Johanna Leinonen and Auvo Kostiainen (Eds.)

TRANSNATIONAL FINNISH MOBILITIES: PROCEEDINGS OF FINNFORUM XI

Transnational Finnish Mobilities: Proceedings of FinnForum XI

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Cover image: The mailbox of the National Finnish American Festival Cultural Center, known as Little Finland, on US Highway 2, in Hurley, Wisconsin (USA). Photo credit: Jouni Korkiasaari 2010.

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1. Introduction: On Transnationalism and Mobility

Johanna Leinonen

This publication offers a sample of papers presented at the conference *FinnForum XI: Transnational Finnish Mobilities*, held in Turku, Finland, in September—October 2016. The title of the conference draws attention to two key metaphors of our time that overlap in many ways: mobility and transnationalism. This overlap is illustrated, for instance, in a quote by David Ley (2010, 380), who argues that "transnationalism has become an umbrella term to describe the contemporary hyper-mobility of migrants across national borders." The chapters in this volume address a few topical themes in international research of transnationalism and mobilities, as I will highlight in this introduction.

The wider scholarly use of both terms date back to the 1990s, and both lines of scholarship are essentially based on a critique of static categories such as a nation, ethnicity, community, and place (Blunt 2007). For instance, scholars have noted that social scientific and historical research on migration tend to have a "sedentarist bias" (Malkki 1995) or an "ontological predisposition to dwelling and stasis" (Rogaly 2015). At the same time, these two terms are not, of course, commensurable. Research on mobilities extends beyond the study of human (short or long-distance) migration, and the study of transnational activities comprises a plethora of topics, such as social formations and networks spanning national borders, a type of consciousness marked by multiple identifications, modes of cultural reproduction, and capital flows spurred by transnational corporations (Vertovec 1999).

In scholarship on international migration, the pioneering work of three anthropologists in 1992 ignited a surge of multi-disciplinary studies on transnational migration. With Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Christina Blanc-Szanton's edited collection "Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration" emerged a new theoretical model for studying global migration. Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992, ix) defined transnationalism as the "emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders." Subsequently, scholars

have presented many typologies of transnational activities in the field of migration research. Perhaps the most well-known is the division into economic, political, and sociocultural spheres of transnationalism (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999).

If the study of transnationalism focuses on linkages that transcend nation-state boundaries, the "mobility turn" in social sciences accentuates how societies are constituted by different kinds of mobilities. Tim Cresswell (2011, 551) argues that mobilities lie "at the center of constellations of power, the creation of identities and the micro-geographies of everyday life." Scholars representing the so-called mobilities paradigm (e.g., Sheller & Urry 2006; Urry 2007; Cresswell 2010; Söderström et al. 2013) argue for research that takes precisely movement — or, more specifically, meanings attached to movements, i.e. mobilities — as the focal point of research. As in the research of transnationalism, mobilities scholars have created several typologies of mobilities. Perhaps the best known is John Urry's (2007) division into five mobility types: corporeal movement of people, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel e.g. via media consumption, virtual travel in electronic spaces, and communicative travel e.g. via email or telephone.

Both the study of transnationalism and the study of mobilities can also be appraised on a few overlapping issues. As noted above, the chapters included in this publication discuss some of these central questions. One important criticism levelled at these lines of scholarship has been their tendency to view mobility and transnationalism as unique features of our times. For example, one of the key arguments of early works on transnationalism was the claim that it was not possible to examine it outside of the context of global capitalism. With this argument, scholars made a clear separation between contemporary migration and the movement of people during the mass migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. "Current transnationalism," Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton wrote in 1994 (p. 24), "marks a new type of migrant experience, reflecting an increased and more pervasive global penetration of capital." Similarly, the mobilities paradigm has been criticized for its tendency to disregard the mobilities of the past and overemphasize the novelty of today's mobile world. For example, Creswell criticizes (2010, 28) mobility scholars' "historical amnesia when thinking about and with mobility."

Several scholars examining mobilities have subsequently contested these clear-cut divisions between the past and the present. For instance, archeologists and historians have shown how mobilities have always been part of human life (e.g., de Bruijn, van Dijk & Foeken 2001; Barnard & Wendrich 2008; see also Salazar & Smart 2011). In this publication, the chapters included in Part I, "Mobile Pasts, Finland and Beyond," also bring forth how different kinds of mobilities have shaped human life in the geographical area now known as Finland, as well as in the regions where people originating from this area moved to.

Petri Minkkinen's chapter is a case in point. It focuses on mobilities in Finland of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, then a region populated by several

peoples, such as the Savonians, Tavastians, Ostrobothnians, and the Sami, who contested for land and moved around as a result of these contests. They also found ways to adapt to the Swedish King's endeavors, including his colonization projects. In addition to mobility within Finland, some groups moved further afield, to Sweden, Norway, Ingria, and the colonial North America. The chapter offers both an overview of the population history of the area — the "big picture," as Minkkinen writes — and a microhistorical account of the mobilities of the era from the perspective of two families in the historical Rautalampi parish of central Finland. As a whole, the paper highlights how Finland's past — often imagined as more sedentary than today's mobile world — was molded by various short and long-distance mobilities that occurred both voluntarily and involuntarily.

Thomas A. DuBois's chapter continues with the theme of mobile pasts, covering a time period from the nineteenth century to the present. The chapter brings powerfully to the fore how the Sami experience has been characterized by different kinds of mobilities: for instance, seasonal migration in the Nordic area, forced migrations due to state interventions and colonization, and the Sami's long-distance migration to North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The chapter also provides an account of the fascinating history of migration of Sami reindeer herders, reindeer, and reindeer husbandry to North America, sponsored by the U.S. and Canadian governments, who wanted to bring the Sami "know-how" to the Native peoples in Alaska and Canada. The Sami migration to other areas of North America is not very well known, partly because of the stigma attached to the Sami identity during the heyday of cross-Atlantic migrations. DuBois also discusses how the descendants of Sami migrants in North America have increasingly begun to unearth their suppressed family histories since the 1990s. Finally, he considers how mobility seems to be such an integral part of the Sami identity that it appears even in modern artistic expressions by the Sami and Sami Americans as "imaginative acts of reconstitution." In line with Minkkinen's chapter, DuBois's contribution shows how many groups' pasts have been deeply influenced by forced and self-initiated mobilities.

Hence, these two chapters draw attention to the ways in which many groups' histories of mobility have been marked by both spontaneous and involuntary movements, occurring at short and long distances. They emphasize the considerable fluidity between movements that take place for different reasons. As Noel B. Salazar and Alan Smart (2011, v) note, "there is no clear-cut separation between choice and constraint, between forced and voluntary mobility." In the third chapter of Part I, Anu Heiskanen provides another perspective on how the distinction between forced and voluntary migrations is often a difficult one to make. Her research focuses on the experiences of Finnish women who followed the German troops to Nazi Germany when the German-Finnish military alliance was dissolved in 1944. It provides an intriguing look at the motives of the women themselves, asking what factors were at play when the women left for Germany and, also, when a great majority of them returned to Finland in 1945—1948. The chapter's title, "Migrant Workers, Refugees, or War Brides," aptly illustrates how migration catego-

ries, which on paper or in statistics seem neat and unproblematic, can be difficult to reconcile with people's real-life migration decisions and trajectories.

Scholars of international migration have also contested the idea that transnational connections and consciousness are new phenomena, simply tied to the modern expansion of global capitalism. As Mae M. Ngai wrote in 2005 (59), "the transnational did not drop from the sky or simply appear as part of the recent interest in 'globalization.'" Even before modern communication technologies and modes of transportation, migrants created and maintained transnational ties in various ways. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that migration scholars have employed a transnational perspective to interrogate cross-border migratory activity before the term "transnationalism" was introduced. For example, already in the early twentieth century United States, a group of scholars trained by the influential historian Frederick Jackson Turner began to study migrants of European descent "from the bottom up." These "ethnic Turnerians" (as they were named by historian Jon Gjerde, see Gjerde 1999) may be considered as the first migration scholars who conducted transnational research by looking at the economic and cultural transformations taking place both in the migrants' homelands and in the receiving countries.

In Part II of this volume, "Transnational Influences across the Atlantic," our focus is on the Finnish migrants in the United States — the principal destination of Finns during the years of mass migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Just like "ethnic Turnerians," scholars of Finnish migration to the United States have also analyzed processes and activities that extended beyond nation-state borders well before research on transnationalism became popular. This is the case especially in research on the political life of Finnish migrants. Peter Kivisto's 1987 article on Finnish Americans' political activism between 1918 and 1958 effectively analyzed the Finns' political engagements from a transnational perspective (see also Kostiainen 1983). As Kivisto later (2014) notes himself, Finns were "political transnationals" to a significant degree during the first half of the twentieth century. This political transnationalism was particularly evident in the activities of Finnish leftists in the United States, for instance, in the transnational leadership among "Red Finns" (e.g., Kostiainen 1983; see also Leinonen 2014a).

The three chapters in Part II turn the analytical focus on transnationalism among Finnish migrants in the sociocultural sphere in the early decades of the twentieth century, a topic that has so far received relatively little attention by scholars examining Finnish migration (cf. Kivisto 2014). More specifically, the chapters examine how transnational influences traversed across the Atlantic in the spheres of music, technological knowledge, and sports. The chapters also draw attention to understandings of transnational social spaces beyond concrete and frequent connections between the sending and receiving countries. Transnational social spaces have been defined by Thomas Faist (1998, 216) as "combinations of social and symbolic ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places." Hence, according to this classic

definition, transnational social spaces can also be constituted by symbolic ties, involving "acts of imagination" (ibid. 240; see also Molina, Petermann & Herz 2012).

Saijaleena Rantanen's chapter provides a window into the transnational musical space of the 1920s and 1930s through the life story of John Rosendahl (1891—1932), a Finnish born violinist and composer, who formed a musical duo with the accordion virtuoso Viola Turpeinen in the mid-1920s (and, later, a trio with Turpeinen and accordionist Sylvia Polso). The popular duo toured around the United States, playing mainly Finnish dance music, but they also performed in multiple locations in Finland in 1929. Rantanen points out that music always travels with migrants — Finns in the United States are a good example of the centrality of music in the social life of migrant communities. Research on sociocultural transnationalism has brought to the fore how activities in the sociocultural sphere can on the one hand maintain attachment to the home country when living abroad, and on the other hand facilitate adaptation to the new society through engagements in its cultural life (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999). By vividly illustrating how musical influences moved back and forth between Finland and the United States, Rantanen brings up new perspectives on the history of Finnish migrants in North America. Music "from home" performed by artists such as John Rosendahl and Viola Turpeinen could create nostalgic feelings to the life left behind, but also relieved homesickness and helped migrants adapt to their new surroundings.

Trans-Atlantic exchange is also in the focus of Elianna Riska's chapter that discusses the transfer of technological knowledge from the United States to Finland in the 1930s. Riska's source material is the travel journal of Väinö Österberg, a Finnish engineer who visited fifty factories in the Midwest in 1935—1936 to learn about innovations in diesel-engine technology. Earlier accounts have shown how return migrants brought to Finland technological know-how from the United States, for example, in agriculture and wood-processing and paper-making industry (e.g., Kero 1987). Kivisto (2014) is cautious about calling this kind of one-way transmission of technological innovation as "transnationalism," as it did not typically result in the creation of a cross-Atlantic business network. However, even if technological transfer does not "count" as a concrete form of transnationalism, the chapter shows how (heretofore little-studied) Finnish American engineers in the Midwestern automobile industry formed a tight social network, which offered opportunities for visitors like Österberg to learn about technological innovations in the United States. The chapter illustrates how the existence of a transnational social space between Finland and the United States facilitated highly-skilled international mobility already in the early twentieth century.

The U.S. Midwest is also in the focus of Roman Kushnir's chapter that provides an account on the production of Finnish American identities through sports. Kushnir analyzes two books, a novel and a collection of short stories, which depict the life of Finnish Americans in the Upper Peninsula (UP) of Michigan, a popular destination for Finnish migrants, in the twentieth century. Just like music, sports played a prominent role in the sociocultural life of Finnish migrants in the early twentieth century United

States. Kushnir focuses on U.S.-born Finnish Americans, whose tangible connections to Finland have already become sparse. In the texts analyzed by Kushnir, the protagonists maintained their identification with Finland through sport activities, for instance, by taking pride in Finns' achievements in international sport arenas and by practicing winter sports, while simultaneously defining themselves in regional terms, for instance, by supporting local UP teams and sport clubs. Ski-jumping is an example of a sport that connected Finnish Americans both with Finland (from where migrants of earlier generations brought this sport to the UP) and their own region (as there were several ski clubs in the UP). The chapter calls attention to the symbolic aspects of transnationalism. By the second generation, concrete transnational connections typically decrease, and ties to the parents' (and grandparents', etc.) home country become more symbolic. There is no consensus among scholars whether these symbolic demonstrations of identity maintenance qualify as transnational practices. While Faist, for example, writes about symbolic ties within transnational social spaces, other scholars have warned against transnationalism becoming a "catch-all phrase" (Pries 2007). To avoid this, they propose, border-crossing activities should be empirically substantiated (e.g., Boccagni 2012; Kivisto 2014). Kushnir's chapter contributes to this discussion in the field of research on Finnish migration. Can transnational social spaces survive beyond the migrant generation, when concrete links to the country of origin become sparse or even nonexistent?

In Part III, "Making of Contemporary Finnish America," our focus remains on Finnish migrants and their descendants in North America. The two chapters included in this section inquire into the ways in which "Finnishness" is understood in contemporary North America. While Kushnir discusses (in Part II) activities that can be defined as belonging to a symbolic transnational social space, Tuomas Hovi concentrates on expressions of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979) among later-generation Finnish Americans. Helena Halmari, on the other hand, considers the potential of "virtual bridges" created by digital media in maintaining transnational linkages to the migrants' homeland.

Through the findings from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in St. Urho's Day celebrations in the towns of Finland and Menahga in Minnesota, Hovi examines how "Finnishness" becomes redefined in the festivities that date back to 1976 in Finland (Minnesota) and 1982 in Menahga. Born in the context of the ethnic revival of the later-generation European Americans in the 1960s and 1970s (when Americans of European descent began to increasingly identify themselves in ethnic terms, see, e.g., Jacobson 2006; Leinonen 2014b), St. Urho's Day gained popularity among Finnish Americans especially in the Midwest, as it provided them with a carnival-like celebration through which they could manifest their ethnicity. Hovi observes that it is possible that St. Urho's Day is on its way of becoming a communal rather than an ethnic festival in Minnesota. At the same time, it is still celebrated mainly in communities where a significant proportion of the population has Finnish ancestry. Therefore, it is unlikely that this connection will be completely erased in the near future; however, as Hovi points out, "Finnishness" celebrated in these festivities is a fluid and changing conception. Moreover, what is

considered as "Finnish tradition" by the members of these communities is based on folklore invented in the United States. Hence, instead of symbolic transnationalism, the more suitable concept for describing these activities may, indeed, be Gans's (1979) classic notion of symbolic ethnicity.

Halmari's chapter takes us back to Finnish-born migrants in North America. She uses the concept of "heritage language" to investigate the role of the Finnish language in the lives of contemporary migrants, whose profile is rather different from migrants moving during the heyday of cross-Atlantic migration. Today's migrants from Finland are typically well-educated, middle-class, and fluent in English already when arriving in North America. Thus, the question is, what does the heritage language mean to these migrants and how do they maintain it? Based on survey responses, Halmari concludes that the new virtual communities on the Internet, such as Facebook groups, offer migrants significant support in everyday language maintenance, which is important especially because their social circles are usually composed of other nationalities. Additionally, these virtual groups and modern communication technologies to some extent support parents' efforts to pass their heritage Finnish to the next generation. Indeed, having children often intensifies transnational connections to the migrant parent's homeland (e.g., Leinonen 2013). Halmari notes that the virtual communities can, at least to a certain extent, provide Finnish migrants with a transnational support network that earlier migrants had in their local ethnic communities. Future research is needed to find out how the "virtual bridges" influence the maintenance of transnational connections to Finland beyond the migrant generation.

The last section of the book, Part IV: "Contemporary Finnish Mobilities," brings to the fore how our time is not characterized only by "transnational hyper-mobility," but also control and restrictions over it — by hierarchies of mobilities. Studies of mobilities and transnationalism need to take into account the global political system of nation states that sets boundaries for border-crossing movements. As Salazar & Smart (2011, iii) put it, "while mobility has certainly increased, with the global capitalist system demanding increased transnational labor mobility, attempts to control and restrict movement are just as characteristic of the era in which we live." While depictions of contemporary mobilities tend to have a celebratory tone, with an emphasis on mobilities' emancipatory power, it is crucial to bear in mind that the opportunity to move (and to stay) is not equally accessible to everyone.

Finns, with their European Union (EU) passports, are on the privileged side of the global hierarchies of mobility — they enjoy a higher freedom to move around than most nationalities in the world (see Henley & Partners 2017). This is evident in the chapter by Elli Heikkilä and Marko Alivuotila that examines the profile of migrants who leave Finland today, as well as their plans of repatriation. Finnish migrants move within a global migration system that provides opportunities for certain types of mobilities (and mobilities of certain nationalities) while limiting others. Typically, Finns moving abroad take an advantage of opportunities available for highly skilled migrants (or, in

the case of students, for educational mobility abroad) or for family members of citizens of the receiving country. In addition, Finns exercise their right to free mobility within the EU. At the same time, the relatively high educational attainment of Finns moving abroad reflect the fact that there are few possibilities today for unskilled workers to move to another country to look for employment. Heikkilä and Alivuotila also note that Finland has experienced continuous net losses of Finnish citizens in the 2010s. The number of emigrants who were Finnish citizens has been over 10,500 persons only three times since 1981: in 2001, 2015, and 2016 (Migration Institute of Finland 2014; Statistics Finland 2017). What is more, the chapter presents evidence on the decreasing willingness of Finns to repatriate. This was the case especially among highly educated migrants, who were concerned about the labor market situation in Finland; whether they or their spouse would be able to find a job upon return. These findings are alarming from Finland's perspective. While an increasing number of Finns utilize their privileged position in the global hierarchy of mobilities by departing from Finland, a reducing number is currently making the reverse choice of repatriation.

Anu Warinowski's chapter, in turn, examines families who have chosen to return to Finland after a few years abroad. Her focus is specifically on the children of these families and their experiences during expatriation and repatriation. What is striking about Warinowski's results is that the parents were often unable to see the difficulties that their children experienced during the transition periods. While the parents evaluated their children's adaptation process as smooth and successful, the children themselves expressed much more ambivalent feelings about moving abroad and returning to Finland. The author also importantly accentuates the children's agency during these transitions. However, she also cautions against forgetting that children are, in the end, children, and that parents should not burden them with more decision power that is appropriate for their age and developmental stage. Moreover, Warinowski points to the deficiencies in the Finnish school system that does not take into account that children moving back to Finland after a number of years abroad go through a period of re-integration to Finnish society. The children are not seen as "migrants," yet they often feel dissimilar from children who never lived outside Finland. Here, the assumed privilege of the movers can actually work against their best interests. The author suggests that these "expatriate children" could reduce the stark division between the categories of "migrants" and "Finns." In general, her chapter points to the need to reconsider how Finland receives citizens who choose to repatriate.

In the final chapter of the book we discuss the question of citizenship. Using survey data, Johanna Peltoniemi investigates factors that contribute to the probability of Finnish citizens having dual citizenship abroad. Her analysis reveals that factors such as the time lived abroad, country of residence, and mother's citizenship influence this probability. Passed in 2003, the new Finnish Nationality Act allows holding two or multiple nationalities at once. This means that Finns who become citizens of a foreign country no longer lose their Finnish citizenship, and foreigners who acquire Finnish

citizenship do not need to renounce their original citizenship. The change in the Finnish law reflects a broader, global change in attitudes toward multiple nationality. The author notes that the increasing tolerance towards multiple nationality creates new opportunities for political transnationalism: migrants holding multiple citizenships can, if they wish, participate in the political life of two (or more) countries. The author furthermore points out that the Finnish law was changed mainly with the intention to allow Finns living abroad to retain their Finnish citizenship, less so to facilitate migrant integration in Finland. When having two nationalities becomes a reason to suspect migrant loyalties (as reflected in the public debate in 2017 on the loyalties of Russian/Finnish dual citizens holding posts in the Finnish Defence Forces, see, e.g., Tuohinen 2017), while Finnish citizens are expected to do just that (i.e. maintain their Finnish nationality abroad), the hierarchies that are embedded in mobilities and transnationalism become evident. Not only is the ability to move spread very unevenly (Salazar & Smart 2011), so is the ability to create and maintain transnational connections in all their central forms, be they sociocultural, economic, political, or purely symbolic.

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I
MOBILE PASTS, FINLAND AND BEYOND

2. Hard Times and Tough People, but You May Have to Go

Petri Minkkinen

This chapter has two main aims. The first is a general one and emerged from discussions with the Swedish Forest Finn scholars. They said that while researchers in Sweden have become interested in the history and reality of the Forest Finns in Sweden, little is known about the demographic history of Central Finland from where the majority of Forest Finns originate. Most local history is written in Finnish and, thus, is unavailable to Swedish speakers in Sweden, independently of their ancestry. If this is the situation in Sweden, it is reasonable to suppose that it is even more so in other countries in Scandinavia and beyond. In order to fill this obvious gap, this chapter begins with a discussion on Finland's demographic history —especially that of Central Finland and the historical Rautalampi administrative parish.

My second aim is to focus on the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, which were turbulent and hard times in Finland. The extensive Old Rautalampi administrative parish of Central Finland was re-settled by the Savonians during the sixteenth century, before which it had mainly been a wilderness used by the Tavastians and before them the Southern Ostrobotnians, and inhabited by Lapps/Sami people. However, many of the second or the third generation descendants of the settlers who came to Rautalampi administrative parish had to decide whether to move to other locations in Finland proper, or to some other location mainly within the Swedish Realm: to the West, to Sweden and Norway, and later, possibly, to the colonial North America — as many of the Forest Finns did — or to the East, to Ingria. These people were faced with both external and internal wars, the imposition of harsh foreign (Baltic German and other) fiefdom holding overlords, the Little Ice Age and hunger, among other things. However, due to the hard times and high rates of both violent and peaceful mortality, many of the new settlers had to move on.

In addition to these main aims described above, this chapter contains a research hypothesis that disputes Reino Kallio's earlier suggestion presented in his history of

Old Saarijärvi (1972, 1987). Kallio suggested that Heikki Hiironen from Kuukkajärvi died during the Club War (1596—1597). However, there is new evidence suggesting that Hiironen probably survived this (very international) civil war and moved to Sweden. If this is confirmed, it may open a path for future research to reveal that other people who were thought to have died during this war actually did survive as well. Such people — among many others — may have been encouraged by Charles, the Duke of Södermanland in Sweden proper, who welcomed Finns to his duchy. For example, Lauri Rekonpoika (Lars Grelsson) Minkkinen from Kuukkajärvi moved to Sweden proper. However, some people also moved to other parts of Finland afterwards and during hard times. One of them was Erkki (maybe Laurinpoika) Minkkinen, who probably moved from Kuukkajärvi to Kalaniemi, within the Old Rautalampi administrative parish of Central Finland.

In addition to staging the "big picture" of a particular era, this chapter involves overlapping spheres of history, political science, international relations, and genealogy, as well as analyzes this new evidence and this transition era in general in the light of the abovementioned two families that both belong to the first settler families of the historical Rautalampi parish.[1]

Populating Finland and the Situation in Central Finland

The Finno-Ugric (including the Finnish Sami), the Baltic Sea Finnish, and other related peoples arriving from the Baltic culture of Kunda and its root culture of Svidri, located in Eastern Central Europe (Ukrainian refugia) and the Ural Mountains (also from its Eastern side), as well other peoples originating from the culture of Hamburg (which emerged before 10000 BC and had inhabitants from Iberian refugia) and three post-10000 BC cultures Bromme-Lyngby (inhabitants from Iberian refugia), Ahrenburg (a mixture of inhabitants from Ukrainian and Iberian refugias, the "northern Europeans"), and abovementioned Svidri, arrived to Finland from the South and the East. This took place from 8000—7000 BC, or according to the recent research, between 8850 and 8400 calBC[2] (9500—9200 BP). (Minkkinen 2014, 1—2.)

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[1] Savonian born Paavo Minkkinen, whose original family estate Salmela was the oldest of the whole Great Saarijärvi area (Kallio 1972, 104), belonging to the Old Rautalampi administrative parish, was placed to the so-called Heinäjoensuu wilderness by a royal wilderness list or decree. He had lived in the area from 1548 and the Hiironen (or Hiroinen) family joined him in 1561.

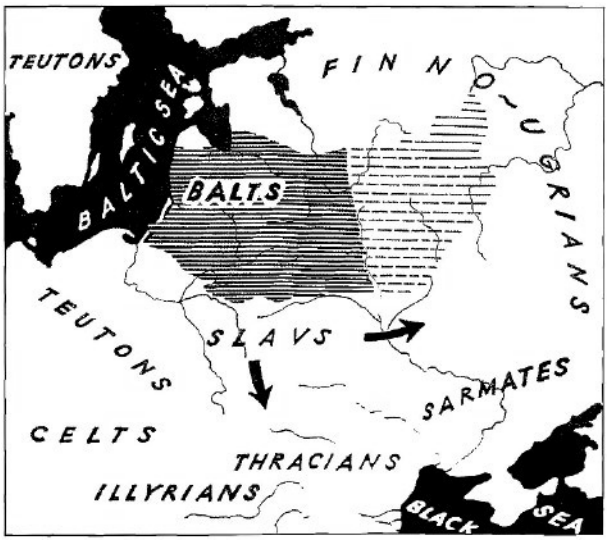
[2] The term "'cal BP' is the abbreviation for 'calibrated years before the present' or 'calendar years before the present' [...]," "What Does cal BP Mean?," https://www.thoughtco.com/archaeological-dating-cal-bp-meaning-3971061.

Between these times and the period of 1100—1300 AD there were many migratory movements in and out of Finland. The new migrants arrived mainly from Northern Europe, the Baltic, the Finno-Ugric areas of contemporary Russia, Northern Germany, and Scandinavia (especially eastern Sweden and Gotland). Before 1000—1300 AD, these Finnish peoples or tribes were basically independent, autonomous, and sovereign. From the ninth century AD, external pressure on these Finnish territories began from East and West, and by the Peace Treaty of Pähkinäsaari (The Treaty of Nöteborg/Treaty of Oreshek, 1323), the areas inhabited by the Finno-Ugric and Baltic Sea Finnish tribes (the Finns, the Tavastians, the Karelians, the Ingrians etc.) had been subjugated by the foreign rule of the Swedes and the Novgorodians.[3] In the South, on the other side of the Gulf of Finland, the Estonians and the Livonian people had a similar fate under the Danish and German rule. In the areas under the Swedish rule, the conquest was consolidated through the re-colonization of the coastal area of Southern Finland by more loyal Swedish people, especially during the thirteenth century (Tarkiainen 2010, 95). On the other hand, the areas under influence and later dominance of Novgorod were increasingly repopulated with the Eastern Slavic tribes, though in the beginning relatively sparsely and in a targeted manner.

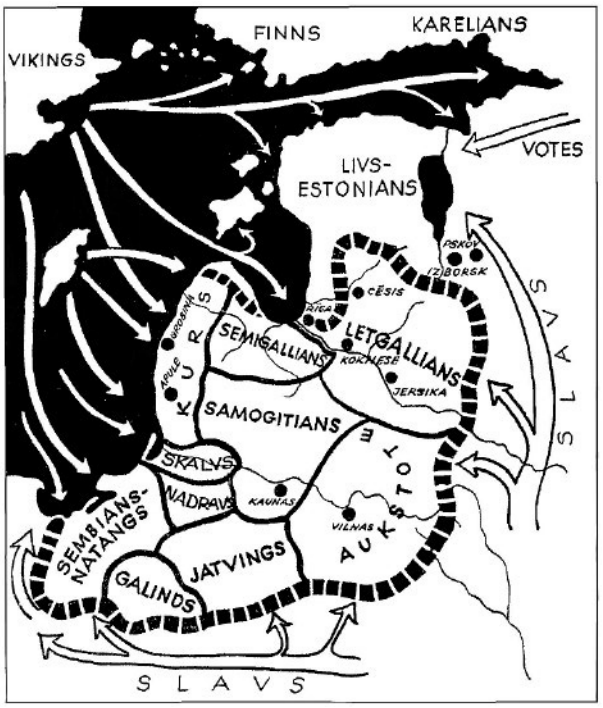
Map 1. The distribution of the Balts during the Third Bronze Age, 1300–1100 BC. Source: Spekke 2006, 40.[4]

[3] See, e.g., Minkkinen 2012 & 2014, also for a more detailed population and migration history of Finland between these eras.

[4] Permission to reproduce the maps in Spekke has been granted by Vija Spekke da Sacco.

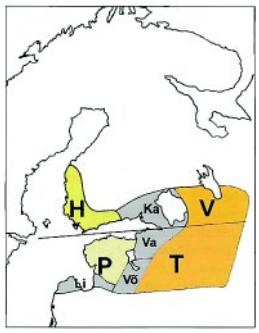


Map 2. The distribution of the Balts in the early Roman period (from Birth of Christ to 200 AD). Source: Spekke 2006, 49.

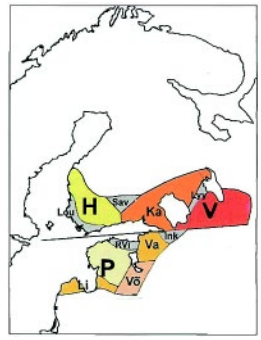


Map 3. The Baltic Tribes in the 9–12th centuries and the expansion of the Vikings and the Slavs. Source: Spekke 2006, 82.

Map 4. The expansion of Christianity in Europe. Source: Røhr, 1983, 33, Map 50.[5]



Map 5. The Baltic Sea Finns of the first centuries AD.[6] Source: Wiik 2002, 402.[7]



Map 6. The Baltic Sea Finns, approximately 1000 AD. Source: Wiik 2002, 402.

[5] Permission to reproduce the map has been granted by Otava.

[6] Dialect areas H (Tavastian), P (Northern Estonian), Karelian (Ka), V (Veps), T (Chud), Va (Votic), Võ (Võru), Li (Livonian), Lou (Southwestern Finnish), Sav (Savonian), Lyy (Ludic Karelian), Ink (Ingrian) and RVi (Coastal Estonian).

[7] Permission to reproduce the map in the book of Wiik has been granted by Kalevi Wiik.

The Tavastians

At the beginning of the first millennium, between 200—400 AD, the Finns [*varsinais-suomalaiset*, *egentliga Finnar*, the Finns proper, or the second wave of the Baltic Sea Finns coming to Finland from Estonia; in the first wave came the Tavastians circa 5000 years ago] of South-Western Finland began to move inland to Häme (Tavastia). They traveled along the Kokemäki river, and settled especially in Hämeenlinna and Pälkäne. There are diverging views on whether there was an actual movement of new inhabitants, but the newcomers and the earlier inhabitants of Häme were both so-called "inland South-Western Finns" and basically belonged to the same ethnic stock. In addition to them, Häme was already inhabited by the Finnish Sami, or a mixture of people belonging to the so-called Luukonsaari group. The same development continued during 400—600 AD and the Tavastians moved also to Satakunta, Vanajavesi, and Sysmä on the eastern side of Lake Päijänne. (See Wiik 2004, 226—227; Huurre 2009, 264—266.)

