups and majority groups. Also, the continuity of training activities was perceived to be important. "If some sort of anti-discrimination training is held in an organization every fifth year, no noticeable changes in practices can be expected. So far, training activities related to migrant minorities and prevention of discrimination have been separate isles." The demand for anti-discrimination training is created by committed individuals within organizations and institutions but it is not built in the organizational context.

According to another respondent, in order to arouse demand for anti-discrimination training, the employers should be provided with the economic justifications for the efficient integration of migrants into the labour market. "The socio-economic grounds are the best way to motivate people to hire migrants and to seek anti-discrimination training in order to facilitate the integration process. Another factor creating interest of intercultural topics and building cultural sensitivity is internationalization of business partners. For example, when the Finnish shipbuilding industry started to do business with the Middle East, at the shipyards more attention was paid to the culturally sensitive treatment of both the employees and the clients."

One respondent stressed the importance of evaluation of anti-discrimination activities. "More research on the effects and effectiveness of anti-discrimination training and attitude campaigns is necessary for developing methods and approaches of the activities. Without a careful analysis of the effectiveness, the impact of the anti-discrimination training can remain very small, or in the worst case negative."

One respondent posed questions about the adequacy of existing support systems for victims of discrimination or racism. “It is a topic on which psychology has kept silent until recently. Quite often the victim is ashamed and blames his/herself for the degrading experience. The Finnish legal or administrative system does not provide enough support for victims of discrimination. Better support and compensation systems should be developed. At the moment, victims of discrimination are silent and invisible.”

According to one informant, politicians and decision-makers should be more active in inviting minorities to participate in the decision-making processes and introducing equal opportunities measures. “There is a tendency to see internationalization as something taking place outside Finland. The minority groups residing in Finland should be seen as part of the internationalization of the Finnish society.” One respondent saw elected officials in political organizations as an important target group for training related to ethnic relations: “Important decisions are made in those organizations before the topics go to the agenda of the official municipal decision-making procedures.”

Both respondents from the field of business and management studies saw training needs in intercultural communication because more Finns are working in a multi-cultural or international context. This was perceived as raising needs for knowledge and skills in handling impacts of cultures both at the personal and organizational level. Skills mentioned were, for example, knowledge of the implications of culture shock for the productivity of the organization and effective human resources management strategies in a multi-cultural context.

According to one of the respondents, cross-cultural issues could be introduced to basic level studies so that all business management students would get basic knowledge on these issues. The respondent felt, however, that because of the complexity of the topic, basic level courses might “only provide a superficial glance at the impact of cultural aspects on management, which might enforce stereotyping”.

The other respondent from the field of business and management studies emphasized the importance of attitudes in preventing discrimination and underlined the role of primary and secondary education in this. In the field of human resources' management the respondent saw training needs in intercultural communication and cultural sensitivity, but mainly in relation to students or managers specializing or working in the export sector or otherwise in a multicultural context. “These topics could also be touched upon in general management studies. One reason that they are not part of our study programme is that there is hardly any Finnish research on human resources management in a multicultural context.”

One of the respondents from the field of business and management studies was of an opinion that ethnic discrimination as such is not a problem in the Finnish labour market. “Finland does not have a history as a colonial power and, thus, we do not have as deep prejudices as some other European countries. For example, export businesses operating in the Asian markets have been recruiting Asian-origin employees. If somebody has the right qualifications and capabilities, his/her ethnic origin does not hamper job opportunities.”

6. Analysis of research findings and conclusions

In this research a selection of employers, government officials, representatives of social partners, NGOs, training providers and academics were interviewed to get insights as to why anti-discrimination training is rare in Finland. Questions were asked as to their awareness and knowledge of anti-discrimination training, and any opinions they had as to why such training is necessary or unnecessary in their organization or in the Finnish labour market as a whole. Respondents were also asked to specify the training needs they perceived in relation to preventing ethnic discrimination.

