UNIVERSITY of OULU
OULUN YLIOPISTO

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY of OULU
OULUN YLIOPISTO

Faculty of Education		**Thesis abstract**	

Abstract

This study examines the cross-cultural impact on parenting orientations of Indian families raising their children in Finland. In order to study the impact of Finnish culture on Indian parenting, parenting orientations of Finnish and Indian families living in Finland were studied. The parenting practices and associated cultural values and beliefs were studied inter-generationally and cross-culturally. Hall's (1989) Cultural Iceberg Model is used to look at the visible and invisible aspects of a culture and its relation with parenting practices. Parenting philosophies with respect to the support and encouragement in learning process, parental control, academic aspirations, gender perspective and cultural beliefs were the specified areas that were explored. Semi-structured interviews were conducted on 4 Finnish and 5 Indian parents, who have at least one child of age 7 and onward. Phenomenology was used as a qualitative research method.

The research findings show that Indian parents, who were raised in a traditional-patriarch social hierarchy in India, are raising their children in Finland by providing them partial autonomy, encouragement and support, taking active interest in their lives, promoting them to be independent and preparing them for the future. Indian parents have accepted the cultural differences of Finnish culture in their lives but the root values of Indian-ness are not comprised upon. This can be observed when their parenting practices include moral values, extra protectiveness and restricting their children on the interrelationships with the opposite sex. The acceptance of cultural differences by Indian parents are reflected in their changed methods of discipline, less hierarchical and open communication, introducing a range of hobbies to their children and making an active effort to connect to their children.

No gender biases have been noticed in the parenting practices of Indian and Finnish parents. The amount of academic pressure by parents is less as compared to India but the expectations from children to succeed and opt for a noble profession is eminent. The term 'third culture kids' have been used for the children of the Indian parents, who are being raised in Finnish society. The study showed cross-cultural effect on these third culture kids, who have different worldviews, than their parents and identify themselves as a global citizen rather than embracing either Indian or Finnish identity.

Parenting orientations of Finnish families depicted two-way communication, supporting children to pursue individual interests and enough liberty on children's pathways. Their parenting and social values of individual identity has a strong impact on Indian children as well who are raised here. The strong foundation of Finnish society is based on some of the moral values like 'Sisu' meaning Perseverance and Dedication, Trust, Honesty and Punctuality.

The author trusts that this study and the research findings would be beneficial for further research in the related areas.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.   INTRODUCTION

Culture is the sum of acquired beliefs, values, and customs that regulate the behavior and action of an individual of a particular society (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Culture plays an important role in shaping perceptions, setting expectations, leading life and growing as an individual. Globalization has an immense impact on an individual, either directly or indirectly, and one's cultural values evolve or transform based on their global exposure, diversified society and circumstances. *Culture is a way of life* (Linton R. 1945, p. 19) and cultural divergences are seen to define family and community, set out expectations of, and from children and in raising children with superior morals and superior education. It seems so, that culture and cultural beliefs have an impact on parenting.

It is important to acknowledge my background regarding the neutrality of this research, as there is a personal motive behind this study. I was born and brought up within a multi-cultural society in India, and have been living in Finland with my family for approximately 11 years. My child was born in Finland and her social country is Finland, therefore, I am deeply interested in studying the factual influences of culture on parenting, in addition to how culture shapes and affects our everyday decision-making as a parent.

Furthermore, it is absolutely essential to discover an appropriate methodology that facilitates, and sets aside the notion of subjectivity in such a personal subject, thus I have chosen phenomenology as the most appropriate methodology, and will use phenomenological reduction to prevent my prejudgments and sensitivities towards the phenomena under evaluation (Creswell 2013, p. 80).

Having strong roots in my Indian cultural heritage, I can feel and perceive a visible imprint of mixed cultures in my daughter. She has acquired the Indian part of her culture from her Indian parents, and a small Indian community living in Finland, while the Finnish part of her culture comes from the Finnish society she has been born, and integrated into. Naturally, during all these years, there have been many instances where consciously or unconsciously, I have compared my daughter's upbringing to my own. Countless times, I have tried to draw a relationship and establish differences between my upbringing in my root culture and my daughter's upbringing in Finland. She could have been exposed to only Finnish culture, but as she has been raised by Indian parents her exposure to culture is

far more complex and sometimes confusing; I have raised her in a Finnish society, but, with solid Indian-ness in my thinking and behavior, which has at the same time also evolved from the Finnish culture in which I live. The norms which I had been following all my childhood simply could not be extended to my child. My thinking regarding parenting has changed to such a level that I felt obligated to share my views. I intend to investigate if this is due to the influence of a different culture, or if it is more of a logical decision related to being both a parent and an adult?

It may be that logical decisions of a parent are shaped by the cultural surroundings that one lives in, with its own local beliefs and values which are intrinsic to that culture. It is also possible, that a parent's expressive style is a mixture of the root and host culture. Through this thesis work, I also wish to evaluate the Finnish cultural effect on the parenting orientation of Indian families living in Finland.

I have selected to study Finnish and Indian families living in one of the largest cities in Finland. I will be interviewing the Finnish families to identify their parenting orientations and the influence of their culture on them. Similarly, I will be interviewing the Indian families living in Finland to identify their parenting orientations, and the influences of the Finnish and Indian cultures. Finally, with this information in place I will draw conclusions determining this cross cultural effect on parenting, based on whether Indian parents have experienced changes in their parenting orientations.

In the following section, I shall introduce the purpose of the study and the research questions. Subsequently, I shall discuss the contextual backgrounds of both India and Finland, as well as introduce the theoretical framework, and my research methodology. Finally, I shall provide a summary of my findings, in addition to addressing any ethical concerns and finishing with my conclusions.

2. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary intention of this study is to evaluate "parenting and culture" in order to determine cross cultural effect on parenting orientations. In order to achieve this goal, research has been carried out in order to explore the following:

- Parenting orientations of Finnish parents living in Finland
- Parenting orientations of Indian parents living in Finland
- Formulate an understanding of the value system of Indian and Finnish parents
- Changes felt and adapted by Indian parents in this secondary culture

The above study will help me to understand "real" Finnish culture, covering both the visible and invisible aspects of the culture and its relation to parenting. Concerning Indian families, I shall be able to verify my understanding of Indian culture and its effect on parenting. Concerning both Finnish and Indian families, I expect to acquire visible understandings of their parenting attitudes. In order to achieve this, I will be interviewing Finnish and Indian families living in Finland to discern more about their ways of raising their child/children. I will also be looking at the perspective of how they were being raised, and in comparison what similarities and changes they have experienced towards their parenting attitudes. Finally, I will gather together the changes Indian families have embraced in order to integrate into Finnish society as a parent.

Based on the aspects introduced above, my main research question is:

How cross culture effects the parenting orientations of Indian families living in Finland?

The main idea of this research is to identify and examine the cultural aspects of the families raising their children in Finland. To find an answer to the main research question, the following sub-questions are also asked.

1. What are the key aspects of culture that influence parenting orientations?
2. What cultural differences the Indian and Finnish families have experienced?
3. What cultural values or behaviors these Indian parents have adopted while raising their children here?

In attempting to supplement these with real life examples, I will interview the Indian and Finnish parents living in Finland.

The following section introduces my research contexts as I will discuss the backgrounds of India and Finland, with regards to their history, culture and social systems.

3.   THE CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND: INDIA AND FINLAND

This chapter will focus mainly on knowing the history and culture of India and Finland. First, I would like to portray the historical and cultural background of India.

3.1   History and Culture of India

India is one of the world's oldest, rich and diverse civilizations. The history of ancient India can be referred back to the birth of the Indus Valley Civilization which expanded around 2500 B.C in the western part of South Asia, now Pakistan and Western India. The Indus valley which was home to Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and China, came into the limelight when the ruins of the two old cities- Mohenjodaro and Harappa were unearthed during the digs conducted by the Archaeological department of India. This excavation revealed the ruins of buildings, household items, gold and silver jewelry, toys and pottery which depicted the presence of a highly developed civilization from around 5000 years ago. The ruins also described the cities as scientifically laid; well –designed and constructed and which were trade points. (Ancient History, 2015).

Around 1500 B.C, there were plenty of kingdoms and states throughout the subcontinent, marking a long history of war and conquest by foreign invaders. The Aryans from Central Europe, The Persians, Iranians and Parsi migrated to India. The Mughals and Europeans invaded and based their colonies in India. The British ruled over India for about 200 years. After a long struggle, India gained its freedom in 1947. All of these migrations and invasions gave birth to some of the world's largest religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism making India rich in diversity. 80% of the population in India follows Hinduism *(Ibid.)*.

India, being a home to 1.3 billion people, can be segregated into rural and urban groups with a dominant part of the society living in villages and surviving on agriculture. From the time of independence and during increased growth in industrialization, many families migrated to cities resulting in diversification of professions. Indian society is known and marked by close bonds within the community, though it is extremely stratified with respect to caste and class. There is a different set of norms of social and moral behavior in each

community (Pandey, p. 362-369 as cited in Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi and Poortinga, 2006). There are many Indians living in Finland who are different from each other based upon their birthplace, language, values, beliefs and worldviews. A particular cultural group may not hold the same values or do things in the same way. Even though, Indian society is considered as a composite culture with 'unity in diversity', it is stratified, heterogeneous, plural and hierarchical (Oommen 2005, p. 71). Being ruled by the British for many years and getting use to British customs of hierarchy created a culture of hierarchical relationships within societies and households in India (Dezan Shira & Associates, Chris Devonshire-Ellis 2012, p. 19).

India is well known for its family system. In general, people are close-knit with their families and have faith and respect on the institution of marriage. Marriage is still seen as a sacred position in both philosophical and practical ways. Indian society is mainly religious and family oriented. People have an intense belief on the moral values and traditions to be followed and preserved for a healthy society. The role of marriage and the family places an integral value as social institutions in the rearing of children, which provide the security, support and companionship of the social groups. Usually, the parents and elders of the joint family fix the marriage of their children in an Indian society. As many people migrate to urban areas for education and livelihood, the families have become more modern and nuclear (Rabbiraj, 2014).

Indian History does not only mean the history of political events but includes Indian culture as well. It includes the progress of religion, society and the sciences. According to Shevade (1994, p. 150), "The natural tendency of Indian culture is spiritual which is related to the knowledge of the soul. The aim of the culture is to look to the welfare of mankind. However, because of the nature of assimilation and coordination of the culture, the Indians became tolerant." The progress and change of Indian culture is not only restricted to religion but also Sociology, rules of administration, theology, rules of moral ethics, practices and usages were also tried out. Indians have exercised the ideals like sacrifice, hospitality, love, compassion, nonviolence, duty and tolerance. These ideals have built the lifestyle of the people from different walks of life within Indian society (Shevade 1994, p. 146-151).

Figure 1. India on the world map (www.naturalhistoryonthenet.com)

3.2   History and culture of Finland

Finland is one of the Nordic countries situated within Northern Europe; it shares its borders with Sweden, Norway and Russia. It has a population of around 5.5 million, out of which 95% are Finnish speakers; the remainder speaks Swedish with a smaller minority group speaking Sami. History depicts that Finland was Christianized in the twelfth century during the series of crusades, before it became part of Sweden. Finland was under the rule of Sweden for more than 60 years which allowed for the setting of western Christian values before it was taken over by the Russian empire from 1809 to 1917. With little resistance, the nation was converted to Lutheranism. Finland's national identity started forming under Russian rule with movements incorporating Finnish-language and the establishment of Finnish language schools. There was a Civil war in 1918 between the 'Whites', who supported the middle classes and the 'Reds', the socialists, which lead to trauma for many Finns as many people from the working class were killed. Severe depression in Finland was prevalent after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 (Dutton 2009, p. 92-93).

Finland was for a long time a highly agrarian society but from the late 19th century developed socially, industrially and commercially more rapidly than the East European societies. Finland is accepted as a Nordic society because of its extensive participation in the fields of culture, social policy and social systems. However, when compared to other Nordic countries, Finland is different culturally, institutionally and structurally. Finland as

a European country is very young but the actual nation building has been going on for several hundreds of years during the periods of both Swedish and Russian rule. (Allardt 1985, p. 3-12)

Finland is accepted as "unique" and distinctive from other cultures. It is at times categorized as a 'Scandinavian' or 'Nordic' culture but differs in the language. This language, which is seen as 'difficult', is one of the factors that imbue the sense of 'uniqueness' within the culture. Although Finland is considered European, according to many nineteenth century scholars, many Finns do not consider themselves as 'European', neither do they look European. Due to their unique culture, Finland can be considered to be an 'Arctic' culture. Finland has never been a dominant nation historically. After gaining independence, it avoided the Soviet invasion during World War II but had to compensate during the Cold War. Politically, Finland was in between 'East' and 'West'. More or less, it had an 'Eastern' and 'Other' dimension. It was the 'Non-European' language being spoken by Finns that lead to the development of the idea or perception of Finland being 'exotic' or 'other' (Dutton 2009, p. 80-82).

Even though Finland has inherited Scandinavian culture, it has still been strongly influenced by Russian rule, through which the Finnish identity is considered as the balance between the relative individualism of the west adopting the Scandinavian model and the collectiveness of the east due to Russian rule (OECD 2010, p. 67).

Being a Nordic welfare state, Finland has a robust social security system and an extensive employment programme for its people so as to help them during financial crisis. With one of the smallest economic gaps between rich and poor, the state comparatively ensures there are safe living conditions for children. The state supports and provides low-cost daycare facilities and free meals to school children in order to provide a way for women to work full-time. Men are encouraged to take an active role in their domestic life and fathers with small children are encouraged to take care of them with the aid of paid paternal leave. Cultural values are towards gender equality where the girls and boys are seen as individuals with different potentialities irrespective of their gender. Most of the Finnish families are dual earners. Finland's population is highly educated because of its free educational system (Leinonen, p. 21-26).

Figure 2. Finland on the world map (www.freeworldmaps.net)

4.   THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this study is divided into two parts. The first part explores some of the previous studies that have been carried out on aspects that are essential for the present study such as cultural values, family structures and parenting. The latter part of this section introduces the iceberg model that I use as a theoretical corner stone as well as an analytical tool in my analysis of the interviews data.

4.1   Previous studies on culture, its values, family structures and parenting

Studies done by Leinonen (2004, p.13) states that parenting is not simply a technique which can be mastered , but is deeply dependent on parental and family resources and circumstances, such as national recession, economic and work realities, mental health and social support. Furthermore, according to Leinonen (p. 89-90), the media plays an important role in showing the true picture about the well-being of children in Finland and the quality of parenting has raised special concern. The result of this study showed that the factors distant to child's direct experiences, such as national recession, do place a serious risk on child adjustment when they affect parental mental health and family relationships. It also shows that economic aid and instrumental support from society could prevent some of these difficulties from occurring.

In addition, Leinonen (*Ibid.*) points out a study carried out by Bronstein, Duncan, D'Ari, Pieniadz, Fitzgerald, Abrams, Frankowski, Franco, Hunt & Oh-Cha (1996), Cummings, Davies, & Campbell (2000a) and Herman, Dornbusch, Herron & Herting (1997) that the quality of parenting is related to all areas of child well-being. This study examined the reflections of parenting on children's school performance, social relationships, and mental health. Leinonen (*Ibid.*) concluded that the quality of parenting is a multidimensional and complex issue. The development and manifestation of parenting is influenced both by parental and personal characteristics and well-being, child characteristics and well-being, and the balance between stress and support in hand. Phenomena from different levels and their accumulative effect on determining parental possibilities for functional parenting.

Research done by Degni, Pöntinen & Mölsä (2006) on Somali parent's experiences of raising their children in Finland raised parental challenges linked to changing generational, gender and family relations within the immigrant household. Findings also revealed Somali father's involvement in helping in domestic chores in Finland is considered as crossing an important socio-cultural border, the border, which was just the domain of the women of the family in Somali. New values and norms of the Finnish system have given a new identity to these Somali women but also seen as a threat to the Islamic value system.

A study completed by Javo, Alapack, Heyerdah & Ronning (2003) on Sami families who faced the contemporary dilemmas and challenges while raising their children, highlights the development of cultural transition in minority families. Findings of this study identified the parenting values and promotion of ethnic identity with respect to independence, autonomy, love, Sami language and traditions and extended family to form a common grounding in their inter-relationships.