Already in the seventh century AD but especially during the Viking era (800—1150), the Tavastians coming from Western Finland settled on the Western and North-Western shores of Lake Laatokka (Ladoga) in the areas of the Sami, who were in the process of becoming culturally increasingly like the Tavastians. At that time, also the Varangians (or the Vikings) settled in the areas of Ancient-Karelians in the South-Eastern areas on the shores of Lake Laatokka, in the place known in the Icelandic sagas as Aldeijuborg, and in about 1000 the first Eastern Slavs arrived at the Ancient-Karelians territories on the South-Western shores of Lake Laatokka. The Ancient-Karelians of the South-Eastern shores of Lake Laatokka moved to the Western and North-Western side of Lake Laatokka and as a majority they Karelianized this area, which had been Tavastianized earlier. The Karelians proceeded to Suvilahti in the area of present-day Mikkeli, on the watershed of the Lake Kymi water system and the Vuoksi water system. Suvilahti had a water-way from the Lakes Laatokka and Päijänne, and the Karelians met the Tavastians again there, which led to the emergence of a new tribe, the Savonians. (Wiik 2004, 323, 344—348; Huurre 2009, 170—171; see also Minkkinen 2014, 4.)

Southern Ostrobothnians in Central Finland

Between 200 and 400 AD, the Finns proper became divided geographically in three parts; those who went inland to Tavastia to become the Tavastians, those who stayed in the Southern side of the Kokemäki river delta to become the Southwestern Finns, and those who stayed on the Northern side of the river delta to become the Southern Ostrobothnians. During the Migration Period of (*Völkerwanderung*) 400—600 AD, the Estonian influence weakened while the Scandinavian influence grew stronger, and Southern Ostrobothnia probably developed into a Finnish-Scandinavian dual language entity. Due to the Huns and other migrant peoples, the Baltic Sea connections from Finland to

Central Europe could no longer run through the Baltic Sea in a safe manner, and were instead channeled through Swedish Norrland and Norway. This was very fruitful for Southern Ostrobothnia that was the most prosperous area in Finland from the sixth to the eight century. (Wiik 2004, 289—291.)

The Southern Ostrobothnians most likely considered Central Finland as a hunting and trading area under their sphere of influence (Huurre in Kallio 1987, 51). By the end of the Merovingian era (600—800 AD), Southern Ostrobothnia declined and its Scandinavian links weakened. Moreover, instead of the Southern Ostrobothnia route, eastern trade began to take place increasingly through the Gulf of Finland. Southern Ostrobothnia's population density diminished, and it has been suggested that the area became completely depopulated. Some believe that the population moved southwards to Satakunta, while others suggest that a destructive enemy attack was the reason for the decline in population. (Wiik 2004, 291.) Be that as it may, the Southern Osthrobothnian base by the River Kyröjoki lost vigor around 800 AD, and hunting and trading there ceased. Matti Huurre (in Kallio 1987, 51) suggests that this insufficiently known occurrence brings to mind the battles between the peoples of Kalevala and Pohjola.[8] However, evidence also suggests that Central Finland was more permanently settled at the end of the pre-historic period, even if perhaps only impermanently. Be it as it may, in the documents of the historical era, these terrains were just a wilderness of the Tavastians and their only permanent inhabitants were the Lapps. (Huurre in Kallio 1987, 51, 55.)[9]

Inhabiting and Colonizing Tavastia (Häme) and Rautalampi Area in Central Finland

The Rautalampi area that belongs to the Lake Päijänne water system was a wilderness of the Tavastians, who penetrated all the way to the Lake Saimaa water system. However, the Karelians pushed them back at the end of the pagan era, and the borderline of their respective wildernesses came to be on the watershed of the water systems of Päijänne and Saimaa. Tavastia proper (Kanta-Häme/Egentliga Tavastland) is located on the edges of the southern routes of the river Kokemäki water system, but the Tavastians could not go to the wildernesses on the side of Lake Näsijärvi, which belonged to the Satagundians (inhabitants of Satakunta/Satagunda/Satagundia/Finnia Septentrionalis province). The parishes of Tavastia proper most likely took over the headwater areas of the Päijänne

[8] A place, a community of a people/tribe in the north as indicated in the epic poems of Kalevala and other ancient traditional lore.

[9] The term "Lapp" does not necessarily refer only to the Sami, but also to the way of life, to the people living and moving and not having a settled life.

water system as their wilderness already when the populating and the wilderness activities of the southern parts of Päijänne water system began. The eastern outskirts of the Häme wilderness proper were delineated by the limits of the Rautalampi route. It was also the eastern borderland area of the Swedish Realm, drawn (approximately) for the first time formally by the Pähkinäsaari Peace Treaty (1323) with Novgorod. The northern headwater areas of Rautalampi were on the Novgorod side of the border. As Novgorod could not control these areas of "its" Karelia, they were taken over by the Tavastians, and the Savonians also extended their wilderness to the areas of Kuopio and Iisalmi. (Saloheimo 1959, 14—15, the quotation marks by PM.)

Along with the Second Crusade of 1238—1239, sanctioned by the Pope Gregory IX and led by Birger Jarl, the Swedes crushed the rebelling Tavastians — who, among other things, disliked the foreigners imposing taxes on them (see Minkkinen 2012, 63). According to the Eric Chronicle (*Erikskrönikan*), "The Tavastians then escaped, the pagans lost, and the Christians won." The Tavastian "pagans" who did not consent to be baptized were killed. The Christians then populated the area with the Christian men, and the land became, according to the Chronicle, completely Christian. As an additional benefit its writer states: "I think that the Russian King lost it." (Eerikinkronikka 2013, 61.[10]) About 64 years later, when the period of war with Novgorod had more or less ended with the Pähkinäsaari Peace Treaty, the Swedes started to be interested in inhabiting the backwoods of Tavastia, so-called "Northern Tavastia." King Magnus Eriksson, *Dej gracia rex Suecie, Noruegie et Skanie, omnibus Finlandiam, Nylandiam, Alandiam, Tauastiam et Satagundiam inhabitantibus*, stated in his open letter (April 29, 1334) to the inhabitants of the abovementioned provinces of Eastland (Österland):

> *As we have learned that many of the woodlands at your place have been burnt and slashed, and though suitable for cultivation, lay abandoned, thus we give such lands, unless their owners do not want or can take them for permanent cultivation, to others, whomever, to be cultivated and to be taken over, on the condition that they are willing to pay taxes to the Crown.*[11]

The permission would have been given by Finland's governor Erengisle Andersson, who confirmed the rights of the settlers/colonists with his letter signed on July 22, 1337, with which a right to cultivate and settle would be granted to him and his descendants for-

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[10] Quotation translated from the Finnish version by Minkkinen, and the quotation marks in the word "pagans" added by Minkkinen.

[11] Quotation translated by Minkkinen from the Finnish translation by Jalkanen 1900, 37; King's title and the whole letter can be found from the Black Book of Turku (Åbo) Cathedral (Turun tuomiokirkon Musta kirja, Åbo Domkyrkas Svartbok, TTMK, offered in digitalized form by Finland's National Archives (Kansallisarkisto, KA, Diplomatarium Fennicum (DF), record (*tietue*) 413 (Stockholm April 29, 1334), http://extranet.narc.fi/DF/detail.php?id=413).

ever.[12] However, the backwoods of "Northern Tavastia" were not uninhabited and even though they were sparsely populated — by the Tavastian, Karelian, and some Southern Ostrobothnian wilderness users — the Lapps obtained their livelihood from there (Jalkanen 1900, 8—11; Huurre 1972, 46; Kallio 1972, 68—69). Under the Pähkinäsaari Peace Treaty, Savonia, at that time the Särkilahti district, stayed on the Swedish side of the border. The Savonians had to live in a narrow space located between Tavastia and Karelia, and began to migrate north in the fifteenth until the seventeenth century. Thus, they came into contact with the Tavastian wilderness users in the Rautalampi area, which led to border skirmishes. Both sides also carried out guerilla-style raids against each other. The Savonians also skirmished with the Karelians, which sparked disputes between Sweden and Novgorod. However, at that time the question about the border of two realms was surpassed by the border disputes between Tavastia and Savonia, which the ruling power wanted to end. (cf. Saloheimo 1959, 15; Markkanen 1983, 97—98; Viinanen 2011, 6.)

Consequently, many dispute settlements and legal proceedings took place and were headed by the bishop of Turku Magnus Olai (Maunu II Tavast/Magnus II Tavast) in 1415 and the Lord High Constable (Riksmarsk), as well as the future King Karl Knutsson Bonde in 1446—1447. In 1452, the Savonians still enjoyed some minor benefits, and in 1466, Karl Knutsson fixed the border permanently. This provincial border settlement lasted until 1614. There were also disputes between the settlers and the Lapps (at least partially the Sami and/or the Luukonsaari mixed people[13]) and even if the settlers were afraid of the "witching powers" of the Lapps, the latter had to steadily withdraw towards the north. (Minkkinen 2014, 6—7.) Even if the most alarming skirmishes at the time took place between these Finnish tribes, especially the latter part of the fifteenth century saw constant warfare and brief episodes of peace with the Novgorodians (and their Danish allies).

Gustav I Eriksson Vasa

After surviving the aftermath of the dissolution of the Kalmar Union and securing his position as King of Sweden, Gustav I Vasa proceeded with the colonization of Eastland's wilderness. The promotion of the expansion of settlements was important, because it guaranteed that the borderlands would belong to the Realm. It also increased the num-

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[12] Jalkanen 1900, 37; TTMK/KA/DF, record (*tietue*) 445 (Åbo July 22, 1337), http://extranet.narc.fi/DF/detail.php?id=445; see also http://anttioskari.vuodatus.net/lue/2009/05/1300-luvun-poimintoja.

[13] However, it is important to remember that the settlers and the Sami people shared a Finno-Ugric and Uralic bloodline, even if that of hundreds or thousands of years of separation and infusions with other bloods. In the case of Luukonsaari mixed peoples the blood relation was much closer.

ber of taxpayers, which was in line with the program of the government and taxation reform the King started in 1539—1540. Vasa had been influenced by the German idea that the land did not belong to the peasants but to the monarch instead. In 1542, he proclaimed in an open letter to his subjects in Norrland that all unpopulated forestlands are crownlands [in other words, his lands]: "*[...] sådana äger, som obygde ligger, höre Gud, oss, och Swerigis Crone till, och ingen annan*" (such lands that stay unbuilt, belong to God, Us and the Swedish Crown, and no one else). (Konung Gustaf den Förstes Registratur XIV/1542 (1893), 40—42; Jalkanen 1900, 40; Korhonen 1949, 292—297; Berndtson 1965, 95.) This policy was applied in Eastland too. To cement his own and his offspring's kinghood and newly obtained possessions, the Diet of Västerås produced an inheritance agreement (*Västerås arvförening*) that made Sweden a kingdom based on kinghood's heredity. (Cf. Korhonen 1949, 300.)

The Tavastians stood to lose from the King's colonization project. They complained about the actions of the Lapps and the newly arrived Savonians, but their complaints did not produce the result they wanted. However, King Vasa wrote to leaders in Finland and though he lamented the wrongdoings, Vasa supported the Savonian newcomers in his letter of May 28, 1550. (Konung Gustaf den Förstes Registratur XXI/1550 (1903), 250—251; Berndtson 1965, 95—96; Kallio 1972, 77.) The King's letter was also addressed to Kustaa Fincke, the Commandant of the Savonlinna Castle (also known as Olavinlinna), who fomented the settlement of the Savonians, and who asked in 1552 to be nominated as a Hollola hundreds (districts, circuits) judge to accomplish the settlement and to halt related violent disputes (Korhonen 1949, 298; Berndtson 1965, 96—97). In addition to the Lapps and the Savonians, the land-hungry nobleman also threatened the position of the Tavastians, who ended up selling their wilderness lands when they realized that their dominance of the wilderness was about to end (see Kallio 1972, 93—95). Herman Fleming, the bailiff of Hämeenlinna, wrote to King that the continuity of the Tavastians landholdings would benefit the Crown because otherwise the Tavastians would impoverish, but the King did not change his mind (Jalkanen 1900, 55—56).

Inhabiting Kuukkajärvi

The number of incoming Savonians increased notably during the 1550s, and the era of wilderness was followed by a period of permanent settlement. In 1552, there were 47 Tavastian households, fifteen Savonians, and five with an uncertain background in the wilderness area. In 1560, the respective numbers were 35, 64, and 16. (Jalkanen 1900, 49.) The number of households may seem quite low now, but at that time Finland's total population was only about 300,000.[14]

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[14] See, e.g., "Suomen asukasluku kautta aikojen," http://www.kolumbus.fi/rastas/list/asukasluku.html.

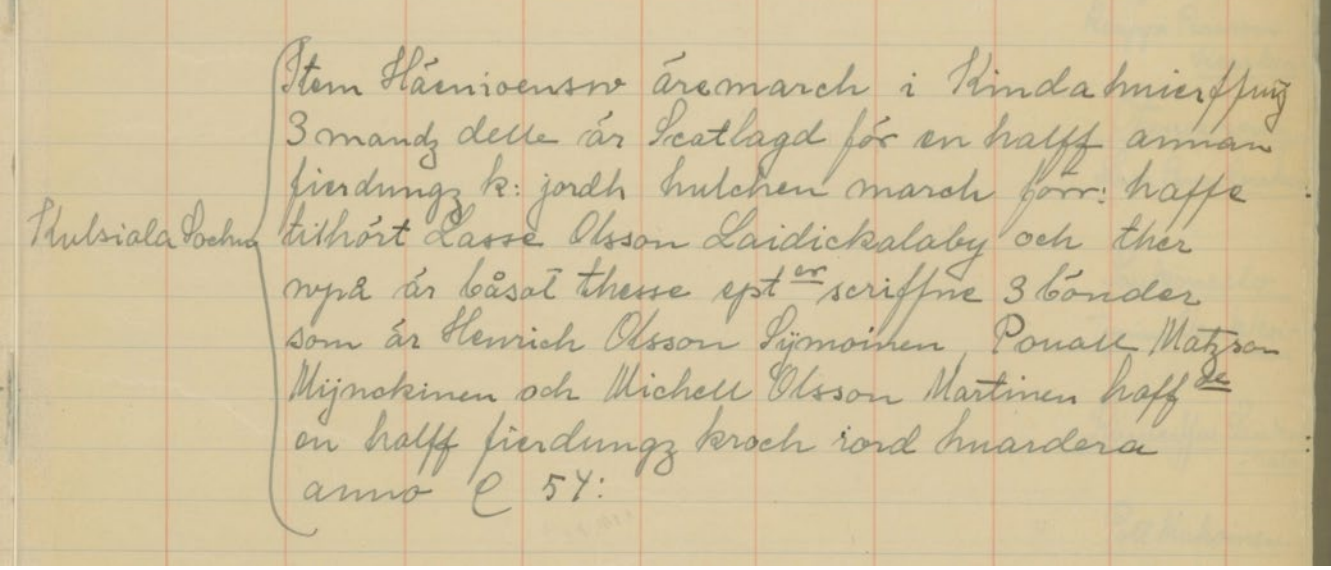

Image 1. The general catalogue of Finland's population (SAY): Heinäjoensuu settlers. Source: KA/AYL/RLVS, 1550–1559, section (*jakso*) 4, see footnote 20.

The (royal) wilderness list or decree placed the Savonian-born men Heikki Simonen, Paavo Minkkinen, and Mikko Marttinen as settlers to the Heinäjoensuu wilderness, in the area of the nascent village of Kuukkajärvi. Of these settlers, only Minkkinen became a permanent inhabitant,[15] and he had lived in the area since 1548.[16] Paavo Minkkinen's original family estate was called Salmela. His brother Niilo Minkkinen settled to Kuukkajärvi too, and he was marked as a householder of the Paanala original family estate in 1561.[17] Salmela was the oldest original family estate in the Kuukkajärvi area and the whole Great Saarijärvi area (Kallio 1972, 104), which itself was a part of the historical Old Rautalampi administrative parish.

Another Kuukkajärvi family of interest in this chapter is the Hiironen (or Hiroinen) family that was probably also of Savonian origin. Paavo Hiironen was marked as the householder of the original Hiroila family estate in 1561. In the General Catalogue of Finland's population (Suomen asutuksen yleisluettelo, SAY), Paavo Hiroinen's estate is recorded as being in Ackajärvi (nowadays Akkojärvi) from 1561—1579 and in the catalogue of 1580—1599, his estate is recorded as being in Kuukkajärvi from 1586. Since the

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15 Kansallisarkisto, Asutuksen yleisluettelo, Rautalampi, Laukaa, Viitasaari, Saarijärvi 1550—1559, section (*jakso*) 104, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1292829 (from now on KA/AYL/RLVS + years); Kallio 1972, 78—79, 104. Minkkinen's name in the list is Povall Matzson Mijnckinen.

16 There was a judgement of 1604 by South Finland's Chief Judge (*lagman*, *laamanni*), according to which Minkkinen's homestead's or original family estate's (*kantatila*) border with the Kuivasmäki (Petäjävesi) estate inhabitants in 1548 was set to Kaijansato (Kallio 1972, 79, 104 and his archival source in Finland's National Archives VA, öö 1/34 (ES 1694) and K-SMK, Uurainen 32—33; see also Sinisalo 1993, 20—21).

17 Kallio 1972, 104; KA/AYL/RLVS 1561—1579, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294743.

lakes are adjacent, this is probably only a technical issue.[18] The main interest here is given to his son, the next householder of Hiroila, Heikki Hiironen, who, according to Reino Kallio, probably died in Finland's — very international — Civil War of 1596—1597, the so-called Club War (Kallio 1972, 209).

The phase of settler expansion ended in the area of the Rautalampi administrative parish in 1571, though in Viitasaari it continued until the 1580s, and the number of taxable estates remained stable from 1571 until the end of the seventeenth century. Completely new estates were rare. Habitation continued to develop in other ways, for instance through dividing the very extensive original family estates for the needs of the offspring. In 1564, the number of houses was 209, in 1577 238, in 1584 only 207, in 1593 260, and in 1602 262. Then the growth continued and in 1621, the number of houses climbed to 344, in 1641 378, in 1664 379, and in 1711 to 398. (Jalkanen 1900, 68—70; Markkanen 1983, 229.) Some of the estates were noblemen's tenant farmer estates, though tax farms were a clear majority during the sixteenth century (Jalkanen 1900, 70, 81).

The same trend was visible in Kuukkajärvi, in the original Minkkinen family estates. On the other hand, the original Hiironen family estate remained undivided until 1752 (Kallio 1987, 768). After Paavo Minkkinen, the householder of Salmela was Reko Minkkinen (1579—1606), then Olavi Rekonpoika (1607—1635), and Matti Niilonpoika (1636—1639). After that, the estate was deserted, though the Minkkinen family possibly stayed until the end of the 1640s, and in 1650, the Salmelainen family took over, as Matti Niilonpoika and his family moved away.[19] Before that, the estates of Piesala and Helkala were divided from Salmela in 1607 and Minkkilä (later Keljo) in 1618. Piesala was founded by Esko Niilonpoika, Helkala by Paavali Laurinpoika, and Minkkilä by Lauri Laurinpoika, and the divided estates remained in the hands of the Minkkinen family.[20]

For its part, the Paanala's householder after Niilo Minkkinen was Klemetti Minkkinen (1593—1606), then Juho Klemetinpoika (1607—1616), and Tuomas Klemetinpoika (1618—1639). After that, the estate was deserted and handed over to the Paananen family. As in the case of Salmela, the Kässi estate was divided from Paanala in 1607 and a new Minkkilä estate in 1617. Kässi was founded by Olavi Niilonpoika (1607—1633) and the new

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[18] Kallio 1972, 104 & 768; KA/AYL/RLVS 1561—1579, section (*jakso*) 8, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294746 and KA/AYL/RLVS 1580—1589, section (*jakso*) 4, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1293403.

[19] Kallio 1987, 104 & 772; KA/AYL/RLVS 1560—1579, section (*jakso*) 5, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294743 & 1580—1599, section (*jakso*) 4, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1293403. One of Reko's (Grels) sons, Lauri Rekonpoika (Lars Grelsson) moved to Sweden (see Wedin 2016, 4).

[20] Kallio 1987, 104; Sinisalo 1993, 21; KA/AYL/RLVS 1600—1619, section (*jakso*) 5, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294104. In the main text of Kallio, Piesala was founded by Olavi Niilonpoika, but in his books householder section the founder is Esko Niilonpoika, that is, according to the General Catalogue of Finland's population (KA/AYL/RLVS 1620—1639, section (*jakso*) 3, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294602) Eskill Nilsson.

Minkkilä estate by Heikki Laurinpoika (1607—1640). This new Minkkilä has remained in the hands of Minkkinens of Kuukkajärvi or Uurainen to date. In 1571, Paanala had been one of the richest estates in the Great Saarijärvi area, but, when evaluated by the quantity of cattle, in 1636, it was one of the poorest estates of that area. Among others, the new Minkkilä of Heikki Laurinpoika, who served also as a rotmaster (*ruotumestari*/*rotmästare*), the householder of the main estate of the local military *ruotu* district, was clearly more prosperous.[21]

Hard Times May Force You to Go – But Where?

Why then were Salmela and Paanala estates deserted in 1639? In the 1630s, King Gustav II Adolf's realm was burdened by many wars, especially the Thirty Years' War and the years of scarcity. Hunger was endemic and many men, women, and children died due to the Little Ice Age, the coldest temperatures taking place in Europe from the end of sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century.[22] Kuukkajärvi was the hardest hit area. Of its eleven estates only two were not deserted, Hiirola and Piesala (Kallio 1987, 116—117, 159). But the 1630s was not the only decade during which hard times prevailed, as to varying degrees they had been ever-present almost from the beginning of the permanent settlement in 1570.

Wars and Taxes

The abovementioned Thirty Years' War (1618—1648) was not the only war that caused problems for the settlers or for Finland as a whole. Between 1570 and 1595, Sweden and Russia were once more at war, the so-called 25 Year's Nordic War, known in Finland also the "Long Hate." For its part, the war also laid ground for Finland's international Civil War, the Club War that was also connected to the Swedish Crown's inheritance issues and to the broader European religious wars. The 25 Year's War was heavy not

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[21] See and cf. Kallio 1987, 104, 171, 213 & 767—773; Sinisalo 1993, 21; see also KA/AYL/RLVS 1600—1619, section (*jakso*) 5, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294104 and 1620—1639, section (*jakso*) 3, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1294602. See also http://wiki.narc.fi/portti/index.php/Teema:_Palvelus_armeijassa. Unlike in Germany, where the *Rotten* (singular: *Rotte*) consisted of 6—12 men, in Sweden/Finland each *ruotu*/*rot* had 21 men, including the rotmaster (see, https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lippue_(jalkav%C3%A4ki) and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/F%C3%A4hnlein).

[22] See, e.g., Minkkinen 2014, 22, and a Reconstructed Temperature diagram in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Little_Ice_Age#/media/File:2000_Year_Temperature_Comparison.png.

only in itself and the related casualties, but it also made the related increased taxation and the necessity to maintain an army a heavy burden for the peasants and the tax-paying settler estates.

According to Kalevi Wiik, taxation had also been the very reason for "the Savonian Expansion," the "biggest population transfer in Finland's historical era" (Wiik 2004, 325—326), also towards the Rautalampi area in Central Finland. After the Peace of Pähkinäsaari (1323), Sweden began to expand along the coasts of the Gulf of Bothnia, and the wilderness users from Bothnia, Tavastia, and Savonia continued to take over wilderness areas, despite the objections of Novgorodians (Jalkanen 1900, 39[23]). The Olavinlinna (Savonlinna) castle, that served as a backup castle for the Viipurinlinna castle and as a support base for the Savonian Expansion, was also built on the Novgorodian side of the border (Minkkinen 2012, 68). The taxation system had been reformed during the sixteenth century. New taxation and the taxes of 1510—1526, 1543, and 1555—1556, which were related to the construction and maintenance of the castle, became permanent. The construction of the castle began in 1475, and, according to Wiik, the tax rise of 1475 was the trigger that initiated the expansion of the Savonians (Berndtson 1965, 93; Wiik 2004, 325—326).

In 1561, the taxation of the wilderness settlers was organized on a permanent base in the Rautalampi administrative parish area as well. There were crown taxes, church taxes, taxes to support various kinds of public servants, and additional taxes; according to Jalkanen, there were nine different taxes altogether. One was needed, for example, for the royal wedding costs, another for the tar of the navy. A very heavy additional tax was the 1571 "silver tax," ten percent of the value of the settler's chattel, which was needed to redeem the Elfsborg (Älvsborg) fortress near Gothenburg from the Danish. Between 1562—1591, the tax burden rose by about 50 percent. (See Jalkanen 1900, 67, 106, 110—122; Berndtson 1965, 177—183.) Besides becoming enlisted to the army and to the actual war during the 25 Year's Nordic War which began in 1570, the heaviest war-related burden was the so-called *Linnaleiri* ("castle or fortress encampment"), a duty or an obligation imposed to support and accommodate the troops. This was so especially after 1574, when the troops were given a right to collect their sustenance directly from the peasant-settlers — they often collected much more than they needed. It was a deviation from the original plan, according to which the troops should have been accommodated and sustained in the crown's manors and castles. (See Berndtson 1965, 183; Ylikangas 2009, 94.)

When the "Long Hate" began, the troops from Sweden and Ostrobothnia began to travel through the Rautalampi parish when they moved to Viipuri in Karelia and back again (Jalkanen 1900, 132). In addition to the Swedes for example from Småland in Southern Sweden, there were foreigners from Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands belonging to the cavalry, who, according to Yrjö [Sakari Yrjö-] Koskinen, were not familiar

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[23] Jalkanen uses the term "Russians," but at that time "Novgorodians" is still more correct.

with the country and its inhabitants and joined the war effort purely for its rapacity. However, as Koskinen sadly recalls, through the voice of a sixteenth century upper class eyewitness Henrik Klasson Horn af Kanckas, the local Finnish cavalry (*knaapit*), "most of them pure trash," did not behave much better. (Koskinen 1877, 78—79.)

The tax estates like those in Kuukkajärvi were in a poorer position than the nobleman's tenant farmer estates, which faced a lesser tax burden and were also free from the *Linnaleiri* burden. From 1592, 37 estates from Old Laukaa and Saarijärvi had to bear this burden, including the Minkkinen estates Salmela and Paanala and the Hiirola estate and its householder Heikki Hiironen. (See Minkkinen 2014, 13.) The first known *Linnaleiri* was established in the Old Rautalampi administrative parish area in 1583, when the Tavastia military contingent (*lippukunta*) was accommodated there. There had been complaints about *Linnaleiri* problems for many years, and Heikki Hiironen had supplied the local vagrant and circulating peasants with [forbidden] arms. He was arrested in 1587 and tried in 1589. At that time, his actions did not yet spark a broader rebellion. (Kallio 1972/1987, 208—209.)

However, soon after the 25-year Nordic War ended in 1595, the Finnish Civil War, the Club War (1596—1597), began. It is beyond my scope here to go into the details of the causes, events, and consequences of that War (on these, see, e.g., Koskinen 1877; Ylikangas 2009; Minkkinen 2014), apart from noting that it took place in the context of a broader wave of European rebellions and in the final stages of the sixteenth century's religious wars (the French one, which also had elements of a peasant war, ended in 1598). It was also related to the Swedish Royal inheritance struggle between the catholic Sigismund (crowned as Poland's King Zygmunt III in 1587) and the Duke of Södermanland, Hertig Karl (later King Charles IX/Karl IX from 1604), into which the Counter-Reformation efforts of Pope Clemens VIII and his nuncio and Jesuit Germanico Malaspina were also involved. (Lappalainen 2009, 12, 100—111, 147; Ylikangas 2009, 354.)[24] It was, however, fundamentally a peasant rebellion.

The series of broad-based rebellions began in Southern Ostrobothnia and Rautalampi and the so-called First Rautalampi Rebellion began (most likely) in 1595, which was a bad harvest year and a time when there was presence of a band of horsemen representing the crown (*huovi*) in the Kivijärvi village (see Ylikangas 2009, 103; Minkkinen 2014, 17). This rebellion was quickly suppressed, as was finally the actual war that began in 1596 and ended in a series of deceptions by the "loyal" forces and the

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[24] According to Ylikangas (see and cf. 2009, 13—14), at least 3,000 people were killed in the Club War, which would correspond to 75,000 in proportionate terms of contemporary Finland's population, that is, almost as many as in the Wars of 1939—1945, principally the Winter War (1939—1940) and the Continuation War (1941—1944). The Club War had also strong elements of an international war, as the separate development of the "Eastland," which had been based on the [at least partially] own nobleman class, ended, and the "Eastland" became ever more firmly tied to Sweden.

Map 7. Heikihiroises Lambi. Map courtesy of Maud Wedin, 2016.

brutal suppression of the rebel forces. The same Heikki Hiironen from Kuukkajärvi, who had rebelled before, was now, according to Kallio, possibly one of the Rautalampi club-warriors and maybe also a local peasant leader. Moreover, Kallio suggests, because the Hiirola estate had a new householder in 1597, it is probable that Heikki Hiironen had died in the Club War.[25] However, Maud Wedin has presented new evidence, which suggests that Heikki Hiironen did not die then but may instead have escaped to Sweden proper, probably to Ockelbo Finnmark in Gästrikland in South-East Norrland, in Central Sweden. According to an old map, there is pond or pool (*lampi* in Finnish) called "Heikihiroises Lambi."[26]

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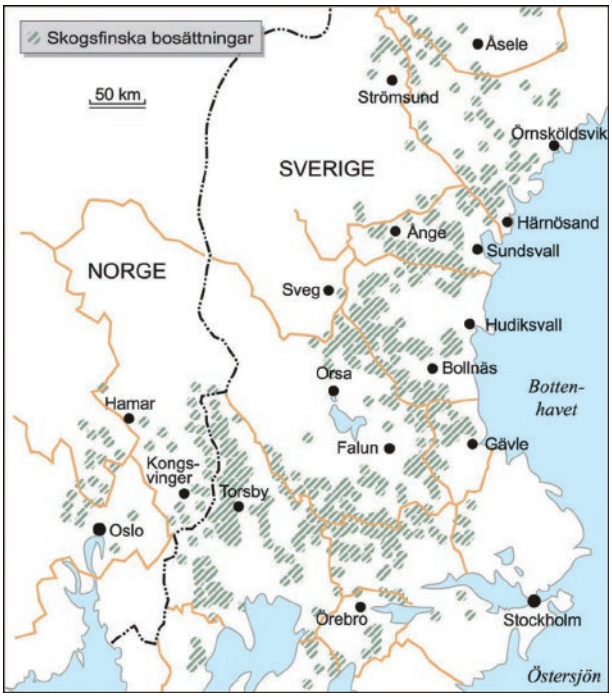
[25] Kallio 1972, 209; KA/AYL/RLVS 1580—1599, section (*jakso*) 4, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1293403; see also Berndtson 1965, 185.

[26] Maud Wedin's email (March 3, 2016): "I Gästriklands finnmarker fanns bevisligen släktnamnet Hiiroinen som möjligen har kopplingar till Borgsjö. [...] Som kuriosa skickar jag dig en kartbild av Heikihiroises Lambi från Ockelbo Finnmark i Gästrikland."