Based on the findings both of the overview of the existing literature and the interviews carried out, it seems that at the moment there is no systematic supply of anti-discrimination training. The anti-discrimination training scene seems to be, however, evolving. The policy documents cited in this report bring up the importance of anti-discrimination training activities, some trade unions are developing anti-discrimination training and, at present, there is some training for service delivery to minority clientele in the public sector.

At the moment, however, there is only a scant implementation of anti-discrimination training. The respondents provided two main reasons for this situation. Firstly, the small number of migrants was seen as a natural explanation for the lack of anti-discrimination training supply and, thus, demand. Secondly, some respondents put forward the assumption that discrimination on the grounds of race, nationality, ethnic origin or religion does not occur in the Finnish labour market and, consequently, no training aimed at preventing discrimination was needed.

Irrespective of their opinions as regards possible anti-discrimination training needs, most respondents did not perceive a wide demand for anti-discrimination training among labour market actors. Some respondents anticipated that the situation might change in the future when more migrants will be entering the Finnish labour market. It seems, however, that among many quarters of the labour market there is relatively little awareness about anti-discrimination training and the possible results obtained by such training activities. It must be noted that there was a great divergence of opinion and level of awareness among the respondents.

The lack of demand for anti-discrimination training is related to the lack of awareness of existing discrimination. In the light of information gained from the interviews it seems that especially indirect discrimination processes pass unrecognized. Indirect discrimination occurs in apparently neutral situations when the same condition, treatment or criterion is applied to all job-applicants or employees, but which, in their effects, disadvantage persons belonging to a specific group. Examples of indirect discrimination are the use of culturally-biased psychological tests, the choice of recruitment channels which are seldom used by migrants as a searching channel and excessive language criteria not related to the requirements of a given job. There are other factors which might restrict migrants' and minorities' access to jobs, such as verbal and non-verbal miscommunication or negative stereotypes. 'Statistical discrimination' occurs when the recruiters in uncertain circumstances tend to ascribe characteristics of some members of a group, such as lower level of education or language, to all members of that group. The recruiters argue that the 'statistical discrimination' reduces the selectors' insecurities because they exclude everyone belonging to a group with supposed less favourable characteristics (Ben-Israel, 1993, p. 230; Abell, Havelaar and Dankoor, 1997, pp. 7-8).

In the prevailing situation in Finland, more labour market actors should be made aware of the existence of ethnic discrimination and especially about the processes and practices through which indirect discrimination occurs, before a wider demand for specific anti-discrimination training can be expected to develop.

As stated before, the authorities have recognized discrimination as one of the factors hampering the possibilities of migrants entering the labour market. Approaches emphasizing the importance of tolerance both on the side of the majority and minority groups has prevailed in policy papers and administrative guidelines in which the maintenance of good ethnic relations were addressed during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The authorities have expressed a belief that regular, informative articles and discussions in the national and local media and contacts and interaction between different groups are the best ways to promote tolerance. Possible conflicts between the majority and minority groups have been perceived as stemming from lack of information on both sides and the dissemination of correct and objective information is seen as a best strategy for changing attitudes (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1994, pp. 107-108).

Some of the problems migrants and national minorities face in the labour market are connected with objective, factual handicaps such as inadequate language skills or training, and the special labour market measures taken in Finland, such as language courses and vocational training for migrants, have been aimed at tackling these problems.

In recent years, job-related discrimination has gained more explicit attention at the policy-making level and specific anti-discrimination training is put forward as a part of comprehensive integration policy and good ethnic relations. Both the proposal for migration and integration policies by the Committee on Migration and Refugee Policies (1997) and the plan of action of the Ministerial Group Against Racism (1996) include initiatives and suggestions for introducing anti-discrimination training for various labour market gatekeepers. These proposals provide a springboard for the development of specific anti-discrimination training activities targeted at labour market gatekeepers.