Chang (2007) studied the impact of a parent's role in the development of teenager's self-esteem and self-satisfaction. The study was done on 156 teenagers in New Jersey to determine the parenting styles. Cultural values of the Asian Americans emphasized on the interdependence and family harmony. No significant differences were noticed between race and authoritative parenting style but results indicated that Asian American parents are more authoritarian than Caucasian parents which leads to higher self-esteem and satisfaction.

In a 30-nation psychological study on families across cultures by Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi & Poortinga (2006, p. 465-466) showed the contemporary trends like increasing number of single parents, high divorce rates, second marriages and homosexual relationships which are variations of the traditional family structure. This psychological study is done on families to present a cultural diversity. This study also points out the extent of degree to which the role of a family is changed and thereby changes in a culture. Georgas et.al (*ibid.*) addressed the core themes of the family using both cross-cultural and indigenous views to examine family roles, personality traits, emotional bonds and self-construction. On doing this, the views of Hector Grad on Spanish tradition and modernity in family structure and values indicated that the modernization and democratization of society encouraged cohabitation, single-parenting which alleviated the rate of newborns of

unmarried women and of divorce, and emphasized interactive preferences and non-hierarchical family values. In spite of that, large sections of youth support the position of the family framework and traditional values in which sons and particularly daughters are expected to help and care for their parents, keeping them in their home when needed and supporting them financially.

In addition, Georgas et.al (p. 51-53) points out that a study carried out by Berry and Poortinga showed that human behavior is related to culture, and that cultural context influences in the shaping of an individual's day-to-day behavior and their psychological development. However, with the emergence of more cognitive approaches, individuals are no more viewed as victims of their culture but the authenticators and interpreters of it. Georgas also cites Segall, Dasen, Berry and Poortinga (1999) mentioning that the reciprocal nature and relationship between person and culture, leads to a change and creation of new cultural variations through acculturation. Also cited by Georgas et. al. (p. 97) is the discussion of Talcott Parsons (1943, 1949, 1965) and Durkheim (1888, 1921) who divide parental roles into instrumental and expressive which are related to survival and maintenance of morale and practice respectively. Also, the roles of the nuclear family are perceived from material basis to "personal motives". Wherein the material basis was linked to the father being the authoritative figure and breadwinner of the family while mother fits into the latter role where she is responsible to maintain the emotional balance of the family. There are changes in the degree of power and gender in the family where the patriarchal traditional role in which father is the head of the family, more authoritative and maintaining the finances wherein the mother is submissive, housewife and care provider to her children and husband. This traditional role is being modified in many nations or western societies or households due to the increasing economic independence of women working outside the home. The role of the mother, being the primary caregiver is changing due to this independent phenomenon and role-reversal is prominent. Georgas et al. also make a reference to the study done by Weisner, Bradley, and Kilbride (1997) depicting family change and the collapsing of traditional values in Kenya leads to disrespecting elders and a growing group of unmarried mothers. In polygamous families, there is more emphasis by mothers on their sons to seek personal future security.

Furthermore, Tian (2010) undertook a study on Chinese immigrant parents to explore the impact of challenges like race, culture, economic issues, language and social networks on

cross-cultural parenting needs. The study confirmed the implication of cultural and social systems on Chinese immigrant parenting.

Previous studies on parent's cultural belief systems, Harkness and Super (1996) cites Whiting & Edwards (1988), Whiting & Whiting (1975) in a study done on parents and preschool teachers in two cultural communities within Massachusetts and Italy discovered parents are more influenced by cultural models in their own communities rather than professional training and responsibilities. The study also supported parental beliefs and values formed by socioeconomic 'maintenance systems' which parents use to organize settings of daily life for their children.

Although studies exist on parenting experiences of Chinese immigrants and the effect of culture differences on their teenager's self-esteem and parental satisfaction (see Tian 2010; Chang 2007). It is interesting to know that no previous studies were done on the cultural variations on parenting between Finnish and Indian families. At this point, I will proceed to the next chapter that deals with the theoretical framework with a discussion on culture and parenting for exploring the experiences of parents in Finland.

4.2   The iceberg model for understanding the cultural values

The theoretical framework used in this study shows the footprint of Anthropologist Edward T. Hall's (1989) Cultural Iceberg model which is comparable to the things we see in a culture as a tip of an Iceberg and the process of parenting orientations and styles, the core values as the submerged or hidden part of an Iceberg. External manifestations of one's culture such as food, ways of dressing, dance, laws, customs, greeting rituals, music, arts, literature are the visible aspects of an Iceberg. In many cases, the visible manifestations of culture are dominated and influenced by the invisible aspects of a culture. For instance, the religious beliefs of a culture are manifested in one's way of dressing (Storti 1997, p. 19). Parenting, being one of the invisible parts of culture is dominated by various orientations. The orientation in my study includes the values parents want to pass on to their children and the aspirations they have for their children. These orientations are the beliefs, biases and values that form a parent's expectations for their children's behaviors and desires for their children's futures. How the parents implement these orientations depict their

parenting styles which include the ways that parents relate to and interact with their children. This knowledge of framework, which is based on looking below the surface, would help my understanding to critically examine the values, attitudes, thinking and feelings of my own culture and the foreign culture which has been experienced and lived by the Indian parents outside their home country.

These invisible value orientations, patterns and underlying structures will guide me to identify the root causes of the behavior in the present and the past environment. These patterns are manifested in people's beliefs, behaviors, attitudes and thinking. They are the key components in shaping our individual and national identities and it is not easy to change these core values easily which are passed from generation to generation. (Katan, 1999)
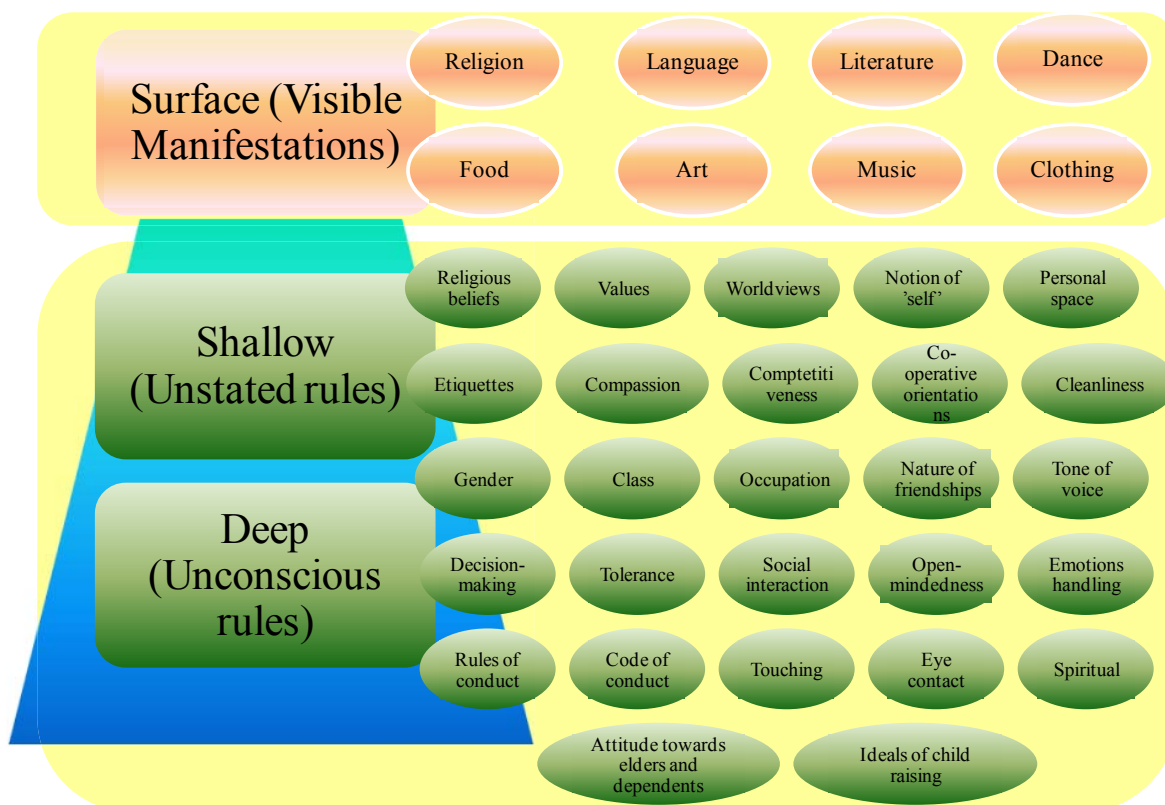
Figure 3. Cultural Iceberg Model. Adapted from "Culture as an Iceberg Graphic", n.d., Retrieved 18th Jan 2016, from www.afs.org.in/afs-and-intercultural-learning/culture-as-an--iceberg-graphic/.

4.3 Defining culture

Culture is the way we do things, the habits of our mind, the way we think about things. It is not a static entity but dynamic and fluid (Neuliep, 2005). Socialization, Values, Norms and Statuses are the vital aspects attached to a person or a society.

Hofstede (1991, p. 5) describes culture as, "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another". This programming is the core of a culture which is formed by the values. Most of this programming is acquired during childhood where we as human beings have an astonishing capacity for assimilating information and following examples from our social surroundings like our parents, siblings, elders and friends. But it is restricted by the external factors of security and financial status.

Hofstede (1991, p. 8) makes the important point that although certain aspects of culture are physically visible, their meaning is invisible: 'their cultural meaning ... lies precisely and only in the way these practices are interpreted by the insiders.' For example, sitting with a hat on in a classroom is generally considered as an insulting or rude gesture in Finland more than anywhere else. Likewise, the selection of clothing can be construed differently by different groups of individuals, with respect to indications of wealth, appropriateness, ostentation etc.

Griswold (2008, p.1-3) mentions that the word 'culture' is used regularly by people but is sometimes difficult to define. The fundamentals of a culture are distinguished from universal human nature and one's own personality. The culture cannot be inherited but is learned. It is not inherited from genes but is developed from the social environment. (Naibei, 2014)

Values are an integral part of culture and are formed by the core of a culture which deals with evil vs. good, dirty vs. clean, irrational vs. rational, paradoxical vs. logical and immoral vs. moral. The first thing a child learns implicitly is values. Developmental psychologists consider that most children have their values firmly invested by the time they are of age ten. As they are manifested in our lives at an early age, many times it

remain unconscious and can only be seen or understood when a person behaves under different circumstances (Hoftsede 1998, p. 387-388).

On one hand, culture is the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which facilitate individuals to define their world, express their feelings and make their judgements; but on the other hand, it is a continuous ongoing process of interactive behavior which defines a social structure. Culture is the fabric of meaning through which individuals interpret their experience and determine their action (Clifford 1973, p. 144-145).

Culture is a wide topic which is often studied and discussed from different perspectives. I will now give a brief about the sociological, anthropological and cross-cultural perspective of a culture.

4.3.1   Sociological View

Many sociologists state that culture is intended to be one of the four things: Norms, values, beliefs, or expressive symbols. Norms direct the way people behave in a society; values are what they care for; beliefs are their representation of universal elements; and expressive symbols are perceptions of norms, values and beliefs themselves. The culture by academic perspectives is divided into two schools of thought: humanities and social sciences, especially anthropology. Nevertheless, we must understand that there is neither a culture nor society in the real world. It is just the people who work, joke, raise children, love, think, worship and behave in different ways. If we talk of culture and society in different ways, we will then be only making an analytical distinction between two different views of human experience. A way to think about this difference is that culture designates the expressive aspects of human existence whereas society designates the relational and practical aspect (Griswold 1994, p.4).

Many a times, culture refers to the fine and performing arts or to literature. Culture is compared with the arts results from a line of thinking in the disciplines collectively known as the humanities, through which culture means a locus of superior and universal worth (Griswold 1994, p. 4-5). Arnold (1949) asserted that culture changes people to relate knowledge, including science and technology, to conduct and beauty. According to him, culture is a means to an end and not an end in itself. He considered that culture plays a role

of humanizing agent to control the destructive impacts of modernization (Griswold 1994, p. 6).

4.3.2 Anthropological view

During 19th century, the new disciplines of anthropology and sociology, encouraged different way of thinking about culture. The German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) was against the smugness of European culture at the end of the eighteenth century. He indicated that we must speak of cultures for the nations and communities which have their own equally meritorious cultures (Griswold 1994, p.7-8).

Griswold mentioned the views of the English anthropologist, E.B. Tylor (1958) as a given society's way of life. He referred culture in ethnographic sense as a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a person in a society. This varied definition has dominated the social sciences, including sociology. Ethnocentrism and elitism is avoided when the culture is viewed as a people's way of life. A life which is learned, developed, experienced and passed through generations by acculturation (Griswold 1994, p. 8-13).

4.3.3 Cross-Cultural view

Culture is identified and divided as individualistic and collectivistic cultures from cross-cultural perspective. Individualistic culture gives importance to the autonomy, independence and justice, and the priority of individual achievement over the goals of their in-groups. Their behavior is primarily governed by their attitudes rather than social norms. Whereas collectivist cultures place more emphasis on the individual's contribution to the wellbeing of the family, or to the surrounding society as a whole. Relationships are more important to them and the people who belong to collectivist cultures behave in a communal manner (Triandis 2001, p. 909).

The nature of the Indian culture is considered to be collectivist. Sinha cited Roland (1988) while describing the relationships within the family or a family-like group of Indians which is experienced on a non-verbal level being marked by a strong emotional connectedness and constantly sensitive to others, with personal expectations of full

reciprocity, common indulgence of warmth and concern. Frequent expression of what people say reveals a concern of constantly being monitored by public eyes if people are behaving as per social norms and following the social codes of conduct. There is natural tendency of Indians to counteract and suppress ones interests and needs and conform to social norms. In spite of being collectivists, there is a pattern of thoughts, feelings and actions in the minds of Indians reflecting the fundamental value of individualism. In other words, I also agree that Indians are both collectivists and individualists (Sinha 2009, 37-39). I would also like to emphasize that one should not make generalizations of Indians as one ethnic entity as India is comprised of various ethnicities, diverse culture and practices. Nevertheless, there are several cultural similarities within a region on the basis of food, language, arts, music, dance and so on. I also believe that the term 'culture' also differs from family to family of similar ethnicity. The same holds true for Finnish ethnicity also.

On the other hand, Finland being of individualistic nature, people here stand up for themselves and their immediate family and choose their own associations. People in Finland believe in individual accomplishments. The social norm of individualistic culture like Finland is to have a nuclear and egalitarian family (Boopathi, 2014).

The cultural differences between individualistic and collectivistic societies are the variations in values and practices that influence the people living in these societies with respect to parenting style and their interactions with their children. Now, I will focus briefly on the concept of parenting and identified parenting styles.

4.4   Parenting

Parenting is one of those jobs where experience may not make things easier. Every child is unique and different; and that makes the process of raising a child much more marveling. The foundation of any parenting skills is the basis of consistent discipline, meeting the child's needs with love and care, and control and guidance. (Sclafani 2004, p. 1). The parents and social situations have a profound role in influencing children that enhances or limits the child's development growth. A child's personal characteristics include general emotional and behavioral quality, quality of relationships with others along with personality traits are largely influenced by the surrounding culture.

Leinonen (2004, p. 22) mentions Erik Eriksson (1963) description of two independent dimensions of parenting which are essential to child development starting from the school age. The first one is the parental warmth/hostility wherein expressions of warmth involve a smile, a hug or encouragement and expressions of hostility includes indifference or unreasonable punishment. The second one is parental control which involves the extent to which parents guard and regulate the behavior of a child.

The basic aim of parenting was to teach the children how to resist the immoral enticements of life (Leinonen, 2004). Corporal punishment used by parents on children was portrayed by the phrases like "spare the rod and spoil the child". Aries (1962) observed that during the 19th century, physical punishment was considered as inhumane in many countries and the concept of an ideal parent was limited to those who were in absolute self-control in every situation (Leinonen 2004, p. 19).