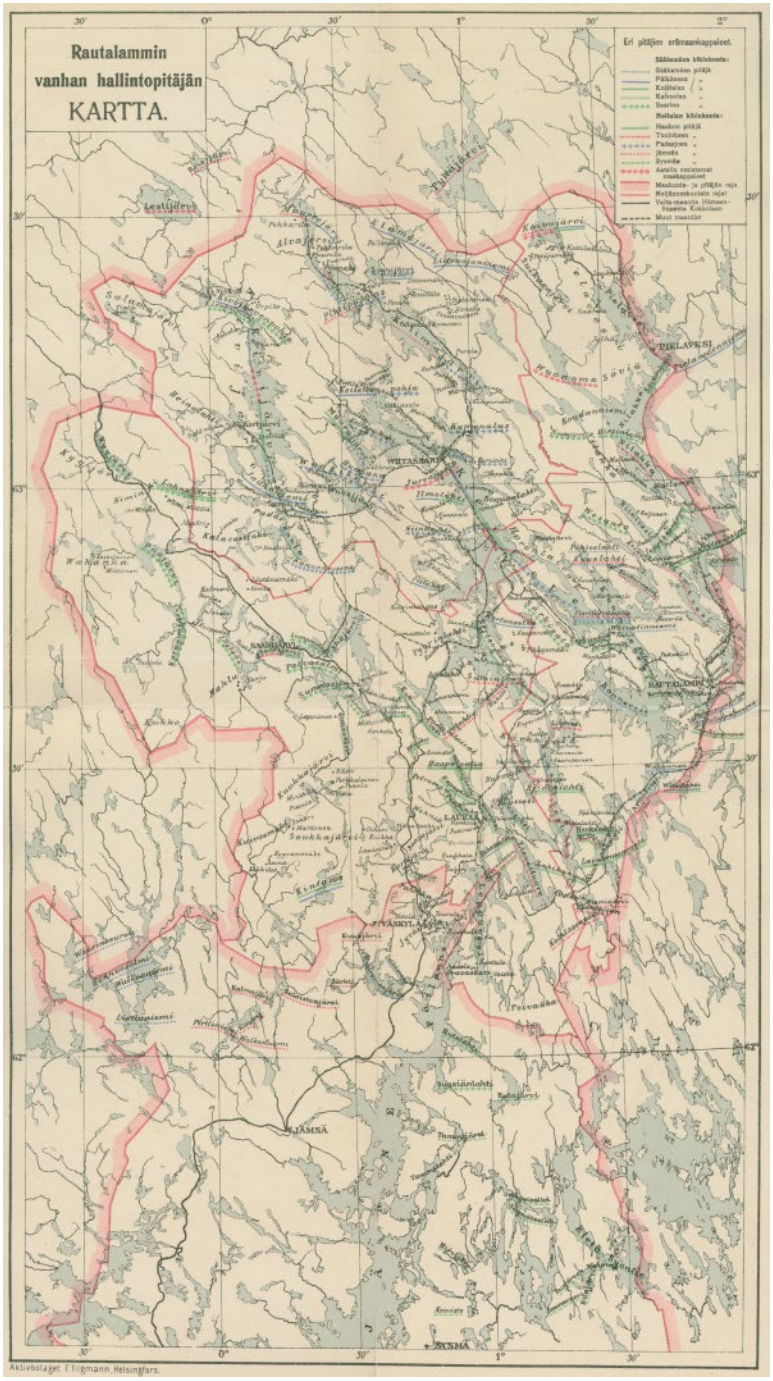
Map 8. Forest Finn Settlements. Source: Wedin 2016, 4.

Foreign Held Fiefdoms and Bad Harvests

When the Duke of Södermanland, Hertig Karl, conquered Finland in 1599, the war efforts against Sigismund and Poland moved to Estonia and Livonia. As King Charles IX, he began to give fiefdoms in Finland to the Baltic nobles, also in the Old Rautalampi administrative parish. (Kallio 1972, 124.) According to Pohjolan-Pirhonen, this meant that he did not trust Finland's earlier masters. Even though the survived Finland's nobles swore loyalty to the new King, in 1610, 52 Baltic fiefdom holders controlled 3,633 estates or houses and 2,883 ¾ were held by the Swedes, whereas the Finns had only 36 (*sic*). (Pohjolan-Pirhonen 1960, 469—474, 491, 501—502, 510—511.[27])

This was another consequence of the Club War and its aftermath, and Kuukkajärvi was also affected. Along with the King's open letter of June 26, 1604, Fromholtt Patkill was given fiefs in *"Reuthelamby Sochn, som är Reuthelamby och Pernesarij fiärdingh till att niuthe, bruke och beholle, quitt och frij för alle vthlagor, doch att skal gå"* (Hertig Karls Regis-

[27] One can arguably compare this post-Club War situation with Finland's post-1990 economic crisis situation up to date, in which the ownership of foreign capital in Finnish and Finnish-born companies has increased radically.



Map 9. The old Rautalampi administrative parish. Source: Jalkanen 1900, Map Annex.[28]

[28] The map was fabricated by Aktiebolaget F. Tilgmann, Helsingfors. Permission to reproduce the map has been granted by Nordic Label/Carola Lindholm.

tratur 1603—1604, 236[29]). Also, the Minkkinen estates Salmela and Paanala were parts of fiefdom handed to the cavalry master (*ratsumestari*/*ryttmästare*) Patkill, who was known — in the Baltic German land lord style, considering peasants as serfs — to be very harsh to his "commoner" subjects and who also overtaxed Vicar Thomas Andraea's vicarage belonging to his fiefdom in Laukaa. Even though various complaints were made against Patkill, also one directly handed over to the new King Gustav II Adolf in 1615, Patkill possessed, despite the King's inquiries, his fiefs until his death in 1622. (Jalkanen 1900, 143; Berndtson 1965, 296; Kallio 1972/1987, 124—128.)

During this period, Lauri Rekonpoika (Lars Grelsson) from the Minkkinen estate Salmela moved to Sweden, to the Medelpad areas of Borgsjö parish,[30] where he built with his wife Brita Henriksdotter their new home to the shores of Lake Grundsjö sometime in the 1610s. The first archival source to name a so-called Forest Finn called Minkkinen is from 1613 (Älvsborgs Lösen), and Lars Grelsson (Gregersson) was given a protection letter (*Skyddsbrev*) in 1614. He was one of the many Finns (or Savonians) from the Old Rautalampi administrative parish who moved to Sweden to the so-called Finn Forest area in Scandinavia, which emerged from the late sixteenth century to the first half of seventeenth century from Tiveden in the South all the way to Lapland in the North of Sweden and from Swedish Gästrikland in the East to Norway's Telemark in the West. (Wedin 2016, 4.) During the 1580s, the early Forest Finns migrated, for example, to Södermanland and Ångermanland. At the turn of the century, the settlements spread also to Gästrikland with the port town Gävle that became the main entry point for the later Forest Finn colonization in Värmland. (Wedin 2007, 100.[31])

It is not known whether the Minkkinen families took part in the Club War, but it is certain that they too suffered from the wars, taxes, bad harvests, and foreign fief holders. These troubles may or may not have affected Lauri Rekonpoika's decision to move further to the west in Finland and later to Sweden (as many did, whether they stayed in Finland or not), but it seems reasonable to suppose that the act to divide the estates of Piesala and Helkala from Salmela in 1607 had an impact. It is quite possible that Lauri, maybe with some others of his less lucky brothers, did not get his own estate, and was, thus, more or less forced to search his lot in the areas further in the west, because land for new estates in the Rautalampi area was already scarce. Even though Sweden proper was impacted by the wars, taxes, bad harvests, and onerous fief holders too, it is prob-

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[29] Kallio (1972, 124) calls him Fromholt Patkul and Tarkiainen & Tarkiainen (2013, 82) Fromholt von Patkul. The word *vthlagor* means taxes (or payments or remittances, *utlaga*), see the vocabulary section in Happonen 2004, 248.

[30] Maud Wedin, who is a descendant of Lars Grelsson's and Brita Henriksdotter's son Grels Larsson, suggested this to me in an email discussion already on November 1, 2014.

[31] In our pre-panel discussion (September 30, 2016) related to Värmland, which has become something of a "trademark" for the Forest Finns, Maud Wedin informed me that it was probably the third generation of colonists who reached Värmland.

able that in the eyes of many Rautalampi people of that time, Sweden was considered as less impacted and thus attractive, and, therefore, they also searched for a better life, despite the language problems.

It certainly also had the effect that Charles, Duke of Södermanland, welcomed the Finns to the areas of his duchy. The Finns went to Värmland and other forest areas, where the Rautalampi people could continue the slash and burn agriculture they were familiar with. Within Finland, they moved to the Ruovesi parish in Upper Satakunta, which was nearby, or to other parts of Satakunta or to Central Ostrobothnia. Moreover, in addition going to Sweden and later to North America,[32] they moved east to Ingria, the traditional area of the Baltic Sea Finns. This was easier than before because Ingria had become part of the Swedish realm after the Peace of Stolbova (1617). (See and cf. Jalkanen 1900, 69; Berndtson 1965, 303—304; Kallio 1987, 113—115.) Furthermore, despite the hardships, there are always those who decide to move "and see new places" mainly out of curiosity and for the adventure.

And then there was the Little Ice Age, during which extreme temperatures gripped Europe at the end of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century. Before the years of the Great Famine in the end of seventeenth century, 1601 and 1633 were years of very bad harvests and every decade had their bad years. In 1601, the harvest was often completely lost and people died of hunger. The following year was also bad, and a lot of the peasants did not improve, resulting in many estates becoming deserted. In the context of the Thirty Years' War, the 1633 famine turned out to be devastating in Rautalampi, and many estates became deserted in 1634: 86 people died of hunger and in many estates, there were no more cattle to slaughter. To make things even worse, Rautalampi faced another bad harvest in 1635. (Berndtson 1965, 324—328; Kallio 1987, 157—160.)

As already indicated, Kuukkajärvi was hit hardest, and of its eleven estates only two (Hiirola and Piesala) did not became deserted. Both original Minkkinen family estates became deserted after 1639, though the Minkkinen families possibly stayed until the end of 1640s — to be deserted meant that the estate/house could not pay taxes, not necessarily that the house was at least immediately abandoned. What happened subsequently? Lauri Rekonpoika and probably also Heikki Hiironen (or, possibly his son with the same name Heikki[33]) had moved earlier to Sweden, and Kallio thinks that the

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[32] According to Wedin (2016, 4), 140 Forest Finn families moved from the Medelpad area to New Sweden in North America. All did not survive the hazards of the journey. In 1656, a Forest Finn, probably Johan Grelsson, wrote from America to his relatives in Grundsjö and praised the beauty and excellent farming land over there. Consequently, many decided to go and the Forest Finn travelers tried to cross the Atlantic by the ship *Waghen*. Unfortunately, their ship wrecked close to the New England coast and none of these Forest Finns survived.

[33] As suggested by Maud Wedin in our discussions on September 30, 2016.

householder of Salmela, Matti Niilonpoika, could also have moved to Sweden. However, that had become more improbable after 1636, when the locals in Sweden had grown frustrated with the constant influx of Forest Finns and related problems, and the Swedish government declared that the Finns should return to their home country. (Kallio 1987, 142—143.) It is, thus, quite realistic to think that the move took place within Finland, and also to an area quite near.

In the Viitasaari/Konginkangas area, there is a cape pointing at the Koivuselkä watershed area of the Lake Keitele. In 1559, a settler named Kauppi Kaukonen established in Kalaniemi his original family estate called Kajama and in the middle of the 1580s, his brother Simo Kaukonen, known also as Simo Sosko, founded his original family estate there and called it Soskonniemi. Moreover, the sons of another householder of Kajama, Jaakko Kaukonen, founded in 1599 the estates of Räihä and Hakola. However, the families living in Kalaniemi estates changed quite often. (Markkanen 1983, 126, 133—134, 154—156; Minkkinen 2014, 11—12.) The bad harvest years hit also the Kalaniemi estates, and after 1602, all these estates were temporarily deserted. Due to the bad harvests and the burdens caused by the Thirty Years' War, all these estates had attained new families and householders to inhabit them between 1636—1654. (Keränen 1978, 47—50, 536; Markkanen 1983, 220.)

In 1650, Erkki Minkkinen and his wife Juudit became the householders of Soskonniemi, where and in the Sosko (1766) and Mäkelä (1803) estates divided from it, the same Minkkinen family or families have lived to date. Given the fact that that the original family estates in Kuukkajärvi and Kalaniemi were deserted at about the same time, it is reasonable to suppose that Erkki Minkkinen who moved in Soskonniemi of Kalaniemi is a Minkkinen from Kuukkajärvi, possibly Erkki Laurinpoika, from the deserted original family estates or from some of the divided estates, which had at that time as householders many Laurinpoikas (sons of Lauri).[34]

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[34] KA/AYL/RLVS 1634—1654, section (*jakso*) 53, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1297695, names already in 1640 an Erich Larsson and in 1643 Erich Larsson Manninen, with a wife. In the KA/AYL/RLVS of that same area of 1654—1673, section (*jakso*) 53, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1296509, Erich Minckinen and his wife Juditu are already clearly visible. The fact that in the early times there is the name Manninen can possibly be explained as a mistake made by the bookkeeper, most likely a Swedish speaker, not that able in the local language. However, Erkki Minkkinen may also be a descendant of Poll Minckinen, who lived in a place called Langintaipall (according to Keränen 1978, 16, Kongintaipale is the same place as Konginkangas), which can be seen in the same page as Kauppi Kaukoinen of Kalanemeji in 1559 (KA/AYL/RLVS 1550—1559, section (*jakso*) 108, http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=1292833), tax free (thus probably noble) Paanala *rälssitalo* and its fisherman Mikko Minkkinen, given that he did not die in the Club War, or from some other Minkkinen (most likely) from Savonia. Note, however, that Poll Minckinen was one of the names the bookkeeper gave also to Paavo Minkkinen, who founded the Salmela original family estate in Kuukkajärvi at that time.

By Way of Conclusion; Where They Came, Where They Went, and Why?

It is to be hoped that this chapter has succeeded in its main aims. The first was to inform the Swedish and other non-Finnish language readers about the demographic history of Finland and especially that of Central Finland and the historical Rautalampi administrative parish, from where the majority of Forest Finns originated.

The second aim was to examine the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century situation in Finland and Central Finland, that was re-settled by the Savonians during the former period. However, as explained in this chapter, due to the harsh conditions at the turn of the century and the first half of the seventeenth century, many of the second or the third generation descendants of these settlers who came to the Rautalampi administrative parish area moved within Finland proper, within the Swedish Realm (including Ingria), or to Norway. Some of the westbound Forest Finns also migrated to the colonial North America.

With respect to the chapter's research hypothesis, that is, whether a Club War warrior and a probable peasant leader Heikki Hiironen died, as Kallio had suggested, or survived and moved to Sweden, the research results are inconclusive. The new evidence suggests that he did survive and move, but so far it was not possible to ascertain conclusively whether this evidence points at him or to his descendants. However, the future research can resolve this question, which also suggests that also other warriors of this war may have survived and made a similar move.

An reviewer of this chapter wrote that "Extending Finnish scholarship on Forest Finns and Finnish demographic history to Swedish and international readers/researchers is an important contribution." Therefore, given the lack of international knowledge about Finland's demographic and other history — not only that of Central Finland and the Forest Finns — there is evident need for the future research in this field, and especially for its publication in major international languages.

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3. Recalling – Reconstituting – Migration: Sámi Americans and the Immigrant Experience[1]

Thomas A. DuBois

Migration — specifically, the movement of people, with or without livestock, possessions, or plans — is endemic in our world today, perhaps more so than ever before. The "Figures at a Glance" page of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees website lists the yearly number of displaced people in the world at 65.3 million, roughly double the total number of people who live in the Nordic and Baltic countries today (UNHCR 2017). People migrate as temporary labor sojourners, as refugees and asylum seekers, and as migrants seeking a new life in a different society. Sometimes the lines between these different categories and motivations are not clear, even to the people migrating.

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[1] I presented an oral version of this paper at FinnForum XI, held at Turku, Finland, September 28 — October 1, 2016 (DuBois 2016). I am grateful to Tuomas Martikainen of the Migration Institute of Finland and the other conference organizers for inviting me. I also presented a related version of this material in Finnish at a seminar entitled "Missä on Saamenmaa?" held at the Sajos Sámi Cultural Centre in Inari, Finland in 2012 (DuBois 2012). In connection with that conference, my gratitude goes to Ulla Piela of Kalevalaseura and conference organizer Hanna Snellman of the University of Helsinki, who suggested the topic and assured me that a Sámi audience would appreciate hearing my account of the Sámi-American experience. As my text makes clear, I draw here on years of teaching about Sámi migration to North America as part of a course called "Sámi Culture, Yesterday and Today," which I first taught at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the spring of 2003 and which I continue to offer regularly in Madison, occasionally with a streaming video addition for students at other universities, including the Ohio State University and University of Minnesota-Twin Cities. I am grateful for all the great suggestions and input my students and colleagues have given me over the years, several examples of which are referenced here.

Although migration is quintessentially a physical experience, one in which a migrant may struggle to meet the most basic necessities of human life — eating, sleeping, finding shelter — it is also a cultural experience, one that can become shared with others far distant either geographically or temporally. Migration becomes recalled, and in some ways reconstituted, even generations after the fact, as the descendants of migrants reflect on the ways in which a decision to move shaped the lives of the children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren that came after. When members of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole nations take to their motorcycles to retrace the infamous forced migrations that began in the 1830s and are known today as the "Trail of Tears," they not only recall but also reconstitute that poignant and consequential disruption of their cultural history that brought their ancestors to Oklahoma. The commemorative ride has taken place annually now for some 25 years, and it brings together men and women who may live scattered across North America (Ride 2017). So, too, when Nordic Americans "return" to the "Old Country" as tourists or genealogists to see the world that their ancestors left behind, they both recall and reconstitute the momentous journey that carried mostly young and idealistic Nordic men and women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries away from their lands of birth into the mystery and sometimes the misery of a life abroad.

As important as these concrete acts of reconstitution can be, I believe even more consequential is the *imaginative* act of reconstitution that comes when one puts oneself into the shoes of a forebear in one's mind and imagines deeply the experiences that faced a migrant of long ago. Such reconstitution can happen over and over again in one's life and is akin to what Sámi people describe as the meaning and purpose of the *joik* tradition: songs that recall and reconstitute someone or something that might not otherwise be present. Such acts of reconstituting can have more to do with feelings of community membership and identity than with migration narrowly defined: people find themselves drawn into communities framed around a common history of migration, and discover new ties and new relationships to a place and culture that their ancestors, willingly or unwillingly, left behind.

In this chapter, I offer reflections on some of these varied experiences of migration, its longterm recollection and its reconstitution. My focus is on Sámi people, the Indigenous people of Finland, Norway, Sweden and parts of Russia. My essay takes up the issues of migration in four parts, looking first at the notions of migration in Sámi culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then surveying what is known about an extremely important migration of Sámi reindeer herders to Alaska as employees of the U.S. government, then looking at what I call the "hidden migration" of Sámi to other parts of the United States and Canada as part of a wider Nordic migration to the North American continent. Finally, in closing, I touch on the ways in which contemporary Sámi and Sámi Americans recall and reconstitute their familial and personal migration history and identity.

Migration as a Sámi Concept

The great Sámi intellectual Johan Turi (1854—1936) states in his *Muitalus sámiid birra*/*An Account of the Sámi*, the first book ever written in Sámi language:

> *And the Sámi were the first people here, and yet they have not increased in number. One doesn't hear of any Sámi having gone off to America or having become settlers, and there are still not so many Sámi around that they would die of starvation, although they have been suppressed in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. And then we see other ethnic groups, and how they grow and fill up this area in Sweden as well, so much so that thousands leave for America each year; indeed, I think some ten thousand go each year from Sweden and Norway.* (Turi 2012, 99; for original, see Turi 2010, 93.)

Turi refers to the seeming paucity of Sámi participants in the unprecedented mass migration of Norwegians, Swedes and Finns to North America during his era, a migration that reshaped in profound ways the societies that Nordic emigrants left behind and created new communities and histories in various parts of the United States and Canada. It is significant that Turi twice uses the verb *mannat* in his discussion, a phrasing that I have translated as "to go off" and "to leave for" so as to emphasize the novelty and irregularity of the action being described. For although such emigration was unusual for Sámi, migration itself was both familiar and frequent. Harald Gaski and Aage Solbakk employ a familiar saying as the title of their collection of North Sámi proverbs: *Jođi lea buoret go oru* [migrating is better than dwelling] (Gaski & Solbakk 2003). The verb *johtit* used in the proverb refers to the repeated, often seasonal, migrations that Sámi traditionally undertook as part of life, moving from one place to another to take advantage of seasonal resources like fish and cloudberries, or following herds of reindeer as they migrated over the course of the year. Migrating in this sense ensured the sustainability of a Sámi way of life, reducing the human footprint in any given area and ensuring that future generations of Sámi would be able to take advantage of the same resources during their lifetimes. As Gaski writes in the introduction to his *Sami Culture in a New Era,* some Sámi artists continue to value this idea of movement and of leaving a light touch behind:

> *The principle behind their esthetic is to use organic materials, allowing wooden sculptures to be exposed to wind and weather and eventually decompose and disappear without a trace. In a way, this is parallel to the traditional Sami relationship with the natural environment, where the hand of nature erases all traces of Sami migration and settlement, perhaps only leaving behind the ring of stones around a campfire or the folklore surrounding the meaning of a place name. The Sami structures have never been formidable, and our cultural monuments are, above all, memories of culture, transmitted orally, as reminders, rather than physical legacies such as a cathedral or statue.* (Gaski 1997, 11.)

In addition to this culturally normative notion of migration, however, there was also in the Sámi culture of Turi's day the brutal reality of forced migration, something that Turi knew only too well from his own life. Born in the area of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) in 1854, Turi's family had migrated seasonally into the lands of the "arm" of Finland that separates Norwegian Finnmark from northern Sweden. In 1857, as a result of the closure of the Norwegian border with Finland, Turi and his family were obliged to relocate to Gáresavvon (Karesuando), Sweden, in order to continue to use their Finnish pasture lands. The border closing had more to do with the government's concerns regarding the large Finnish/Kven-speaking population that had become ubiquitous in Northern Norway at the time, but it affected Sámi and their reindeer nonetheless. Similarly, when the Swedish government closed its border with Finland in 1889, the Turi family was again obliged to relocate, ending up in the area of Čohkkeras (Jukkasjärvi), Sweden, near the town of Kiruna that would eventually emerge as a mining center. Turi writes of Swedish Sámi having to make arduous migrations over the mountains into coastal Norway because "they have been forbidden to enter into the Finnish districts in which they used to stay," lands that were good in terms of lichen growth and grazing (2012, 84; for original, see Turi 2010, 78). Somewhat later in his life, after the appearance of his first book in 1910, Turi had the opportunity to revisit his childhood Finnish lands together with other travelers. Crossing the Muonio river at Gáresavvon and traveling northwards across the arm of Finland, the travelers came to Bálojávri (Palojärvi), where Turi described his joy at seeing relatives from whom he had been separated, apparently for many years (Turi 1988, 155—156). This sense of forced migration and blocked passage was anything but positive, and Turi, like many other Sámi of his day and after, carried a painful sense of sorrow regarding lands and locales that had become off limits through the decision-making of state authorities. Where Turi uses *johtit* to describe a migration that is natural, temporary and positive, verbs like *mannat* and *fertet* (to be compelled) are used to describe migration that is imposed, long-term, and negative. Part of the pain and irony of the interplay of these two types of Sámi migration, of course, is the fact that, from the authorities' point of view, the first (voluntary) type of migration justified the latter (involuntary) type. Since Sámi were careful to leave little trace of their presence on the lands they occupied, it was easy for authorities to regard those lands as "empty" or "unsettled," or "unowned," thereby making it easier for them to reallocate those lands to others.

The Alaska Sámi Migration

As nineteenth-century border closings and the advance of settler colonization in the entirety of Sápmi continued to push Sámi into ever smaller areas of the vast tracts they once controlled, a new opportunity arose through the offices of an American clergyman

and administrator. As Ørnulv Vorren describes in his important study *Saami, Reindeer, and Gold in Alaska,* the Presbyterian minister and Alaskan Commissioner of Education Sheldon Jackson (1834—1909) became convinced that the road to economic survival for Alaska's coastal Native peoples lay in learning to rely on reindeer (Vorren 1994). If coastal Iñupiat were to learn how to care for reindeer, Jackson and others reasoned, they would no longer have to rely on the vagaries of marine mammal populations, which were sometimes plentiful and sometimes woefully scarce. Attempts to import Chukchi herders from the western side of the Bering Strait to the newly founded Teller Reindeer Station on the shore of the Seward Peninsula were not immediately successful. Although some 1,300 reindeer were eventually imported beginning in 1892, the Chukchi herders that accompanied them did not mix well with their traditional enemies the Iñupiat, to whom they were supposed to impart the art of reindeer husbandry. Frustrated by this cultural impasse, Jackson hit upon the idea of inviting Sámi instead. With U.S. Congressional funding, Jackson sent a young Norwegian migrant William Kjellmann from Madison, Wisconsin, back to his native Finnmark with instructions to find Sámi and dogs willing to come to Alaska. Some six families and a bachelor from the Guovdageaidnu area were recruited in 1894, members of the Eira, Kemi, Larsen, Nakkila, Rist, Somby and Tornensis families. Men, women, and children came, bringing with them dogs, material culture, and traditional knowledge. They journeyed from Guovdageaidnu by boat to Oslo, by steam ship to New York, by train to Madison, St. Paul, Seattle, and San Francisco, and then by whaling ship to Teller Station, arriving some three months after their initial departure. The Sámi were to teach the Iñupiat how to herd, how to harness and drive tamed reindeer, how to milk and make cheese, and how to make various pieces of essential equipment, such as sleds, boots, and harnesses.

The Sámi who made this journey were temporary labor sojourners, and by the turn of the century, most returned to Norway (Vorren 1994, 20). A few families, however, decided to stay, establishing herds of their own from reindeer loaned temporarily from the U.S. government herd. Some, like the family of Per Aslaksen Rist and his wife Berit Anne Andersdatter Spein, returned to Norway initially but subsequently decided to move back to Alaska again. All of the Alaskan veterans shared their positive views of their experiences with friends, family, and neighbors, and as herding lands became scarcer and scarcer in Sápmi, Alaska seemed to offer a new hope and beginning.

The discovery of gold in Alaska in 1897 created a new set of issues for the U.S. government. The massive influx of often woefully ill-prepared prospectors into Alaska meant that the government had to plan for ways to supply people with the food and other provisions that they needed to survive. Jackson, now with the backing of the War Department, set about recruiting more Sámi, as well as trained draft reindeer, to fill a new niche as transport providers. He and Kjellmann traveled to Norway, where they were able to sign on some seventy men and some twenty women — Sámi, Norwegians, and Finns. They also purchased 539 trained pack reindeer, about the same number of sledges, and five hundred tons of lichen. They loaded the ship Manitoba with its hu-

man, material, and animal cargo and sailed from Bossekop to New Jersey in twenty days, where all travelers transferred to trains for transport to Seattle and from there they proceeded, after some delays, to Alaska.

Reading the plans of Jackson and the various government officials he dealt with, it is easy to imagine the Sámi in these migrations as passive cargo. Jackson's ideas of re-educating and deploying Indigenous people — be they Native Alaskans or Sámi — were steeped in assumptions of cultural evolution, and Anglo-Eurocentrism is palpable throughout his reports. Yet despite Jackson's limitations, the Sámi migrants who took him up on his offer of transport and employment in Alaska were not passive: they were canny and well informed men and women who weighed the costs and benefits of the Alaska offer and decided to give it a try. One of the intrepid was Samuel Johannessen Balto, who had already left Sápmi once to accompany Fridtjof Nansen on his famous Greenland expedition. Vorren quotes the warm letter that Balto wrote to Nansen in New Jersey as the travelers waited for their train journey to begin (46). The sense of confidence and agency that Balto displays is similar to that which Catrine Baglo describes in her study of Sámi who agreed to become part of zoo and fair exhibits of Sámi culture in various cities of Europe during the nineteenth century (Baglo 2011). Where we today recognize deplorable exoticism and racism inherent in displaying Indigenous people in zoos as oddities for entertainment, Baglo argues that the Sámi who took part in such enterprises also sometimes enjoyed themselves and used the experience to supplement their incomes in useful ways. They had agency in their migration.

The idea of choice and empowerment is evident in the interviews that Pekka Sammallahti made in 1980 with elderly Sámi who had spent part of their childhoods in Alaska before returning to Finland (Sammallahti 2016a, 2016b). Sammallahti's informants describe their time in Alaska as one of curiosity and adventure, in which their families came to know and sometimes to intermarry with Native Alaskans. Aage and John Trygve Solbakk have combed through the many pages of the Laestadian newspaper *Nuorttanaste* from the years 1901 to 1937 to recover and republish letters written by Alaskan Sámi to their friends and relations back home (Solbakk & Solbakk 2009). More recently, they have produced an English translation of their collection (Solbakk & Solbakk 2014). There one reads letters very much parallel to what scholars like Ingrid Semmingsen (Aamland & Semmingsen 1953; Semmingsen 1975), Orm Øverland (2012), and Jennifer Attebery (2007) have documented in their studies of letters home from Norwegian and Swedish emigrants. Sámi writers try to convince readers to come join them, talking up the riches to be had for the enterprising and brave. W. N. Balto reports on December 22, 1906 that Alfred Nilima, only 27 years old, is making loads of money, selling more than five thousand pounds of reindeer meat a year and running a very successful store that out competes any of the American ones (Solbakk & Solbakk 2014, 51). A writer named "I. J." of Panee, Alaska, writes in that same year that Klemet Persen Boine and Anders A. Bahr of Kárášjohka (Karasjok) and Isak Johannesen Hætta of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) have multiple prosperous gold claims and are doing well (46—47). The same letter also

notes, however, the death of two Sámi men in a mine cave-in that same year. Letters admit the migrants' occasional longing for home, inform family and friends of the death of fellow emigrants under peaceful or violent circumstances, and sometimes look back at their lives with a sense of resignation or regret. Their words of encouragement hit home for many in Sápmi, and many other Sámi followed them to Alaska, including Per Turi, the nephew of Johan Turi who, as noted above, had written in 1908 that no one ever heard of Sámi emigrating to America. Further, in 1916, Johan Turi met a returning Sámi adventurer who now lived in wealth and ease in Guovadageaidnu (Kautokeino) on the money he had amassed in gold mining. Turi's travel partner Frank Butler writes:

> *Some of the Lapps are very rich, especially those who have been prospecting for gold in Alaska. The author met a Lapp at Kautokeino who had 300,000 kronen [sic], and a brother now in Alaska possesses still more. His wife spoke very good American, and has a most comfortable house, good cooking, and an excellent vapour-bath house, which we much appreciated.* (Butler 1917, 78.)