The respondents were also asked if they saw any need for anti-discrimination training. There were big differences in the responses as regards these training needs. Some of the respondents who saw training as necessary were not able to specify the needs due to the novelty of the topic for them. Some respondents illustrated the prevailing situation in Finland as regards anti-discrimination training from various points and put forward many-sided suggestions for training contents, methods and wider training strategies. Notably, representatives of the administration and NGOs and academics had fruitful ideas for introducing anti-discrimination training.

Most training needs identified by the respondents would fall into the categories of Information Training, A1/A1.A.2, and Cultural Awareness Training, B1/B1.A1. Many respondents held the opinion that more cultural information on migrant and ethnic minority communities cultural background would be useful and expressed a view that the provision of correct and accurate information on ethnic minorities would be enough to ensure equal treatment for migrant job applicants and employees. Some respondents emphasized the need to target negative attitudes through training and were advocating active training methods and the use of representatives of migrant and minority communities as trainees. A few respondents emphasized a need for training activities providing concrete exercises based on workfloor-related situations and concrete handles for tackling possible discriminatory practices and occurrences.

Taking into account that, until recent years, Finland has been a relatively homogenous society and that it has a short history as an immigration country, disseminating information on migrant minorities provides a starting point for promoting the equal opportunities for workers from ethnic minorities trying to enter the Finnish labour market. But, in the light of other countries' experiences, information provision alone seems not to be an adequate method for combatting job-related discrimination.

Preliminary results of the third research component of the ILO programme in other countries¹ point to the limited utility of training approaches which aim to provide information on the backgrounds to international migration and migrants' culture in creating changes in recruitment and other workplace practices. In the light of training evaluation, the assumption behind the Information and Cultural Awareness Training approaches that correct and balanced information will automatically lead to non-discriminatory behaviour, can also be questioned. Anti-discrimination training concentrating on changing trainees' attitudes through raising awareness of cultural differences does not appear to be effective in changing actual behaviour. Attitudes of the gatekeepers might need to be altered, but concentrating on the attitude change does not seem to be a sufficient ground for preventing discrimination at the workplace. Similarly, Wrench concludes that training which simply concentrates on information provision on aspects of "culture", or which restricts its focus to attitudes, is inadequate. According to Wrench, effective anti-discrimination training should cover behaviour modification and tangible anti-discrimination practices (Wrench, 1995, p. 134).

According to Zegers de Beijl, training which combines information provision, focussing on statutory obligations with respect to equal treatment and wider governmental and company policies as opposed to stressing cultural

¹ See Colectivo IOE, 1996, on Spain; Abell, Havelaar and Dankoor, 1997, on the Netherlands. Research on training activities in the United Kingdom and Belgium has been finalised and the resulting reports will be published shortly. Research is currently underway in the United States.

differences seems to be more effective. Anti-discrimination training with concrete exercises based on real-life, workfloor-related situations in order to achieve a change in trainees' behaviour in day to day contact with migrant workers appears to be successful in instilling an awareness among individual trainees of discriminatory aspects in their behaviour and in providing them with sufficiently concrete advice on how to change this (Zegers de Beijl, 1997, p. 11).

In a study carried out on the effectiveness and quality of existing training in the Netherlands, the researchers questioned to what extent training activities concentrating on change of attitudes are useful if they do not provide enough guidance to put things into practice. Many trainees interviewed for the research complained that in the anti-discrimination training in which they had participated, too little attention was given to practical skills. Results of the evaluations did give some indications of what kind of training approach would be the most effective, leading the researchers to state that Equalities Training, types C2/C2,C3 and Diversity Training, type D3, are potentially effective (Abell, Havelaar and Dankoor, 1997, pp. 52-54).

Equalities Training is designed primarily to affect behaviour. This approach seeks to sidestep attitudes and aims to instruct the trainees in legally or professionally appropriate behaviour and provides the required skills for implementing appropriate norms to workplace practices. Diversity Training is the most recent development in the field of anti-discrimination training. It can be described as a strategy of fully tapping the resources within an organization. This training is mainly directed at managers and it emphasises the importance of valuing difference. In Diversity Training, fairness is not seen as treating people equally but treating people appropriately. The objective of the training is not to assimilate minorities (and women) into the dominant white (and male) organizational culture but to create a dominant heterogeneous culture (Wrench and Taylor, 1993, pp. 17-18).