Parents all over start off with infants whom they like to raise to independent childhood. It does not actually count how the parents prefer to go about the task, with some restrictions, which deal with children in need of certain protection, affection and guidance for their normal development. The process of rearing and treating a child largely depends on the type of society a parent lives in, but it will not affect the basic pattern of parenting. For instance, the qualitative aspects of protection, love and socialization will not be modified; but the quantitative aspects which deal with the form of care and guidance may change. Mechling considers that people learn the role of parenting and the entire constellation of parenting customs associated with it through interaction with their parents. Parents contribute their own views, expectations and experience to the parenting process. Parents have always wished the best for their children within their own cultural boundaries. It is not inevitably cruel for a child to assist on the farm or with their parent's cottage industry at an early age. May be that was the best way for a family to survive and to make their child learn important skills to survive in a society where there was a little choice of employment. (Pollock, 1983 p. 42-64)

I will now briefly highlight the identified parenting styles and the concept of third culture kids.

4.4.1 Parenting styles

Diana Baumrind (1971) was the first who identified three parenting styles. Those were authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. She later on segregated permissive into two: permissive -indulgent and permissive -neglectful. These parenting styles are divided on the dimensions of acceptance, responsive and nurturing of a child versus expectations, controls and demands from a child. An authoritative parent is high on care, expectation and control. Authoritarian parents are low on acceptance and nurturing whereas high on expectations and demands. Permissive-indulgent parents are responsive and nurturing, but have less expectations and demands from their child. And the permissive-neglectful parent provides less care and love as well as expectations, controls and demands are also low (Sclafani 2004, p. 44-45).

During the interview and thesis seminar phase of my study, I came across the notion of 'Helicopter' and 'Curling' parenting which is a colloquial expression for the parents who give enormous attention to social and academic experiences of their child. They hover over their children like a helicopter to control their lives in order to protect them from the mistakes, disappointments and attempts to steer what is best for their child. These parents are not only over-protective about their children but also connect their identity and self-regard to the achievements of their children (Randall, 2007).

For this study, I will not be looking at the parenting style of the families interviewed on a deeper level, but their philosophies because I think that there is no specific style to raise a child. As a parent, one can come across different situations every day and adjust to deal with them based on some of the attributes that has been developed as a parenting style.

Next, I shall brief about the concept of third culture kids to establish the link with my study which is to find the impact to parenting orientation of the Indian families living in Finland. For these families, their children are being raised in a 'third culture'.

4.4.2 Parenting with third culture kids

Considering theoretical framework, parents communicate with their children as per "above and below the water" cultural norms (Pollock and Reken 2001, p. 44). Children who are raised in a country other than their parent's home country are considered third culture kids. Often it is misconstrued that the third culture kids are the ones who are raised in the "Third

world". The term 'third culture' is coined by two social scientists Drs. John and Ruth Hill Useem in 1950s during their visit to India for a study. Useems defined the home culture as the first culture through which the adults came. According to them, the host culture is where the family lived the second culture and the children who are raised in that interstitial culture which is culture between cultures are called third culture kids (Pollock and Reken 2001, p. 20). In my study, the children of Indian families living in Finland are the ones being raised in a third culture.

There is an increase in cultural stress for the parents (and also for the children to obey those rules) whose children are being raised in a third culture and especially, when they visit to their home country, it is easy to offend people or family members there, if the expectations are not being fulfilled as being the member of the same culture. For example, in some cultures in India, if the 'boy' child does not touch the feet of his elders to take the blessings, it may be considered rude. These children learn and use cultural and linguistic gestures of the third culture that at times embarrasses the parents and also may be considered disrespectful for the similar community members and may create a stressful relationship among the families. For example, it is okay to use 'Hey' or "Hei" in Finland if you have forgotten or don't know any ones name. On the other hand, if any Indian child use the same 'Hei' to call an adult Indian, it would be considered rude and a lack of etiquette. It would be considered shameful if the child does not stand if an adult is standing and talking to the child; or while scolding, there should not be any eye contact by the child; he or she should look down. Also, with these third culture kids, there will always be an identity issue for them whatever country they live or travel in, there will exist in the local culture and the child may not match the physical appearance of the majority in that culture. Otherwise stated, wherever these kids live, the imbued cultural beliefs and assumptions may not be the same for them. Also, these children may appear similar and/or think like the members of the local culture and/or may appear differently and/or differ in worldviews too from those members, at superficial and deeper levels of culture (Pollock & Van Reken 2001, p. 53-68).
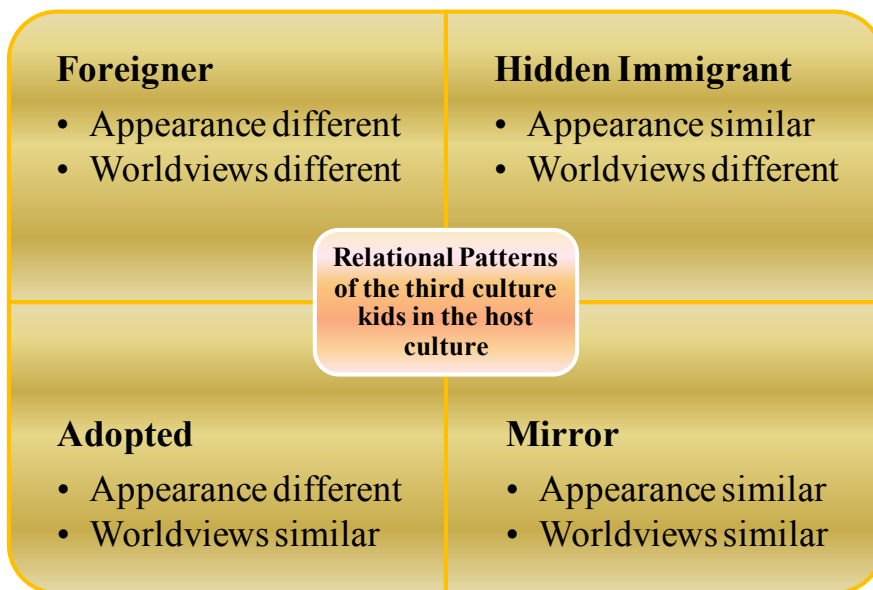
Figure 4. Relational Patterns of the third culture kids in the host culture (Adapted from Pollock & Van Reken 2001)

5.   RESEARCH TASK AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will introduce the methodological choices I have made and what might be my ontological and epistemological conceptions behind these choices regarding my study. The methodological approach of this study is qualitative and phenomenological as I intend to find the relation and meaning between Finnish and Indian cultural values while focusing on the ways of raising children influenced by those values. As phenomenology deals with extracting themes from the data, I believe this theory would be the most suitable to my research. In order to get the detailed information about how the families are raising their children while keeping/changing their values or beliefs, I have chosen to conduct in-depth interviews with open-ended questions with Indian and Finnish parents. I would also like to give a brief description of a qualitative research methodology on which my study is based. I shall start my methodological discussion by introducing my ontological and epistemological starting points for this study.

5.1   Epistemology and ontology

Aim of my research is to see the reality from other's perspectives too. The knowledge is evaluated from the experiences the participants have lived keeping in mind the social and cultural situations and background.

In a context, where concepts of culture and parenting are the focus of the research, it requires the self-awareness that my own cultural and social background as a researcher is questioned throughout all phases of the research process. As a researcher, I am critically aware of my perception towards the world, which is developed by the concepts accessible to me, and people with different concepts will tend to view the world or reality differently.

Guba & Lincoln (1994, p.107) demonstrate the construct of worldview, or a set of principles that determine actions and "define, for its holder, the nature of the 'world', the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts." The world view, I would be holding is seen as constructive as I think that people develop meanings and interpret the world based on their own experiences and on historical, cultural and social perspectives. Having said that, I agree with Creswell (2007) who asserts that it is primitive to imagine the interaction and the creation of impressions, which cannot be

achieved without considering various factors into explanation, and that all research conducted by people is per se bias. As Creswell (2007, p.179) refers, "what one composes is a reflection of one's own interpretations based on cultural, social, gender, class and personal politics that each researcher brings to the research". I also agree with Creswell that either a researcher or a participant cannot be free from bias. On account of this, French philosopher Bourdieu explained his idea of 'Habitus' which defines how a person's attitudes and perceptions are made by their own and family's history, class, race and ethnicity, as well as the product of early childhood experiences that are endlessly altered by their continued experiences. (Navarro, 2006).

Being an Indian, I am fully aware of my cultural roots and obligations towards society very well. Also, I have lived in Finland for quite a long time and worked closely with children and people of different background and ethnicity. As an educational researcher, I would be conscious of any misconceptions, risks, uni-directional approach and pre-judgement of ethnocentric worldviews and would be looking and interpreting the meaning of these notions with my own worldviews.

5.2   Qualitative research and Phenomenology

According to Lofland (1971), "To capture participants 'in their own terms' one must learn their categories for rendering explicable and coherent flux of raw reality. That, indeed, is the first principle of qualitative analysis." (Patton 2002, p. 21).

This study focuses on the individuals to whom the understandings of their world comprises of the agreements shaped by the similar beliefs, values and attitudes and determines the behavior of the individuals according to how they interpret the world around them. People are seen as being both 'self-conscious' and 'conscious of others' and, hence, can conform their social interactions and situational behavior to shape the meaning and society.

The main characteristics of a qualitative research are: a focus on natural settings which means a certain openness of mind and not prejudging the matter; interest in meanings, perspectives and understanding; and significance on process. Qualitative researchers are particularly interested in how understandings are formed, how meanings are negotiated, how roles are developed and so on. Qualitative research is concerned with life as it is lived,

situations as they are constructed in the day to day, things as they happen. In general, the researchers try not to interrupt the scene and to be unobtrusive in their methods, making an effort to ensure that data and analysis will reflect on what is going. The researcher also tries to discover the meanings that participants connect to their behavior, their perspectives on particular events and how they interpret those situations. The participants can also redefine and construct situations as the situations might influence perspectives (Woods 1999, p. 2-4).

Qualitative research which is adhered by perspectives and worldviews, includes several approaches to inquiry such as narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case studies (Creswell 2013, p. 69). I apply phenomenology in this study as it supports an inductive manner of doing research which focuses on individual meaning and depicting the complexity of a setting (Creswell 2009, p. 4). Creswell also draws attention on the research process that comprises of arranging questions and processes; the data collection from a research subject's settings followed by data analysis. Data analysis processes include generating particular themes and the researcher interpreting the meaning of the data. The final step ends with writing the report in a flexible structure.

Phenomenology is originated from the work of the German mathematician Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and was expanded by Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty. Phenomenology is popularly employed in the social and health sciences, especially in sociology, psychology, education and health sciences. The philosophical debates and assumptions in phenomenology are based on some common evidences such as the study of individuals lived experiences, the perspectives to consider these experiences as the conscious ones and making meaning of these experiences instead of explanations or analyses (Creswell 2013, p.77).

According to Patton (2002, p. 104-107), the implications to Husserl's (1913) most basic philosophical assumptions were to gain knowledge through people's experiences and their interpretation of the world; the other being the methodological which was based on the assumption that the only way to know people's experiences is to experience the phenomenon as directly as possible. For this, I will be using one of the Husserl's concepts of epoche or bracketing wherein the researcher sets aside his/her experience or what the researcher already knows about the subject to take a new perspective to study the phenomena under investigation (Creswell 2013, p. 80). This contributes to the importance

of participant observation and in-depth interviewing. Finally, the assumption of the presence of an essence or essences to shared experiences. These essences are the core meanings which through a common phenomenon can be mutually understood. To identify these essences, the experiences of individuals are bracketed, analyzed and compared.

I intend to use the psychologist Moustakas's (1994) processes for conducting this qualitative and phenomenological study as defined by Creswell (2013, p. 80-82). I will now discuss the epistemology and ontology, followed by the data collection process employed in my study.

5.3   Data collection

The data for this study is collected by using in-depth, open-ended individual interviews. An interview is a conversation that goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of view in everyday conversations and becomes a heedful questioning and listening approach with the goal of finding real knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann et. al, p.6).

The main objective of the interview is to find out the things which cannot be observed directly. The observation of feelings, thoughts, intentions, situations and behaviors cannot be fulfilled. Interviewing allows us to enter into the other person's perspective and helps us to explore how people have arranged their world and the meanings attached to it. (Patton 2002, p. 341).

It gave me a better insight to focus on the experienced meanings of the interviewee's life-world (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 26). I started the process by first looking for the individuals who have experienced the phenomenon my research is based upon (Creswell 2007, p. 61). In my study, I chose Finnish and Indian parents living in Finland who have children of more than 7 years of age. The objective was to gain insights from experienced parents whose children have crossed early childhood and to know more of parenting techniques and variations used over the period of time. The subjects are asked to relate to the times when they were a child and how they were raised keeping cultural influences in mind; as compared to how they are raising their children now with the same or different values and beliefs. I explored their lived experiences and perceptions using the in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews are used to explore an individual's perspective about any idea, program or situation. When detailed information about an individual's thoughts and behaviors is required or to explore in-depth knowledge on certain issues, these interviews are useful. They provide detailed information as compared to other data collection methods. Moreover, the information is collected in a more relaxed way and the subjects may feel more comfortable having a conversation about their views (Boyce and Neale 2006, p. 1-4).

Qualitative research Interview will help me to understand the study from the subject's points of view, to develop the meaning of their experiences, to reveal their lived world prior to scientific explanations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Knowledge will be constructed while interacting with my participants. It is not just a conversation but involves focusing on the cultural, every day, and situated aspects of human thinking, learning, knowing, acting, and ways of understanding ourselves as a person, and it is contradicted to 'technified' approaches to the study of human lives (Kvale & Brinkmann et al., 2009).

In-depth interviews employ open-ended questions to be asked to explore the topic. In-depth and qualitative interviews use open-ended and discovery-oriented method that allows the interviewer to deeply explore the participant's feelings and perspectives on a topic. Various characteristics of in-depth interviews make it different from other forms. Open-ended Questions begin with "why" or "how" which give the participants liberty to answer the questions in their own words rather than replying in just "yes" or "no". Pre-planning the questions is also important to keep the interview conversational and flow naturally. The role of the researcher is very important in taking consideration of these methodological features. The researcher should maintain active listening skills that help in interpreting the conversation. The researcher should seek clarification and understand the thoughts of the interviewee to get the deeper meaning of the responses. A skilled qualitative interviewer should possess the qualities of being open- minded, flexible and responsive, patient, a good listener and observant by picking cues like body language and tone of voice. Kvale (1996) outlines seven stages of conducting in-depth interviews. These consist of thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting. The first stage deals with the clarification of the purpose of the interviews. In the next phase, a researcher should design the method through which the information can be obtained. Preparation of the interview guide would help the researcher to focus on topics that are important to explore and maintain consistency throughout the interviews with different participants.

Then comes the actual interview. After the interview, transcribing helps in creating a verbatim text by writing down the audio recording Transcribed interviews are then analyzed by re-reading the transcripts to identify the themes emerging from those. If more questions are raised that need to be clarified for the study, then more interviews can be conducted. At times, it may be necessary to check the credibility of the gathered information. Finally, the results are shared through a written or oral report. It would also help in the future researches (Guion, Diehl & McDonald, p. 1-3).

Culture and place involve an attention from us not because of our conceptions which are definitive or authoritative, but as they are fragile and filled with dispute. Researchers should be careful and no presumptions should be made while asking intrusive questions. Many topics talked about openly in western societies are taboo or forbidden in other parts of the world. It is important for an interviewer to understand the perspective of others rather than judging the values or norms. Researcher should be sensitive and respect the differences to get valid, reliable and meaningful responses in cross-cultural environments (Patton 2002, p. 391-394).

To define culture is a difficult task. It is not easy to be aware of the multitude of cultural factors including habits, practices, positions and narrative resources which affect the relationship between the participant and the interviewer while undertaking cross-cultural interviewing. It is important that in a foreign culture, an interviewer gets acquainted with the new culture and learn some of the verbal and non-verbal factors that may not function properly to an interviewer. For example, the word 'yes' is the depiction of agreement in some cultures, while in others it may be that the question is heard. Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) also mentioned the view point of Ryen (2002) to be careful of intercultural misunderstandings arisen by extra linguistic features of communication wherein some cultural groups use similar gestures but with different meanings. Keats (2000) as in Kvale (et. al.) states asking questions to gather information, making direct rather than indirect replies, referring to matters that are considered taboo, looking into the interviewee's eyes while speaking, and sending a woman to interview a man or vice versa can be critical in cross-cultural interviewing. It is of utmost importance to take care while selecting an interpreter who is culturally acceptable and proficient in the language. There may be some difficulties when interviewing across gender and generation or social class and religion, in making out the difference in language use, gestures, and cultural norms within a researcher's own culture (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015, p. 168).