Although the Sámi migration to Alaska brought many to North America for the explicit purpose of teaching and carrying on a life of reindeer husbandry, the Reindeer Act of 1937 ended all non-Alaskan Native ownership of reindeer, allocating a payment of $3 a head for non-Native owners wishing to turn their herds over to the government for redistribution (Vorren 1994, 135—142; Bucki 2004; Husbandry 2017a). The Reindeer Act was aimed in part as a bail-out for the failed Norwegian-American enterprise the Lomen Company, founded in 1914 with the intent of marketing reindeer meat in the United States. As competition from the beef industry and an American disinclination to consume reindeer rendered the venture unprofitable, the government sought to remove reindeer husbandry from the status of a for-profit livelihood and instead secure it as an Indigenous subsistence practice. The bill transferred oversight of reindeer herds to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and restricted reindeer ownership to members of federally recognized Indigenous nations. Sámi who had intermarried with Iñupiat retained their rights to herd, but for others, their access to a reindeer livelihood abruptly ended. The most recognizable element of Sámi identity in North America disappeared at the insistence of government authorities, and most Sámi who remained in the United States or Canada were compelled to find work in other industries and places, often migrating south into the Lower 48. At the very end of this momentous chapter in Sámi history, in 1929—1932, one Sámi migrant Andrew Bahr (the same gold-mining Anders Aslaksen Baer/Bahr mentioned above) agreed to herd some three thousand reindeer from Kotzebue Sound Alaska across numerous mountains and roughly fifteen hundred miles to Kittigazuit, in the Mackenzie Delta of Northwest Canada. The ill-fated migration took years to complete (1929—1932) but eventually resulted in a colony of reindeer and herders where families of mixed Sámi, German, and Inuvialuit backgrounds continue to herd today (Conaty & Binder 2004; Husbandry 2017b).

The "Hidden" Migration to the Lower 48

Although the Alaskan Sámi migration is an increasingly well-known chapter in U.S. migration history, the story of Sámi who caught the "America fever" and migrated to any of the other U.S. states or Canada is far murkier. Sámi Americans often do not realize that they have Sámi ancestry, a situation that only began to change in the 1990s, when the descendants of Sámi migrants began to learn about their backgrounds through genealogy or other circumstances and started to create organizations to share information and experiences, as discussed below. It is impossible to say how many of the ca. 800,000 Norwegians, 1.2 million Swedes, and 300,000 Finns who came to the U.S. prior to the early 1920s were actually Sámi to one degree or another. The discovery of Sámi heritage is often greeted as a startling but intriguing event.[2]

There are many reasons for the fact that Sámi Americans may not always realize that they have Sámi heritage. For one thing, the legal framework of immigration and the relative obscurity of Sámi in Nordic national discourses played roles in blurring identities. When migrants arrived at a U.S. or Canadian port, they declared a nationality, not an ethnicity. Many Sámi, like many Kvens or Finns from the far north of Sápmi, declared themselves as Norwegians, even if, from an ethnic point of view, that designation might have seemed at odds with their personal and familial identities. That national identity then became the one that their children and grandchildren learned to value and be proud of — marching in Syttende Mai parades, flying the Norwegian flag, and enacting a Norwegian-American identity in the same ways as other Norwegian Americans whose families came from further south. The same holds true for Sámi Americans whose ancestors registered as Swedes or as Finns: in each case, the national ethnicity offered a ready-made set of organizations, holiday celebrations, festive clothing, and foods that descendants could explore in performing their ethnic identity.

Sometimes, that national ascription was modified in subtle but meaningful ways among migrants and their neighbors: one spoke of "Black Finns," or of migrants who were from "up north" — coded ways of acknowledging what may have been regarded as an embarrassing family past. In my experience working with Sámi Americans over the past several decades, such innuendos are frequently mentioned as part of family reminiscences but remain largely unexamined as a research topic for migration historians. Such veiled references and subtleties of designation, understandably, could sometimes be lost on second- or third-generation descendants, who would lose track of the qualifiers that simultaneously attached their families to a particular national polity and yet partly separated them from it, at least in the eyes of first-generation migrants. Like the

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[2] The Sámi heritage discussed here is a much wider category than Sámi identity or the official recognition of Sámi status in any of the Nordic countries. For an excellent overview of controversies regarding recognition of Sámi status in Finland in particular, see Veli-Pekka Lehtola's *Saamelaiskiista* (2015).

well-known Norwegian-American journalist Solveig Torvik, descendants of such migrants could go through life not knowing they had Sámi and/or Finnish backgrounds until undertaking genealogical research later in life. Torvik's 2006 novel-memoir *Nikolai's Fortune* reconstructs a stirring and painful tale of transnational Nordic migration that had longed lurked uncomfortably behind the blanket term "Norwegian" in her family's history (Torvik 2006).

This experience of a hidden identity was brought home to me in the 1990s when I met a middle-aged woman from Poulsbo, Washington, who sat in on a folktale course I was teaching at the University of Washington. After a few weeks in the course, she came up to my podium at the end of class one day and asked about stories her "Swedish" grandmother used to tell her. One was about a mean lady called Áhčeseatni, and there were others about a helpful woman called Gieddegeašgálgu. Although these are hard names for many Americans to pronounce, this woman said them with ease, having heard them from her grandmother's lips endless numbers of times during her childhood. She wanted now to find a storybook with similar stories about these characters so that she could share them with her own grandchildren. But try as she might, none of the Swedish fairytale collections she had come upon contained such stories. She had even looked at Norwegian collections to see if her grandmother had borrowed them from Norway, since she knew that her grandmother also had some sort of ties to that country as well. But she had found none there either. I explained to the woman that the names she mentioned refer to very familiar characters in Sámi tales, and in this way, and the woman finally realized that her grandmother had Sámi connections. The grandmother had not told her granddaughter the stories as self-conscious emblems of Sámi identity; she had told them to entertain and instruct a young child at bedtime. Her granddaughter, understanding only that her grandmother was from Sweden, had no reason to doubt the tales were "Swedish" until she looked for them in Swedish anthologies much later in life. Being from a small minority of a small culture in a land of many heritages can certainly lead to situations like the one this woman faced.

Other times, however, Sámi migrants may have welcomed the opportunity to leave a stigmatized Sámi identity behind. I remember a very talented young woman who took my Sámi culture course one fall at the University of Wisconsin. When students are headed home for Thanksgiving break, I like to warn my students, many of whom are from small towns in the center or north of Wisconsin, that their older male relatives, skeptical of the value of university education in general, and especially skeptical of the value of the humanities, may ask them what courses they are taking down in Madison. I tell my students to stand up tall when that happens and declare proudly that they are learning about Sámi people and that it is fascinating. Then their relatives will ask who the Sámi are, and a good stretch of otherwise monotonous or strained Thanksgiving conversation will be occupied in a productive and entertaining manner. When Thanksgiving was over that year, this particular student came up to the podium at the end of class to talk with me. It was clear that she was visibly shaken. She told me that she had

done what I had told her to do. All her family always has Thanksgiving at her grandfather's farm in the northern part of the state. And when she got there, her grandfather had asked exactly the question I had predicted: "So what sort of courses are you taking down there in *Madison?*" (There is a certain sort of disdainful and exasperated way that many rural people in the north of Wisconsin say the name of their state capital; for broader discussion, see Cramer 2016.) My student, armed and ready, stood up straight and said that she was taking a course about the Sámi people and that it was fascinating. But her grandfather, usually garrulous, made no reply. Instead, he seemed shocked. So she started to explain who the Sámi are and about their language and traditions and rights. The grandfather just stared. Then he started to *cry*. He took his granddaughter down into the basement of the farmhouse and showed her a chest where he had kept hidden all the many years of his married life his *gákti* and knife and some other items of Sámi clothing. He was Sámi. "I was going to take that secret to my grave," he told her. "But if the Sámi are so important that you'd take a whole course on them down there in Madison, well, I guess I ought to admit that I am one." Because she had happened to take my course, and because she had told her grandfather about it in forthright and glowing terms, the student and her entire family discovered an aspect of their history and identity that they would not have otherwise known. This man had wanted to protect his children and grandchildren from a cultural identity that he viewed as an impediment to their advancement in life. A recent Norwegian documentary called *Suddenly Sámi* tells a similar tale of a woman who discovered her Oslo mother's Sámi identity only after her mother died (Lundby 2009).

In both of the cases of my students related above — one with a grandmother quietly telling Sámi stories as Swedish heritage and the other with a grandfather hiding his Sámi *gákti* in a chest in his basement — it is likely that the people involved were conscious that they were Sámi, although they chose not to advertise the fact. In other cases, however, it seems that Sámi identity disappeared because Sámi migrants or their children found themselves engrossed in another identity, one that occupied more of their attention and emotions. When the Lutheran Nils Paul Xavier Tornensis (1839—1918) of Guovdageaignu (Kautokeino) decided to emigrate to America in 1873, he did so out of a strong desire to live a pious Christian life. He dropped the surname Tornensis before leaving Norway, studied for the ministry in the Norwegian Lutheran synod and came to serve as a minister in Minnesota, Iowa, and Washington state. Together with his wife the couple had ten children, two of whom also became ministers. A blog created by Michael and Bonny Jorgensen notes that he led a sort of migratory life of his own, becoming a "visiting pastor" in his final years of life and traveling between the scattered homes of his Washington flock — some more than two hundred miles apart — in order to visit and administer the sacraments (Jorgensen & Jorgensen 2008). The family was deeply proud of its Norwegian heritage which they celebrated actively. It was not until the 1990s, however, that the family fully realized that they had Sámi heritage, something that Tornensis had certainly known but had never emphasized (Solbakk & Solbakk 2014, 37—39).

Similarly, many Sámi entered into marriages in which their children's identities became subsumed under their spouses' cultural heritage instead of their own. The Homestead Act of 1860 brought huge numbers of Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes to the Upper Midwest of the United States, but Finnish immigration peaked only later in the century. By the time that Finns began arriving in the Upper Midwest, some of the only available land were parcels on Native American reservations that were being allotted and sold as a result of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887. Finns and Sámi from Finland were among those who readily bought such land and settled on reservations alongside Native communities. As can happen, the migrants often enough met and eventually married tribal members, and their children and grandchildren became parts of the tribes. Living on a reservation, surrounded by neighbors and relatives who are Native, it is easy to understand that such "Finndians" or "Finnishinaabe" might well lose track of the details of their Nordic heritage even if they retained surnames that called attention to their ancestors' origins. When one adds into the mix the fact that some of the "Finns" who came may have been Sámi, and the situation becomes even murkier.[3]

Sometimes Sámi had decided to no longer "be" Sámi generations before they emigrated, further complicating the perceptions and understandings of their descendants. Such was the case with the ancestors of a woman I met at an event soon after I published my translation of Johan Turi's *An Account of the Sámi* (Turi 2012). After taking a genetic test, the woman had found out that she had Sámi ancestry.[4] She confronted her relatives in Finland about the fact and they sent her back a rather extensive set of narratives about a family ancestor Roju-Elli, from whom the family descended (Paulaharju 1922, 33—36). Accounts of Roju-Elli had been collected by the inveterate fieldworker of northern Finland, Samuli Paulaharju during his fieldwork in the area of Unarijärvi, near Sodankylä. The American descendant of Roju-Elli, who did not read Finnish, asked me to read and summarize the account. In it, Paulaharju retells several stirring legends about Roju-Elli but ends his account noting that the family had become assimilated

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[3] A recent book of interviews and photos entitled *Fintiaanien mailla* explores the experiences of contemporary Finnish-Ojibwe people (Kettu, Koutaniemi & Seppälä 2016). The book suggests that Finns and Ojibwe found natural affinities with each other because of their reverence for nature and other cultural traits. For a strong Sámi critique of this study and the enthusiastic Finnish reception it received, see Laiti 2016.

[4] Genetic tests pose thorny issues for many Indigenous communities, including Sámi, despite the fact that many Nordic Americans embrace such tests and the putative evidence of ancestry they provide with enthusiasm. For a discussion of the issue in a Native American context, see TallBear 2013. For Sámi in Finland, as Lehtola (2015, 61ff.) details, Sámi status as defined by the Sámi parliament is based on a range of factors in addition to ancestry, chiefly having at least one parent or grandparent who spoke a Sámi language as a first language. This definition limits Sámi status to persons who have familial and linguistic ties to Sámi culture within the past three generations.

into Finnish settler society at the end of the 1700s and were now just ordinary, respectable Finns. This of course left the woman in a justifiable quandary. Her grandparents had not told her that she was Sámi, because, as far as they were concerned, she was not. They were not. End of story. Paulaharju's text suggested that the family had left their Sáminess behind in favor of a farming livelihood and settled life. They had adopted Finnish as their home language and had lived by the 1920s for some five generations without engaging in Sámi culture to any extent. Of course, as we know from history throughout Sápmi, the family may have faced pressure, sometimes harsh, to assimilate into the growing non-Sámi majority populace of their once entirely Sámi homelands. Finnish encroachment was endless and inexorable, and many Sámi simply found themselves engulfed and compelled to alter their way of life (Asunmaa 2012). This familial history of longstanding assimilation into Finnish majority culture, however, did not change the fact that the American woman now felt a connection to a Sámi past: in fact, if anything, the recognition of cultural change or loss further whetted her interest in her Sámi heritage.

Ways of Recalling and Reconstituting Migration

How do Sámi and Sámi Americans recall and reconstitute their Sámi identity and their families' various migrations today? What avenues and opportunities exist for them to reestablish a connection with a past they often did not know they had? Travel, study, and sharing information become important tools. According to a tribute written shortly after her death (Anon. 2014), the Sámi-American activist and organizer Faith Fjeld (1935—2014) grew up in a staunchly Lutheran Norwegian-American home in Montana, but was always drawn to Native American topics and communities. When she became aware that she had Sámi ancestry in the 1980s, she traveled to Panama to take part in the 1984 World Congress of Indigenous Peoples. She met the great Sámi poet and activist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943—2001) in 1989, when he visited Gustavus Adolphus College as an artist in residence in the college's Out of Scandinavia program. In 1990, with Valkeapää's encouragement, she attended the World Congress of Indigenous Peoples held at Tromsø, Norway. By 1991, she had decided to publish a journal—*Báiki: The North American/International Sami Journal*—editing some 37 issues before her death. Presenting the information she was learning about Sámi culture, the Alaskan Sámi migration, and Sámi history and rights to a gradually expanding readership across North America, Fjeld was instrumental in organizing Sámi "Siida" organizations in California (1991), the Upper Midwest (1992), and Minneapolis (1993). A national Sami Siida of North America was organized in Palo, MN in 1996, with a newsletter *Árran* that supplemented the materials that Fjeld and her co-editor Nathan Muus were producing. The longtime editor of *Árran* Arden Johnson discovered and wrote in detail the stories and experiences of

many Sámi Americans as they pieced together memories of their parents and grandparents and the Sámi elements of their identities that had gone overlooked. Reading these accounts, other Nordic Americans looked into their family histories and sometimes found similar stories. Periodic gatherings (*Siidastallan*) and integration of Sámi events into larger Nordic ethnic institutions like the Norwegian-American Bygdelagenes Fellesraad, Minneapolis's American Swedish Institute, and the traveling annual festival FinnFest helped extend knowledge about the Sámi to likely Sámi Americans. Soon, many other Sámi Americans emerged, with genealogies and surnames that connected them with Sámi from various Nordic countries. The chairs of the Sami Siida of North America have included John Edward Xavier, a descendant of the minister Xavier Tornensis discussed above. Another former chair, Marlene Wisuri, went on to cooperate with Fjeld in 2011 to open a Sami Cultural Center of North America, located in Duluth, MN. Fjeld and Muus co-curated a traveling exhibit about the Alaskan Sámi experience that opened in 2004 and continues to tour intermittently to the present. Where Fjeld's aim was on networking and organizing, a younger Sámi American researcher Ellen Marie Jensen has worked to share the Sámi-American experience with the scholarly world. Her evocatively titled published master's thesis *We Stopped Forgetting: Stories from Sámi Americans* (Jensen 2012) presents the stories of self discovery of six Sámi Americans, including herself. Jensen continues her research, aiming at a doctorate in the topic at the Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø.

Jensen's book explores the different ways in which Sámi Americans seek to recall and reconstitute their Sámi identity. I wish to add to that exploration in a transnational fashion by looking at the poetry of a Sámi man from Finland who writes about his travels to Tibet in Northern Sámi and English, as well as the poetry of a Sámi-American man with family ancestry in Finland, who explored his Sámi heritage by taking my course on Sámi culture when it was offered at the Ohio State University.

Niillas Holmberg (1990—) describes himself on his website as a "Sámi poet, musician, actor, and activist" (Holmberg 2017). He has published some five books of poetry and performs with multiple musical groups, ranging in genre from world music to folk to electric. Originally from Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), Finland, he now lives in Johkamohkki (Jokkmokk), Sweden. In 2016, he received a prestigious award as the "Sámi of the Year" for his work in literature, music, language, and activism. Mikko Harvey (1991—) grew up in Boston, with a mother who had emigrated from Soađegilli (Sodankylä), Finland, as a young adult. Her family had been obliged to relocate to the town when the family's home village of Salla became divided by the newly redrawn post-World War II Finnish-Soviet border, with the family's lands in the Guolájávri (Kuolajärvi) part of the village ending up on the Soviet side. According to his website, Harvey has one published volume of poetry (Harvey 2018b) to date and has placed work in important North American journals. Both men are aware of the profound and artful ways that past Sámi artists like Paulus Utsi (1918—1975) and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (Áillohaš; 1943—2001) explore resonances between the terse, imagistic workings of traditional joik and the open-ended potential

and forms of modern poetry. Both men are also aware of migrating Sámi of the past and the ways in which they reflected upon their lives.

Holmberg's *The Way Back: Poems in Sámi* (2016) presents poems in facing page Sámi and English versions. In them, we see a character nearly always on the move, venturing far afield to Tibet but finding there views of the cosmos and nature that cause him to reflect back on a distant Sámi homeland. He echoes Johan Turi in his poem "Seavdnjat geažida/Darkness Suggests":

Vuosttas sámegirjjis lohká
goasnu sápmelaš
čáppáša duovdagiid
nu aht' ii eará dieđe
go čaimmihit

gorgŋen Ánnágurvárrái
álo sevnnjodettiin
ja seavdnjat geažida
aht' in vuolgán gosanu
baicce gosnu (16)

The first Sámi book says
sometimes a view
seems so lovely to a Sámi
he can do nothing
but laugh

I climb Ánnágurvárri
always at dark
the darkness suggests
I never had a destination
only a cause to leave
(Holmberg 2016, 17.)

The poem's opening lines refer to Turi's *Muitalus* ("the first Sámi book") and Turi's statement therein that on meeting with a beautiful landscape Sámi say *Dát leat nu čáppa duovdagat ahte boagustit* (Turi 2010, 91; "These *duovdagat* are so beautiful that they laugh" Turi 2012, 97). The adverb *goasnu* ("whenever") suggests that the sensation described applies to all Sámi, not just the herders described in Turi's text, and the switch of terms from Turi's *boagustit* ("to laugh") to Holmberg's more boisterous *čaimmihit* ("to laugh out loud") intensifies the emotion of the encounter. Playing on *goasnu,* Holmberg's subsequent lines *in vuolgán gosanu*/*baicce gosnu* contrasts the illative *gosanu* with the

locative *gosnu,* creating a contrast that can be literally translated as "I had no wither but rather a whence," or in more usual contemporary English "I had no where-to, only a where-from." Combined with the verb *vuolgit,* which means "to set off for someplace" when used with the illative case, but "to leave from" when used with the locative, the lines seem a strikingly Sámi enunciation of the "push/pull" principle in migration studies and a powerful voicing of the feelings of many who choose to migrate. While one's future paths always remain undefined and mysterious, one's past paths are always clear, inscribed indelibly in the landscape and nature of one's home place. Holmberg's character may not have a clearly articulated motivation for leaving, but the mountain looks on with patience, clarity, and wisdom, offering an enduring source of identity and groundedness that the character can draw on in life.

Harvey's poem "Visions" was published first in the *Massachusetts Review* in the fall of 2016 and then picked up by the online *Poetry Daily* for October 21, 2016. It has since appeared in Harvey's published anthology *Unstable Neighbourhood Rabbit* (Harvey 2018a). Harvey, too, draws on elements from Johan Turi as his poem opens:

> *They say to document the conditions now because*
> *soon the fading will begin. What the fading is*
> *I do not know, so let me begin by telling you*
> *about the cold. When you want to eat with a spoon,*
> *it must be warmed next to the fire first*
> *or it sticks to your lips. When my daughter went*
> *missing, I knew it was because she was black-haired*
> *and beautiful, and these are the traits the souls*
> *who live between stones find attractive, and so*
> *she was taken.*
> (Harvey 2018a, 36—37.)

Harvey alludes to Turi's statements at the outset of his *Muitalus* regarding the importance of writing about *Sámi dili* ("Sámi conditions", Turi 2010, 11; translation Turi 2012, 11) as well as his caution about the subterranean *ulddat* having a particular fondness for stealing *čáppa čáhppesvuovttat mánáid* ("beautiful black-haired children," Turi 2010, 159; Turi 2012, 172). While incorporating these and other elements of Turi's text into the poem, Harvey also depicts a character who rejects as unfamiliar or absurd the notion of "fading" — i.e., the familiar colonial trope that Indigenous people will somehow vanish over time through processes of displacement, acculturation, and intermarriage. Instead, the speaker confidently enunciates enduring environmental and cultural verities that root Sámi in a Sámi cultural space. To be sure, loss is powerfully acknowledged in the poem through the image of the missing daughter, be she the victim of *ulddat* wiles or the more human instances of violence that have led to the loss of so many Indigenous girls and women in the present as well as the past. And while evincing a confidence in

the existence and perseverance of Sámi through time, the poem's speaker also admits lurking doubts:

> *But sometimes I wonder what would happen*
> *if there were no other worlds, just this one.*
> *What the fading would mean then.*
> (Harvey 2018a, 36—37.)

Nevertheless, fading will not occur, the poem seems to suggest, because Sámi people will remain confident about who and what they are.

Both Holmberg and Harvey depict a pensive Sámi character, watching the landscape and interpreting its motivations and meanings in ways that echo and perpetuate the understandings of their ancestors. They recall the viewpoints of earlier Sámi and they re-experience their perceptions, not in ways that change the lands and objects they view but, as Gaski suggests in his writings on Sámi aesthetics, through taking the view into themselves and processing it as "memories of culture, transmitted *orally*, as reminders […]." They tread lightly as they walk. The characters in both poems recall and reconstitute acts of migration, but in unexpected ways: Holmberg suggesting a person at the outset of such a journey, too caught up with leaving to fully appreciate the mountain that watches, a mountain that is familiar and knowing. Harvey migrates in his mind's eye to a time and place in the past, when Sámi still lived their lives in moveable tents and in close relation to the natural environment. The threat of "fading" — of cultural loss and destruction — hangs over his character like it hung over the head of Johan Turi, but the poem's speaker evades it by lodging himself all the more securely in the concrete and cosmic knowledge and verities that time and tradition have taught Sámi about the world. In both poems, the Sámi environment — its climate, its terrain, its unseen beings — all acknowledge and await the return of a Sámi migrant, absent perhaps, but not forgotten.

In the tradition of the indigenous Hmong people, the souls of the dead must return to the places of their birth after they die, retracing the paths that led them away from the place in which they were originally born (Her 2005). Once there, one of the person's souls enters the underworld, where it must trudge on circuitous and perilous pathways on the way to the land of the ancestors. Only in the distant home of the ancestors can the dead find a path that will lead to reincarnation and next steps in existence. That notion, I think, is what I mean in this essay by "reconstituting" migration. In various ways, Sámi and Sámi Americans migrate back to the places they left, willingly or unwillingly, in this life or in the life of an ancestor. In so doing, they reestablish a sense of connectedness with place and past and persons around them. And then, armed with that centering, that reconstituting, they move forward in new ways. They perform a Sámi sense of migration both unique and yet reminiscent of that experienced by many people, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, in the world today.

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4. Migrant Workers, Refugees, or War Brides? Finnish Women in the Third Reich and Occupied Germany

Anu Heiskanen

War and Military Conflict as an Incentive for or Cause of Mobility

The world wars in the twentieth century changed warfare and people's experience of war dramatically. The technological advances and mass production together with the idea of nationalism resulted in wars where not only fighting men were killed or captured in massive numbers but also civilian populations were affected like never before. Shifting borders and refugee camps became the legacy of World War I. The rise of totalitarian regimes introduced new forms of large population movements, when these regimes sent people to labor or concentration camps and tried to fulfill the dream of a homogenous nation by ethnic purges. The expansion of Nazi Germany and the outbreak of World War II subjected civilians to air raids, terror, and forced migration when borders shifted, or invading armies forced populations to flee. There was also a shift to a more "gender balanced" participation in war efforts. While conscription targeted all male citizens of a certain age, women were also more and more involved in war, either in non-combatant duties at the front or working for the war economy. The new term "home front" signaled to the women that they were supposed to "do their bit" for the war effort. While men were fighting, women's duty at home was to keep the domestic normalcy flowing and compensate for the losses in the workforce that men left behind when called to the front. (Hagemann 2002.)

The expansionist policy of the Nazi regime resulted in a Europe that was mainly occupied or in a military alliance with Germany, including Finland. Finland formed a *de facto* military alliance with Nazi Germany in June 1941, but did not join the Axis powers *de jure*. The northern part of Finland became a German military area, which corresponded to approximately 700 kilometers of border with the Soviet Union from the

Arctic sea southwards. The remaining Southern part of the Soviet-Finnish border was the site of the Finnish campaign. The German-Finnish military co-existence lasted for more than three years and ended in September 1944 when the government of Finland signed a ceasefire agreement with the Soviet Union. At that point, more than 200,000 German soldiers were still stationed in the country. The Germans started an immediate retreat and evacuation process from the Finnish territory and during this period, hundreds of Finnish women also decided to leave the country. In this chapter, I examine the array of motives that lay behind the women's decision to leave. Why did they choose to resort to Nazi Germany instead of their home country? What role did gender play in this decision? And vice versa, as the majority of them returned home during the post-war years — why did they choose to do so?

The German war economy and campaign in the northern Finnish territory created a special micro-society and economy, where the local population had to endure the foreign army's presence but could also benefit from it economically and materially. The German army's need for workers, lodgings, and services was immense. Young women, especially, were employed in kitchen and cleaning work for the German army. Also, women with some language and office skills were needed as interpreters and secretaries. Women arrived from all over Finland to seek work in the German military zone, attracted by the higher wages and better material benefits than in other parts of the country. In many cases women were able to double or even triple their incomes. They were mostly young, unmarried women[1] who were used to work-related domestic mobility and utilized the employment opportunities presented by the German military presence in Northern Finland. Nurses, Red Cross workers, and members of the women's paramilitary defense organization Lotta Svärd were also assigned by the Finnish authorities to work for the German war hospitals, soldiers' homes, and canteens (Junila 2000).

When Finland concluded a separate peace treaty with the Soviet Union in September 1944, the German army started to retreat from Finland. The civilian population was simultaneously evacuated from northern Finland. My focus is on those Finnish women who decided to leave for the Third Reich instead of staying in their home country already on the path to peace time. Life-stories have gained increasing importance as a way to understand the meaning of life events to the individuals experiencing them. But more importantly, they have gained a theoretical standing, because they are very suitable for generating accounts that reveal identity coherence and direction in life. Life-course research has shown to be particularly well-adapted to the study of reasons behind geographic and social mobility.

All the information about these women is based — unless otherwise indicated — on a database that consists of 648 security police interviews during the women's repatriation process in 1945—1948. These interviews can be found in the National Archive of Finland. The source material gives detailed information about the women's experiences

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[1] Ninety percent of the 648 women were 15—30 years of age in 1944.

during World War II. Additional information has been gathered by interviewing three of the women concerned.

All Finnish citizens returning after the war from Germany or former German occupied countries were interviewed at a camp especially established for this purpose. Ironically, the camp was initially built for Wehrmacht purposes and served as a transit camp for German soldiers. The Finnish security police established a three-member interrogation unit whose task was to interview everyone during the two-three week internment that was considered as necessary for quarantine. The main purpose of the unit was to find persons who had been involved in German military or anti-Allied resistance movement and therefore possibly guilty of treason. The Finnish security police had undergone a significant political change after the war. The war-time pro-German personnel had been replaced with ones that reflected the new political situation. The previously illegal Communist Party was now a part of the parliamentary system and the Left (social democrats and communists) gained approximately half of the votes in the first post-war election in March 1945. The Allied Control Commission consisting mainly of Soviet members monitored the fulfilling of the peace treaty conditions closely; and the security police fell into the hands of the Communists for the period 1945—1948. (Rentola 1994.)

The interrogators considered the women politically insignificant but useful as informants. The political divide is, however, apparent in the reports, in which the women were described as riff-raff of loose morals and completely pro-German in their opinions.[2] Neither of these descriptions was accurate; and the hastily-employed left-wing police personnel eventually became widely criticized. Nevertheless, the interviews were carried out in a routine manner and they all followed the same pattern. The women told their life story from childhood onwards including every employment and wage they had earned, together with a detailed account of their experiences in Nazi Germany or in the occupied Norway. The examinee later signed a typed copy of the interview which was read to her in the presence of a witness. The interragotors' aim was to retrieve as much detailed information as possible, and then use that information on another interviewee in order to give an impression that they already knew a lot about this person's activities in Germany and, therefore, the best response would be to spell it all out. The women themselves were aware of the fact that crossing the border with the German army was illegal, but they seem to have told openly about their activities and experiences in the Third Reich and, in many cases, did not want to complicate the sometimes long-awaited homecoming.

Women's relations with foreign soldiers in the war-time and occupation periods during the World War II was at the time and thereafter a topic of great concern and interest. Social control and moral panic reactions that targeted women occurred in every coun-

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[2] Security police report on the proceedings at the camp in June 1945, Valpo II, National Archives.

try where foreign soldiers were stationed. Women's alleged loose morals and frivolous behaviour became a staple in the popular culture cartoons and jitties in which women provided sexual services in exchange of cigarettes, stockings, or a box of chocholates, as if an intense collective lust had taken over them. When occupying soldiers left the country, women were once again targeted in humiliating and traumatizing procedures where their heads were shaved in public or swastikas were painted on their naked bodies and, furthermore, pictures of all this was often circulated in the newspapers and magazines. In recent times, there has been a growing interest in women's participation in war and in children born of relationships with foreign soldiers. (Warring 1994; zur Nieden 2002; Virgili 2002; Ericsson & Simonsen 2005.)

This chapter takes a slightly different perspective on this matter and concentrates on women's subjectivity and actions. This leads into a discussion on women's employment and war time work experience for foreign armies, a topic that has been overshadowed by the question of erotic fraternazion and collaboration or has been studied mainly inside the national framework.

War, Women, and Work

Despite the brutal policies that Nazi Germany adopted, the presence of the German army did not cause serious problems or damage to the local population in Finland, given that the military cooperation operated favorably. The German army usually adopted favorable attitudes towards countries that were willing to assist in its military campaigns. The Finnish army and the local administration inside the German military area wished to secure unproblematic co-operation with the important ally as well. Therefore, the relationships between the civilian population and the representatives of the German army remained relatively friendly or neutral. Since Germans did not arrive in the country as enemy occupiers, like in many other European countries, socializing with Germans was more acceptable and widely practiced. Young German men, sent to the periphery of Europe, were actively looking for company and social contacts. During the German military presence, numerous social and emotional ties developed between the men and the local population, and especially between men and women of the same age. Most of these women were working for the Germans and in many cases, they adapted to work in a bilingual environment under the German supervision. Women's primarily work-related ties with the Germans transformed gradually into a tight-knit social network of German friends and acquaintances with whom women spent both their working hours and spare time. The Nazi propaganda was cleverly disguised in light-hearted entertainment and cultural activities which young people gladly visited to lessen the war-time hardships and gloominess. Internal Finnish censorship ensured that nothing negative about the Germans was published in the press or anything that would affect the fighting spirit of the nation.