According to the research findings in the Netherlands, there was a shift from Cultural Awareness Training types, which mainly emphasise a shift in attitudes, to Diversity Training types. The researchers perceived this as a step in the right direction, but stressed that the existence of a varied workforce is a precondition for Diversity Training and that Diversity Training activities cannot replace positive action. As a varied workforce is still more of an exception than a rule in most organizations, positive action was still seen needed in the future (Abell, Havelaar and Dankoor, 1997, pp. 52-54).

In this research many respondents expressed a concern about a possible backlash or negative reactions from trainees, if anti-discrimination training would be introduced in Finland. The respondents suggested that anti-discrimination training should be voluntary, and the training approach should be cautious and carefully thought out, in order to avoid counterproductive effects. Support and commitment from top management was perceived to be crucial, if sustainable organizational and behavioural changes were to be reached by training activities. Some respondents raised the question of how to attract participants in a voluntary anti-discrimination training and gave examples of training activities related to gender equality, which were unsuccessful due to the lack of interest among target groups. Strategies suggested for overcoming this problem were to include anti-discrimination contents in training given in positively viewed topics, such as international co-operation and EU-related subjects or, to present an anti-discrimination perspective as a part of a wider organizational change project. In other words, they suggested bringing in issues related to non-discrimination "through the back door".

In relation to counterproductive reactions and the effectiveness of training activities, Luthra and Oakley note that evaluative studies strongly emphasize the need for practical relevance of the training. Negative responses are most likely to arise where training activities are a non-recurring event to which there is no sequel and with no apparent relation to the wider training curriculum or workplace concerns. Organizational commitment is also crucial for the effectiveness of training. Without organizational commitment, training is likely to be ineffective and the possible impacts remain short-lived. Luthra and Oakley also draw attention to the fact that training activities should be carefully named in order to avoid negative connotations and unwanted expectations on the part of prospective trainees (Luthra and Oakley, 1991, pp. 34-39). The importance of the strong support by upper

management is also emphasized in the Dutch research report. In that report the conclusion is reached that short-term, incidental training, which lack support from the top management, cannot reach long-term goals such as creating a basis for a larger influx and flow-through of migrants (Abell, Havelaar and Dankoor, 1997, pp. 52-54).

Few respondents stressed the necessity of evaluating the impacts of anti-discrimination training. This aspect has also risen in countries with a longer tradition in anti-discrimination training. As regards the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the researchers saw evaluation of anti-discrimination training activities as necessary in order to provide a clearer picture about the effectiveness of given training for both training providers and client organizations. At present, available training evaluation techniques are limited and should be developed so that trainers could link conclusions of the evaluations to both the organizational process and a professional body of knowledge (Abell, Havelaar and Dankoor, 1997, pp. 52-54; Luthra and Oakley, 1991, pp. 39-40).

In Finland, the awareness of job-related discrimination encountered by migrants and ethnic minorities appears to be rising and some anti-discrimination training activities are evolving. On the other hand, based on the results of this research, it can be concluded that, among many quarters of the labour market, consciousness that Finland is turning into a multi-ethnic society and of the challenges this process puts on the labour market is very limited. When anti-discrimination training activities suitable for the Finnish situation are developed, insights and suggestions of the respondents of this research could be beneficial. Training providers and client organizations in Finland have also a possibility to learn from the experiences of countries with a longer tradition in anti-discrimination training and avoid allocating limited anti-discrimination training resources to training approaches which have not produced the expected results. In doing so, they would avoid allocating limited resources to anti-discrimination training approaches which are unlikely to produce the expected results.

List of interviewees

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In this category three representatives of private sector employers, two personnel managers and one training manager were consulted. These respondents from the private sector objected to having their names and those of their companies included in this list.

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