I have also kept these ideas in consideration while doing my interviews. As the interviews were long, I had audio recorded the interviews to maintain its validity and to probe deeper meaning and understanding of the participant's responses. The process through which I conducted the interviews is explained and elaborated in the next section.

5.4   The research participants

I started the process with a search for Indian and Finnish parents living in Finland who have children above 7 years of age. The objective was to gain insights from experienced parents whose children have crossed early childhood. I feel that when the child is in their early childhood, there are not too many conflicts between a child and parents. When the child's domain is expanded to the outside world be it friends, school and relatives, that is the more challenging phase for the parents. After much initiation, I found nine people (3 Finnish mothers, 1 Finnish Father, 4 Indian mothers and 1 Indian father) who were willing to participate in my research study. Boyd (2001) mentions that two to ten participants as a research subjects are sufficient to reach saturation. Other participants whom I was approaching before were not comfortable with the idea of audio recording the interviews. But recording the interviews was important for me. The semi-structured format of basic questions that I framed or prepared for the interviews were many and required time to answer. Recording would help me to refer it for later use and to find the deeper meaning of the research subject.

To get acquainted with the research interview and to improve my interviewing skills, I referred to and gained knowledge through many academic books and articles. The researcher's competence and craftsmanship includes skills, sensitivity and knowledge, which are very important to produce the quality knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p.84).

Keeping in mind the importance of ethical considerations, confidentiality and informed consent (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 68-74), I first contacted the interviewees through mail for the appropriate date and time for the interviews as per their convenience. Few of them replied at once, so for others, I contacted them by telephone and asked for their consent. Through e-mail, I sent them a confidentiality agreement to keep their identity anonymous and explained the purpose and nature of my research, in doing the above, I

obtained their consent to participate in the interview process. The participants were also informed of the audio recording of the interview and they agreed to it. Nevertheless, the information in regard to their profession and length of interview are provided as I feel these are important and relevant to the research. Also, the identities of my participants are not revealed, therefore, I have used pseudonyms as mentioned in the Table 1, to protect their identity.

Table 1.   List of the Interviewees

Sl No.	Country of Origin	Gender	Name	Profession	Length of the Interview
1	Finnish	Female	Maija	Teacher with Immigrants	2 hour 16 mins
2	Finnish	Female	Sari	Translator	2 hours 15 mins
3	Finnish	Female	Anne	Geologist	1 hour 38 mins
4	Finnish	Male	Arto	IT Engineer	57 mins
5	Indian	Female	Madhu	Teacher (Doctorate) and Unemployed	2 hours 20 mins
6	Indian	Female	Anu	IT Engineer and Unemployed	1 hour 48 mins
7	Indian	Female	Pia	IT Engineer (Unemployed), Student	2 hour 04 mins
8	Indian	Female	Devi	Social worker	2 hour 16 mins

9	Indian	Male	Sanjay	IT Engineer	1 hour 11 mins

5.5   Semi-Structured Interviews

I used one-on-one, in-person interviews with my participants. In-person interviews render access to non-linguistic information in gestures and facial looks. Other forms of interviews are: group interview, intercept interview, narrative interview, discursive interview and confrontational interview (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 147- 160; Frey & Oishi 1995, p.4).

One of the participants gave the interview in her mother tongue language, Hindi. I, being a native speaker of the same language, transcribed and translated the interview into English. It is important to mention that all the Indian participants in this study came from different states of India, speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds.

Though, there were few limitations I found during the interviews especially with Indian mothers and as a researcher with the similar cultural background to these participants. As a researcher, I am aware of the fact that one's culture is very much close to the heart and living away from your native country makes you miss your motherland as I also fall in the same category. At various instances while interviewing Indian mothers, I felt some of Indian mothers didn't want to give me any negative impression of their culture. They were very much conscious of what they were speaking and refraining themselves for giving or portraying a bad impression of their culture. They answered in a way perceived to be pleasing to me. Especially realizing that their culture can be compared to the Finnish culture directly or indirectly. My sheer physical presence being a member of the same community made little effect on some. Also, they were at times hesitant to speak anything bad in regard to Finnish culture. I argue if this has something to do with the Finnish culture. Has living in Finland and being away from their family made them emotionally vulnerable towards the host culture? Or, is it also a part of the upbringing in some families of Indian society to not to hinder anyone's image by not knowing the facts fully? Or, as a researcher of the same cultural background, were my expectations different? Also, I felt

the validity might be compromised when the participant is not responding due to fear their true feelings may not be socially acceptable or they will be judged due to interviewer effect (Frey & Oishi, p. 29). On the other hand, some Indian mothers were very comfortable and emotional. They were thankful to me for reflecting on their lives, something that they never do.

Then again, few of the Finnish participants were a bit conscious as I was audio recording the interview and mentioning areas strongly where they felt they are 'politically correct'. Even one of my Finnish participants mentioned that 'he wanted to be politically correct'. He himself initiated some of the conversations after I ended the interview and stopped audio recording, mentioning 'As you are not recording now' on which I will share my understanding as how I interpreted the whole 'unofficial or unrecorded' conversation in the later chapter of 'Conclusions'.

Overall, many of the interviewees were at ease during the interview session which helped the easy flow of communication between me and my participants. It resulted into detailed and rich verbal description of their experiences during childhood and how they are dealing with their children.

The next section will focus on the process of data analysis of this research study.

5.6   Data Analysis Process

In the data analysis of my participant's transcripts, I have employed the steps stated by Creswell (2013, p. 82). These steps included developing a list of significant statements, sentences, or quotes from the transcribed interviews to get an understanding of 'how' the participants have experience with the phenomenon, which Moustakas (1994) refers to as 'Horizontalization'. Then, those statements were grouped into 'clusters of meaning' or 'themes' to get the textural and structural description, which places emphasis on the understanding of 'what' the participants experienced. This was followed by writing a composite description in order to demonstrate the 'essence' of the phenomena from the textural and structural descriptions, which is referred to as the 'essential or invariant structure' which focuses mainly on the common experiences of the participants.

5.6.1   Identification of themes based on data

The phenomenological method is used to identify themes under which the collected data is discussed in the following section. This method consists of:

- Reading and interpreting the transcripts to discover the full meaning as presented by the interviewee
- Identifying significant statements which are related to the interviewee's perceptions or experiences of parenting
- Recognizing the influence of culture and categorizing those statements

The structure of the analysis is based on the following themes which came forth from the data.

Theme1: Parenting practices, approaches, attitudes and cultural beliefs of Finnish families living in Finland

Theme 2: Parenting practices, approaches, attitudes and cultural beliefs of Indian families living in Finland

Theme 3: Cross cultural experiences of Indian parents

In order to keep the identity of the interviewees hidden, I have given them pseudonyms as mentioned in Table 1. For this study, I will not repeat the experiences of all of the research persons, but will use phrases like 'all', 'most', 'some' and 'a few' to demonstrate the general outcome of the experiences of the research participants.

In the following sections, the themes are discussed and analyzed in details. The parenting orientations are analyzed with respect to the Cultural Iceberg Model focusing on various aspects of the unconscious and unspoken situations depicting the hidden culture. The parenting orientations are elaborated based on the comprehended situations and emotions, responses and effects of those experiences.

5.6.2 Parenting practices, approaches, attitudes and cultural beliefs of Finnish families in Finland

Finnish parenting orientations are mainly based on two-way communication, supporting learning by encouraging individual interests and providing enough liberty and guidance their children to choose their own pathways.

Egalitarian two-way communication

As indicated by the Finnish participants, it should be noted that some of them did not have the experience of two-way communication in their childhood, but these parents make sure that this becomes an everyday practice in their parenting style.

Some parents felt that as a child, they and their siblings had not received enough attention from their parents, and concluded that their parents had not spent enough quality time with them. They emphasized that the two-way communication of thoughts and feelings were lacking with their parents and their experiences were of feeling less connected. Moreover, these parents also questioned about their role as part of the family when some issues were not shared with them directly and were prohibited even to discuss.

> *"Because they were always busy [...], they had no time to communicate with us. They didn't show they were very interested in what we think, what we want. My parents were hard workers but they didn't want to talk about some particular things like if something was wrong in the family. Those were taboos." [Anne].*

Anne described her emotions of being less connected to her parents due to their busy attitude, less communication and lack of interest in them. It can be argued if those experiences would be related to the war or bad times the parents have experienced and wanted to protect their children from those unpleasant experiences.

In comparison, my research participants display interest towards their children, ensured open communication and shared thoughts and ideas by encouraging their children to talk about anything and everything. As a parent, they encouraged their children to express themselves well.

"But I am trying to teach my boys that you can talk about anything. If you talk about the things that bother you, it becomes much smaller. They grow into taboos. There is nothing in the world that you can't talk about. You can talk about everything. I talk to my boys lot more than my parents talked to me. I want to know what they think and what they like, very open discussion about anything." [Anne]

Taking care of emotional needs

Finnish parents have become more receptive, and allow emotional outbursts by their children, unlike their own parents, and understand that this is a healthy and natural way to make their children stronger emotionally.

"In olden days, my mother's and mine childhood the custom was children are seen and not heard. If you have visitors at home, children are quietly playing in their rooms, whereas nowadays children are taken into a center stage in a sense little bit more part of the family. Expressing your emotion is important."[Sari]

Taking active interests in children's lives

Parent's interests in their children's lives are also reflected in how they are helping their children academically and preparing them for the future. They are taking an active interest in their child's studies by helping them in their homework and designing different tasks at home.

"I helped him in his homework. [...] I helped him in projects when he asked. [...] He started to have the spelling test results which weren't good. We started supporting him more. We made homework for him. I tried to find ways to motivate him."[Anne].

"So far exercises are easy at school and she is doing well but if something is not well, I suggest her to do additional exercises or do it differently." [Sari]

All the parents willfully exclude the negative parenting experiences they had received as a child from their parents such as unnecessary restrictions on account of etiquette which brought them embarrassment as a child. This could be due to the influences of gradual changes in social norms in this more receptive world.

"Their legacy on me, my parents never encouraged me actively but I have been encouraging my kids actively." [Arto]

"When we went to visiting somebody and there were cookies, we were supposed to eat it nicely, thank and go away but of course as little girls we wanted more and if we were taking another one, my mom would look like with big eyes. So we knew I can't take another one and feel ashamed. That I never did to my children. If there was like bucket full of cookies and candies in front of them, why couldn't they eat them so that I think was the time." [Maija]

Fair academic expectations and aspirations

Many parents feel that the world is becoming more competitive and that pressure to succeed and survive is coming from every direction. The kind of life they lived as a child with innocence and safety is no longer possible. Few parents desire their child to choose a noble profession when they grow old.

"The world is getting more and more competitive all the time, that's the impression I have that they have to be able to show their skills, they have to be able to absorb knowledge and use it really efficiently and to find the important knowledge from everything. [...] I want them to be good at school as a mother. So, little pressure comes from me too." [Maija]

Even fewer Finnish parents, who themselves have a good educational background and a good job profile have high educational aspirations for their children.

"I try to change her mind if she doesn't continue with her studies after 16. Now, she wants to become hairdresser and I still have many years to change her mind. I would like her to study, going to university and become an architect." [Sari]

It is generally perceived that Finnish society is liberal enough to allow any person to perform any job, but I argue that this is not an absolute truth which is visible in the parenting orientation of a few of the Finnish parents. As an example, hairdressing as a profession is not happily accepted by an educated Finnish parent.

This also means that some of the parents expect their child to be <u>proactive</u> in order to excel in this competitive world. They continue providing passive guidance for their children in every phase of their life, so that the children become aware of their strengths and weaknesses, which help them to set a goal for their own lives.

> *"I have been encouraging my kids actively that they have to be careful, think about what they can become in this important place and keep evaluating and assessing the decisions they take for themselves. You have to backup that in which direction you are going and where you are getting at. As parents we do know more than our kids. Especially when they are reaching 15 years and onwards, where to go, what kind of exams to do, why trying the best and making a future direction for themselves."* [Arto]

On the other hand, there are a few parents who attach less importance to academic values over their child's happiness, opting for some other career goals; which is very contradictory to Indian parenting attitudes.

> *"But if they don't feel like why do they do something. They can put their energy to something else. I don't see value in academic, if that's not satisfying the person."* [Maija]

It can be argued that parents can afford to think along these lines, as they know that the financial future of their child will be taken care of by the social security system of the country. However, I have also observed that this thinking is slowly changing, and parents want their child to work hard in order to secure their future anywhere in the world without being dependent on governmental benefits.

Exposing children to a range of hobbies vs. Status quo

All of the Finnish parents are encouraging their children to explore a range of hobbies to develop their creative side and there is no pressure from them to choose a particular hobby only.

> *"In the hobbies, it's very competitive from a very young age on. They do variety of things and in each hobby the kids are competing all the time to show that they are*

good, they are chosen in the team and chosen in the competition they want be in there. It's very demanding from 7 years on already." [Anne]

Anne is emphasizing on the competitive nature of the hobby classes but it can be argued if the parents have become more competitive and expect their children to show their best of abilities to the outside world. This competitive nature at times is manifested by the parents to their children.

Additionally, many parents buckle under the pressure of maintaining an artificial social status by motivating and sending their children to hobby classes. More hobby classes means a "better" child and a superior social and financial status quo as a parent. Thus, moving the best foot forward can be linked to the exhibitionist attitude which is steadily increasing in Finnish society.

"I encourage my child to do things but I don't force her. Maybe there is a show off, if your child has many hobbies, it is taken as somehow we are doing well, we can afford it." [Sari]

Discipline

The Finnish participant's style of disciplining their children includes setting rules at home, rewarding them to inculcate the habit of contributing at home, raising their voice to show their grievance, and taking some disciplinary actions in extreme situations by using methods like the 'silent chair', where the child has to sit on a chair for a specified time. This would help to calm both the parent and a child. Compelling a child to stand in the cold weather for a minute is also one of the ways some parents adopt in extreme situations, considering that Finland is a cold country and the temperature during winters can go down to -30 degrees.

"They raised voice. I do also raise my voice. [...] We have been using silent chair. When the child is not behaving when he is out of sight, he gets to calm down and parents get to calm down." [Anne]

"Last year, my daughter was so angry that she might hit me. [...] I lifted her and put it outside in the cold for a little while so that she knows that she has done

something horribly done. I tried that with her for a minute and she was so surprised." [Sari]

"Words were enough. I never gave anything to my children as an appreciation but when they cleaned their rooms, I gave them stamps and after a certain amount of stamps, they could buy something." [Arto]

Technological advances

Technological advances have also become a cause of concern for many parents. Parents have to make an extra effort to keep a watch on their children related to the amount of electronics they are using and the kind of information the children are getting from the internet.

"There is so much rubbish around especially from internet, if they start taking everything from there as a truth without questioning, it's going to lead them who knows where." [Anne]

Even though, it has made life simpler for some parents.

"Now there are mobile phones, it helps a lot. My daughter calls me anytime. 'Mummy, I got off a wrong stop or I got lost or what should I eat'?"[Sari]

Equal contribution of parents at home

Finnish parents are very open-minded with their children when it comes to gender equality and provide equal care and attention to their children. This aspect of parenting has also been very well visible in Finnish society for a long period which is also reflected in the laws of the country. 'Nordicness' in parental leaves policies since 1970s was to make sure that fathers also participate in the parenting practices of their child (Eydal & Rostgaard, 2015).

"Men are taking more parental leaves than they used to and men and women are becoming more equal at home. It's not necessary for a woman to do cooking n cleaning. It could be the husband. [...] Back then, my father did cook already at that time. My mother took us to daycare n back. Back then may be women took

more care of things cooking n cleaning but now we are being more equal in the society."[Sari]

Moral Duties and Obligation

Both parents consider it a moral responsibility to contribute to society and the importance of education is reflected in their critical thinking. All of my Finnish participants consider a moral and ethical duty to work even if they have a chance to sit at home. Financial stability is one of the reasons but also, they feel that they have to pay back to the society as the education in Finland is free and taxpayers pay for the education.