One of the young women, 22-year-old Liisa, moved from Helsinki to take a clerical job at a Luftwaffe base in the German military area in 1942. She had five years of high school studies and worked at that time in the Helsinki telephone company. Constant nightly air raids started to take a toll on her, and when a friend called and tempted her to fill a vacancy at a German base in Kemi, she did not hesitate. Her friend was a married woman also working for the Germans while her husband was at the front. Both women could live with the friend's family, who were practicing fundamental protestants. Liisa liked her German work very much, it was well paid and the colleagues assisted her with the German language. In the evenings, German soldiers would visit and they would listen to the radio and drink coffee, a scarce commodity that German soldiers were able to bring with them. All socializing happened under the watchful eye of the religious landlords. One night at a cinema Liisa met a German soldier, Hans, whose persistent courting she could not resist.

At the time of the German-Finnish military break-up in the autumn of 1944 Hans and Liisa were still having a relationship. There had been some talk about marriage, but they were not formally engaged. However, Hans wanted Liisa to leave for the Third Reich and made extensive efforts to secure Liisa's trip with his unit which was preparing to retreat to Norway.

Liisa's experience is in many ways typical and reoccurs in several accounts. She belonged to the age group from 18 to 25 years when leaving, which represented 70 percent of all the 648 women. The youngest was 15 years old and the oldest 50 years, but both were isolated cases. Most women were in their early twenties or thirties, but inside this group there are two fractions: those who left from the North organized by the Wehrmacht either by ship to Germany or with the retreating German army to Norway, and those who left from the southern coastal cities. There are some differences between these two groups. First, the southern group was much smaller. From the approximately 1,000 women who left in total, only a small minority left from the non-German military territory in the North. Secondly, their average age was younger. Many of them had got involved with the Germans in social activities, usually through a friend who already socialized with the Germans or by spending time in cafes and restaurants where the German soldiers also visited. Some of them were adolescent girls who were seeking adventures and left without realizing the brutal realities of the Nazi regime and the military situation. Their journey was not organized by the German army. They left in many cases secretly on commercial German ships without formal attachment to the military forces. Sometimes they did not even inform their families and simply disappeared.

However, there were also several common denominators between these two groups of women. Almost without exception all women had previous involvement, either social, emotional, or work related, with the German presence in the country. All women crossed the Finnish border illegally without Finnish authorization. The clear majority, 96 percent, was single, that is, unmarried, divorced, separated, or widowed. The impact of the war on private life shows in the relatively high number of failed and short wartime marriages and young widows who had lost their husbands at the front.

The areas where the German army had most activities were also those from where the largest number of women left. The military headquarters was in Rovaniemi, the largest town in Lapland, from where 216 Finnish women left. From Kemi, where several military hospital units and a Luftwaffe air field were situated, 107 women left. The nickel mines in Petschenga (Petsamo), with access to the Arctic Sea, attracted a lot of German military presence and consequently also Finnish labor force. 88 women left from this region. Altogether these three areas make almost two thirds of the total number of women who departed. (Konttinen 2011, 173.)

Why? Motivation to Leave

The fact that these women left Finland, at the very moment the government had signed a peace treaty with the Soviet Union and was thus moving back to a civilian society, raises interesting questions about their motives. However, it is important to note that not everyone left voluntarily. The ending of the Finnish war suddenly ended the German military alliance and caused confusion and surprise among the civilian population. Many Finns had difficulty switching from friendliness to hostility and considering the Germans as enemies after years of co-existence. A woman who was emotionally attached to a German man had to make a quick decision: whether to cut ties to the Germans immediately or consider the option to migrate with the retreating army. Any hesitation could result in a situation without options. Some women missed the last civilian evacuation transport after which the only solution was to join the retreating German army to Norway.

Finnish women's experiences also shed light on the various ways Nazi Germany recruited work force to the Third Reich. From the national socialistic point of view every possible human resource was needed in the final battle of the Third Reich. Towards the end of the war, Nazi Germany relied more and more on female resources as the last men were sent to the front. At this stage of the war, nationality or whether a person was an enemy or a friend had no significance: the Nazis recruited prisoners of war to their army and civilians were sent to coerced labor. (Herbert 1991, 7—13.)

Some Finnish women were simply ordered by their German superiors to follow the military unit they worked for. But also more refined methods were used to lure the Finnish women. German doctors sent out a plea to the Finnish nursing staff in German military hospitals to assist with the evacuation of the sick and wounded. Some women found leaving the patients they had been nursing as contradicting their vocational principles and, thus, agreed to follow the hospital unit to Norway. One method frequently used to persuade the women was to describe the horrifying future that would wait them if they stayed in Finland. In this scenario, the Soviet army would occupy the country and women with any German connection would face a brutal fate: they would

be either deported to Siberia or just murdered. This method proved efficient. Affected by the wartime enemy images, frightened women believed the Nazi propaganda and signed up for Wehrmacht work to escape the country. The Germans cleverly exploited the situation also by promising an access to neutral Sweden via Norway. Some women had had their children sent to Swedish foster homes and were eager to reconnect with them. This promise proved false after the border to Norway was crossed. All women had to stay in the Third Reich. There are some indications in the sources that the Germans had received an order to recruit 2,000 Finnish women for the Luftwaffe's purposes. However, Germans did not want to use the most brutal methods and strove to make the women's departure look voluntary. One method used was isolating the women from Finnish newspapers and radio broadcasts so that they received no news about the changes in the military situation. When women realized the situation, it was too late to leave because all transport had departed.

Some women also had personal reasons for migration. One reason was to escape the moral condemnation or punishment of the postwar community because of their relationships with German soldiers. Indeed, throughout the German-occupied countries women were targeted with physical attacks and shaming procedures. In France, about 20,000 women who were accused of collaboration with the occupier had their heads shaved in public during 1944—1946 (Virgili 2002). Other shaming acts were also practiced: collaborationist women were marched through streets half-naked with swastikas painted on their bodies or with tarred faces (Buruma 2013, 86). There are some stories about head shavings also in Finland, but because of the military circumstances and evacuations it is unlikely that such things happened (Virolainen 1999, 155).

A woman's situation became more complicated if she was pregnant to a German soldier or the couple already had a child. Few couples had managed to marry during the war. Nazi policy did not favor foreign brides and if a couple insisted on a marriage, they were hit with a complicated and time-consuming bureaucratic process in which the bride's racial and intellectual suitability to become a part of the German *Volk* was examined carefully (Westerlund 2011, 132—137). However, the number of engagements did increase during the last year of the war. Consequently, the number of pregnancies also increased. This indicates that couples were perhaps anticipating the end of the war and already focusing on peacetime normality. A more sinister interpretation would be that German soldiers were anticipating to be sent to the German front with no guarantee for survival. The idea of normalcy and a family waiting when the war was over might have eased the anxiety and helped to focus more on life than death lurking around the corner.

It would be incorrect to consider that all pregnancies out of wedlock were unwanted. German soldiers did have some access to contraceptives and the Nazi system accepted abortions under certain circumstances (Schwarze 1997, 143). Furthermore, towards the end of the war the Nazi Party's attitudes towards premarital sexual relationships and even bigamy became more favorable — a circumstance of which some

young Germans sent away from home to the war were pleased to take advantage. This shifting of a strong social norm had a pragmatic background. The devastating loss of German men in the front worried the Nazi Party and its population growth objectives. The racial policy restricted the adult population even though the population growth of racially-acceptable people was a constant concern. As a solution, the existing German men were given permission by the regime to produce as much offspring as possible beyond the established norms as long as the racial regulations were followed. (Herzog 2005, 70—81.)

In a case of pregnancy, the future mother not only wanted to have a father for her baby but also strived to escape the hard burden that an illegitimate child with a German father would bring. Women also considered their parents and the shame that their conduct would bring to the family. The number of Wehrmacht children born to German relationships during the World War II in Finland has been estimated to be only a couple of hundred (Westerlund 2011, 57). However, this number does not include those women who left the country in 1944 either already pregnant or who became pregnant after the departure. Approximately one fifth of the total number departed had a child with a German man, based on the number of pregnancies among the 648 women who returned home. This in fact doubles the estimate of the Finnish-German war children. Furthermore, this relatively high number of pregnancies indicates that pregnancy played an important role in the decision to leave.

Approximately 40 percent of the women intended to start a family in Germany. The remaining 60 percent presented various reasons for the departure, of which three were most frequently mentioned. First one was the fear for Soviet occupation, which many women considered as a factor in their decision-making. Secondly, the good wages paid when working for the Germans attracted women to continue their employment and join the *Wehrmachtgefolge,* the German Army's auxiliary staff. Some German medical doctors persuaded women to leave and join the Red Cross nurse or medical training. Some women saw this as a career opportunity. Staying in Finland meant unemployment, at least temporarily, and a significant cut in wages for those who had been working for the Germans. The German offer for similar work conditions and a journey just to the other side of the border in Norway seemed like a viable option. The third reason frequently mentioned was a desire to experience an adventure or travel abroad.

Inside the Reich

After the women crossed the border to the Third Reich, their situation changed. From then on, they were subject to the Nazi regime, which dictated their life. Everyone was assigned to work and no possibilities for returning home existed. Approximately 350 women were ordered to work in Norway and 650 in Germany. The largest individual

group was sent to Luftgau XI area mainly in Schleswig Holstein air defense bases and garrisons where they worked primarily in kitchen and cleaning work or mending clothes. General conditions were harsh, and constant Allied bombing made work life threatening. Women were also allowed to travel to their future in-laws but there they had to report to the local employment authority and were assigned a place to work.

The women's conditions in Norway were more tolerable than in Germany. They were not involved in warfare, and work remained similar to that in Finland. The largest group, approximately 100 women, worked in mending soldier's garments and uniforms in Sætermoen (Konttinen 2011, 164). Some women managed to stay in the same area or have contact with their fiancés until the soldiers were sent to the front. Sadly, in many cases this was the moment from when the couple never saw or heard of each other again. Several factors contributed to this, but in general couples were facing myriad obstacles if they wished to stay in contact. After the collapse of the Nazi regime, a major difficulty was that the Allied took control of Germany. This meant Prisoner of War camps for German men and Displaced Person camps for civilians.

Return Migration

The majority of women returned to Finland during the postwar years. Approximately 650 women returned or were repatriated during 1945—1948. However, there were major differences in women's experiences depending on where they returned from. While those in Norway were all repatriated during 1945, returning home from Germany could take up to four years. Furthermore, while women from Norway did not have a choice whether they wanted to come home or not, the women returning from Germany arrived voluntarily. After the German surrender, the Norwegian authorities, in cooperation with the British military officials, efficiently organized the repatriation process of Finns. At this point, the women had received very little information about the situation in Finland and some were reluctant to return home. The possibility of a Soviet occupation still loomed in their thoughts, and some were desperate to continue their journey to Germany from Norway. This proved impossible unless the woman could acquire a marriage permit and the German man was still stationed in Norway. In isolated cases this was possible, and then a Finnish woman would be transferred into the German camp with the husband and consequently sent to Germany. All other women were in due course sent to Displaced Person camps from where they were repatriated. The repatriation happened via Sweden with the Swedish army guarding their journey. At the Stockholm harbor the women were handed over to the Finnish authorities. The repatriation figures from 1945—1948 indicate that more than 40 percent returned on the same year that the war ended:

1945	408 women
1946	119
1947	71
1948	50

The 1945 numbers include the approximately 300 women who returned from Norway which leaves approximately 100 women returning from Germany.

Women arriving from Norway generally did not complain about their treatment in German workplaces. However, those who had no emotional ties with Germans were presumably relieved to return home. Living in Norway as a foreigner with a past connection to the occupier would probably have made life difficult and lonely. For those who had plans for marriage or already had a child with a German man, home-coming in many cases meant settling down in Finland permanently and giving up the idea of a marriage. Prospects of a reunion with the father of the child were poor: Germans were not allowed into the country and travelling to occupied Germany was very difficult. Even if the German father would have wanted to contact the Finnish mother he might not have anything else than a former Wehrmacht unit number as an address and vice versa.

The repatriation process from Germany proved much more complicated. The divided and occupied country with large areas bombed and destroyed could only operate under close surveillance and control by the Allied rulers. The approximately eight million foreign laborers, concentration camp survivors, and prisoners of war, together with the approximately five million German refugees from the East, posed a huge logistical challenge to the occupation authorities. Repatriation was organized with the cooperation of several international charity organizations like the Salvation Army and the Red Cross. Additionally, a special body, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association (UNRRA), was established to assist in the human relief work and manage the hundreds of postwar Displaced Person camps in Europe. (Cohen 2012.)

The collapse of the Nazi regime left the Finnish women on their own. Being classified as "ex-enemy nationals," they were not given any special attention. The somewhat idealistic plan of the Allied military regime was to repatriate people immediately to their home country. Partly this happened, but the relatively spread-out number of women returning during 1945—1948 suggests that there were obstacles to their strivings or they did not want to return home immediately.

Both these aspects are found in the women's accounts given to the Finnish Security Police. The Finnish authorities did not assist the home-coming citizens although they knew about their existence and the bad circumstances in the camps. As all Finns were to be repatriated from the British military zone, the duty of the officials in the other occupation zones was only to send them to the appropriate camp in Hamburg or Lubeck. This could result in moving from camp to camp until the final one in the British zone had been reached. The British authorities only reluctantly gave advice about the possibilities to return home. Unfortunately, the Displaced Person camp to where the Finns

were sent was also assigned to Poles, who were one of the largest nationality groups. Some of them refused to return to Poland, which resulted in overcrowded camps with catastrophic living conditions. Black market trading and looting were everyday realities in the camps, together with bad sanitation and the consequent outbreaks of infectious diseases. The nutrition level barely kept the camp population alive. Despite all this, the repatriation process could last almost a year due to the complicated exit permit process. In addition to an exit permit, a person who desired to return home to Finland needed an entry permit. There were no Finnish embassy or consulates in postwar Germany, so acquiring the necessary documents was time-consuming.

Women also delayed their return home for several reasons. The most important one was a circumstance that seemed to repeat in their life: employment for a foreign army that needed female work force. Finnish women sought employment in great numbers in the Allied military establishments on the Western occupation zone. Finnish women worked in American ice cream bars, French soldiers' canteens, and British officers' messes. Work for the occupying forces guaranteed highly-prized commodities like coal for heating or food items. However, after the initial phase of the occupation, the troops were sent home and women's employment prospects worsened.

An additional important factor motivating the desire to return home was the mail service between Finland and Germany that begun to operate in summer 1946. Until then, the women did not receive any news about their families in Finland or the political circumstances. Some women had heard rumours or propaganda, according to which Finland was occupied by the Soviet Union, or other unfaborable circumstances prevailed from their perspective and might have delayed their return. Receiving a letter from home was a decisive moment that increased homesickness and initiated a strong desire to return. It was important to know that the families at home welcomed their returning member.

Some women with German marriage intentions wanted to wait for the homecoming of their fiancé. Unfortunately, this could take years and some women did not want to live in this frustrating uncertainty and, thus, decided to return home. Some even found that their fiancé was already married with a German woman or that the future parents-in-law strongly objected marriage to a foreign bride. Despite all the hardships and lost contacts, some couples were able to reunite and get married. The postwar German economy suffered from severe material shortages and unemployment that made family life extremely challenging. When information about the stable political and social conditions in Finland started to spread, some Finnish women married to a German decided to leave for Finland and take their children with them. The marriage itself might have been unproblematic but the shortage of food, clothing, and heating had become unbearable.

However, as the source material only covers those 650 women who returned, and the total number of women who had gone the Third Reich was approximately 1,000, there were more than 300 women who did not return home. From the returning women's

accounts, it is possible to reconstruct some aspects of the postwar experience of those "missing" women. The number of deceased is unknown but considering the circumstances there must have been some. Just as with working for the Germans, working for the Allied occupation armies resulted in several workplace romances between Finnish women and British or American soldiers. Some of these women did marry and migrate to the husband's home country. Others migrated to a third country for work. Still, there is a reason to believe that the largest number of women who did not return stayed in Germany or Austria for family life or work. When comparing the marital status of the returning women to that of the time of leaving, the most significant change was in the increased number of foreign marriages. The number of German husbands had increased from five to 35. Additionally, ten women had married a man of some other nationality than Finnish or German.

Conclusion

The war and the German-Finnish co-existence during the World War II created internal work-related migration to the northern Finland. Especially young women benefited from these war-related circumstances for two reasons. First, Finland was a country at war where men of certain age were mobilized on the front. Second, this labor shortage combined with the substantial needs of the German army favored women's employment and higher wages. Hundreds of women utilized this opportunity and sought well-paid employment in the German military territory in order to improve their wartime standard of living. Most women were unmarried and solely responsible of their own livelihood.

Working for the Nazi Germany's military required the women to adapt to German language and supervision, but on the other hand made socializing with the Germans or attending the lively cultural scene possible. This employment could last for years, which absorbed women ever more deeply into the German sphere. By the time of the German army's departure, a mutual dependence had been formed: the retreating army also needed female work force and German men emotional security. Women's motivation to migrate reveals a more complex pattern, but they, too, in many cases wanted to continue their employment even if this meant leaving the home country behind. The women's previous and sometimes long-standing German involvement facilitated manipulative methods that were used to recruit women to the Nazi regime's needs. However, there is a reason to believe that many women did not intend to migrate permanently.

Most women returned home during the post-war years. Those who stayed working in Norway were forcibly repatriated unless married to a German. This altered a woman's national status and she was sent to Germany. Therefore, the amount of those who would have liked to migrate permanently is unknown. The repatriation process

from the occupied and war-torn Germany turned very complicated. The UNRRA and other relief organizations partly failed in their repatriation attempts. Several women resorted to the coping pattern they had already learned during the war: they sought military employment at the occupying armies which guaranteed additional benefits and a new social and linguistic milieu. However, the uncertainty of an employment with the occupating troops became evident at the same time when favorable news from home started to arrive. This, together with the brutal experiences during the Nazi era and harsh post-war conditions, contributed to their decision to return home.

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II
TRANSNATIONAL INFLUENCES ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

5. Music and Migration: John Rosendahl as a Musical Entrepreneur in the United States in the 1920s and Early 1930s

Saijaleena Rantanen

John Rosendahl, christened Juho Hugo Hemming Wiren, was born in Elimäki, Finland, on May 22, 1891. At the age of 17, in 1908, he moved across the Atlantic with his older brother Hjalmar Wiren. In the United States, entertainment had become a gigantic industry by the end of the nineteenth century. Hugo Wiren saw it as an opportunity and decided to try to make a living as a performing artist. It is not known when exactly he began his professional career as a musician, but his active years as a touring musician date back to the 1920s and early 1930s.

Music had a central role in the cultural life of Finnish Americans. It formed a significant medium that promoted togetherness, and with the help of music, Finnish migrants found it easier to integrate into the Finnish community and the new U.S. culture. The networks they created, spanning Finnish and North American musical life, had a great impact on Finnish migrants' music culture, musical habits, and ways of making music. At the early stages of Finnish migration, in particular, the direction of both the physical and ideological movement was from Finland to the United States, which is why the activities of first-generation migrants, especially, were characterized by markedly Finnish traits. Due to lack of research, however, we know very little about how the musical life of Finnish Americans formed and developed in the United States during the great migration.

In Finland, the most relevant studies on the musical aspects of Finnish American cultural life include the biographical research on the coupletist Hiski Salomaa (Pitkänen & Sutinen 2011), as well as the studies on Finnish American songs by Juha Niemelä (1997, 2002, 2003), Ilpo Saunio (1974), and Simo Westerholm (1983). In addi-

tion, Toivo Tamminen has done remarkable work in collecting material about Finnish American musicians. Furthermore, as part of his wide-ranging research on Finns in the United States, Keijo Virtanen (1986, 2014) has examined the cultural life of Finnish migrants, including music. In this cultural domain, the area which has received the most comprehensive and in-depth research is the history of Finnish American audio records (e.g., Kukkonen 2001; Gronow 1977, 1982). In the United States, the relationship between migration and music has produced more studies, also from the point of view of Finnish Americans (e.g., Pakkala 1983; Hakala 1997, 2007; Leary 2010, 2015; Niemisto 2013).

In this chapter, I examine the career and networks of a Finnish-born violinist, composer, and promoter John (Jukka) Rosendahl (1891—1932). My aim is to explore the life of a migrant musician in the United States. How did Rosendahl make his living? Where and for whom did he perform? What did he play? Further, I examine more closely the role of music and musicians among Finnish Americans through Rosendahl's work. Finnish communities formed a functional network for musicians with Finnish roots to make a career in the competitive field of music. How were these networks structured and how did they help Rosendahl become a professional musician? It is also clear that musical activities were not limited to entertainment alone. Instead, music was also an important mediator of various social and political ideologies, especially in enacting identity and migrants' own ethnic roots (Lorenzkowski 2010, 6). How did this fact feature in Rosendahl's career?

As my theoretical framework, I utilize the concept of *sociocultural transnationalism* which, according to Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt (1999, 221), comprises the manifold sociocultural activities designed to reinforce a national identity abroad and adapt it to new circumstances for example by means of collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods. Among Finnish Americans, this was realized especially in the program choices at soirées, dances, concerts, and other events actively organized at the halls, the cultural centers of Finns. Most importantly, this type of transnationalism also includes the travels of musical amateur groups as well as prominent artistic figures to perform before migrant audiences (ibid.). Primary research on sociocultural transnationalism among Finnish Americans has focused mainly on religion (Kivisto 2014, 298). However, due to the nature of music and its practice among Finnish Americans, which I will clarify in this chapter, it is a useful tool in the research of music culture as well.

As a source for exploring Rosendahl's life and work I utilize his tour diaries from 1926, 1928, 1929, and 1930. This was the most active time of his musicianship, highlighted by the record deals with Columbia Phonograph Company and Victor Talking Machine Company, the biggest record labels in the United States. Rather than traditional diaries, Rosendahl's note books were more like pocket calendars, where he wrote down a few lines per day. During the four years under scrutiny, he was very active in writing things down, which helps in following his movements. He wrote in fluent English. As

the research material related to the musical influences of Finns in the United States is limited, Rosendahl's diaries give a rare opportunity to scrutinize the actions of one single musician in the United States. To provide more insight into Rosendahl's working environment as well as the features of musical life of Finnish Americans, I will first examine the musical background and atmosphere in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.

Transatlantic Networks of Music and Musicians

At the end of the nineteenth century, migration became one of the key factors at work in constructing European modernization. The rapid industrial development of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century brought about the emergence of an unforeseen, wide, and mutually shared economic area of Western Europe and North America, linked together by new technological infrastructure: trains, steamships, and the telegraph. U.S. society, which was undergoing an immensely rapid growth, offered many opportunities for success. The field of arts formed one of the significant market sectors fought over by the powerful states of Western and Central Europe: France, Germany, and Great Britain (Gienow-Hecht 2009, 2). In music, the Austro-German culture flourished, and its influence was sovereign in all areas of musical practice in Europe — education, performance, and music consumption. (Rantanen 2016, 2017.)

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the musical life in Finland was also strongly and in various ways linked with the Baltic Sea region, especially with German cities. The cities of the Baltic Sea formed a rather unified cultural area (e.g., Gerner & Karlsson 2002), which in music manifested in the fluidity in which musicians, sheet music, music teachers, instruments, musical ideas, and novelties spread across national borders and from one city to another. Germany and the German speaking area were significant in the training of musicians as well (Kurkela 2014). Musicians were the cosmopolitans of their time: after having acquired their musical competence in the metropolises of the area, they would often eventually move to other cities to earn a living (Heikkinen 2013). European migrants took these models with them, which greatly influenced the professional practice of both music professionals and amateurs on the new continent. It is particularly noteworthy that Germany's influence on music culture in the United States did not merely apply to the field of art music but also to the whole sphere of musical activities: restaurant music, funfair music, singing in schools, military and amateur bands, choirs, and so on. (Rantanen 2016, 2017.)

Musicians have always been a highly mobile professional group, traveling for employment from city to city and country to country. Their mobility has not necessarily been limited to single regions or countries but has included the whole of Europe, as well as regions beyond it. The United States offered musicians a whole new field of ac-

tion in the nineteenth century. After the Revolution of 1848, Americans were for the first time exposed to a massive influx of European musicians, predominantly at first from the German states. Touring the United States became fashionable, and numerous virtuosos, singers, bands, and other entertainers started to compete over U.S. audiences. A "musical" migrant could be anyone associated with the provision of music, whether a composer, singer, instrumentalist, instrument maker, copyist, choreographer, librettist, professional, or amateur, in hope of finding more and better opportunities to make a living. (Timms 2016, 45.)

Music and musical traditions traveled with the musicians. At the same time, new practices and ideas transferred from one person, group, or environment to another. Such transfers could take place in any of several musical domains (such as musical form or style, playing techniques, instrumentation, interpretation, or ornamentation), "have a local, regional, or national impact, and make a short- or long-term impression" (Timms 2016, 45). Finnish migrants took music with them as well. Instruments, sheet music, and music books traveled along with people to the "new world." In travel books and journals, it is possible to find notes about musicians entertaining other travelers during the long journey across the Atlantic Ocean. According to Colin Timms (2016, 45), music traveled as "a by-product of human migration," affecting the musical life of a foreign country in a number of ways.

Scientists, philosophers, and educators in Europe and the United States considered German art music as a universal form of art that had fundamental power in the education of the lower classes and served as an important means of strengthening memory, reason, logic, imagination, emotional breadth, and mental comprehension, and cultivating esthetic principles (Gienow-Hecht 2009, 46). Some of them even believed that singing in quartets or playing concert music exerted a soothing influence over family conflicts. This "educational and uplifting" repertoire included mostly a larger number of short pieces that could range from overtures to ballet music, opera music, arias, songs, and solos for flute, piano, or violin to waltzes, polkas, polonaises, and other dance music. Transcriptions of folk songs and traditional dance tunes were part of a scheme to attract audiences from all walks of life. (Gienow-Hecht 2009, 148.)

The repertoire of Finnish Americans was rooted in this same musical heritage and affected by the changes that were taking place in music culture due to the development of the organizational activities in Finland in the late nineteenth century. As part of popular education, common people were also educated in music. Western art music became the new ideal over the vernacular tradition and was followed by the popularity of brass bands and choirs, which were based in the form of upper-class student choirs and military bands (e.g., Rantanen 2013). These models set an example for musical clubs of Finnish migrant communities in the United States. Similarly, the Finnish American intelligentsia saw music and musical activities as a civilizing force against the use of alcohol and other "obscene" activities.

Musical Activities of Finnish Americans

The development of the cultural life of Finnish Americans was strongly linked to association activities. Finns were especially supportive of the temperance society and the labor movement. The first temperance associations were established in the 1880s. Almost from the very beginning, their activities included choral groups, brass bands, sports, and gymnastic clubs, as well as amateur dramatic societies. Due to crises in global politics, the socialist labor movement separated from other association activities in the early years of the twentieth century (Virtanen 2014). This was also evident in the cultural life.

Halls were the centers of musical and ideological activities and served as meeting points for Finnish migrants at various occasions. The temperance movement started to build halls as meeting places from the 1880s onward. The labor movement followed a decade later (Virtanen 2014, 173). At the halls, associations organized several activities, including concerts, dance occasions, and evening entertainment with varying programs. Dancing was the most popular form of amusement among Finns. Labor associations in particular organized them diligently. Furthermore, dance was one of the main reasons why the temperance movement started to lose members to labor associations. The conservative side of the temperance movement forbid dancing altogether, which did not please all the members. The cultural events of the liberal wing, however, were closer to those of the laborers (Hummasti 2014, 97). In addition to halls serving as home bases for all types of recreational activities, they formed an important network of venues for musicians with Finnish origins to perform and advance their musical careers. Many Finnish musicians and recording artists began and maintained their careers at halls, either as musicians in the accompanying orchestras or as couplet singers. One of them was John Rosendahl.

The formation of the so-called "hall socialism" was in a key position in the development of the rich cultural life taking place at the halls. Leisure and cultural activities were effective tools for recruiting new members. An increase in the number of members of the labor movement contributed significantly to hall socialism in its various forms. As a concept, hall socialism refers to all the different forms of recreation that occurred in the workers' halls (Kostiainen 1983, 101). In addition to the performances of the community's own bands and choirs, the main musical activities at the halls were the concerts of visiting musicians and music groups as well as dances (Pakkala 1983, 73).

Typically, the musical program of Finnish American choirs as well as brass bands included religious hymns, Finnish folk song arrangements as well as national songs and marches, as in Finland. Interestingly, the repertoire of the labor movement was based on a similar selection, especially before the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World, except for religious hymns being replaced by labor marches. This repertoire together with couplets as well as other popular and occasionally more artistic tunes formed the base for all musical events among Finns. However, regardless of the type of event — a social evening, concert, or some other form of entertainment — evenings always ended

with a dance. Therefore, playing at the dances became an important source of income for many touring musicians.

Finnish Musicians in the United States

According to Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt (1999, 222), sociocultural transnationalism also includes home country major artists performing abroad and raising the cultural identities of different ethnic groups. The United States also attracted Finnish music professionals who moved there or visited the country for different reasons. Newspapers both in Finland and the United States wrote about these travels, emphasizing the role of the musicians as Finnish cultural ambassadors. The most active promoters of Finnish music and musicians in the United States were the musical umbrella organizations, such as the Sibelius Club (1915), established to manage the activities of local music groups. The associations originated from the founders' concern for the disappearance of Finnish music culture in the United States. They helped maintain the Finnish repertoire through organizing music teaching and festivals, and also through sending Finnish musicians and sheet music to the United States.

The first Finnish artists touring in Northern America in the late nineteenth century were classical musicians. Selma Borg (1838—?) traveled to the United States as early as in the 1860s and started her musical career in the 1870s. She was active mainly on the east coast, in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Borg was an interesting figure who worked as a conductor, organized tours for a Swedish female quartet, gave lecture-concerts, and published a music collection *A Lays of Sweden and Finland*, which included Finnish and Swedish songs from the most known composers at the time: Filip von Schantz, Karl Collan, and Fredrik Pacius (Koivisto 2016). In addition to Borg, opera singer Alma Fohström visited the Metropolitan Opera in New York in 1888—1889 as the first Finnish performer. Finland's first international "mega-soprano" Aino Ackté was engaged at the Metropolitan from 1904 to 1906 (Liete 2006, 26).

Composer, organist, and conductor Oskar Merikanto (1868—1924) made his first and only trip to the United States in the summer of 1900. He performed in the Finnish communities in Ashtabula (OH), Chicago (IL), Calumet (MI), and Hancock (MI) (*Päivälehti,* September 29, 1900). His journey lasted for five weeks, and he recounted his experiences in the Finnish newspaper *Päivälehti*, that published his stories in five "travel letters." Merikanto was very proud of the fact that his reputation had reached the United States. However, he was slightly disappointed that the people who invited him were "merely" Finnish Americans and not more influential figures in music (*Päivälehti,* September 7, 1900).