> *"We cannot afford to stay at home. Everybody has to go to work and pay taxes. We couldn't afford things in one person's salary and secondly what would I do, I would go nuts. What's the purpose of going to university and choosing the profession and then you cook at home? Why to waste all the time and money and stay at home. [...] It wouldn't be acceptable in the society, you use the tax payers' money to educate yourself and not pay taxes." [Maija]*

Maija has also emphasized that it would be acceptable by the society by not working in return. It can be argued if this is more of an obligation rather than a choice.

Identity building is important

Few of the parents believe that some biases exist in the name of gender equality in Finnish society, but they also believe that some aspects are an important part of developing an individual identity.

> *"Yes, there are expectations like girls wear pink and boys play with car and different games. It's important phase of your identity building. [...] we have compulsory army service for men. I don't know what to say about it. It is just compulsory. [...] They say it toughens men a little bit. Still in the society, or at work, men are paid more than woman in the same jobs. There is only a few women on the top positions of a company. Still women have rights." [Sari]*

Although none of the Finnish parents mentioned about the culture of patriarchy in the family structure, the patriarchal structure does exist to some extent in the division of labor in society.

Personal happiness is more important than collective happiness

In personal relationships, there is an emphasis on what is best for the person as an individual rather than as a family and this can be linked to the individualistic nature of the society. An individual's happiness is always kept as a priority, over the family or society's perceptions.

> *"I don't see my mother so very often but every second week. She lives in the same city, 5kms away. We don't see the need to meet each other. I call 3-4 times a week. With my daughter, I don't talk very often too. I think if they are needy, I am sure I would help. I don't know what happens when my mom gets old and needs help. [...] She wouldn't want to live with me, neither me." [Maija]*

Maija elaborates that she doesn't feel the need to see her mother every other day even if she lives close by and vice versa. She also states that her interaction with her daughter is also minimal who lives in another country. It can be reasoned that the emotional dependency on relationships is minimal and people are content with their own selves.

> *"In Finland, there is more individualism. Managing on his or her own is appreciated than taking help. That's how I have experienced and understood." [Arto]*

Arto shares his feelings of the individualistic nature of the society and that the independent attitude of a person is appreciated in this society.

Customs, Traditions, Values and Beliefs

It is to be noted that cultural norms and values are a significant part of one's life, and religion and religious values may have some effect on those attributes. Most Finnish parents give a low priority to religion and do not consider this to be a big issue.

"I think Christianity is really inside Finnish culture even though people are not religious. [...] people don't go to church. I want my daughter to go to religious studies and then make up her mind when she grows older. I don't want to limit her thinking with my rules or my choices." [Sari]

Sari mentions that religious beliefs are engrained deep inside people's lives but their day-to-day life is not affected by religious beliefs. She encourages her daughter to go to religious studies in school and gives her personal autonomy to decide her own beliefs.

On one hand, all of the parents are very vocal and excited to describe their ways of passing on traditions to their children. Spending time at the summer cottage with family, picking berries, going to the sauna and celebrating the handed-down celebrations of Mayday, Midsummer and Christmas are integral parts of Finnish culture.

"Summer holidays at the summer house are spent with my parents. Ever since my daughter is born, I have taken her to summer cottages. She cherished those, swimming, going to sauna, pick berries and just be there and enjoy the nature. That's continued and I want her to continue."[Sari]

Traditions and celebrations being the surface part of Cultural Iceberg model, it can be seen that in inter-generational situations, these traditions and beliefs remain unchanged.

All of the Finnish participants share the belief and values of 'Sisu' meaning perseverance; Honesty, Trust and Punctuality, and are preaching the same to their children.

"In the society, you are forced to survive through the hardship. It's a mental spirit with guts and courage. That comes from old times, through the wars and extreme weathers and lived in forest and had to hunt for food. In that sense, it's quite isolating, it puts invisible pressure to survive on your own although there are financial benefits you can apply to if financial is the hardship." [Arto]

Many parents also feel that the Finnish economy is very unpredictable lately, and this has affected the mindset of the Finnish people. They think that even though Finland has a very good social security system, which is helpful for people in need, that these financial

benefits are not in abundance anymore, and such insecurity is compelling parents to ensure that their children understand the importance of personal financial security and thus impose some level of control on that front.

> *"We want to teach them the value of money and not to take everything for granted. The future of Finland doesn't look very promising. We have a very good social security system, so people are not doing much anyway." [Anne]*

The prominence of the respect for and abidance of law and order in Finnish society is reflected during the interviews with most Finnish participants being proud of their abidance to the rules and laws of the nation. Within this value system of honesty and trust, they raise their children.

> *"Finland is a very law abiding country. We don't want to cheat. Even young children might not go to school. People take responsibilities of their studies and they follow the rules. You have to go to school, you go to school. In Finland, many companies, you don't have a fixed time to come to work as long as you do your bit, you do your work. Natural characteristic of Finland is you are responsible, you don't cheat; you go to school and learn. It's to do with the honesty and following the rules and laws. The trust becomes because you can trust the people. Finnish people are said to be very honest and I believe that has something to do with culture." [Sari]*

5.6.3 Parenting practices, approaches, attitudes and cultural beliefs of Indian families in Finland

Parenting orientation of the Indian parents living in Finland differs greatly from what they experienced in their childhood. Indian parents place more emphasis on moral virtues as they had experienced them from their parents, but, these parents also promote their child to succeed academically by taking part in their learning process, and encouraging two way dialogues, with less importance to a hierarchical relationship in addition to allowing them the freedom to choose their own profession from the given choices. From the given below excerpts, it can also be observed how their parenting orientations are different than the way their parents raised them. All of the Indian participants are living in Finland for at least

more than 5 years. Some aspects of Finnish parenting approaches can be seen in Indian parents as the hidden influences and differences of a dominant culture thereby impacting the worldviews of Indian parents and their third culture children.

Less hierarchical two-way communication

Indian parents encourage their children to talk and share a healthy relationship with their parents, contrary to their own childhoods, when talking about certain things were and still are seen as taboo. In many households in India, there is a hierarchical relationship between a parent and a child. Talking openly with parents about certain issues like sex, love relationships, children before marriage etc. are still considered taboo. There is quite a lot of inhibition and consideration concerning the discussion of some topics openly in many Indian households. However, this mindset has changed a lot regarding parents raising their children in Finland, who are focusing on a two-way communication. It can be argued that this is due to the influence of Finnish society, which is quite open concerning views on those matters.

> *"As a father, I talk to my daughter about puberty issues, give her tips and encourage her to share and speak her mind in every matter. In our Indian society, it is still seen as a taboo. I mean usually talking about these puberty issues in girls is seen as a job of mother rather than fathers talking to their daughters. But why? I feel that my daughter should not be hesitant to me about any issues in her life."* [Sanjay]

> *"My daughter talks to me about everything. I never used to talk to my parents about kids after marriage or any love relationship or anything. [...] I was a bit hesitant at first but now that acceptance has come in me and I also talk to her and discuss with her. She is talking before about her career plans, about her future kids and where she can raise her. I have never told her that why you talk to me like that, you should have little 'shyness' in speaking to me like that, you should be little conservative while talking to me about these topics, that time I feel the difference how generation is changed."* [Devi]

This can be argued that the living in a different culture is making many Indian parents more emotionally vulnerable. The change in mindset and trying to connect to their children

may be due to the fear these parents have developed that their children will forsake their culture of origin.

Giving plenty of time to their children

Time constraint was one factor which hindered, and was missing in the casual relationship between a parent and a child. Children who are being raised here are getting plenty of attention from their parents.

> *"I want to make sure my kids get my time whenever they want. I always wanted my parents to attend school functions etc. My mom was mostly there but my dad didn't. I missed mummy-daughter time, or daddy-daughter time or shopping together. The things that I am doing with my child now, that was missing." [Anu]*

Supporting and encouraging learning with concentration on getting good marks

Some of the parents feel that the educational culture for their child is less competitive regarding Indian standards. Even though, they provide a lot of academic support at home, a lot of emphasis is placed on receiving good grades. This can be understood from the standpoint that due to the imbalance of financial insecurity, and lack of opportunities in India, there is a tremendous competition at every level and thus, academic performance is of the utmost importance.

> *"I support him in his unit of inquiry or other subjects. I read a lot of books for him even if he doesn't listen. [...] I make sure he watches some educational programs. I spend whole evenings with him. [...] He is not exposed to proper education. He is not getting enough knowledge here."[Anu]*

> *"Getting up early morning, studying and getting good marks were the main concern of my mother. [...] We tell our child, if you score 80% or 90% or good marks, we will reward you." [Pia]*

Inspire children to follow the footsteps of parents

There is an indirect and inherent pressure on children to succeed and choose a noble profession which according to many Indian parents is limited to Engineer and Doctor. At times, it becomes obligatory for children to pursue the same academic and career choices

which their successful parents made, limiting their own career aspirations. It can also be argued that in many Indian families, this can be seen as a matter of pride for the family's social standing in their society.

"We concentrated more on mathematics. Mathematics is the basis of everything, her father is an engineer. She has got much influence from her dad. He used to concentrate more on studies like math, physics and chemistry. We wanted her to do well in science and math subjects." [Madhu]

Changed ways of discipline

Public humiliation, shaming and spanking were some of the discipline methods which Indian parents experienced as a child.

"When I get less marks or didn't study, then my mother used many rules like no more TV, no more going out and no more playing with my friends. If they used to come to my home to call me, my mother used to deny them saying as I have got less marks so I will not come to play. She was telling everybody and makes me think that okay, I have to study and I have to do something." [Anu]

On the contrary, those parents deal with their children in different ways like cancelling play dates, sleepovers, using the 'naughty chair' to sit in silence for some time and restricting the usage of technology. This can be seen as an influence from Finnish society.

"For our child, we cut his phone apps." [Anu]

"If she breaks too many rules at home, I cancel the sleep over. With little one, I try to put on a naughty chair if she misbehaves." [Madhu]

It can be argued if the modified ways of discipline are the result of legal prohibition of physical punishment in Finland and parents had to opt for other discipline methods.

Expectations from child to obey parent's instructions

Despite the fact that Indian parents have modified their ways of raising their children compared to the authoritative style of parenting they have been raised, some of them still

expect their child to obey the parents and see that as a part of their cultural values. The difference in parent's worldviews can be seen as an effect of growing up in the Finnish environment. There is a sense of authority that the child is expected to listen and obey parent's instructions.

> *"You should have more ethical values. Anything else comes after that, even studies or anything. He should have moral values, he should know how to respect, he should know to follow parent's instructions." [Pia]*

Breaking gender stereotypes

All of the Indian mothers living in Finland were raised with the idea that after attaining a specified education at a certain age, marriage was seen as the final objective in their lives. A girl child in many parts of India was, and is raised to accept that after marriage, she becomes the property and responsibility of her husband. Career building was seen as an option to be permitted by the family the girl would marry into, although, many of these things are changing in urban India.

> *"My parents believed in education up to a certain point and then move on to next life and continue from there. That phase is finding a right partner and getting married." [Anu]*

However, the families raising their children in Finland changed their perspective to an extent, insofar as they encourage their children to first concentrate on their respective careers irrespective of any age pressure and then should think about family life.

> *"Those days when I got education, it was considered that after that I will get married and take care of the house and family well after marriage and will help in growing the family. But now, we talk about and concentrate more on our child's professional life and how she can grow in her career and be independent. That time, it wasn't there. [...] My thinking process has changed but still I am not very much Finnish. I still think that my daughter should get married." [Devi]*

A patriarchal structure existed and still exists in many societal strata's of India wherein household chores are the sole responsibility of a married woman.

"My husband helps me in the kitchen or doing household chores. It was rare of my father helping my mother in the kitchen, even though my mom was working."[Madhu]

It can be argued that all these parents want to be a role model to their child by setting an example, and expectations for their future life.

Advocating distance towards opposite sex

Parents are protective towards their children, and their attitude towards the opposite sex is still a cause of concern for many parents raising their children here.

"I tell my boy to be friendly but keep some distance with girls. When you are a teenager, you don't know what is right and wrong."[Pia]

All of the Indian parents were raised in a conservative environment, where dating and non-marital relationships were viewed with "raised eyebrows", as these relationships were seen as only being proper when a couple were joined in a wedlock. Usually, the concept of marriage in India is seen as two families marrying, rather than two individuals.

"During my growing up years, when my mom was around and if I am speaking to a boy there was always a level of caution in my mind that my mom is here, so I cannot say something. We were always in kept guard when I was with boys. [...] If I had some friends, they could come to my house and talk in front of my parents. I was not allowed to go to their house. [...] My daughter is too young. I would be also very cautious and careful. I don't want something bad to happen. If it's more open, it's more open for everything. This worries me and I am going to be careful about."[Madhu]

Indulgence

Education in India is not free, and more than half of a family's income is spent educating children. Many parents have faced a scarcity of resources in their household during their growing up years and beyond. Being far from their family back home and settling down in Finland has broadened their horizons financially, and they see no harm in giving into some

of the indulgences of their children. Some of the parents were also unsure, as to whether their pampering was ethically right or not.

> *"I feel when I asked for some things during childhood, I didn't get it. It would make my childhood happy. But when I see my parents didn't care about it, I get angry. So it's a complicated thing. Should I or should I not give? [...] When my mother was not giving it, I was missing it so much. When my girls get it, they are not happy; they are moving on to the next one. It's complicated." [Madhu]*

Technological advancements are an extra stress on parents

Technological advancements have impacted the lives of many people around the world. Many parents expressed that their children are addicted to electronic gadgets. Ways of gaining knowledge 30 years ago were mainly through books, and it was a protected knowledge. Now however, parents have to be aware of what their child is doing inside the home and if their children are exploring the correct information. For many parents, it's challenging to keep up with this new information while dealing with their children.

> *"Here they will Google it, some or other websites come. How long you will sit next to him what he is doing? My mother used me to send to library to read and it was so simple and much protected. Here is too much exposure towards friends. We used to have friends but now they are well connected with their friends through WhatsApp. [...] I never asked so many questions from my parents. But kids are inquisitive now. They use their mind very efficiently than us, at the same time intelligent." [Anu]*

It can be argued that this addiction to electronic media is the result of an abundance of free time and less academic pressure in schools in Finland. Also, some of the Indian participants have moved to Finland from a joint family system in India. It can also be linked that living in a nuclear family with reduced family members and reduced responsibilities in a different culture, the parents either tend to get plenty of time or are left with no time so as to find a way to survive in a new country. This might have an effect when parents give liberty to children to opt for technological means so that parents get time to concentrate elsewhere.

Values and Beliefs

All of my Indian interviewees practice the religious belief of Hinduism. Hinduism is a representation of a philosophical, religious and ethical approach towards life. The value of learning is taught from childhood (Hickson & Kriegler, 1996 p. 44). The value-base of a Hindu upbringing also includes teaching moral values, and chanting mantras and prayers for a devotional and spiritual life. Religious views for Indian parents are a personal affair. However, as part of the school curriculum, all of the children who are raised here have chosen 'Ethics' instead of 'Religion' as a subject. All of the parents believe that by choosing 'Religion' as a subject, their children will be exposed to Christianity and all of them want their children to have the same beliefs as theirs.

> *"I allow my daughter going to church and attend religion classes until she was in 1st grade. Then I moved her to ethics. I somehow felt that she shouldn't go to a different belief than me. [...] I still think that but she has to come to an age that she should believe that all religions are same and that's when she can choose. At the moment, she is too young to realize. I want to raise her in a same belief as me."*
> *[Anu]*

The values and beliefs of Indian parents are mainly based on preaching moral values to their child. For many of them, they prioritize instilling character building over academic success in their child.

> *"I teach my child to be kind, truthful, help others, respect everyone, and be responsible, aware of your surroundings. You can't teach your child these things unless you do the same. Children look down upon you. I also follow the same things." [Sanjay]*

Spirituality is one of the values that Indian parents desire to pass on to their children. Even though, every Indian Hindu household in Finland has a physical place in their home to worship and sit in silence, they feel there is more to it to teach their children. The differences related to worldviews, values, beliefs, identity and thought processes are the most important point of the hidden immigrant.