Jean Sibelius also visited the United States. His first visit took place in the summer of 1914, when he was invited to conduct his composition *Aallottaret* at the Norfolk Mu-

sic Festival in Connecticut (*Helsingin Sanomat,* June 19, 1914). Further, Selim Palmgren and his wife, the famous opera singer Maikki Järnefelt, spent four years in the United States when Palmgren worked as Professor of Composition at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester in New York from 1922 to 1926. During their stay, they gave recitals around the country (Liete 2006, 27).

The impact of the musicians outside the art music scene is, however, less known. In the sphere of popular music, the folk musician and *kantele* player Pasi Jääskeläinen toured in the United States, as did the coupletists Alfred Tanner and Tatu Pekkarinen. Of the musicians who emigrated to the United States and made their careers there, perhaps the best known are the singers Hiski Salomaa (1881—1957), Arthur Kylander (1892—1968), and Antti Syrjäniemi (1886—1867). Further, the singers Aino Saari (1895—1963), Hannes Saari (1886—1967), Leo Kauppi (1900—1938), Juho Koskelo (1870—1942), Kuuno Sevander (1898—1989) as well as Katri Lammi (?—1958) and Jukka Ahti (1897—1938), a married couple, just to mention a few, made successful careers in the United States. Some of the musicians continued their artistic work in the Soviet Union. For example, Kauppi and Lammi and Ahti caught "Karelia fever" and left for Soviet Karelia with the Sevander's theater group in the 1930s, where they continued performing in the theater, radio, and other venues. However, their careers in the Soviet Union did not last for long. Sevander was the only one to survive Stalin's persecution.[1] (Gronow 2013a.)

Next, I will examine closely the work and influences of John Rosendahl, one of the most famous Finnish American musicians of his time, yet little known today. I will also draw attention to the musicians he was playing with. Finnish American music circles were relatively small, and the same musicians toured the same places and performed together.

John Rosendahl's Career as a Touring Musician in the United States

Before becoming a professional musician, John Rosendahl exhibited movies, worked as an actor, painted advertising signs for stores, and held a variety of other jobs (Leary 1990, 7). As a musician, he became a talented violinist and banjo player and could play other string instruments as well. Violin was his first instrument. He was also a singer, an actor, and a story teller. He changed his name to John, or Jukka, Rosendahl, thinking that it would be a better stage name for an artist. He was a handsome, well-dressed man, and a born entertainer, who had many female friends and admirers (Rosendahl

[1] Katri Lammi was captured and sentenced to forced labor. She survived but never continued her career as a singer or actress (Gronow 2013a).

1926; Tamminen 1990, 18). This was important in show business, since it was commonly believed that if an artist had "learning, language and looks," he could open the door to fame and wealth (Gienow-Hecht 2009, 98). In reality, however, touring was hard work.

As mentioned above, we do not know exactly when Rosendahl began his professional career as a musician, but from the early 1920s onward, he toured actively in the Finnish communities in Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. During this time, he was often seen performing with Finnish accordionists Antti Kosola and Isac Mäkelä. As with other Finnish American musicians, the main venues for Rosendahl's performances were the Finnish halls. He organized and marketed his concerts and other performances himself by writing letters around the country, addressing them to individuals and associations responsible for the program planning of the halls. He also advertized in newspapers and distributed posters in the towns and cities he performed. He was working a lot, sometimes six nights a week, and practiced to maintain his playing skills. By the mid-1920s, Rosendahl was already known as a talented musician who played several dances, either alone or with other musicians, composed and arranged music, worked with theatre groups, and did some teaching as well. However, he seemed to be constantly worried about the adequacy of his work. "I must get a new life," he wrote in January 1926 (Rosendahl, January 17, 1926).

Rosendahl's career took a new direction when he met a gifted young accordionist Viola Turpeinen (1909—1958) and heard her playing at the North Star Hall in Ishpeming (MI) in August 1926 (Rosendahl, August 26, 1926). This was also the moment when he started his career as a prominent concert promoter and manager. Rosendahl was dazzled by both Turpeinen's playing skills and beauty. He saw her not only as a virtuoso accordionist but also a "statuesque, vivacious, fair-haired Finnish American beauty capable of charming an ethnic audience" (Leary 1990, 7). She was only 16 years old at the time. With her parents' approval, Rosendahl convinced Turpeinen to accompany him on a tour across North America.[2]

Here their long-term collaboration started, and under Rosendahl's demanding instruction, Turpeinen soon became an accomplished performer (Tamminen 1990, 18). With the musical skills of the duo and Rosendahl's experience in organizing performances and tours, they began to book shows in Finnish halls. They performed in the Upper Peninsula, Northern Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, and Massachusetts, ending up in New York, where they settled down for a while in 1927. People were especially interested in Turpeinen, a young, beautiful talent. Their repertoire consisted of duets and solo numbers. They both also sang. As a part of the performances, Rosendahl showed shadow pictures from Finland, Russia, and the United States, and told jokes and funny stories. He was a true entertainer. Every performance ended with a dance. Touring was

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[2] Apparently, they were also romantically involved, since on September 10, 1926 Rosendahl wrote in his diary: "Is this the beginning of all the happiness?," an again "Love & romance Viola" (September 27, 1926) — "Viola is my girl now" (September 30, 1926).

Image 2. John Rosendahl in the 1920s. Source: Migration Institute on Finland (Turku).

intense: eight days of touring could consist of seven performances. (Rahkonen 2009; Tamminen 1990, 18—19.)

In New York, they got a permanent engagement to play at the Raivaaja Workers' Hall, where they regularly played many concerts, dances, and shows with visiting musicians such as Kosola and Arthur Kylander. As James Leary has pointed out, their moving to New York had several advantages. In addition to the Raivaaja Hall, New York's Finnish American community had several other halls in which they could perform. As an eastern point, New York was also America's closest link with Finland, "a place from which to embark on tours and a conduit for news and tunes from the old country." Music with Finnish influences affected their audiences the most. Rosendahl took care of promoting both the shows and Turpeinen, who became a sensation. According to Leary, she "received top billing in show business fashion as adds — complete with pen and ink sketch of an accordion-wielding, short-skirted, bobbed-hair flapper — proclaimed the coming of 'Viola Turpeinen, International Victor Artist.'" (Leary 1990, 7.)

New York was also home to leading record companies such as Victor and Columbia, which in the late 1920s began actively to record ethnic-American musicians, including Finns. On January 11, 1928, Rosendahl and Turpeinen made their first recording for Columbia. "Some nervous job," Rosendahl wrote about the recording sessions in

his diary (Rosendahl, January 8, 1928). The first recordings were typical duo repertoire. The titles were traditional Finnish dance tunes *Hollolan polka* and *Vanhanmaan sottiisi*, *Hämärä sottiisi* composed by the Swedish-American accordionist Edwin Jahrl, and a waltz *Kulkurin serenadi*, an adaptation of Drigo's virtuoso piece *Les milliones d'arlequin* (Gronow 2002). This was the highlight of their careers until then. In addition to touring, the commercialization of music took a concrete form through the development and increasing popularity of the audio record industry, which in the United States peaked in the 1910s and 1920s (Gronow 2013b, 88—89). Through recordings, Rosendahl and Turpeinen gained plenty of visibility.

A few weeks later, Rosendahl and Turpeinen recorded for Victor, Columbia's biggest competitor (Rosendahl, January 30, 1928). This time the recordings included the duo numbers *Emma valssi* and *Jäähyväisvalssi,* and the traditional tunes *Kauhavan polkka*, *Penttilän valssi,* and *Jukan sottiisi*. In addition, *Variety polka* by the Italian accordionist Quido Deiro, who had inspired many Scandinavian accordionists such as Turpeinen, was recorded as Turpeinen's solo number. This was notable, since Turpeinen was probably the first woman in the world to record accordion solos. Rosendahl's work as a promoter yielded results. In the 1920s and 1930s, Turpeinen was considered as one of the best female accordionists among the professional circles (Gronow 2002). Newspapers wrote glowing critiques about their shows and about Turpeinen as a "phenomenal talent." Rosendahl was often mentioned as a "supporting musician," which suited well his strategy to make Turpeinen a star. Moreover, Turpeinen's fame helped his own career. Among Finns, Turpeinen was also admired because of her humble background as a miner's daughter, winning "an undivided adoration from the audiences all over the country." According to *Raivaaja*, she played the accordion like no-one before (e.g., *Raivaaja*, January 1, 1928), turning the "rough-sounding accordion" into a beautiful, truly artistic instrument (*Raivaaja*, February 13, 1928).

The duo did not forget their connections with the Midwestern communities. They returned to perform in the Finnish communities in Minnesota in February 1928, with occasional visits to Michigan and Canada. The tour was met with success. For example, in Duluth, 450 people came to see the show. Based on his diary, Rosendahl seemed to be very content with the performances in general. They also made good earnings and could make more than 1,000 dollars in a month. Of course, there were bad days as well. In May 9, 1928, for example, Rosendahl described the evening as follows: "Strange new music — Dance at workers' opera — rotten — rotten — rotten."

Later in the autumn of 1928, Rosendahl and Turpeinen toured Illinois and Ohio, stopping in Chicago for two days in November to record seven more tunes for Victor. In early 1929, Rosendahl and Turpeinen spent two months in Michigan performing, and did another long tour to the east. In spring, they were again in New York, playing at the Finnish worker's halls in Brooklyn and Harlem, and occasionally on the New Jersey side with great success. The most popular dances were held at the Raivaaja Hall. According

to Rosendahl, on April 4, 1929, they sold 818 tickets at the hall. Normally, the audiences varied from 200 to 400 (Gronow 2002).

In May 1929, Rosendahl and Turpeinen traveled to Finland for a tour. This trip became one of the highlights in Turpeinen's career. They received a warm welcome, and their shows were sold out in several places. They crossed the Atlantic with a steamship and paid their travel by performing for the passengers in first, second, and third classes. After reaching Finland, the duo played around the country from Helsinki to Kemijärvi. Performances took place mainly at workers' halls. The biggest success was at the Helsinki Workers' Hall, where approximately 1,200 viewers witnessed the show (Gronow 2003).

Apparently, the tour was organized by Rosendahl himself, although this is not known for sure. It was not uncommon for migrant musicians to perform in Finland in the 1920s. Therefore, Rosendahl must have had some information on whom to contact. By the time of the tour, via recordings and newspaper articles, Turpeinen had already gained popularity in Finland as *American hanuriprinsessa* (the Accordion Princess of America). She was the real star of the tour, and people were curious to see this "prodigy with Finnish roots" live (*Suomen Sosialidemokraatti,* July 27, 1929). Irja Uokkola, an 8-year-old student at the Chicago ballet, toured with Turpeinen and Rosendahl. Finnish newspapers, especially workers' newspapers, widely advertised the group which received excellent reviews almost everywhere they went. "They came, we saw, they conquered," wrote *Työn Ääni* (July 10, 1929) after their performance and continued: "Viola Turpeinen played her handsome piano accordion masterfully, Mister Rosendahl spiced the performance with his violin and amusing presentations. And little Irja won the audience over with her sweet dances. The brimming audience applauded with rarely seen enthusiasm." After two and a half months of traveling, Turpeinen and Rosendahl returned to New York and continued playing at the city's workers' halls and Finnish communities around Midwest for the rest of the year.

After playing together for five years, Rosendahl's and Turpeinen's duo gained one member. She was Sylvia Polso (1912—1996), an accordionist like Turpeinen, who could also play the piano. Rosendahl and Turpeinen met her at the Camels Hall in Duluth in late October 1929 (Rosendahl, October 29, 1929). Polso was a self-taught musician but had studied under the famous accordion player Charles Magnante in New York. She was a fine technician and like Turpeinen, young and beautiful. Rosendahl's role as a promoter increased with the addition of Polso to the company. Polso and Turpeinen began appearing "side-by-side toting accordions, arrayed like film stars, in photographs taken to promote their appearences" (Leary 1990, 7—8). The trio toured throughout the Great Lakes region with huge success under the names of all three players, or as *Viola Turpeinen & Co*, which reflects Turpeinen's reputation in the United States (Gronow 2003).

This assembly did not last long, but during its short time it became highly popular among Finnish Americans, especially in the Great Lakes region. Concerts and dances were organized in every possible hall. The list of their shows includes at least 31 different towns. Rosendahl took care of the promotion of the trio, but because of their

Image 3. Viola Turpeinen and Sylvia Polso at the turn of the 1930s. Source: Migration Institute on Finland (Turku).

popularity, it seems that they did not have to market themselves as actively as before (Rosendahl 1930; Tamminen 1990, 19).

After the trio had traveled back to New York through Illinois, Ohio, and Massachusetts in late 1930, Rosendahl decided to put his musical career on hold to devote more of his time to speculating the stock market. It was probably also safe for him to take a break, since after years of active touring, Polso and especially Turpeinen had sustainable careers and they managed well without him. According to Rosendahl's diary, he did not, however, stop performing completely. Turpeinen and Polso continued in the

music business by teaming with Antti Kosola and trumpet player William Syrjälä, who later became Turpeinen's husband. The group were engaged to the Finnish Workers Hall in New York, billed as the Finnish Accordion Quartet. (Gronow 2003.)

In August 1931, Rosendahl, Polso, and Turpeinen were invited to record five titles for Victor, and after the session, Rosendahl again made more time for music and left for Michigan to tour Finnish halls with the girls. This was, however, the beginning of the end of Rosendahl and Turpeinen's long cooperation. At the end of 1931, Turpeinen left the group. She did not approve of the romantic relationship that had developed between Polso and Rosendahl. Additionally, Turpeinen's relations with Rosendahl had already suffered over Rosendahl's drinking. Turpeinen started her own orchestra in Duluth, and Rosendahl and Polso continued to play together until Rosendahl's tragic death a year later on December 18, 1932, when he fell down the stairs at home and fatally hit his head. (Leary 1990; Tamminen 1990, 20; Gronow 2003.)

Repertoire and Recordings

Rosendahl's diaries do not detail the kind of repertoire the musical performances included. It is clear, however, that he and Turpeinen played a lot of dance music with Finnish influences. Turpeinen was known for her polkas, and most of the music she played was Finnish dance music (Tamminen 1988, 6). In addition, she also played more artistic music, such as opera overtures and arrangements of classical concert music (Gronow 2002).

One way of examining their repertoire is to look at the recordings more closely. In addition, some newspapers published full programs with the concert advertisements. Firstly, Turpeinen and Rosendahl performed the tunes they had recorded. These songs were used to attract audiences: if the concert included numbers that the duo had previously recorded, this was mentioned separately in the program. According to Pekka Gronow, in the early twentieth century, 300,000 Finnish Americans bought more records than the three million Finns did back home, and in the period between 1915—1925, more recordings of Finnish music were released in the United States than in Europe. A boom year for American record companies was 1929. There were millions of migrants in the United States, and record companies were eagerly producing records for the "foreign record trade," as music for migrants was called. Columbia and Victor issued nearly a hundred records by Finnish American artists in 1929. (Gronow 2002.)

Rosendahl and Turpeinen had already made more than twenty records by early 1929. In 1928, they recorded a total of four times. Turpeinen played the accordion, Rosendahl violin and banjo. They played both solos and duets. All of the recorded tunes represented typical Finnish dance music, such as polkas, waltzes, schottisches, and mazurkas. The majority of them were traditional tunes. In 1929, the duo recorded only once. On May

10, 1929, they were called to the Victor studios in New York to record Guide Deiro's *Derina polka-mazurka* with the Finnish title *Ihana maa*. In addition, they recorded three Finnish dance tunes: *Tähti valssi, Kaustisen polkka*, and *Iloinen polkka*. Finnish dance music sold well, which is why the record company saw no need to change the repertoire. Records as well as record players were relatively cheap in the United States, and many Finnish American homes had a gramophone and a pile of records. (Gronow 2003.)

As discussed above, after Sylvia Polso joined the group, the group was invited to record as a trio, despite the fact that the Great Depression had hit the recording industry as well. The tunes were, again, traditional Finnish dance tunes, but this time most of the songs were arranged by Rosendahl or Turpeinen themselves. Rosendahl had written and arranged a lot of music during the preceding years. During this session at Victor, he also debuted as a recording singer with the comic song *Neuvoja naimattomille* (Advice to the Unmarried). (Gronow 2003.)

How about the live performances? According to the newspaper advertisements, the performance of Rosendahl and Turpeinen was normally divided into two parts: a concert and a dance. The concert included solo numbers like *Tranquillo Overture*, *Indian Princess* (overture), and *Minuette* from Beethoven, but also dance music, such as *Kulkurin serenadi* and *Violan polkka*, and lasted for an hour or more (*Raivaaja,* October 29, 1927; January 31, 1928). According to a newspaper article from 1930, the show of *Viola, Sylvia and John Instrumental Trio* was constructed as follows:

> *At first Miss Turpeinen and Miss Polso performed a musical number together with accordions, after which Mr. Rosendahl played violin. Then it was time for a slideshow illustrating the harvest time in Finland [...]. Miss Turpeinen and Miss Polso played solo numbers with accordions getting a standing ovation from the public, demanding for more numbers [...]. Mr. Rosendahl played an old traditional tune with his violin, and gave a humorous speech. After the coffee break it was time for dancing, which continued until midnight. Music was provided by the three guests.* (Tamminen & Westerholm 2003.)

It is clear that both the duo and the trio mainly played music that was similar to the music they recorded — Finnish dance music. In addition to more artistic numbers, it formed the core of their repertoire.

Conclusion

Even if the majority of the performances took place at the workers' halls, neither Rosendahl, Turpeinen, or Polso were politically aligned with any specific ideology. They were popular across party lines, shunned only by some temperance societies and religious groups opposed to dancing (Tamminen 1988, 9). It was particularly natural for them

to play at the workers' halls because they were the places where people spent their free time. Further, as mentioned before, workers' associations organized most of the dance events among Finns. Additionally, Rosendahl, Turpeinen, and Polso all came from the working class, which probably increased their credibility among the people at the halls. For example, when Väinö Sola (1883—1961), a Finnish opera singer known as a strong right-winger, was touring in the United States for the first time in 1920, right after the Finnish Civil War (1918), practically all workers' halls refused to let him perform in their premises (Sola 1920).

As far as we know, the musical program of Rosendahl and Turpeinen, and later Polso, was not political, either. Most of it consisted of Finnish dance tunes, arrangements of Finnish traditional folk tunes and a more artistic part. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Finnish Americans were eager to maintain a Finnish identity, and the music "from home" was a way to improve it and also diminish homesickness. Halls formed an important and functional network for the musicians of Finnish origin to perform and build their careers. The popularity of a repertoire with Finnish influences kept its hold among Finns. In addition to the events at the halls, the record labels as well as Finnish American music organizations helped maintain the Finnish repertoire. For example, jazz music, which peaked in popularity in the 1920s, was often seen by the Finnish intelligentsia both in Finland and in the United States as uncivilized music that could not replace Finnish tunes. According to Oskar Merikanto, if someone had composed similar music in Finland, he would have been "deported as a criminal" (*Tampereen Sanomat*, April 12, 1912). Or, as the record label Victor's marketing brochure phrased it, Finnish music was the best reminder of all that was "good and beautiful" in the old home country (Victor Finnish Records 1924).

There were, however, musicians with a strong political agenda. Hiski Salomaa, for example, was an active syndicalist, a fact that could be heard in his songs. Similarly, the songs of Kylander and Syrjäniemi featured not only nostalgia for the old country but also, in the couplet tradition of the day, commentary on topical matters. Musicians supporting more conservative values, such as Väinö Sola, were also naturally touring the United States.

After hard work and plenty of practice, John Rosendahl succeeded in making himself a career as a talented and popular musician and a fine promoter in the United States. He was an important teacher and mentor for Viola Turpeinen, with whom he managed to win over Finnish Americans and their halls. Because of his unfortunate and early death, his career ended sooner than it should have. Turpeinen continued her career as a celebrated musician until her death in 1957, whereas Polso ended her professional musical career soon after Rosendahl's death.

The Finnish musical migrants operated in a transnational musical field. Their strong connections to Finland and Finnish culture drastically affected the formation of musical life and repertoire of both amateurs and professionals alike. Some of them maintained their ties to their countries of origin, making "home and host society a single

arena of social action" (Brettel 2015, 157). As Rosendahl's example shows, sometimes it was simply a matter of good business to play Finnish repertoire. Due to his long experience, he knew where the audience was and what kind of music they wanted to hear. Even though Rosendahl writes little about his personal opinions on the music he made and performed, it seems that he was not so much a patriotic but a cosmopolitan musician, whose repertoire responded more to the demand of the field than it matched his own musical taste or identity. He was eager to learn the language and adapt to U.S. society. However, Finnish features remained surprisingly long in the music culture of Finnish Americans. As Ilpo Saunio (1974, 261) puts it: "The entire Finnish American culture can be characterized as a late tenant farmer idyll planted amidst an industrial society."

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6. A Finnish Narrative of the Manufacturing Industry in the Midwest in the Mid-1930s

Elianne Riska

In the early twentieth century, the U.S. manufacturing industry was perceived to be the global center of advanced industrial technology. This perception was one aspect of the period called the "age of technological enthusiasm," which has been defined as the century between 1870 and 1970 (Hughes 1989). During this era, the United States became "technology's nation" (Hughes 1989, 2).

The great attraction of the U.S. manufacturing industry for Finnish engineers is illustrated in this chapter with a case study that provides a micro historical view of the transfer of technological knowledge between the United States and Finland in the 1930s. The case study contains narratives presented by a young Finnish engineer, who visited the United States in order to study the latest innovations in the field of diesel-engine technology during 1935–1936. This study shows that the narrator's access to the technological innovation sites was facilitated by his immersion in the local ethnic networks of Finnish Americans, who worked as leading engineers in the major automobile factories in Detroit — for example, the Murray Corporation of America, Ford, Chevrolet, and the Hudson Motor Car Company. These engineers were key figures in providing recommendation letters to visit the motor factories in Detroit and other cities in the Midwest.

The narrator, Väinö Österberg, was born in 1905 in Helsinki. After finishing high school in Helsinki in 1924, he studied mechanical engineering at the Technical University of Helsinki (today Aalto University). In 1930, he received his Master of Science degree in mechanical engineering and took a job as a design engineer at a marine motor company, Oy Ares Ab, in Helsinki. In the spring of 1935, he received a stipend from a private Finnish foundation (the Walter Ahlström Foundation) to study the technology and innovation in combustion engine manufacturing in the United States. The narrator based himself in Detroit, because it was in this "Motor City" that innovations in technological knowledge and their applications in automobile manufacturing were geographically concentrated. Detroit in the mid-1930s was dominated by the auto industry and its three

main corporations — Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors (GM) (Nevins & Hill 1963). For example, in 1935 GM represented 38 percent of the motor vehicle sales in the United States, Ford 29 percent, and Chrysler 21 percent. The remaining 12 percent of the sales was represented by Hudson, Nash, Packard, Studebaker, and some other smaller companies (Clarke 2007, 113). The choice of Detroit as the base for Österberg's study visit was as evident as Silicon Valley was to become for a later IT-generation in the 1980s.

In the mid-1930s, a large number of the components for car manufacturing were delivered by local contractors in Michigan and the surrounding states (Klier & Rubenstein 2008, 2). This economic substructure is reflected in the visitor's itinerary for his study, which came to include fifty factories in the Midwest, an area ranging from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the West, to Rochester, New York, in the East. Österberg recorded his observations in a travel diary and in letters to his parents.

Österberg's story about his visit in the Midwest is interesting for three main reasons. First, the biographical data used in this study provide a unique opportunity to illuminate the character of the engineering professions both in the United States and Finland. As a professional group, engineers have largely been neglected in research on professions in most western countries. This is the case in studies on Detroit. Research on Detroit's industrial development tends to focus mainly on the auto industry as an economic or industrial structure (Rubenstein 2001; Klier & Rubenstein 2008; Rothstein 2016) or on its working class (Darden & Thomas 2013). Furthermore, in research on Finnish Americans in the Midwest (e.g., Holmio 2001; Kostiainen 2014), there is no mention at all of their role as engineers in the Midwestern automobile industry.

Research on the Finnish engineering profession is sparse in general. Two doctoral dissertations have examined the early stages of education in engineering and the kinds of demands for technical knowledge that spurred the establishment of technical colleges in Finland (Tulkki 1996; Michelsen 1999, 8). Recent studies of the history of Finnish engineering have provided descriptive and heroic portrayals of individuals turned captains of industry, who built up the industrial infrastructure in Finland by founding the early large industrial enterprises in paper, mining, and the chemical industry (e.g., Michelsen 1999; Fellman 2000; Ericsson 2003, 2005; Sten 2007; Geust 2010; Juselius 2017).

Second, the narrator visited factories and described industrial communities in the Midwest — a region that has not received much attention, as U.S. history writing has tended to focus mainly on the East and West Coasts (Lauck 2013). Consequently, the Midwest has had an "image of innocent agrarianism" and is considered a region that in mainstream U.S. history writing has been treated as "a periodic source of exotica" (Lauck 2013, 3, 7). Nevertheless, the Midwest has had a key role in the U.S. industrial history because of the rise of large urban manufacturing centers like Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit that laid the foundations of the economic strength of the United States.

Third, sociological studies on Midwestern industrial and urban life have mainly focused on Chicago, as vividly exemplified by the urban sociology tradition of the early Chicago School of Sociology. More recently, sociologists have actually come to lament

the lack of sociological research on Detroit (Silver 2015, 97). Still, Detroit has always represented the socio-economic condition of the U.S. industrial city. In the 1910s and 1920s, Detroit became a vibrant center for technological innovation and the manufacturing of cars. Detroit also had a class of financiers who were willing to take risks and to invest in the new automobile industry (Rose 1990; Sugrue 1996). Compared to Cleveland, the second largest car-producing city, Detroit became for this reason the strongest car manufacturing center.

The biographical material in this case study offers an opportunity to reconstruct and analyze the structure of Detroit and contemporary Midwestern society from a micro perspective. The narrative is located in an economic and social context characterized by economic specialization and centralization.

Detroit's industrial heyday was when manufacturing took place in the inner city, where also the middle class and the working class lived. This phase of Detroit's development has been characterized as "a capitalist dream town of unrivaled innovation and bountiful reward" (Binelli 2012, 3). After the 1970s, Detroit has been subject to two parallel economic and social processes: deindustrialization and suburbanization (Farley 2015; Rothstein 2016). Hence, Detroit has not only been a declining manufacturing and residential city but has also become a symbol of larger structural and cultural processes in the development of U.S. society. As LeDuff (2013, 4) argues, "Detroit is America's city. It was the vanguard of our way up, just as it is the vanguard of our way down." This representation has also been commented on in these terms: "If, once Detroit had stood for the purest fulfillment of U.S. industry, it now represented America's most epic urban failure" (Binelli 2012, 3).

In contrast to the United States in the mid-1930s, Finland was then predominantly agrarian and the industrialization process was slow. For this reason, young engineers were given stipends to go abroad, primarily to the United States and Germany, to learn about the most recent technology needed for the industrialization of the production processes (Michelsen 1999). This study uses the account of one representative of this cohort of young engineers who went abroad. The narrator in this case study went to the United States to learn about the latest engineering knowledge about the manufacture of diesel engines.

Methods and Material

Biographical sociology had a strong position in early American sociological research, a tradition known as the Chicago School. The use of autobiography in sociological research traces its origin to *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, a study by William I. Thomas and his Polish collaborator Florian Znaniecki ([1918—1920]1974) at the University of Chicago, a report now considered a "founding classic of sociology" (Coser 1971; Stanley 2010, 140). Thomas and Znaniecki used diaries and letters of Polish migrants in the United States to map the consequences of the social change brought about by the collective geo-

graphical mobility of people between the two countries. Such data, the scholars argued, allowed the researcher to explore three levels of society: biography, social structure, and history (Mills 1959; Miller 2000). In their use of letters as research material, Thomas and Znaniecki saw letter-writing as a way for individuals to present themselves and their lives in circumstances of separation and rapid social change (Stanley 2010, 149).

Letters and diaries have always been a primary source of data in humanistic research (e.g., Hallett 2002), but such qualitative information has been used far less in sociological research. There was, however, a renewed interest in biographical data, especially in Europe, in the 1980s and afterwards (Plummer 1990; Stanley 2010).

The biographical documents used in this study are a travel diary and letters written by a Finnish engineer Väinö Österberg. Access to this material was facilitated by the fact that his descendants offered it for research purposes after the letters were found in 2014. The author of this chapter transcribed the diary and the letter material and compiled it to a working report (Riska 2015). The narrator's diary and letters were all written in Swedish (his mother tongue was Swedish), and they were translated into English by the author of this chapter. In addition, a folder with invitation letters from the U.S. companies was included in the material.

Väinö Österberg wrote a short entry in his diary on each day of his stay abroad (September 22, 1935–November 24, 1936). The transcription of the diary consists of thirty-seven single-spaced pages. The narrator does not state his personal motive for keeping a travel diary during his trip to the United States. The travel diary contains mainly short descriptions of the writer's movement from one industrial city and factory to another. The fact that he was obliged to write a final report to the Walter Ahlström Foundation that sponsored his study trip, might have been the reason for him to keep a travel diary. When he wrote his final report, the diary enabled him to reconstruct the dates and places of his visit to fifty corporations and factories. However, his final report, received by the Board of the Walter Ahlström Foundation in the fall of 1937, has not been found in the foundation's archives.

The visits to the factories and the technical level of the production are commented on in very positive terms. There are no comments in the diary about the workers' technical skills, their work conditions nor about the organization of the auto workers. However, the biographical material used in this study gives an opportunity to reconstruct the economic and socio-cultural context in Detroit and the Midwest in the mid-1930s. The industrial city environment at the time does not get a favorable score. The material contains frequent comments about the polluted air in the American industrial cities. For example, in a letter (February 4, 1936) Österberg complains: "I have a real problem in keeping my shirts clean because they get dirty immediately in the cities here because the air is full of soot. When you're out the whole day, your face looks like you've been in a forge."

The forty letters by Österberg to his parents and siblings are transcribed in twenty-nine single-spaced pages. The letter material used in this study does not include any letters sent to friends, although there are some such letters in the writer's collection of letters. His inclusion in the social network at home can be reconstructed by means

of the short statements in the diary when he has sent a letter to a friend back home. These entries seem to serve as a reminder to him of his ties to the social networks of his home country. The letters and the diary also had a tacit cognitive function in that they confirmed the narrator's social self. The diary illuminates how the writer constructed and negotiated his identity as shaped by social class (an engineer), gender (man), and race/ethnicity (white, Finnish-Swedish).

The analysis of the texts — the diary and the letters — is informed by grounded theory (Charmaz 2006). The grounded theory approach implies a process of qualitative data analysis to identify emergent themes and concepts. After several readings of the two texts (the diary and the letters), an overall narrative could be identified. The analysis then proceeded in two phases. The first phase entailed an initial coding of the material, which brought up some broad analytic themes. The second phase involved a focused coding, which resulted in the organization of the themes in the diary and the letters in a chronological narrative.

Finnish Americans as Technical Leaders in the Midwestern Automobile Industry

The narrator's stays in Detroit and Cleveland were filled with both professional and social activities. These activities were mostly arranged through ethnic networks, either through leading engineers among the Finnish Americans in the Detroit automobile industry or by Finnish engineers educated in Finland, who worked as chief engineers in the Midwestern motor industry.