*"I have taught this to my daughter. You do prayer everyday but why you do that...
To have a good mind, it is spirituality also and direction for life but she can't think
that way. We feel relaxed while worshiping our god or sit in front of them for some
time but for her it is just a duty but no feeling or there is no spirituality in her. And
this spirituality is very important part of Indian culture. We used to visit temples
and sing devotional songs but our kids are raised here they don't know these
things. They are very different." [Devi]*

5.6.4   Cross cultural experiences of Indian parents

Surface culture, as defined in the cultural iceberg model (refer section 4) of a society also
has significant influence on parenting orientations, and Indian parents are equally affected
by the surface culture visible in Finland. In order to establish this fact, in this section, I will
present the cultural differences and influences on Indian parents who are raising their
children in Finland. These differences and influences are based on the experiences of the
Indian parents through the situations perceived based on worldviews, thoughts, actions,
values and beliefs and emotions associated to those experiences.

5.6.4. 1.   Analysis based on surface culture

Extreme weather, cold attitude and racial discrimination, language barrier, fading of ethnic
traditions and customs, independence to concentrate more on family are some of the areas
where much of the cultural differences and benefits were experienced on a surface level.
On the surface, Finnish culture has its own language, religion, art, music, food and
literature.

Extreme cold weather

Weather is one of the factors that develop culture and during the interviews Indian parents
have equivocally mentioned about the extreme cold weather and its effect on parenting
orientation. It has been a big change for them emotionally, physically and mentally. Lack

of sunlight left many of them with mood swings and sending children to play outside was a challenge initially.

> *"Finland is a cold country. [...] For us initially, what difficulty I faced was, for him to go out and playing was difficult. I was feeling very bad." [Pia]*

Pia expressed the initial challenges she faced while living in Finland. She was feeling bad for her child to not to go out because of the extreme weather conditions. But this led the Indian parents to embrace to the basic Finnish parenting orientation by sending their children to several indoor hobby classes.

> *"Indoor is more prominent here than outdoor and then we started to send him to hobby classes like swimming and tennis." [Pia]*

Cold attitude and racial Discrimination in school context

Sauna loving Finnish people are very shy by nature and do not open up very easily to a foreigner. Such an attitude sometimes gives the false impression of non-acceptance of foreigners in Finland, which has been experienced by many of the Indian parents. There have also been isolated incidents narrated by at least two of the Indian participants when their children have experienced racial discrimination in school context. These types of incidents are surely stressful, the consequences are multifold and the parenting becomes conservative.

> *"[...] some classmates passed racial comments, calling her 'niggeri', because she was the only brown skinned girl. They were Finnish boys. [...] I was very angry with them. It was a shock when I came to know. We also knew if we are going to be in Finland there is always this kind of 'dark' 'fair' things. [..] We moved to "another place in Finland" so she didn't have those issues again because I haven't socialized with Finnish people that much since then. The school decided that we should not meet. Although, I asked to meet their parents. They were given strong warning." [Madhu]*

'Niggeri' is a Finnish word for 'Nigger'. Some of the third culture kids have experienced some kind of racial discrimination or bullying in their school or in the hobby classes. These experiences leave a lifelong impact on the children as well as on the parents too. Madhu mentions her feelings of withdrawal from the Finnish society because her daughter is bullied in school during their stay in Tornio, Finland. Even though Madhu has never experienced such racial discrimination in some place Finland, still the family interaction with other Finnish families has been restricted; meaning that the child's integration to Finnish society is limited to school.

Language Barrier

The necessity to learn the Finnish language came as a shock to many Indian parents.

> *"Language was a shock. Of course, Finnish people speak lot of English. As such we didn't have difficulties in communicating at airport. But when you enter into a society, then you feel that this is quite difficult, you have to learn the language. We felt that this is a need. Notice boards in the building, any newspapers were in Finnish then. We had to take help from someone always." [Sanjay]*

Sanjay expresses the feeling of distress that although English is the spoken language at many offices, in day-to-day interactions with local people or to keep themselves updated with the new information, they had to learn the local language, Finnish. Initially, they always had to take help from some local colleague, however, later he learnt the language which made his, and his family's life simpler.

Devi stated her daughter's educational progress was affected because of the lack of Finnish skills.

> *"[…] she had to learn Finnish language. The level of English was also different. […] They said she has to cope with local system here and learn many languages. In India, she was very good in studies. In India, she was in 4th grade; they sent her to*

> *3rd grade. It was a big shock. We felt her one year is destroyed. [...] Age was also one of the things.” [Devi]*

Devi declared age was also one of the factors, which did not match with the Finnish educational standards back in the year 2000. In India, children start their primary years of schooling at the age of 6 whereas in Finland, the official age is 7. She shared that sending her child to a grade lower than what she was studying in India was a big shock for her. She shared her distress that her child's one year of studying in India was wasted as she had to repeat the same grade one more time in Finland.

Ethnic traditions fading away due to extra emphasis on many languages

Some of Indian parents recollected that the traditions they used to follow as a child or even now, are not being passed on to their children who are being raised in Finland.

> *"My friend's children know and chant 'shlokas'. I want that my son open his mouth for Sanskrit words, I really feel he is lacking it and that is another language for him that I have to teach. When I was kid, I learnt those 'shlokas', small prayer for 'Ganesha' with which we always used to start our day. Even if I teach my son, the tongue doesn't go according to it. He doesn't speak. I miss this language." [Anu]*

Sanskrit is one of the ancient languages of India. In the Indian school curriculum, it is one of the optional subjects. 'Shloka' is a verse, phrase or proverb in Sanskrit which is dedicated to the God. Anu drew comparison from the children being raised in India and their knowledge towards the language, compared to her child who is neither exposed to this language nor aware of its significance. Anu's child has to focus on the local languages as part of the Finnish school curriculum which would be Finnish, Swedish and English. At home, he speaks Telugu. The mother shares her dilemma of putting an extra burden on her child if he has to learn another language, as he is already learning four languages. She also expresses her concern over the significance of the disappearance of the language along with the spirituality. When she was a child, she always start her day with the chanting of

prayers in Sanskrit which she has continued to this day, however she cannot pass this on to her child.

Rangoli is one of the traditional art forms of India. Patterns are drawn on the floor using powdered colors or flower petals, usually the entrance of the house during Indian festivals to welcome the Goddess Laxmi and to bring good luck. She is uncertain if her son recognizes and follows the same traditions in future. Also, there is a sense of generalization of a Finnish person's image of a situation which is new to them or an embarrassed reaction coming from the members of the local culture.

> *"We don't do rangolis here. The Finns will get scared if I do those colors in front of my house. This culture is disappeared. My child doesn't understand 'rangoli', only when he sees that in TV. We used to do it. He never learnt it, it's very hard for him. I don't know if he recognizes in future." [Anu]*

Independence to concentrate more on family

Coming from a strict and traditional environment in India, where much of the time of married women goes into taking care of extended family, their husband and household chores. With women even leaving their careers to take care of their husband's parents and their husband's unmarried siblings who stay together in the same house. Some of those mothers enjoy their independence, and the time they have to concentrate on their children in Finland.

> *"When in India, my focus was on multiple things: my in-laws, on me, my husband, my kid, household, society. But here, I can focus only on my family, my child. Major decisions were taken by them; we need to always ask their permission. Buying some clothes, going somewhere we needed to take their permission. It is easier and independence here as a nuclear family."[Pia]*

This is linked to the patriarchal structure of the society. Although the above outlook has changed drastically in the last 10 years where many young women in urban areas are not

dependent on their extended family for any decisions and successfully continue their careers even after marriage.

5.6.4. 2.   Analysis based on deep culture

As mentioned in Section 4.2 of this study, deeper aspects of a culture includes beliefs, values, behaviors, attitudes and thinking, that will be examined here. The key conflicts were experienced and reflected by all of the Indian research persons with their Finnish peers. These are the embedded aspects of cultural iceberg analogy which are invisible when someone enters a new culture.

Family values and interdependence

Many Indian parents emphasis the continuation of the parent-child relationship even if the child has become an adult. The parents expect their children to allow them to be part of their lives and such is not considered to be invasion of privacy.

> *"In our culture, we have really important family values and family togetherness and I think it is missing here. It is there but on a superficial or not on a deeper level than us. So that's one thing is missing. When the children grow up here, lives separately, they meet during Christmas and so, but apart from that parents don't have any say in their lives. [...]. If the kid says it's my life, it doesn't matter; it's your duty to interfere in that situation. It is missing here. From what I understand, raising here is different, as long as the kids are with the families, they take care of the kid and at the same time they allow them to take decisions. It's good with a fair amount of dialogue. In Indian culture, the parents decide, the controlling authority on their education. If child want something else, they don't agree."[Madhu]*

Madhu expresses that the family values in Finnish culture are not as strong or as deep as in Indian culture. She feels that the main difference lies when children start living separately from the parents once they are grown up, and visit parents occasionally and during festival time. Also, the children have the liberty to take their own decisions rather than discussing with parents or elders in the family as is the case in most Indian families. According to her, it is a parent's right to interfere in every phase of their life, if they feel their child is not going in the right direction. She takes pride in saying that Indian parents take the ownership of their child and control them with their decisions especially in academic matters. This notion of 'decision making' power over their children's life is an integral part of Indian culture. Her views are shared by some Indian interviewees.

In addition, few parents are confused concerning the influences of the 'equal' and 'independent' nature of Finnish society, and its benefit for the future of their children who are raised in this third culture.

"She has grown up in this culture. Somehow she has respect for Indian system but she wants a change in that. Like, no one should force her to leave the job, she has her own goal and her career is important. She will work in family but husband should also support and help her. She believes in doing things together. In Indian families, wives sacrifice for their children, husband or for family. But I don't know if she understands the meaning of 'sacrifice' thing. Her thinking is influenced from Finnish culture. She needs her own space. Sometimes, they are good also but I don't know are they good or bad?" [Devi]

Devi proudly mentions the worldview of her daughter, which is different from hers. She portrays some of the beliefs of her daughter who has been raised in Finland. Her daughter is fully aware of the Indian system and doesn't want any gender biases happening to her as it happens with many girls in India. At the same time, Devi is confused and worried that her daughter has not come to terms with the word 'sacrifice' which is very much common in many Indian families. The family as a whole is put together first instead of one's own needs. In general, the term 'sacrifice' term is only linked to women in India rather than men.

Difference in worldviews with respect to 'the say' of society and extended family

For Finnish families, it could be intrusion of personal space or interference but all Indian participants felt that the support and advice of grandparents is much valuable and significant in all the phases of their lives. Few of the parents even feel obliged to involve their community members for their consultation in many affairs.

"In India, there is some environment, pressure from society for that family also, so you have to obey many things. For my daughter, she asks 'why society, it should not have any say. It's my own business.' I am very much in that traditional way that people can have their say. Family values are very different in India. Here in Finland, you, me and children. Even parents and grandparents can't have a say in there. We take advice from our elders, it's important for us and we follow it. She sometimes argues on the educational level of her grandmother when her grandmother gives her any advice. I understand that and respect her feelings. But some things [...] will be missing always because of the education and her growth here." [Devi]

Devi considers grandparents an integral part of the Indian family system. Their contribution and say is very much needed and demanded in the many decision making situations. She has somehow accepted and feels incapacitated that her daughter doesn't follow her grandmother's advice because she has been raised in Finland and has her own worldviews. Devi's daughter reasons on the thinking of her grandmother as she is not much educated and is much more traditional in her views than hers. She respects advice that makes sense to her. This can be connected to a wider worldview as she has seen different ways of doing things. In comparison with the Finnish families, Devi feels there is much more emphasis on mother, father and a child as a family here but not grandparents as part of the family. Devi also discusses about the pressure from the Indian society and sometimes the families have to move according to the opinion of local people in India. She feels obligated towards the society and doesn't see any wrong in that. But her daughter who is being raised in a Finnish society, where the external interferences are none believes that the society should not have a say in anyone's personal life.

Added challenges

> *"Somehow I feel I have not raised my daughter in typical Indian style. Like if there is festival in home, I used to prepare everything alone. I felt her studies are more important. So she didn't get to know the significance and importance of many festivals. The way we used to do or the way we celebrated with our parents, I have not done or not taught to my child because I changed. There are many reasons: I came to new environment, options were less for me here and somehow in the back of my mind, I can sit back and relax and didn't do things traditional way. [...] We maintained our religious background and told her that we are Hindus. When she was small, she obeyed us but if you see her now, slowly she has made opinions."* [Madhu]

Madhu regrets that she has not given enough exposure of Indian traditions to her daughter during her formative years. She feels that her daughter's studies were more important. She blames herself for that situation as she was also struggling to understand the society, the resources were less for her and the traditional ways of doing things as she used to do in India were stopped by her when she moved to Finland. The expectation from the child to succeed academically is seen more valuable than the traditions. This depicts that even the parent felt relaxed and obtained the flexibility to get rid of those societal imposed norms as no one was watching and pointing here in this secondary culture. Although the parents do miss passing on these traditions or their significance to their children, they also gained the individual freedom from those binding rules that had to be followed in a certain way as they had seen in their household when they were a child. This can be linked to the importance of academics in Indian families over everything.

Difference in norms

Things which are in general okay with Finnish families or children are not seen as obvious with some of the Indian parents. Some of the parents would like to impose the traditional

norms and beliefs on their child to keep them on the right path, so that going forward they can focus only on their academic lives and career.

"When my daughter was in the 7th grade, she learnt in the school this makeup thing; she used to have a makeup kit in the bag. I can't even think that when I was a child. Lipsticks were not even allowed. She insisted on buying a fancy bag to carry as a school bag. Still I used to get her school bag. At some point, she took but then said I don't want this thing. We tried to convince her that your books will be in good condition etc., she listened to us but outside influence was more and came on her. In that way, she grew up in Indian and Finnish way. [...] When I ask her now which culture you belong to, she answers me I am global." [Devi]

Struggling with the concept of independence

All of my Indian interviewees felt that there is too much independence in Finland but the definition and perspective of 'being independent' was different for them.

"I have a son who is in 9th grade and soon will be going to lukio. My grandfather, teachers and my father used to guide me. Which is he is lacking in that. He doesn't have a good guide. We as parents will guide him as we are educated but the guidance I had is missing in his life. Because here everything is independent, you have to learn by yourself, but not in India. In India, someone will be there to guide you or help you. [...] In India we are more dependent. Here it is more independence; it is not advisable I would say."[Pia]

'Lukio' is a Finnish word for High school. Pia feels that the learning journey for her child in Finland is very independent, be it is related to school or the decisions he has to make for his future as he is soon graduating. She is not in favor of this kind of independence where she feels that her child's grandparents can't contribute. There is a much dependence on Indian society and family members with respect to their opinions and guidance in every matter, a personal touch by teachers. Maybe there is more expectation from the local community to help and direct.

Building individual identity

On the other hand, few parents have a different view of their child's learning journey in Finland. They express proudly that the Finnish educational system has infused critical thinking skills and the cultivation of independence in their children.

> *"Education system is very different in India than here. There, in India you have to mug a lot and there is a lot of pressure. Here you build your own individual identity through education. When you come out of the process, I can now see my product and I am very satisfied with my product."[Sanjay]*

Inability to use corporal punishment as a discipline method

In addition, many Indian parents shared the views of how they stopped spanking their child in Finland as they got to know that any kind of physical abuse is prohibited here, whereas in India, it was okay to use physical ways to discipline one's child. This was one of the differences almost every Indian research person felt and changed their ways.

> *"When my daughter was young, I slapped her few times. [...] Once she told me in Finland that 'you can't hit me mummy' because she read it in school. And I didn't know about it. I saw that reaction. She was so much revolty that time and told me you can't hit me. She was in 7th-8th grade. She warned me. And I was like kids really go out of control here. After that I never hit her. I used to raise my voice."*
> *[Devi]*

Devi shared her distress how spanking her child few times during her daughter's formative years in Finland. She accepted that she was unaware of the fact that in Finland, you cannot hit. Also, her daughter revolted against the action of Devi and this forced her to limit her disciplining ways. Devi was also threatened of the dire consequences if she continues doing that. Like Devi, all the Indian mother participants shared the same feeling. These

mothers were forced in a way to adopt other means of disciplining their children. They had to adapt and accept the change in situation.

Live-ins and pre-marital relations, a cause of concern

In a multiethnic and multilingual society of India, people follow a wide variety of beliefs and practices. In general, live-in relationships and pre-marital relations are discouraged by the Indian society.