The Finnish Americans in Detroit had their own ethnic organization and social network, called the Knights of Kaleva (*Kalevan Ritarit*) (Holmio 2001, 304; Kostiainen 2014). Among the Finnish Americans in Detroit, this fraternal organization assembled leading engineers and technical leaders in the city's automobile industry and other professionals. Their social networks facilitated the visiting narrator's contacts to other industrial leaders. In this way, Österberg was offered the necessary entry permits — personal recommendations — to get access to the factories in Detroit and other cities in the Midwest.

The following excerpts from Österberg's travel diary illustrate the existence of a social network of high-level chief engineers, who had contacts with the Finnish American engineers and who were willing personally to guide the Finnish visitor around in the factory.

> *I visited the Murray Corporation of America, where [James] Vehko is chief engineer and he gave a couple of hours of his quite valuable time to show me around. The rest of the time — I was there until 7:30 p.m. — I had cicerones with professional expertise who showed me around.*
>
> Travel diary November 20, 1935.

I visited Mr. Wynne, a small, modest but powerful man [Diamond T. Motor Car Co. in Chicago]. Mr. Olsen, one of his closest men, promised to take care of the practical arrangements, which will allow me to enter Hercules factories [Canton, Ohio]. I started around noon [...] and drove through Harvey, a suburb of Chicago, where The Buda Diesel Company's factories are located. A valuable visit, it is a pity that I had so little time. Mr. Anderson [the sales manager] in person showed me around in the factory.

Travel diary December 2, 1935.

I visited Mr. Hayer at C-B [Cooper-Bessemer Corporation, Mount Vernon, Ohio], from whom I got additional facts and an introductory letter to the factories in Grove City, PA. "[Normally] we would'nt have paid so much attention to you, but Prof. Norman's [a Finnish American] friends are friends of ours" he declared.

Travel diary February 12, 1936.

Österberg was introduced to several Finnish Americans, who were leading engineers in the major automobile industries in Detroit. One of these persons was James Vehko, who had a central role in the Finnish visitor's narrative. Vehko was born in Finland in 1891 (his birth name was Jalmari Vehkomäki) and had emigrated to the United States in 1913. In the 1930s, Vehko had become chief manufacturing engineer in the Murray Corporation of America in Detroit. He is credited for the engineering of the first all-steel body made by deep-draw die. He worked for major car factories in Detroit, including Ford (Vehko was allegedly a family friend with the Ford family). Vehko was not only an important link between Österberg and various industrial contacts, but he and his Finnish-born wife also often invited the visiting Finnish engineer to their home in Detroit. Vehko's home was the center of informal gatherings of the Finnish Americans (e.g., M. Kilkka, E. Ojanpää, A. Brask), who were active in the Knights of Kaleva and the Aura lodge # 44 (i.e., *Auran maja*) in Detroit. They attended the Kaleva Hall (then located at 13211 Montville Place, close to Highland Park) in Detroit, where different kinds of cultural programs were arranged. During his stay in Detroit, Österberg was frequently invited to these events by his Finnish American hosts. In addition, his hosts introduced him to the active cultural life of the inner city of Detroit. At that time, they all lived close to the inner city.

During the summer of 1936, James Vehko's eighteen-year-old son, whose first name also was Väinö, together with Österberg made a road trip over the whole U.S. continent. The journey was made with James Vehko's brand new Ford V8. The seven-week car trip began in Detroit, with California as the first goal. The journey took the travelers to Los Angeles and then to Seattle (to visit Vehko's cousin) and back to Detroit (see Riska 2015, 110–126). Later Väinö Vehko was to rise fast in his career after his engineering education at the University of Michigan, holding several top positions in the Chrysler Company. At his retirement in 1976, Väinö Vehko was general manager of the Chrysler Space Division in the United States.

Another person frequently mentioned in the narrative is Theodore Norton, who worked at Hudson Motor Car Company in Detroit. He was a friend of James Vehko through his Finnish-born wife, Aino. The Nortons often welcomed Österberg to their Detroit home. Theodore Norton mediated valuable industrial contacts for the writer in Detroit and Cleveland.

There are several other Finnish Americans in the U.S. engineering profession in the story. For example, Martin Kilkka (born Martti Kilkka in Finland, came to the United States in 1913) worked at Chevrolet in Detroit. He belonged to Norton's and Vehko's network of Finnish Americans in Detroit, and he also gave recommendations to his colleagues, which facilitated the visitor's access to factories. Another Finnish American who appears in the narrative is Emil Kivelä. Kivelä grew up in the Finnish community in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and received an engineering degree at Michigan State College (later Michigan State University). Kivelä worked in a crane-manufacturing company in Montour Falls in upstate New York, which later was absorbed by the Finnish company Konecranes in 2002. Kivelä guided the Finnish visitor around in the factory in the spring of 1936.

In Cleveland, Österberg was in contact with two of Theodore Norton's friends, engineer Ernst Wirtsén and Harry Lake. Ernst Wirtsén (also written Wirtzén) had received his engineering degree from the Polytechnic Institute of Helsinki in 1906 and moved to the United States in 1909. He had worked in New York and Chicago before living in Cleveland. He died in 1968 and left his fortune to his alma mater, the Technical University of Helsinki (today Aalto University). The Technical University used these means to establish the "Ernst Wirtzén's stipend fund," which gives stipends to Finnish graduate students in engineering for year-long study visits to the United States.

The narrator also visited companies, at which he knew the leading engineer from their common background as engineering students at the Technical University of Helsinki. Their names appear in the narrative and are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Finnish engineers who worked in the U.S. companies that the narrator visited in 1935–1936

Name	Company	Born	Engineering Degree[1]
Collin, Eric	Erie City Iron Works, Erie, PA	1902	1925
Hedengren, Torsten	Nordberg Manufacturing Company, Milwaukee, WI	1888	1911
Lönngren, Bruno	Bucyros-Erie Co, Milwaukee, WI	1897	1921
Norman, C.A.	Ohio State University, Columbus, OH	1879	1900[2]
Rainesalo, Ilmari	Ames Iron Works, Oswego, NY	1895	1919
Wirtsén, Ernst	Cleveland, OH	1880	1906

[1] Degree from Technical University of Helsinki, Finland.

[2] Degree from Royal Technical University, Stockholm, Sweden.

The Transnational Transfer of Technological Knowledge from the Midwest

The narrative presented in this chapter captures a historic moment when U.S. society was seen as the prototype of the modern and economically successful industrial society. During his stay in the United States, Österberg visited fifty factories in the Great Lakes area, which entailed driving to industrial centers in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (Table 2). He visited a total of fifteen factories in Michigan, where Detroit was his base during his stay in the United States. Cleveland, Ohio, became the object of three visits, which together amounted to six weeks in that city (eight factory visits). He visited six other cities in Ohio — Toledo, Canton, Akron, Columbus, Mount Vernon, and Springfield (a total of ten factory visits). In addition, he visited Milwaukee in Wisconsin (four factory visits) and Chicago in Illinois (one factory visit). His tour also included nine factories in seven cities in the upper New York State: Rochester, Buffalo, Auburn, Oswego, Painted Post, Corning, and Montour Falls. The journey also included visits to Grove City and Erie in Pennsylvania (two factory visits) as well as to Columbus, Indiana (one factory visit).

Table 2. Distribution of the site visits in the Midwest by state

State	Number of Visits
Illinois	1
Indiana	1
Michigan	15
New York	9
Ohio	18
Pennsylvania	2
Wisconsin	4
Total	50

The fifty factories that the narrator visited were part of the machine industry that emerged in the Midwest during the first decades of the twentieth century. As Table 3 shows, during the following decades most of these companies closed down or moved from the Midwest to other parts of the country or relocated in the global economy (Riska 2017, 56–57).

During his visits at the local factories, the narrator was impressed by the technological innovations in industrial automation. For example, he visited A.O. Smith Corporation in Milwaukee, which produced steel frames for the major car manufacturers. This production was automated in 1921 and was one of the earliest automated production processes in the United States. The narrator visited the factory on June 5, 1936, and reflected, "In the morning I went out to A.O. Smith Corp. where I got a closer look at Modern Times" [referring here to Chaplin's movie that he had seen in February 1936 in the United States].

Table 3. Visits of factories and corporations (n=50) by locality and state

Corporation/Factory	Locality, State	Founded	Ceased
Allis-Chalmers Corporation	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	1901	1999
Ames Iron Works	Oswego, New York	1855	1963
A. O. Smith Corporation	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	1874	–
Atlas Foundry	Detroit, Michigan	–	–
Buda Company	Harvey, Illinois	1910	1953
Carborundum Company	Niagara Falls, New York	1895	1987
Carter Diamond Tool Co.	Cleveland, Ohio	1920	–
Cleveland Graphite Bronze Co	Cleveland, Ohio	1919	1952
Cleveland Punch & Shear Works Co	Cleveland, Ohio	1880	–
Cleveland Tractor Company	Cleveland, Ohio	1912	1961
Consolidated Machine Tool Corp	Rochester, New York	1922	1983
Cooper-Bessemer Corporation	Grove City, Pennsylvania	1929	1965
Cooper-Bessemer Corporation	Mount Vernon, Ohio	1929	1965
Corning Glass Co.	Corning, New York	1868	–
Cummins Engine Company	Columbus, Indiana	1919	–
Delco Appliance Division	Rochester, New York	1908	1963
Detroit Alloy Steel Co.	Detroit, Michigan	1929	1942
Detroit city tram and bus central	Detroit, Michigan	1900	1956
Erie City Iron Works	Erie, Pennsylvania	1851	1966
Firestone	Akron, Ohio	1900	1988
Ford factories	Detroit, Michigan	1903	2004
Gray Marine Motor Company	Detroit, Michigan	1910	1967
Great Lake Steel Corporation	Detroit, Michigan	1929	2003
Hercules Motor Co.	Canton, Ohio	1915	1961
Hudson Motor Car Company	Detroit, Michigan	1909	1954
Ingersoll-Rand Co.	Painted Post, New York	1905	–
International Harvester Co	Springfield, Ohio	1902	1986
Kermath Manufacturing Co.	Detroit, Michigan	1910	1950
Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co.	Toledo, Ohio	1892	1986
Lincoln Motor Company	Detroit, Michigan	1917	1952
McIntosh & Seymour Corporation	Auburn, New York	1886	–
Murphy Diesel Co	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	–	–
The Murray Corporation of America	Detroit, Michigan	1927	1955
National Superior Co.	Springfield, Illinois	–	–
Nordberg Manufacturing Company	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	1886	1970
Ohio State University, Department of Mechanical Engineering	Columbus, Ohio	1870	–
Packard Motor Car Company	Detroit, Michigan	1903	1958
Park Drop Forge Co.	Cleveland, Ohio	1907	1972
Parke-Davis Co.	Detroit, Michigan	1875	1970
Scripps Motor Co.	Detroit, Michigan	1906	–
Shepard Niles Electric Crane & Hoist Corp	Montour Falls, New York	1878	2002
Spicer Manufacturing Company	Toledo, Ohio	1909	1946
Sterling Engine Company	Buffalo, New York	–	–
Stuart's Foundry	Detroit, Michigan	–	–
Timken Roller Bearing Co.	Canton, Ohio	1901	2014
Warner & Swasey Company	Cleveland, Ohio	1880	1980
Winton factories	Cleveland, Ohio	1897	1962
White Morton Company	Cleveland, Ohio	1898	1980
Wittenberg University	Springfield, Ohio	1845	–
WWJ, Detroit News	Detroit, Michigan	1920	–

A decisive turn in the visitor's vision of the future of the automation of manufacturing processes derived from a rather ordinary event: His first exposure to an automatic elevator during his factory visits in Toledo. On January 19, 1936, he described his experience in a letter to his parents:

> *I have checked in for a week at the YMCA and I am living here better than anywhere before for $4.50 a week. The house is brand new with ultramodern amenities, swimming pool, gym, restaurant, and clever elevator arrangements. In order to get the elevator to your level, you push a button as you normally do, and the elevator comes up, the doors open and close automatically, and it is precisely this automatic door function that is impressive.*

For him, the design of the automation of the manufacturing process came to be the professional skill he later practiced himself as an entrepreneurial design engineer. He developed a niche knowledge needed by leading industries in Finland that strove to turn their production from handicraft practices to automated processes. For example, Fazer, the leading candy and chocolate factory in Finland, ordered the design for the automation of the production of several of its most popular sweets from Österberg.

Ethnic Networks in the United States and in Finland

The diary and letters indicate that the writer mainly had social contacts with Finnish Americans and Swedish Americans. The opportunity to work as a design engineer in the largest diesel-engine factory in the United States (McIntosh & Seymour Corporation) in Auburn, upper New York State, illustrates this situation. The contact to the corporation was supported by a Finnish American engineer Ilmari Rainesalo, who worked nearby as a chief engineer at Ames Iron Works in Oswego, NY (Table 1). In his diary (September 2, 1936), Österberg records his impressions from the first day at work as a design engineer at the engineering department of McIntosh & Seymour Corporation: "Early at work in the morning. The day went fast. Nice people from what I can judge. A whole bunch of Swedes besides Nordenson [the chief engineer], Anderson, Asplund, Engström." The writer mentions only a few social contacts with American engineers during the nearly three months he worked at the corporation.

The narrator had received the appropriate one-year extension of his visa when he took the job as a design engineer in Auburn. In the long run, a stay as a foreign visitor in a small town like Auburn in the mid-1930s seemed too sedentary for a young man used to life in a capital. After a month, his diary began repeatedly to say: "Not very much happening." He constructed his current social position as an outsider in this small town against the backdrop of his integration in a tight social network of Finnish Americans in Detroit and of friends back home. In Helsinki, he belonged to a group of

Swedish-speaking men who were members of the Helsinki Gymnastics Club (*Helsingfors Gymnastikklubb*). The club members were mostly professionals in business and engineering. Their profession was their cultural capital, and in class terms they came to occupy the status of middle management in the industrial society that emerged in Finland after World War II.

Any motivation for staying for good in the United States gradually began to fade, while the thought of returning home began to be more compelling. In a letter to his parents, the writer ponders his future:

> *The work that I have at the moment would most likely guarantee a future here, but I am not staying longer than I need in order to get acquainted with the work and to save some money. This decision I have made firmly and definitely. So even if I stay here another couple of months, don't think that I plan to put down roots here. What is drawing me home will unfold.*
>
> Auburn, NY, September 9, 1936.

The thoughts of returning home were also prompted by the social pressure to conform to an expected social status represented by the cohort of married engineers who worked at the local corporation in Auburn, NY. The position as a single male engineer in a small U.S. town cried out for a change to the status of a married family man, which was the local norm. This norm was enforced by means of overt measures. For example, the Finnish visitor was surprised at his coworkers' reaction when he walked to work one morning with a young woman, who had lived previously in the same boarding house. As he reflected later that day in his diary (October 5, 1936): "I met Mary in the morning on my way to work and went along with her a bit on the way and I had to hear about it at the office all day."

The return to Finland was related to an attractive job offer as a design engineer from his former employer, the marine machine factory Oy Ares Ab in Helsinki. The narrator sailed from New York on November 19, 1936 on the ocean liner *S/S Drottningholm*. He was rather unsentimental when he left the United States for good. From the deck of the ocean liner he watched the New York City skyline slowly disappearing. He reflected in his diary later in the evening (November 19, 1936): "My feeling upon leaving America was not overwhelming, only a recognition of the fact and that Manhattan was slowly disappearing in a light, dirty blue-violet fog."

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the transfer of technological knowledge from the United States to Finland by a case study of the travels of a Finnish engineer, who visited fifty factories in the Midwest in 1935–1936. During his factory rounds the Finnish visitor was able to

learn about innovations related to diesel-engine technology. In the 1930s, few Finnish engineers had the opportunity to travel as extensively in the United States as Österberg, and foreign visitors were not often allowed to enter American factories (e.g., Juselius 2017, 141).

For Europeans, the United States represented a new way to organize and develop the modern society. For example, the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville ([1831—1832]1960) made a journey to the United States a hundred years before Österberg to obtain information about the innovations in the country's prison arrangements. Tocqueville made his travel in 1831 mostly on horseback, when the U.S. continent was seen as virgin land and as a "nature's nation" (Hughes 1989, 2, 5). Tocqueville's narrative portrays the difficulties in traveling in a country that still had few good roads. Österberg did his journey in the era of the "second discovery of America" as "technology's nation" (Hughes 1989, 2, 9, 5). He drove in the pre-Interstate era, when roads in the Midwest were still of varying quality.

In Auburn, in upstate New York, the journeys of those men merge. Tocqueville visited Auburn in July 1831, because Auburn had one of the largest prisons in the United States and the city had developed a new type of rehabilitative penitentiary system (Tocqueville 1960). Österberg wished to get information about the new diesel-engine technology and visited one of North America's largest diesel-engine factories located in Auburn. In the fall of 1936, he got an opportunity to work in this corporation for three months as a design engineer.

This case study of a Finnish engineer's travels in the Midwestern motor industry has focused on his interest in new technological knowledge, especially in the new diesel engine. Two circumstances shaped this transnational transfer of technological knowledge.

First, the narrator's access to the factories in his field of interest was facilitated by the tight social network of Finnish Americans, who had become leading engineers in the Detroit automobile industry. Their involvement in the ethnic associations in Detroit — for example, the Finnish fraternal organization called the Knights of Kaleva — brought them together regularly. The narrator's integration into this ethnic network not only opened access to the local factories but also to other factories in the Midwest. Furthermore, Österberg's connections to the Finnish American engineers rendered him trustworthiness, which was reflected in the high-level guidance which he received in the factories.

Second, Österberg had received first-hand technical knowledge of industrial automation. When he returned to Finland, he established himself in Finland as an expert in this area and often found unconventional but simple solutions for the automation of processes previously carried out by handicraft production. In 1951, he established his own design company in Finland, which enabled him to apply the technical knowledge, which he had acquired during his visit in the United States.

Upon his return to Finland, he taught mechanical engineering at the Swedish Institute of Technology in Helsinki (now Arcada) from 1958 to 1970, and from 1964 he was the division head in mechanical engineering at the Institute. In his capacity as a teacher, he was able to transfer his knowledge of American technology to the next generation of Finnish engineers.

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7. Sports in Constructing Finnish Americanness in Terms of Transnational and Regional Identity in Two Finnish American Literary Texts[1]

Roman Kushnir

Sports plays a prominent role in such Finnish American literary texts as the collection of short stories *Heikki Heikkinen and Other Stories of Upper Peninsula Finns* (1995; 32 stories) by Lauri Anderson, and the novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) by Martin Koskela. The aim of this chapter is to analyze how the characters' sports practices function to construct their Finnish American identities. My chapter demonstrates that Finnish Americans of various generations[2] use sports to negotiate their identities with both Finland and the United States, and, more specifically, with their home region, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (also known as the UP or "Yooperland"). On the one hand, sports holds a significant position in constructing their identities as transnational, since it allows them to maintain nostalgic connections to their old country as well as to manifest their affiliation with the United States. On the other hand, their sports practices are also involved in forming their regional, UP identities. The chapter illustrates that sports in the texts constructs the characters' Finnish Americanness as a combination of transnational and regional identity. I want to concentrate especially on three elements of this construction that are presented most prominently in the source fiction. First, I will focus on the roles of Finland's Olympic successes in the characters' identification

[1] This chapter was made possible by the research grant of the Kone Foundation.

[2] In this chapter, I use the word "first generation" to refer to migrants from Finland, "second generation" to refer to their children, "third generation" to their grandchildren, and so forth.

as the UP Finns. Second, the chapter will pay attention to the position of winter sports in creating their Yooper Finnishness. Third, the U.S. sports trinity will be analyzed in connection with the characters' identities.

The authors are either second- or third-generation Finnish Americans, and write about Finnish Americans in the UP of Michigan, the prominent center for Finnish migrants in the United States. Both source texts address the topic of how U.S.-born Finns, children and/or grandchildren and great grandchildren of Finnish migrants, construct their sense of self in the United States. Lauri Anderson is a well-known Finnish American author. He has written a novel, a memoir, a book of poetry, and seven collections of short stories,[3] all addressing Finnish Americans. In *Heikki Heikkinen*, Anderson portrays the comic and tragic aspects of Finnish Americans' everyday lives, often with a great deal of irony, parody, and satire, as he revises popular stereotypes of the UP Finns. Most of the stories revolve around Heikki Heikkinen, a rugged second-generation Yooper Finnish American old-timer and a retired logger, but Anderson also writes about the third and fourth generation characters mostly doing blue-collar jobs. His short stories are mainly set in the 1980s and the 1990s, although they also describe Finnish Americans' experiences in the first half of the twentieth century. Koskela is a less known Finnish American writer, whose only novel has not been studied yet. *Welcome to Shadow Lake* focuses on the life of a Finnish American community in a small town in the UP during the Great Depression. It depicts the challenges, hardships, love, victories, and tragedies of the migrant-generation farmers and their U.S.-born children against the background of the economic crisis which stroke hard at their community.

I have chosen these texts because of their strong regional character. As the titles of both books allude, the focus is on the experiences and identities of Finnish Americans in this specific region, which has been historically strongly shaped by migration and transnationalism. Once a booming centre of mining and forest industry, Michigan (and the UP in particular) attracted thousands of Finnish men to do the low-paid, low-skilled, and hard jobs. The area has also become known for commercial fishing, outdoor recreation, hunting, and agriculture, in which local Finns have been active as well (Remlinger 2009, 122). As a result, the regional UP identity has strong connections to ethnicity, class, and gender. A stereotypical Yooper is seen as a rugged tough backwoodsman with a working-class background, who is also an independent and strong individualist (Remlinger 2006, 129—130; 2007, 96—98; 2009, 119—120, 122—123); Yooper stock characters are the legendary men of Finnish origin, Toivo and Eino (Remlinger 2007, 98).

In portraying the characters' experiences, both authors pay a great deal of attention to the role of sports in their lives. They describe in detail Finnish Americans' sports activi-

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[3] The novel *Impressions of Arvo Laurila* (2005), the memoir *From Moosehead to Misery Bay* (2013), the book of poetry *Snow White and Others* (1971), and the collections of short stories *Small Winter Wars* (1983), *Hunting Hemingway's Trout* (1990), *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Children of the Kalevala* (1997), *Misery Bay* (2002), *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), and *Mosquito Conversations* (2009).

ties and pastimes, and the impact of various sports events such as the Olympic Games and/or the local ethnic sport festivals, and of the famous Finnish and Finnish American athletes on the characters. Koskela's (1996, 213) novel features an athletic club as one of the notable ethnic institutions of the Finnish American community in the 1930s. In both texts, the characters are often portrayed as either participating in different sports or being spectators and fans. It is worth saying that both Anderson and Koskela mostly concentrate on the sports activities of the male characters, as the protagonists are generally men. As Anderson often uses parody and satire in his portrayal of the characters, their sports activities sometimes also are parodied or exaggerated for comical purposes. It is no surprise that sports holds such a prominent position in the source texts, as sports activities have historically been important in the life of Finnish Americans. In the early twentieth century, numerous athletic clubs and sports events, such as competitions and performances, played a highly visible role in Finnish communities' cultural life, and sports practices maintained the tie between the old and new country (Virtanen 1995, 2014, 198; Niemi 2000, 155). Various factions of the Finnish American diaspora such as church, temperance societies, and labor movement all established their own athletic organizations, sports facilities and events (Kero 1976). The peak of Finnish Americans' sports activities lasted from the early twentieth century to the beginning of the Great Depression. In the migrants' cultural life, sports activities were characterized more clearly by close connections to the old country than any other form of culture. These connections were "reflected in the American competition tours by Finnish athletes, in the quadrennial Olympic Games, and in the success of numerous Finnish American track-and-field athletes and wrestlers representing Finland in international competitions" (Virtanen 2014, 198). Although migrants' sports activities and clubs eventually faded away along with other ethnic institutions after World War II, there is still some interest in Finnish sports and athletes among Finnish Americans (Virtanen 1995).

Theoretical Framework

Sports can play a prominent role in relation to both personal and collective identity. Jeremy MacClancy (1996, 2) approaches sports as a strong vehicle of identity that provides people with a sense of difference and a way of classifying themselves and others. Sports is not just a marker of one's already established identity, but also a means to create a new identity for oneself (MacClancy 1996, 3). It can contribute to people's sense of ethnicity or nation and to their sense of community (MacClancy 1996, 9). Such sports events as the Olympic Games have been actively used by nations to project and refine national identity (Dyreson 2013, 262—263).

Sports has also held a crucial position in creating a sense of both Finnishness and Americanness. According to Mervi Tervo (2003, 47), sports has historically been a crucial

dimension of Finnish national self-definition and consciousness. For the Finns, various sports have functioned as important means of national identification and of putting Finland on the world map (Tervo 2003, 363, 366), and Finnish athletes have become strong national symbols (Sironen 2005, 104; Taramaa 2008, 78). Sports is also considered as an important component of Americanness. According to Roger Knight Bradley (1994, 19), one of the most fascinating aspects of the U.S. culture is a societal penchant for sports and physical exercise. Mark Dyreson (2005) emphasizes that sports has been prominent in developing the U.S. national identity and exceptionalism.

Moreover, sports holds an important position in the context of migration. On the one hand, the mainstream U.S. sports have functioned as a route to assimilation and acceptance in U.S. society for different migrant groups (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000, xii—xiii). On the other hand, the sports of migrants have been crucial in forming their ethnic communities in the United States by bringing them together and keeping their heritage alive. Ethnic sports have also allowed migrants to maintain ties to their countries of origin (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000, xiv—xv). Thus, migrants' sports activities can be a central component in the process of transnationalism. Steven Vertovec (1999) views transnationalism as a variety of interactions connecting people and/or institutions, communities, and other social actors across national borders. In Peter Kivisto's (2014, 298) words, transnational migrants can be seen as "attempting to live with one foot in the homeland and the other foot in the host society, in the process creating an ethnic community that transcends national boundaries." In this chapter, I understand transnationalism as defined by Alejandro Portes et al. (2007). According to them (2007, 251—252), migrant transnationalism is a subset of transnationalism and refers to the "regular activities across national borders conducted by the foreign-born as part of their daily lives abroad." Sports belongs to one of those cross-border activities that link migrants and their descendants with the old country. The theory of transnationalism can be applied to an analysis of the experiences of the U.S.-born characters whose sports activities can be approached as transnational practices, allowing them to be in contact with Finland and to interlink both countries symbolically.

Sports is also actively involved in the process of constructing regional identity. In my chapter, I will apply the concept of regional identity as defined by Kaj Zimmerbauer (2008). According to him (2008, 34), it can be understood as based on the sense of belonging to a region. Regional identity can refer to regional consciousness and identification with a region, and to characteristics of the region. Sports holds a prominent position in identification with the region, as various regional sports along with local and regional sports teams unite the residents, help form their community, and contribute to a sense of a local identity and pride (Tonts & Atherley 2010, 384). A place's sporting achievements (such as success by a local team) particularly evoke a sense of place attachment and pride. They are also actively involved in the celebration of community and connect with strong local identification (Bale 2003, 16—18). In both Anderson's and Koskela's texts, the authors demonstrate the characters' affiliation with Michigan in general and the UP in

particular through the imagery of sports. On the one hand, by their sports activities, the characters mark their presence in the region and manifest their belonging to it. On the other hand, through their sports, the characters also demonstrate their commitment to the characteristics of the region such as its landscape and environment as well as strong working-class masculinity.

Finland's Successes at the Olympic Games in Constructing Yooper Finnish Americanness

Despite the fact that the source texts are set in different time periods, both *Heikki Heikkinen* and *Welcome to Shadow Lake* present Finland's sporting achievements at the Olympic Games and other important championships, and Finnish athletes' prowess as playing an instrumental role in the process of identification of the characters. The Olympic successes of Finland evoke the shared sense of cohesion and pride to be Finns among Finnish Americans of different generations, link them with the old country, and, thus, bridge the distance between the two nations. This also constructs the characters' sense of Finnish Americanness in terms of both transnational and regional identity. Their attention to Finland's progress at the Olympics can be seen as an expression of transnationalism, as the characters geographically separated from the old country are interested in its sporting achievements and thus identify themselves with it. While for the first generation, Finland is their homeland, and supporting Finnish athletes is their way of maintaining contact with it, for the subsequent U.S.-born generations, it is their ancestors' country but their interest in its athletes and successes demonstrates that they still see Finland as important for their identification. At the same time, the characters are portrayed as using the Finnish Olympic successes as a common ground to unite around in order to construct a sense of a regional UP Finnish community. These achievements are also used to make the Finnish presence visible in the landscape and "sportscape" of the Upper Peninsula.

In Koskela's novel, the author demonstrates how the famous Finnish runners of the 1910s and 1920s, such as Paavo Nurmi and other "Flying Finns," become powerful symbols of Finnishness for migrants and their children in the early 1930s. To demonstrate their connection with these athletes, the characters name (or rather rename) their Finn Hall and athletic club after Nurmi (Koskela 1996, 20, 112). The Nurmi Athletic Club is what Atherley (2006, 348) calls the "heart of the community" as it belongs to the few prominent socio-cultural activities in their small town, along with the Co-Op Club and the amateur theatre (Koskela 1996, 213). The gesture of naming the hall and the athletic club after Nurmi functions to strengthen their sense of solidarity with Finland and to manifest their Finnishness. Besides Nurmi, the characters also see other famous ath-

letes, such as Hannes Kolehmainen and Ville Ritola, as heroes who boost their ethnic self-esteem as Finns (Koskela 1996, 20). At the same time, their interest in the "Flying Finns" can also be interpreted as accentuating the characters' transnational identities as Finnish Americans, since the Olympic successes of Finnish athletes connect Finland with the United States in constructing the Finnish American community.

These athletes' activities are a strong expression of transnationalism as they historically eroded the border between Finland and the United States for Finnish Americans. John Wargelin (1924) points out that Nurmi and the other "Flying Finns" were popular in and praised by the mainstream U.S. society in the 1920s. They crossed the border between the two countries back and forth as they either toured the United States like Nurmi did, or lived, trained, and successfully ran races there but were also sent to run for Finland at the Olympics with the financial help of Finnish American community, like in the case of Kolehmainen and Ritola. In Virtanen's (2014, 195—196) words, Finnish Americans in the 1920s considered the runners' success to be important for their community, as the athletes' popularity in the United States elevated the Finnish American national identity among other migrant groups in the eyes of the mainstream U.S. society, created a more positive image of the Finns and Finnish Americans, and improved the migrant community's self-esteem. Although Nurmi was not a migrant, the Finnish American community in the 1920s considered him as one of their own (Virtanen 2014, 195). The U.S. media also promoted Kolehmainen as both an exotic "Flying Finn" and an "American," a model Americanized migrant, while the U.S. Olympic officials labelled him as a "Finnish-American" rather than a Finn (Berg & Dyreson 2012, 1039—1040, 1045—1046, 1050). Thus, he was hailed as a heroic figure for both Finland and the United States (Berg & Dyreson 2012, 1051—1052). This is in line with how Koskela portrays the role of the "Flying Finns" in the characters' identification. By choosing Nurmi's name for their hall and athletic club, Finnish Americans demonstrated symbolically that they considered him as one of their own to create their positive self-image in the mainstream U.S. society.

Koskela also emphasizes that the characters see Nurmi and others as important for their identities not only because of pride in Finland but also because of the "Flying Finns'" popularity in the United States. In the novel, this is demonstrated through the fact that it is not Finnish migrants or their children but the local Irish American doctor Myles (who has many Finnish Americans among his patients and is therefore an enthusiast of all things Finnish) who comes up with the idea of naming the Finn Hall after Nurmi. This doctor also promotes other Finnish athletes among the younger generation — a gesture that manifests the mainstream U.S. society's attitude to the sporting successes of Finland.