> *"Live-in relation is a complete NO. We can't even think. My husband's brother's son is living with Chinese girlfriend in Germany. My daughter raised this question that you have allowed them to live-in because he is a boy. 'If I ask, I want to live with someone, you will not allow me.' I convinced her there is nothing like that and gave her logic. You have to tackle everything with a great logic. Here, the influence is much more. In a new culture, you have to learn lot of logics with your Indian wisdom." [Anu]*

Anu expresses her beliefs and insecurities towards pre-marital relations and she doesn't permit the value of this relationship to her daughter. A few other Indian mothers share a similar belief.

Live-in and pre-marital relationships are acceptable in Finnish society and Indian children in their teens and of marriageable age are being influenced by these relationships. To avoid these situations, some of the Indian parents are more cautious in their behavior and keep an eye on their children. It can be argued that these cultural beliefs and practices give rise to over-protective parenting.

Protection vs. Independence

Moving to a different culture with different rules and practices becomes a challenge for the parents. Their perception of what is acceptable and safe differs in a new place and results

in creating an imbalance between protection and independence. Their intention is to protect their children from any harmful situation but the difference of worldview arises when this protection is considered as excessive restraints by their 'third culture' children resulting in conflicts.

"Even though we had given her the freedom but there was a watch. […] there is a indoor gaming center. Her friend called her and made some plans for the evening to go to the gaming center with other friends too. So she asked her dad. He didn't even hear the name of the place. She asked to drop her. My husband asked the details of the place. […] She said she also doesn't know about the place, her friends have decided. They will play some games there. We dropped her and kept waiting in the parking. Later we saw, one man was sitting outside with beer bottle, her dad really got terrified. How come my daughter has come to this place, she hasn't told me? He called her and told her to come out and picked her up early from the place […]. She was very angry that why you are not leaving me, I am not a child, I am 18 and can decide myself." [Devi]

Devi shared one of her experiences wherein seeing the drunken man outside the place where her daughter was partying with her friends, how as parents they were fearful of the setting. They were trying to be protective for her daughter and called her to leave the party and come out where they were waiting for her, but her daughter reacted negatively. I can argue from the child's perspective, that this parenting approach shows the lack of trust in child and being unnecessary protective. It affects the child's self-confidence. On one hand, Indian parents are trying to make their children independent but, on the other hand, over protective parenting practices are contradicting that approach.

5.7 Summary of the findings

It is evident from the collected data that both Indian and Finnish focus groups have explicitly described their parenting approaches and their cultural beliefs. These parents also reflected on the time in which they were being raised and described the changes they have

brought into their parenting. The Indian parents described in detail their emotions, attitudes and concerns of the cultural differences they have experienced and are experiencing in everyday life in Finland which has an effect on their parenting orientation. This data has helped capture the full essence of the experiences of the focus groups.

For Finnish parents, the direct approach and open communication with their children came easier to them even though this approach was missing in all of the Finnish participant's upbringing due to the lack of time spent with their parents and the simplicity of the earlier society at that time; less competitiveness, less show off and less academic aspirations. Moreover, there had been no hierarchical impositions between the Finnish participants and their parents which have also had a tremendous effect on their parenting orientation. Finnish participants take an active interest in their children's actions and events, taking care of their emotional needs and encouraging them to participate in a range of hobbies. At the same time, some of the parents have also observed that sending children to hobbies is also seen as a status symbol and indicates to the financial status of the family. The value of trust is manifested in Finnish parenting practices and is visible when the parents provide personal autonomy to their child for taking decisions and choosing their own way in life. They perceive that "personal happiness" is more valuable than success through educational accomplishment. Though this trend is changing gradually and some parents hold high aspirations for their children to succeed in academics and opt for the noble professions.

It is to be noted that the Finnish parenting attitude is based on mutual communication rather than a one-way, authoritative or the hierarchical approach. Finnish parents discipline their children by raising their voice and by letting the child inwardly reflect upon their bad behavior through 'silent chair' treatment. They also encourage their children to take responsibilities and acknowledge their behavior or reward them in moderation. The role of technological advancements in children's lives cannot be neglected and both the focus groups are equally careful to keep an eye on their children so they attain appropriate learning from it. Due to the egalitarian beliefs and less gender-differentiated roles, Finnish parents contribute equally at home and in parenting practices. For them, identity building is an important phase of life and this cannot be comparable to any gender bias. Many of the Finnish mothers feel that it is their moral responsibility to go to work rather than being at home. This is due to the accessibility of social benefits in Finland and the payback to society. Moreover, such moral responsibility is also asserted by the sense of obligations towards the society as per few of the Finnish mothers. Over and above this, many Finnish

parents are less indulgent to their children and advise them about the essence of empathy and the ethics of money and inspire their children to survive in this competitive world rather than being dependent on the social security system of the country. This study indicates that religious beliefs of Finnish participants do not affect their parenting attitudes. There was a sense of pride in Finnish participants while describing the values which have been passed on to them and they are passing on to their children, a few of those include 'Sisu'- perseverance, trust, honesty and respecting others time. All these parenting orientations, values and beliefs are the elements of deep culture, are mainly value-based and ingrained in the minds of Finnish people who constitute a specific culture.

Indian parenting on the other hand is influenced by less-parental control, and upon expectations and aspirations of children in academics in later phases of their lives. Parenting beliefs of Indian parents are influenced by cultural significance on family mutuality. All of the Indian mothers described that they guide their children in all phases of their lives with close supervision and prefer to give them partial autonomy rather than absolute. Some of the Indian mothers prefer their children to respect and obey their instructions. A few parents reported that they do emphasize more on the respect and consider this an obvious part of parenting even though many Indian parents raising their children here in Finland do not fully endorse parental authority.

All of the Indian participants were raised in the traditional and authoritative environment of a patriarchal social hierarchy as well as in a parent-child hierarchical relationship, in India. On the contrary, they are raising their children in Finland by providing them partial autonomy, practicing a partial hierarchical family structure, giving encouragement and support in learning with some concentration on getting good grades, taking active interests in their lives and preparing them for the future. The Indian parents hold high aspirations for their children in terms of academic success and in later phases of their lives. These parents appear to be more sensitive to their children's needs and spend plenty of time with them, time which was missing in their own childhood. The time spent by the Indian parents with their child is not only focused upon academics but also focused upon cherishing their relationship. Children are encouraged to do things independently. One of the findings of this study indicates that all of the Indian parents exhibit the trend to inflict competency in their children rather than being emotionally dependent for both girls and boys. This can be linked to growing competition to survive in the world. Having grown up with financial difficulties in their childhoods, some of the Indian parents do not see any harm splurging

on their children now and then when they can afford to do so. Even though some Indian parents believe that academic success is the ultimate priority and feel insecure as the culture they are integrated into is neither highly competitive nor encouraging. Some of the Indian parents are happy with the way independent and critical thinking skills are immersed in their children through the Finnish educational system. Two-way less-hierarchical communication; encouraging children to do things independently; methods of discipline which do not include corporal punishment, along with giving plenty of time to their children, emerged as a fairly new approach in Indian parenting practices.

Many Indian parents have shown the concern of not properly awakening the importance of spirituality or religious influences in their children's lives. This may be due to the lack of the same traditional and cultural environment, lack of resources, giving more importance to education and with religious aspects taking a back seat.
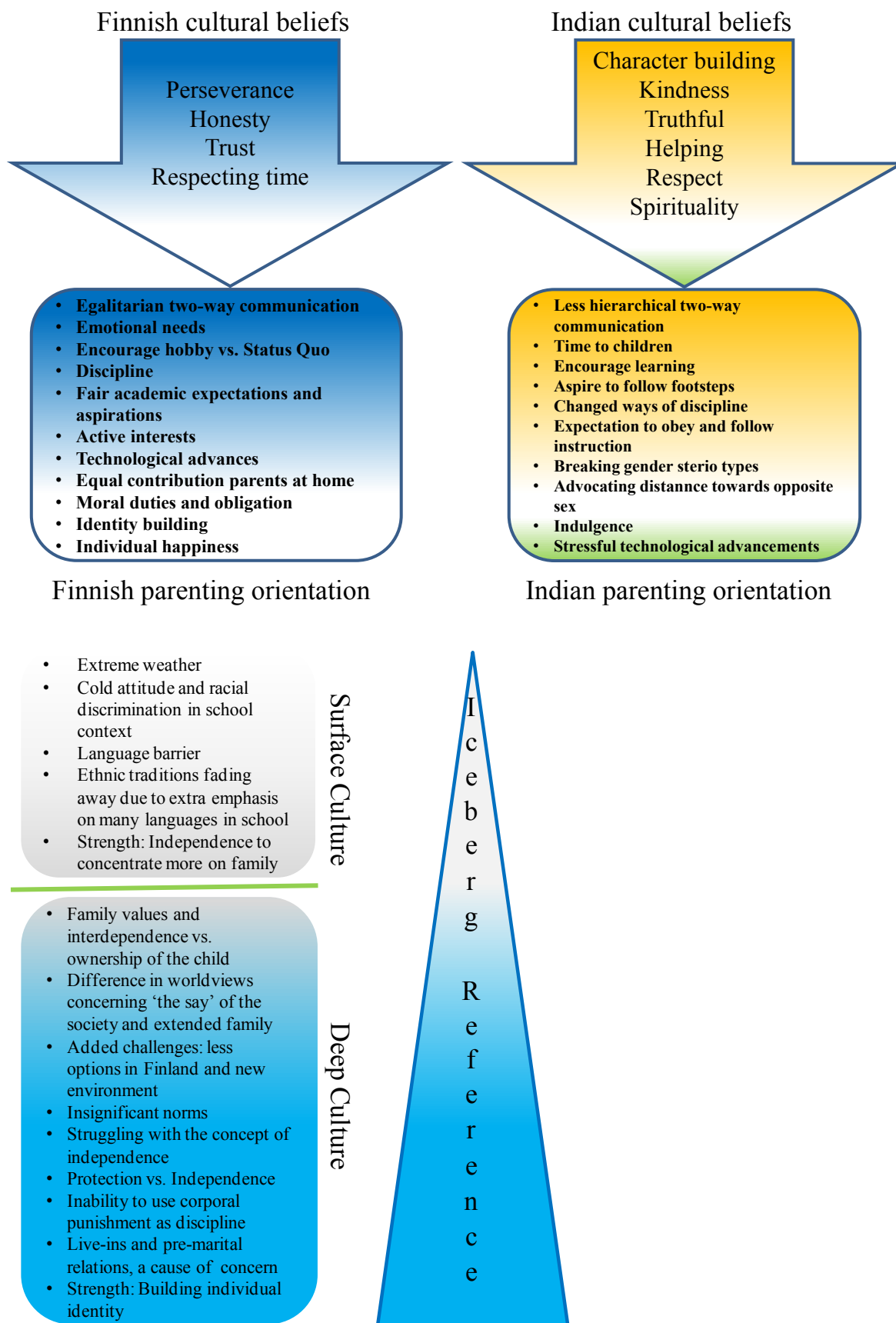
Both the focus groups indicated that neither gender biases were present in their households during their childhood nor are they raising their children with any gender prejudices. This study also suggests that Indian parents no longer impose pressure on a girl child to get married at an early age and are open to the idea of focusing on professional careers. This mindset was missing during the Indian mothers' childhoods. These parents have not compromised with regard to the notion of marriage nor are they hesitant to express their thoughts on pre-marital relationships. Indian mothers are cautious and encourage their children to have a distant attitude towards the opposite sex.

Both Indian parents contribute to house hold chores and take some responsibility in raising their children by breaking the gender stereotyping which is well visible in Finnish society.

Among the Indian parents living in Finland, a fundamental shift in the mindset is observed from ethno-centrism towards ethno-relativism. It is the absolute truth that parents have their own style of parenting while it is also evident that Indian parents have been affected positively by the Finnish society, where a few of the Finnish parenting approaches have been incorporated into their style. The Indian parents have become more aware of their children by focusing on their materialistic and emotional needs rather than spiritual. I also believe that raising their children in a cross-cultural environment is making many Indian parents more emotionally vulnerable. They try to relate to their children, as many of these parents have developed the fear that their children will forsake their culture of origin. Some of them attempt to keep their children enwrapped in ethnicity and cultural values by

acculturating instead of assimilating in this cross-cultural environment. It can be argued that this is the journey of synthesis of bi-culture or third culture identity where Indian parents are also keeping their distinctiveness without losing their roots and heritage (Codman-Wilson, 2012). This cross-cultural transition is one of the outcomes of a globalized world where parents are also maintaining social relations, are contributing to the dominant culture and in some way focusing on what they feel is needed by the child rather than focusing on what the child wants. Some of the Indian parents have already described how their worldviews are different to their children who are being raised in Finland. These third culture kids consider themselves as global citizens rather than attaching their identity to a particular nationality.

Finnish cultural beliefs

Perseverance
Honesty
Trust
Respecting time

Indian cultural beliefs

Character building
Kindness
Truthful
Helping
Respect
Spirituality

Finnish parenting orientation

- **Egalitarian two-way communication**
- **Emotional needs**
- **Encourage hobby vs. Status Quo**
- **Discipline**
- **Fair academic expectations and aspirations**
- **Active interests**
- **Technological advances**
- **Equal contribution parents at home**
- **Moral duties and obligation**
- **Identity building**
- **Individual happiness**

Indian parenting orientation

- **Less hierarchical two-way communication**
- **Time to children**
- **Encourage learning**
- **Aspire to follow footsteps**
- **Changed ways of discipline**
- **Expectation to obey and follow instruction**
- **Breaking gender sterio types**
- **Advocating distannce towards opposite sex**
- **Indulgence**
- **Stressful technological advancements**

Surface Culture

- Extreme weather
- Cold attitude and racial discrimination in school context
- Language barrier
- Ethnic traditions fading away due to extra emphasis on many languages in school
- Strength: Independence to concentrate more on family

Deep Culture

- Family values and interdependence vs. ownership of the child
- Difference in worldviews concerning 'the say' of the society and extended family
- Added challenges: less options in Finland and new environment
- Insignificant norms
- Struggling with the concept of independence
- Protection vs. Independence
- Inability to use corporal punishment as discipline
- Live-ins and pre-marital relations, a cause of concern
- Strength: Building individual identity

Iceberg Reference

Figure 5. Pictorial description of findings

6.   CONCLUSIONS

After this study, I have become more aware of my environment as a parent and gained insights about my root culture as well as the Finnish culture. The many similarities and differences between these two cultures have become more evident. For Indian parents, Finland provides considerable changes in cultural and social aspects and as presented in this study, such changes or differences have effect on the parenting orientations of the Indian parents.

The main purpose of this study has been to examine the cross cultural effect on parenting orientations of Indian families living in Finland. For this study, I gathered the knowledge about culture and the different views on culture. The historical and social structure of Finland and India were studied to provide an overview of the cultural framework. I collected the knowledge of the theoretical framework which worked best with the concept of culture and portrayed the role of culture in one's life. I then focused on the concept of parenting and its styles. The concept of third culture kids in relation to the cultural aspects was examined. In order to examine the Indian and Finnish parental beliefs and attitudes as well as their cultural value system, I have used an appropriate methodology, Phenomenology, to capture the lived experiences of the parents and attempted to discover more about their everyday situations, worldviews, actions and challenges in relation to my study. Collection of the data and finding the essence of the meaning of my participant's experiences involved- approaching the participants, and with their consent, I conducted semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Having done that, I transcribed the interviews and read in detail about different ways of analysis with respect to my methodology and ethical concerns pertaining to the process. I examined the parenting orientations, cultural values and beliefs of Finnish and Indian parents in detail. Finally, I presented the cross cultural effect on parenting orientation Indian parents raising their children in Finland.

Parenting orientation of Indian parents is affected by the Finnish ways, but the implications vary among Indian families. The changes in the worldview and approaches of the Indian parents were observed with respect to the friendly parent-child relationship, support and encouragement in their learning process, the changed ways of discipline as well as the breaking of gender stereotypes.

Based on the finding, my observation is that Indian parents are giving some autonomy to their children and are focusing on them being more independent and encouraging them to speak their minds. It is evident that the worldview of the Indian children is influenced by the society in which they are raised and integrated, they may feel that Indian cultural values are being imposed on them. While, on the other hand, the children are being tied up in the cultural beliefs of their parent's root culture which sometimes may give a confusing picture to the children. Finally the Indian children adapt to the conflict and settled down with globalized views or 'lost' in the new society as an Indian parent would describe it.

Reflecting on the whole research process, the relation of analysis in combination with theoretical framework was the toughest for me as the researcher. On a personal level, the research phase was an emotional and tiring experience for me. This study has had a deep impact on my emotions and helped me to see the difference of my perspectives when looking at things. Linking the theoretical aspects, it became clear that the deep values always remain in the culture heritage but the behaviors and actions are observable and are changeable. It is important to take time to know and interact with the members of the local community rather than judging on the basis of what we see when we enter. The deeper one goes in the society, the more they uncover the values and beliefs of that society (Hall, 1976)

6.1   Validity of the study: Ethical concerns and reliability

In this section, I talk about the ethical considerations and trustworthiness of my study. I have attempted to understand the world of parenting and cultural influences, and have presented the data I have gathered through the interviews, in a simple and straight forward way.

I think it is important to mention that the socio-economic status of all my research participants were fairly good and none of them were dealing with a scarcity of resources both in social and economic standards; which I think is an important part of influencing or affecting parenting attitudes. I think financial instability in any of the families would have resulted in different perspective. In the beginning of this study, I mentioned that my position as a researcher was not entirely non-personal and I had some levels of personal motivation that inspired me to make this thesis study. I have bracketed my own life

experiences to avoid the personal biasness and referred to the experiences of my participants. Though, being an Indian female and coming out of the same cultural roots as of my Indian participants, some of the biases can be reflected in my analysis of the whole situation.

The age group of the research participants range from 34-58 years of age which gives a much wider perspective and insight. However, there is one concern that I feel might affect the authenticity of this study it is the dominance of mothers over fathers interviewed. There were seven mothers versus only two fathers who participated. I however believe that the mother's role of nurturing, care giving and their eagle's view is more valuable than fathers. Nevertheless, it does not affect the credibility of this study as the gender related perspective in this cross-cultural study is indicated by the mothers but has not been cited by the fathers.

All views presented in this study are based on the perspectives of the participants who are living in Finland. This study does not generalize Finnish and Indian cultural aspects as a whole. I have used the validation strategies as indicated by Creswell (2013, p. 250- 253). Through triangulation strategy, I measured the information and provided validity to the findings. I made multiple uses of different sources, theories and methods to furnish supporting evidence and focused on a theme and perspective. I have also sent the research draft for an external check to my peers.

Ethical challenges in this study are related to confidentiality and protecting the identity of the research persons. All the research participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity. For the trustworthiness of the thesis and to make it more transparent, I have also sent the analysis and summary of this research to the participants and received positive feedback.

6.2   Suggestion for further research

This study focuses on the perspectives of parents, both Finnish and Indian in origin but it would be interesting to know the perspectives of 'third culture' Indian adults who were raised here. Further research is needed on these 'children turned adults' to explore the

many differences. For example, what would their concept on the importance of family values be? Do they agree on the role of interdependence in Indian society? Does gender role affect their perception of seeing the world and relations? What challenges do they face as a hidden migrant when they visit India?

Religious and ethnic backgrounds can impact parenting orientations in a huge way and could be a scope for future research. For example, it would be interesting to know the parenting beliefs of indigenous Sami families in Finland.

One of the Finnish participants about whom I mentioned in the section 'Research participants' initiated the conversation related to religious beliefs and his wife's religious background being 'Conservative Laestadianism' and he being an atheist. I understand and respect that religious beliefs are a personal and sensitive issue and should be handled with care. When I asked about the social taboos during the interview, he couldn't recollect any at that point in the interview; however at another point in the interview, he disclosed that religion is a dangerous topic. He has noticed in some families with Laestadian beliefs that they have plenty of children and that there are many things which are forbidden some examples are watching TV, wearing any makeup and pursuing a sport professionally. His wife is raised in that cultural background. Due to the unavailability of the participants of that background and time constraints, I could not conduct interviews but there is a scope for further research in that area with respect to the influences of their religious beliefs on their parenting. Similarly, all my Indian participants practice Hinduism (80% of the Indian population is Hindu). With India being such a diverse country with many religions, I believe that different religious beliefs have much influence on the way a parent raises their child which leaves a further scope for the research.

REFERENCES

Allardt, E. (1985). *Finnish society: Relationship between geopolitical situation and the development of society.* Research Group for Comparative Sociology: University of Helsinki.

Ancient History. (2015). Retrieved 25th February 2016 from http://knowindia.gov.in/knowindia/culture_heritage.php?id=2

Boopathi, S. N. (2014). A Detailed Comparison of Finland and India through Hofstede & Globe Study. Global Review of Research in Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure Management (GRRTHLM). *An Online International Research Journal* (ISSN: 2311-3189). 2014 Vol: 1 Issue 1.

Bornstein, M. H. & Lansford, J. E. (2010). Parenting. In: Bornstein MH, editor. *The handbook of cross-cultural developmental science.* (pp. 259–277). New York: Taylor & Francis.

Boyce, C. and Neale, P. (2006). *Conducting Interviews: A guide for designing and conducting In-depth interview for evaluation input.* Pathfinder International Tool Series, and Monitoring Evaluation-2: (pp. 1-4). Retrieved 18th March 2016 from http://www2.pathfinder.org/site/DocServer/m_e_tool_series_indepth_interviews.pdf.

Boyd, C. O. (2001). Phenomenology: the method. In P. L. Munhall (Ed.), *Nursing research: A qualitative perspective* (3rd ed., pp. 93-122). Sudbury, MASS: Jones and Bartlett.

Chang, M. (2007). *Cultural differences in parenting styles and their effects on teens' self-esteem, perceived parental relationship satisfaction, and self-satisfaction.* Retrieved 21st March 2016 from http://repository.cmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1084&context=hsshonors.

Codman-Wilson (2012). *Of Bananas and Hard-Boiled Eggs: Thriving in a Foreign Culture Through the Journey Toward Biculturalism.* WestBow Press.

Commonwealth of Australia. (n.d.). *Cultural diversity and children's wellbeing*. Retrieved 30th March 2016 from https://www.kidsmatter.edu.au/sites/default/files/public/KMP_C1_CDCW_CulturalDiversityAndChildrensWellbeing.pdf

Couchenour, D., &Chrisman, D. (2014). *Families, Schools, and Communities: Together for young children (5th ed.).* Wadsworth Publishing.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Culture as an Iceberg Graphic. N.d. Retrieved 18th Jan 2016 from www.afs.org.in/afs-and-intercultural-learning/culture-as-an--iceberg-graphic/

Degni, F., Pöntinen, S., & Mölsä, M. (2006). *Somali Parents' Experiences of Bringing up Children in Finland: Exploring Social-Cultural Change within Migrant Households*. Retrieved 22nd March 2016 from ***http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/139/305.***

Dutton, E. (2009). *The Finnuit: Finnish culture and the religion of uniqueness.* Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, Hungary.

Eydal, G. B., & Rostgaard, T. (2015). *Fatherhood in the Nordic welfare states: comparing care policies and practice*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Frey, J. H., & Oishi, S. M. (1995). *How to conduct interviews by telephone and in person.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretations of cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

Georgas, J., Berry, J. W., Vijver, V. D., Kagitcibasi, C., & Poortinga, Y. H. (2006). *Families Across Cultures, A 30-nation Psychological study.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Griswold, W. (2008). *Cultures and societies in a changing world (3rd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Guion, L., Diehl, D., and McDonald, D. (2011). *Conducting an In-depth Interview*, University of Florida. Retrieved 20th March 2016 from http://web.nmsu.edu/~jalmjeld/EmpiricalResearch/PDFs/interviews

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Michigan: Sage Publications.

Hall, Edward T. (1976). *Beyond Culture*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press.

Hall, Edward T. (1989). *Beyond Culture*. NY: Anchor Books Editions.

Harkness, S., Super, C. M., Moscardino, U., Rha, J., Blom, M., Huitrón, B., Johnston, C., Sutherland, M. A., Hyun, O., Axia, G., & Palacios, J. (2007). *Cultural models and developmental agendas: Implications for arousal and self-regulation in early infancy*, Journal of Developmental Psychology, 2(1), 5-39.

Hickson, J., & Kriegler, S. (1996). *Multicultural counseling in a divided and traumatized society: The meaning of childhood and adolescence in South Africa*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.

Hofstede, G. H. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: software of the mind*. London: New York, McGraw-Hill.

Holborn, M. & Langle, P. (2005). *Sociology Themes and perspectives: AS- and A- level student handbook.* Collins Educational.

Javo, C., Alapack, R., Heyerdahl, S., & Ronning, J. A. (2003). *Parental values and ethnic identity in indigenous Sami families: A qualitative study*. (pp. 151-164) Family Process, 42.

Katan, D. (1999). *Translating cultures*, An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Leinonen, J. (2004). *Families in struggle - child mental health and family well-being in Finland during the economic recession of the 1990s. The importance of parenting*, Helsinki: University of Helsinki. Faculty of Behavioural Sciences.

Lehtonen, J. & Sajavaara, K. (1985). ”The Silent Finn”. In: D. Tannen and M. Saville-Troike (eds.). *Perspectives on Silence.* (pp. 193-201). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publ.Corp.

Linton, R. (1945). *The Cultural Background of Personality*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts

Map of Finland. Retrieved 18th January 2016 from http://www.freeworldmaps.net/europe/finland/location.html

Map of India. Retrieved 18th January 2016 from http://www.naturalhistoryonthenet.com/Facts_Figures/Country_Facts/india.htm

Naibei, P. (2014). *Culture and sustainable development.* Retrieved 5th March 2016 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266377976_CULTURE_AND_SUSTAINABLE_DEVELOPMENT.

Navarro, Z. (2006). *In search of a cultural interpretation of power*: The contribution of Pierre Bourdieu. IDS Bulletin, 37(6), pp. 11-22.

Neuliep, J. W. (2005). *Intercultural Communication: A Contextual Approach. (6th ed).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

OECD. (2010). *OECD Public Governance Reviews Finland: Working Together to Sustain Success.* Retrieved 26th March 2016 from https://www.oecd.org/gov/47360954.pdf.

Oommen, T. K. (2005). *Crisis and contention in Indian society.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pollock , D. C., & Van Reken, R. E. (2001). *Third culture kids: The experience of growing up among worlds.* London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Pollock, L. A. (1983). *Forgotten Children. Parent-child relations from 1500-1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rabbiraj, C. (2014). *Socio-Legal Dimensions of Live-In-Relationships in India.* IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS). Retrieved 21st April 2016 from http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue7/Version-6/D019762529.pdf.

Randall, K. (2007). Retrieved 7th April 2016 from http://www.utexas.edu/features/2007/helicopter/.

Sclafani, J. D. (2004). The educated parent: Recent trends in raising children. USA: Praeger Publishers.

Shevade, S.V. (1994). *Indian culture over the world.* NewYork: Vantage Press,Inc.

Shira & Associates, D., & Devonshire-Ellis, C. (2012). *Doing Business in India*. Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg.

Sinha, J. B. P. (2009). *Culture and Organizational Behaviour.* New Delhi: Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory.* 2nd edition. London: Continuum.

Storti, C. (1997). *Culture Matters.* USA: Peace Corps. Retrieved 24th march 2016 from http://www.smith.edu/studyabroad/docs/T0087_culturematters.pdf.

Tian, X. (2010). *Parenting Experiences of Chinese Immigrants with School-age Children.* Retrieved 21st March 2016 from http://ec.msvu.ca:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10587/1141/XiaomeiTianMAFSGThesis2010.pdf?sequence=1.

Triandis, H. C. (2001). *Individualism-collectivism and personality.* Blackwell Publishers. Retrieved 24th March 2016 from http://130.18.86.27/faculty/warkentin/SecurityPapers/Merrill/Triandis2001_JOP69_6_Allo centrism.pdf.

Woods, P. (1999). *Successful writing for Qualitative Researchers*. London, GBR: Falmer Press, Limited (UK).

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1.   Please introduce yourself. What are your educational qualifications?

2.   What was your childhood like? (Probes: who lived in your household? What were the relationships like with your siblings and Parents? What are they now? Did you enjoy your childhood and growing up years? Whom did you share your moments of happiness and sorrows? What do you wish would have been different? What kinds of goals did you have for your life? Did your life turn out the way you wanted or hoped for when you were younger? What do you think prevented you from achieving your goals?)

3.   How many children do you have and how old are they? (Probes: What kind of expectations do you have from your child? How do you help to be achieved?)

4.   How liberal and conservative do u see your parents were? Give examples. How liberal and conservative do you see yourself while raising your child? (Probes: Is there any specific behavior or attitude you want your child to have when dealing with the opposite sex? Please share your views. Any restrictions you have in this matter? Was there any restriction for you when you were a child? Why do you think those were? How important is marriage?)

5.   What was your socio-economic/ financial status during childhood? In comparison, what do you think it is now?

6.   How did your parents used to discipline you? (Probes: Did you ever get any punishment from your parents? What and Why? How spanking your child, shouting, abusing is seen in your culture or in your household? Did you get spanked? Were there any limitations/restrictions imposed on you by your parents? Please explain. Did you get appreciated by your parents? How? Were you being rewarded with something? What kind of behavior is considered rude or bad in your household or society? Have you ever

experienced it and how your parents dealt with those? Any incident that your child has done it and how you have handled it? What kind of behavior is appreciated in your household or society? Was there any restriction by your parents to play with certain friends/ friends with certain financial status /family background etc.? Do you have the same restrictions or any restrictions to your child? In comparison, what are your ways to discipline your child (Probes: have you ever spanked your child or raised your voice? Any restrictions or limitations set by you for your child? What are those? Why do you think those are important? Do you appreciate or reward your child? How?)

7.   What were the values that your parents passed on to you? How? (Probes: How did they teach respect to you? How important it is? How do you teach the respect to your child? What were the customs and rituals followed in your family during your childhood? Do you follow the same now too? How it is different from then? What all festivals were celebrated by your family then? Do you celebrate those? If yes, then in the same manner as were in your childhood? Or how different?) What values you are passing on to your child? How? (Probes: Any other values you want to pass on to your child? What is missing? Is there any societal or parental pressure or expectations from your child to behave or succeed in a certain way? Please elaborate. How do you help your child to achieve those? As a child, did u ever feel pressurized or stressed with those norms?)

8.   What were your interests as a child? Did you go to any hobby classes? (Probes: Who chose that for you?) What are your child's interests? Does he/she go to any hobby classes? (Probes: Who chose that for your child? why you wanted him/her to learn that?)

9.   What was the role of your parents while raising you up? What is the role of you and your husband in raising your child? (Probes: Is there any difference in raising a girl or a boy in your society/household or when you were a child? What is different? Please describe. How much time did they spend with you? How communicative / authoritative they were? What do you think of yourself as parents in comparison?)

10.   What is the role of education do you see? (Probes: How important it is? How much education do you want your child to acquire? Can you describe the future goals and aspirations you have set for your child in terms of career or education? What steps do you think would be necessary for your child to meet these goals or expectations? What barriers

do you see for your child in achieving these goals? How do you help or what is your contribution to help your child to meet these goals? How important was schooling/education then and how do you see it now?)

11.   Is there any stress or emphasis on your child to opt for a particular profession chosen by you or does he/she has a liberty to choose? Life Partner? University?

12.   Has parenting changed over the years? What and How? What is different? What is same?
(Probes: Have you changed anything in your parenting as compared to your parents? What is that? What are the things that you don't want to include in your parenting? How did your own experiences during your childhood affect your decisions as a parent? What are your beliefs about childhood, decision making about rules, etc. Is your relationship with your children similar to the relationships you had with your parents during your childhood/growing up years?)

For Indian Parents

13.   For how long you are living in Finland? (Probe: Do you have any Finnish friends? Do you socialize with them? How often? Does your child have any Finnish friends? Which school does he/she go to? Have you or your family ever faced non-acceptance in Finland? If yes, please share your experiences.)

14.   How do you perceive Finnish culture? What is same and different in this culture? What are the things you have learned from this culture that you would like to pass on or incorporate? Please explain in detail.

15.   Please share your experiences in raising your child here in Finland. How different it is than in India? Is it good or bad? What is good? What are the things that you consider should have been little different here?