> *Dave recalled a speech the doctor had made to the school track team Dave was on, in reference to changing the name of Työväen [Workers'] Hall to Nurmi Hall. "The Finns are the world's best long-distance runners. Starting with Hannes Kolehmainen in the 1912 Stockholm Olympic games and continuing with Paavo Nurmi and Ville Ritola in*

the 1920 Antwerp games, the '24 Paris games and the '28 Amsterdam games, they won eighteen gold medals!"

It had been an inspiring pep talk at the time and Dave never forgot it. The name of the hall was changed. The doctor compared his campaign to the one the school children offered when they petitioned to change Poplar street to Hiawatha street, after studying Longfellow's poem. (Koskela 1996, 20, original italics.)

The younger U.S.-born generation's pride in the "Flying Finns" reflects their sense of self as both Finns and Americans or, in other words, as Finnish Americans. On the one hand, by seeing the Finnish athletes as their heroes, they demonstrate their interest in and express solidarity with the old country. On the other hand, they also want to increase their self-esteem in U.S. society by identifying with the runners who are popular in both Finland and the United States.

The renaming of the hall and athletic club are also involved in constructing the characters' regional identity. Through the Nurmi Hall and the Nurmi Athletic Club, Finnish Americans mark their presence in the landscape and sportscape of Michigan, unite the local UP Finnish community around the sports symbols of Finnishness, and, thus, contribute to their sense of local identity and pride. The characters' respect for Finland's Olympic athletes also illustrates their own Yooper working-class masculinity. The original name of their hall, *Työväen* (Workers') Hall, highlights the characters' class consciousness and their positive attitude to the labor movement. However, when the mostly working-class community of Shadow Lake decides to rename the hall after Nurmi, this can also be interpreted as the sign that the local loggers and farmers see the "Flying Finns" as their heroes who can represent the working class in the UP. Athletics is considered cheap and easy sport, as it needs little or no expensive equipment and facilities. Moreover, Nurmi and others all had working-class background (for instance, Kolehmainen and Ritola did manual jobs in the United States, like the majority of Finnish American men in the early twentieth century). By the act of renaming the hall, the characters symbolically make these strong male figures stand side by side with tough Yooper Finnish loggers, miners, and farmers.

In Anderson's stories about Heikki Heikkinen, set in the 1980s and 1990s, Finland's Olympic successes and famous athletes are also portrayed as playing an important role in the second-generation protagonist's identification. For him, such prominent Finnish ski-jumpers of the 1980s and 1990s as Matti Nykänen, Toni Nieminen, and Janne Ahonen[4] are a source of pride in the old country and evoke solidarity with it. Heikki's interest in

[4] Matti Nykänen won four gold medals in the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo and the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary. Toni Nieminen won two gold medals in the 1992 Albertville Winter Olympic Games. Janne Ahonen won several gold medals in the FIS Nordic World SKI Championships in the late 1990s and two Olympic silver medals in Salt Lake City in 2002 and in Turin in 2006 (Wallechinsky & Loucky 2006).

Finnish sporting achievements and internationally distinguished athletes manifests the transnational character of his identity. "Heikki had always wanted a world-class ski jump in Hancock, preferably right behind his house [...]. He would invite the great Finnish jumpers to compete locally — Nykanen, Nieminen, and Ahonen" (Anderson 1995, 48). Like in the case of the characters in Koskela's novel, the protagonist identifies with and is interested in those Finnish athletes who are popular both in the Finnish and the U.S. sporting community. At the same time, Heikki's dream to invite these athletes to Michigan to compete in the familiar UP landscape can be interpreted as a sign of his strong identification with the region where he lives. Although class operates differently in comparison with the 1920s and 1930s, there are still some connections with the Yooper working-class masculinity. Unlike the "Flying Finns," Nykänen and others do not have any strong affiliation with or appeal to the working class; they are high-paid professional athletes and media celebrities. However, Heikki, who used to be a logger, still sees them as his heroes. A rugged Yooper backwoodsman, he praises these strong masculine figures by saying that they would fit perfectly to the UP with its traditions of hard working and hard drinking (Anderson 1995, 48-49).

Winter Sports in Constructing Yooper Finnish Identities

Both Anderson and Koskela pay a great deal of attention to the characters' winter sports such as skiing (including cross-country skiing and ski jumping) in forming their sense of Finnish Americanness. This is no surprise, as skiing has historically been one of the most prominent sports activities in constructing Finnishness, and has had an important role in the Finnish national imagery (Tervo 2003, 91—92). Finland has a strong tradition and success in winter sports, particularly in skiing (Koski & Lämsä 2015, 425, 429). Skiing and ski jumping have also been an integral part of the history of the Finnish ethnic community in the United States, particularly in the UP of Michigan. Through these sports, Finnish Americans have made their presence visible in the landscape and sportscape of the region. According to Niemi (2000, 156—157), the oldest U.S. ski jumping tournament of continuous existence was begun and perpetuated by Norwegians and Finns at Suicide Hill in Ishpeming, Michigan. One of the major ski jumps of the UP was later built there. The U.S. National Ski Hall of Fame is located in Ishpeming, and the ski jumpers of Finnish origin hold a prominent position in this Hall (Niemi 2000, 156—157). In *Heikki Heikkinen* and *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, the characters of different generations are portrayed as seeing their skiing as an inherently Finnish sports practice and a marker of Finnishness. In describing the sports activities of the Yooper Finnish Americans in the 1930s or in the second half of the twentieth century, both authors mention Suicide Hill and/or other ski jumps of the UP. Skiing and ski jumping manifest the characters' continuity with the old country and demonstrates their connection with Michigan.

In Koskela's novel, the first- and second-generation characters' prowess in skiing evokes their sense of pride, unites them as Finns, and distinguishes them in U.S. society. To mark this sports activity as distinctively and identifiably Finnish, the author occasionally uses the original Finnish words referring to skiing and skis (Koskela 1996, 35). The first generation brings skiing to the new land, and together with the U.S.-born children, they maintain this sports practice to keep their old country heritage alive. The first-generation characters make Finnish skis (Koskela 1996, 137), teach younger Finnish Americans skiing, and, thus, pass this sports activity from one generation to another. The novel presents an annual cross-country skiing and ski-jumping tournament for the local youngsters as one of the important social events that bring the Shadow Lake Finnish American community together (Koskela 1996, 91). The whole community is involved in the tournament by either preparing it, participating in it, or spectating it. In the words of one of the characters, "[e]very kid in Shadow Lake gives it a try" (Koskela 1996, 87). However, this tournament is featured not only as a sports event but also a U.S.-style sports show and a part of an ethnic festival: the Shadow Lake winter carnival ski-jumping meet (Koskela 1996, 91). On the one hand, the role of skiing and ski jumping in the Shadow Lake Finnish community's life manifests the characters' cross-border connection with the old country, as they continue the Finnish sports activity in the United States. The ski-jumping meet as a part of the winter carnival also demonstrates the adaptation of the migrants' sports traditions to the new country. This ski-jumping meet connects the first and second generation symbolically with both Finland and the United States and, thus, functions as a marker of their affiliation with both.

On the other hand, by their skiing Finnish Americans also demonstrate the strong regional character of their identities. According to John Bale (2003), local sport is one of the institutions binding people to place through provenance and evoking of what he defines as "place pride." As Tonts and Atherley (2010, 384) point out, "in the context of most amateur rural sports, local and regional teams are usually drawn from specific areas and often represent those citizens who reside in such spaces." The citizens' pride and emotional attachment to "their team" are an important component of the local life and give rise to the symbols marking out certain spaces (Tonts & Atherley 2010, 384). In Koskela's novel, the characters' attachment to their ski club and the ski jumpers from their local ethnic community, as well as the pride of their sports event, accentuate their sense of affiliation with the region and its characteristics. By their old country winter sports practices, the Finnish community influences the landscape of their UP town as they turn the local crag into their sporting facility:

> *The western shore of Shadow Lake was buffered by the Bluff, a rocky crag that slanted almost vertically into the sky. On the lake side, the Bluff was as [sic] unscalable barrier, but on the other side, it descended somewhat more gradually and was made for a ski hill.* (Koskela 1996, 85.)

By doing so, the local Finnish American community marks Finnish presence in the landscape and sportscape of the UP. Their winter sports also highlight their Yooper working-class masculinity. Cross-country skiing and ski jumping are presented as cheap activities, open for all, as the characters make their own skis and prepare their sports facilities themselves. They are portrayed as unelite and working man's sports which are enjoyed by rugged loggers and miners and their descendants during the break between their daily hard work. Through these sports, the characters demonstrate the "manly art" of ski making and such masculine traits as the bravery of ski jumpers and the endurance of cross-country skiers.

In Anderson's stories, the author pays a great deal of attention to the role of winter sports in the process of identification of Finnish Americans in the second half of the twentieth century. Skiing and ski-jumping are portrayed as both the markers of Finnishness and Yooperness of the characters. For instance, in the story "The Author," the U.S.-born narrator humorously describes skiing as being important in his process of "becoming a Finn" (the title of the section in which this story is in the collection) in his little town in the Upper Peninsula:

> *Very early in life, I became aware of my Finnishness. Our little Upper Peninsula town was full of Finns. [...] In my boyhood, I had only two national flags on my wall — Finland's and the Upper Peninsula's. [...] I learned Finnish sports early, so when the other kids in school talked about skiing, I knew what they meant — to run as fast as you could across a flat field with long sticks tied to your boots.* (Anderson 1995, 1—2.)

For the protagonist, skiing connects Finnishness and Yooperness, and brings together the country of his ancestors and the U.S. region where he grows up. First, as a part of the old country heritage, skiing is passed from one generation to another and functions as their common tie to Finland. Second, it constructs the sense of community not only with Finns but also with the protagonist's fellow Yooper Finnish Americans who maintain this sports practice in Michigan.

In other stories, Anderson presents the characters' ski jumping as a transnational activity that crosses the borders between Finland and the United States and is simultaneously involved in forming regional UP identities. The central protagonist of many stories, Heikki Heikkinen, demonstrates a great interest in this sport. Although ironically, he prefers such modern U.S. commercialized winter sports as snowmobiling to skiing, he is also an enthusiastic spectator of ski jumping (Anderson 1995, 33). He both watches on TV the championships and tournaments in which Finland participates, such as the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer (Anderson 1995, 49), and attends the local UP ski jump.

> *Heikki really enjoyed watching the ski jumping in Ishpeming. He especially liked to watch from a safe distance in the parking lot on a sunny day when he could sit on the tailboard of his pickup with a case of Old Milwaukee beside him [...].* (Anderson 1995, 33—34.)

He is equally proud of both Finnish ski jumpers of the 1980s and 1990s such as Nykänen, Nieminen, and Ahonen (Anderson 1995, 48), and the local UP Finnish American jumpers of his youth. For Heikki, this winter sport is also strongly connected with the working-class Yooper masculinity. Although he admires and praises the modern Finnish ski jumpers (see the previous section), he is nevertheless very critical towards the way ski jumping is done today as a sport. He contrasts the old and new ways and nostalgically prefers the rugged Yooper ski jumping of the "good old days," when miners and loggers competed without fancy techniques and special outfits, and often not for any reward but for pure challenge. However, a once cheap sport has now turned into a more expensive one. This modern commercialized ski jumping with fancy equipment and well-paid professionals in their colorful uniforms covered with ads is dismissed by Heikki as not manly enough.

> *Heikki also did not approve of the new V-style jumping in vogue. He preferred the windmill method. He especially looked back on the old days, when Ishpeming iron miners would be out with the guys on Saturday night and would set a new North American record jumping at Suicide Hill on Sunday afternoon, then be back in the mines on Monday morning. "They were real men," said Heikki, who scoffed at the jumpers who competed at Lillehammer. Heikki hated their form-fitting, brightly colored, silky-sissy outfits all covered with ads. "They might as well jump wearing a Nancy Kerrigan skirt," said Heikki. He had fond memories of the great jumpers of the past, such as Rudy Maki, Coy Hill, and the Bietila brothers.*[5] *Decades before, Heikki owned a camp near the Bietilas. "They were good old boys," he said fondly.* (Anderson 1995, 49.)

Anderson also features ski jumping as mingling Finnishness and Yooper Finnish Americanness of the characters when it comes to such an iconic Finnish trait as *sisu*. *Sisu* is often constructed as an important component of the essence of being Finnish for both Finns and Finnish Americans. According to William Aho (1994, 1), *sisu* is "a tough-to-translate, near spiritual quality which Finns everywhere seem to know about, believe they possess and practice. [...] 'Sisu' is a Finnish word for guts, grit, determination, and the capacity to endure any hardship." This trait is strongly connected with the iconic image of Finnish masculinity, as the term *sisu* has often been used in relation with Finnish soldiers fighting the enemy or with Finnish (and Finnish American) workers

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[5] The Bietila brothers (Anselm, Leonard, Walter, Paul, Roy, and Ralph) of Ishpeming dominated the American jumping scene from the 1930s to the 1960s (Niemi 2000, 157). Walter competed in the 1936, 1940, and 1948 Olympics and served in 1960 as the coach for the U.S. Olympic team. Ralph won six national titles and was a member of the U.S. Olympic teams in 1948 and 1952. Other prominent Finnish American ski jumpers from Michigan were Rudy Maki and Coy Hill of Ishpeming. Walter and Ralph Bietila, Maki, and Hill are U.S. Ski Hall of Fame members (Niemi 2000, 157).

and farmers doing back-breaking jobs. In Anderson's stories, through their ski jumping, the characters manifest this trait in terms of bravery. Ironically, although Heikki is not a ski jumper himself, he identifies with his UP heroes such as the Bietilas and other strong men, who were not afraid of hard sports and hard jobs.

> *He insisted they weren't afraid of anything. […] Tears filled Heikki's eyes when he talked about the old days, but there was a lot of pride in his eyes, too. Clearly, he saw himself, who never leaped higher than the running board of his pickup, as equally fearless.* (Anderson 1995, 49.)

In the story "Turfy Turpeinen," featuring an eccentric Finnish American youngster, ski jumping is yet again presented as being connected with *sisu*. "Because Turfy was a Finn, the coach assumed that Turfy had *sisu*, which he defined as a kind of foolhardy courage […]. All of the guys with *sisu* were assigned to the jumping team" (Anderson 1995, 94, original italics). This trait in ski jumping also accentuates the transnational and regional character of Finnish Americans' identities. By expressing this iconic Finnish *sisu* in the old country sport, the characters demonstrate their cross-border ties with Finland. Moreover, they bring *sisu* to the sportscape of the Upper Peninsula and enroot it there, and, thus, involve it in their regional consciousness and identification with Michigan.

The U.S. Sports Trinity and the Construction of the Characters' Identities

When describing the characters' sports life, both Anderson's and Koskela's literary texts also feature what Dyreson (2005, 941) calls "the national trinity of American football, baseball and basketball." These characteristically U.S. sports demonstrate both U.S. identities of the second and subsequent generations of Finnish Americans, as well as their strong identification with Michigan. In Koskela's novel (1996, 112), the sporting activities of the Nurmi Athletic Club include basketball. This can be interpreted as a sign of gradual Americanization of the younger generation through their sports practices. According to Virtanen (2014, 197), in the 1930s "[t]he younger generation of Finnish Americans tended to be more interested in typical American sports, such as basketball." Although in *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, the younger generation also shows interest in Finnish sports, the inclusion of basketball into the activities of the Finnish American ethnic athletic club manifests the influence of the mainstream U.S. society on the U.S.-born Finns. Koskela (1996, 77) also mentions briefly the interest of some second-generation characters in baseball, more specifically, in the local Michigan team Detroit Tigers. This interest in the iconic U.S. game also accentuates the Americanization of the younger generation

through their sports and simultaneously highlights the strong regional character of their identities. According to Warren Goldstein (2010, 105),

> *more than any other American game, baseball was built on a geographical and psychological sense of localism — if we take localism to be an attachment to one place and fear, antipathy, or competitiveness toward other places. There had always been a "home club" or nine and a "visiting" club or nine in baseball, and the action of the game alternated between the home and visiting sides. From the earliest days of the organized game, nearly every club had its own home ground.*

Thus, the characters' interest in the baseball "home club" of Michigan is a marker of their regional consciousness and identification. Although Koskela does not elaborate much on the characters' class and masculinity in relation to the U.S. sports, baseball is considered one of typically masculine sports (Klomsten, Marsh & Skaalvik 2005, 626), which can also accentuate their rugged Yooperness.

Anderson writes much more about the role of the U.S. "sports trinity" in the lives of the characters in the second half of the twentieth century. The prominent position of these sports illustrates the characters' identities as Americans and Yoopers. Their belonging to the region is manifested through their loyalty to the "home clubs" and competitiveness toward the clubs of other states. For instance, this competitiveness is demonstrated in the story "The New Barbeque Grill" when Heikki is contrasted with his granddaughter in the preferences in American football. She becomes a "fanatical" backer of the Green Bay Packers and "a kind of Wisconsinite by default, despite her Copper Country origin" (Anderson 1995, 71). Heikki, in turn, stubbornly refuses to go to the Packers' games (Anderson 1995, 71). In several stories, the author highlights the rugged masculine Yooperness of the second-generation characters through their interest in Detroit Tigers (Anderson 1995, 49, 57, 113). Heikki Heikkinen nostalgically remembers listening to Detroit Tigers games in logger camps in the woods together with other Yooper Finnish "real men" back in the good old days (Anderson 1995, 49). This connection between Detroit Tigers (and other Michigan teams) and the UP Finnish masculinity is portrayed most prominently in the story "Uncle Leon," an eponymous eccentric Finnish American hermit in the 1950s, who is a strong fan of Tigers and other Michigan teams, such as Detroit Lions (American football) and Detroit Red Wings (ice hockey).

> *He quickly fell into a routine typical of Old Finnish men from the UP. He had a small but powerful radio by his bed, and, every day from spring to early fall, he would listen religiously to Detroit Tigers' games. From fall to winter, he would listen to Lions' games, and from winter to spring to Red Wings' games. The Pistons had only recently moved to Detroit from Fort Wayne and were not yet worthy of deification. Of the holy sports trinity, Leon much preferred baseball.*

> *[…] On October 1, 1961, at the precise moment when Roger Maris stroked his sixty-first home run into the right field stands of Yankee Stadium, which, simultaneously, was the precise moment when Norm Cash finished the season as a Tiger with a league-leading .361 batting average, Leon died of a stroke. He had just consumed his two-hundred-thousandth cup of strong, black coffee. In Old Finnish Man terms, he had about as perfect a death as one could have.* (Anderson 1995, 113.)

Although Leon is portrayed as lacking many Finnish manly traits such as sisu, his passion for strong coffee (another iconic Finnish and Finnish American quality[6]) and for Michigan sports teams compensate for this and still make him a tough Yooper "Old Finnish Man."

According to Tonts & Atherley (2010, 387—389), "home teams" are important in the construction of place and local community and building a sense of pride and cohesion. For the characters in Anderson's stories, Detroit Tigers are such a "home team" which is involved in constructing their sense of affiliation with Michigan. The characters' "home teams" also accentuate their Yooperness in terms of class and masculinity. For instance, in the story "The New Wal-Mart," Heikki Heikkinen watches the baseball game on TV and is upset when the game is cancelled becasuse of bad weather. He dismisses modern high-paid professional baseball players as sissies and contrasts them with amateur UP school baseball teams of his youth when children of Finnish loggers, miners and farmers all had *sisu*, as they were so tough that they played in any weather at the diamonds of Finnish American communities of Michigan backcountry such as Toivola (Anderson 1995, 57). Through baseball, the author demonstrates not only the characters' Americanization and belonging to Michigan through their presense in the local landscape and sportscape, but also their Yooper working-class strength and ruggedness as well as their specific Finnish American identity as they demonstrate the iconic Finnish trait of *sisu* in the iconic US sport.

Conclusion

My analysis illustrates that in Anderson's and Koskela's fiction, sports is presented as an important component of the Finnish American community's life both in the 1930s and in the second half of the twentieth century, despite obvious differences in the level of activity of their ethnic institutions in these two different time periods. In both texts, sporting practices of Finnish Americans of different generations demonstrate similar tendencies of transnationalism and regionalism. By their sports participation and spectatorship, the characters transcend the borders between Finland and the United States, their old

[6] For more information about coffee and masculine Finnish Americanness, see Kushnir 2016.

country and their country of settlement. For Finnish Americans, various sports connect them with Finland and manifest their iconic Finnish traits such as *sisu*. At the same time, their sporting activities draw a boundary of their region by distinguishing them from the other states. Through their sports, the characters express their thinking of themselves in terms of Michigan and the UP, and demonstrate their strong local community spirit and place pride. By their sporting activities, facilities, and athletes, the characters mark out their presence in the region. Through their sports, they also demonstrate their belonging to such characteristics of the region as strong working-class masculinity. Sports is a key site for masculine identities (Messner 1988), and the characters in the source texts tend to prefer sports that, according to Koivula (2001) and Klomsten, Marsch, and Skaalvik (2005), are typically characterized as masculine: involving danger, risk, speed, endurance, strength, and challenge. Finnish American men are portrayed as equally strong and tough as athletes and workers. Although the U.S.-born Finns have not been limited to hard manual jobs like the migrant generation, in the texts the sports activities of different generations in different settings promote the similar ideal of working-class rugged Yooper Finnish masculinity. On the whole, sports in the source texts demonstrate how the characters' Finnishness, Americanness, and Yooperness overlap together.

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III
MAKING OF CONTEMPORARY FINNISH AMERICA

8. From a Joke to a Tradition: Celebrating Saint Urho as Finnish American Heritage

Tuomas Hovi

St. Urho's Day is celebrated in many different places in the United States and Canada although the intensity, duration, content, and attendance at the celebrations vary widely. St. Urho's Day celebrations are based on the "Legend of St. Urho." According to the legend, sometime before the last glacial period in Finland, St. Urho saved the local grape harvest by chasing away the grasshoppers (originally frogs) that threatened it. This story is a spoof on the legend of St. Patrick who chased away the snakes of Ireland. Although the roots of the celebration are purely fictitious and humorous, it has become a symbol of Finnish American ethnicity and has now been celebrated for sixty years across the United States.

The St. Urho's Day tradition started around 1956, but despite the longevity of the celebrations, it took a while for them to catch on fully. The origins coincided with the so-called ethnic revival of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. During the 1970s, the St. Urho's Day festivities became more widespread across the country (Leinonen 2014, 312). In Finland, Minnesota (MN),[1] for example, St. Urho's Day has been celebrated annually since 1976 and in Menahga (MN) since 1982. Today, St. Urho's Day is celebrated in various ways in different parts of the United States with the celebrations ranging from a simple get-together meal to a three-day event with lots of activities. For example, in Donna, Texas, St. Urho's Day is celebrated by organizing a special dinner at Harold's Country Kitchen, and in Virginia (MN), the celebration includes a special pancake breakfast at Kunnari's Kitchen Coffee House & Farm Market or a dance at the Kaleva Hall. In Finland (MN) and Menahga (MN), there is a longer celebration with lots of activities, including a parade.

[1] In this chapter, Finland (MN) refers to the unincorporated community in Minnesota and Finland refers to the country of Finland.

St. Urho's Day seems to function as a way for people of Finnish decent to celebrate their "Finnishness." This chapter examines how St. Urho's Day is celebrated in the United States. I focus especially on two St Urho's Day celebrations — those held in Finland and Menahga (MN). The chapter is based on fieldwork observations and interviews during a fieldwork trip to Minnesota in March of 2016. In Finland (MN), I conducted six interviews with local people. Some of the interviews were arranged beforehand and some were done more spontaneously. All of the interviewees had either been organizing or actively participating in the celebrations. All of the interviewees also had Finnish ancestry except for the event's current organizer. In addition to the interviews, I also did participatory observation during the three-day event. In Menahga, I conducted four interviews with local people who were active in the organizing of St. Urho's Day in Menahga. All of the interviewees had Finnish ancestry. In addition, I conducted participatory observation in Menahga as well. Both celebrations lasted a couple of days and included many activities. This chapter shows how Finnishness is showcased and perceived in these celebrations, points out the generational differences in these celebrations, how the tradition has survived and changed during the years, how the Finnish language is used in it, and how nationality-based this celebration and tradition still is. The term "Finnishness" is a socially constructed term. In this chapter, "Finnishness" refers to the use of the Finnish language, the use of the Finnish flag and/or other symbols of Finland, and the availability of Finnish foods as well as how "Finnish" the local actors perceive the festivities to be. Although St. Urho's Day is very much a Finnish American celebration since it was created in the United States and has no ties to Finland, many people who organize and partake in the celebrations still see it specifically as a Finnish celebration.

Origins of the Celebration

St. Urho's Day started more or less as a humorous reaction to Irish Americans and their St. Patrick's Day celebrations. There are two slightly conflicting versions of the origins of the tradition, and both Richard L. Mattson and Sulo Havumäki have been credited as originators of the story. Richard L. Mattson worked as a store manager at Ketola's Department Store in Virginia (MN). After listening to light-hearted taunting from his co-workers about how the Finns did not have saints like the Irish's St. Patrick, Mattson decided to make one up. He told his co-workers stories about a mythical Finnish hero named St. Urho who had banished the poisonous frogs from Finland and saved the grape crop. Later that year, Mattson's co-workers decided to organize the first St. Urho's Day party for him on May 24, 1956. Mattson's co-worker, Gene McCavic, even wrote a poem about St. Urho called "Ode to St. Urho." (Asala 2001, 7—8; Virtanen 2012, 63—65.) The original poem was written on a piece of wrapping paper, and it is currently on display at the Minnesota Discovery Center in Chisholm. The poem was written in Finglish (or mock

Finglish[2]), a dialect of the English language spoken by Finnish migrants, and to some degree also by their descendants. Finglish employed English words within a Finnish grammatical framework (Alanen 2012, 11). Even though Finglish was, and to an extent still is, a big part of Finnish American culture and cultural identity, it was not visible in St. Urho's Day celebrations in Finland (MN) or Menahga.

Sulo Havumäki worked as a psychologist for the St. Paul school system. His office was located in the city hall, which would be decorated with St. Patrick's Day adornments every March. Havumäki decided to organize a party of his own and did so in his office on March 16, the day before St. Patrick's Day. Later, Havumäki took a teaching job at Bemidji State College, where he enhanced the legend further and continued to organize St. Urho's Day celebrations. In Havumäki's version, the celebration took place on March 16, and St. Urho chased away grasshoppers, not frogs, still saving the grape crop. (Asala 2001, 14; Lockwood 2012, 59; Virtanen 2012, 64—65.) It is difficult to determine who had the idea first, Mattson or Havumäki. It seems rather hard to believe that they both would have come up with the same idea and the similarly-titled character at the same time. It is plausible, however, that Mattson came up with the original idea, and Havumäki then elaborated and extended the story. An article about Mattson and St. Urho with the original poem appeared in the *Mesabi Daily News* in 1956. It is, thus, possible that Havumäki read the article and then offered his version of the Saint afterwards (*The Review Messenger* 1982). Whether this indeed is the case or not, it was Havumäki's version, namely, using the date of March 16 and having the grasshoppers replace the frogs, that took precedence and spread among Finnish Americans, as did the St. Urho's catchphrase "*Heinäsirkka, heinäsirkka mene täältä hiiteen*," which in English means "Grasshopper, grasshopper, go away/go to hell." The colors green and purple also were the inventions of Havumäki, and they became the main colors of St. Urho's Day. (Asala 2001, 16; Virtanen 2012, 65.)

Since Mattson and Havumäki, other people have elaborated on the story and the tradition. There have been countless songs and poems about St. Urho, as well as numerous recipes for St. Urho-themed foods and drinks (Asala 2001, 76—105). In addition to Mattson and Havumäki, Joseph Kyllonen is central to the growth of St. Urho's popularity by single-handedly spearheading a successful lobby effort from 1975 to 1982 to have St. Urho's Day be officially recognized by the governors of all fifty states (Virtanen 2012, 66—67).

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[2] It could be argued whether or not The Ode to St. Urho is actually Finglish or not. It was written by an Irish American and, to me, it feels more like it is written in the style of Finglish than in actual Finglish. In Finglish, the English words were usually written like they sounded to Finnish speakers. The words in the Ode to St. Urho are mostly not written in this way and the Finnish words are written wrong. For example, the word *mojakka* is written "moyakka" in the Ode and it is unlikely that a Finn would substitute j for y.

St. Urho's Day in Finland (MN)

Finland (MN) is an unincorporated community located in Northwest Minnesota with a population of about 200 people. Many people in Finland (MN) are of Finnish descent. St. Urho's Day has been celebrated annually in Finland (MN) since 1976 and the event has been growing ever since. In 1976, members of the local recreational committee had heard of St. Urho's Day and decided to organize the celebration in Finland (MN). At first, only people from the local area participated in the celebrations that originally consisted of a parade on a Saturday. Then, people from the local businesses formed a special St. Urho committee and started to plan and advertise the event. After a couple of years, the organizing committee wanted to add another day to the event and came up with the Miss Helmi Contest, to be held the day before the St. Urho's Day parade. The Miss Helmi Contest is actually a parody of a beauty contest where the participants are all male who compete to become Miss Helmi, the girlfriend or wife of St. Urho. The winner gets to participate in the parade on his own float. The first Miss Helmi Contest was held in 1984, and it has been organized annually ever since. (Asala 2001, 46.) In 1982, a wooden statue of St. Urho was erected in Finland (MN).

Originally, St. Urho's Day started as a way to bring people to the community of Finland (MN) and celebrate the end of the winter or losing "cabin fever," as an informant told me. When the local entrepreneurs took over the planning of the party, the focus shifted towards bringing more business into Finland (MN) during a time when the snowmobile season was ending and the fishing season had not yet started. The St. Urho committee advertised the event in newspapers and on the radio, and even did interviews all over the United States. Gradually the one-day event grew into a three-day event that it is today. The organizing committee also added a changing theme to the celebration. Every year the party carries a different theme that is especially visible in the parade decorations. The theme for St. Urho's Day in 2016 was "Beach Party." Previous themes have been, for example, "Olympics" (1992), "St. Urho's Wild West" (1993), "Happy Days" (1994), and "St. Urho Goes to Prom" (2003).

The parade is the main attraction during the St. Urho's Day celebrations. Many of those I interviewed were quite proud of shutting down the Minnesota State Highway 1 for the parade, and said that Finland (MN) was the only place in the United States where they did that. The parade lasts about an hour. According to the interviewees, as many as a thousand people watch the parade and partake in the activities. This means that during St. Urho's Day and especially during the parade, the amount of people in Finland more than triples, which means that most of the people attending St. Urho's Day's festivities are not from Finland (MN). Besides the parade and the Miss Helmi contest, food and different crafts are sold, and many musical acts perform. Somewhat surprising is that neither the music nor the food available in St. Urho's Day in 2016 was typically Finnish or even Finnish American. From the interviews, I understood that during previous celebrations, Finnish or Finnish American food and music were essential parts of the celebration.

One food especially linked to the Finnish American culture is *mojakka* or *kalamojakka*. Mojakka is a soup made out of fish (*kalamojakka*) or meat (*mojakka/lihamojakka*). It is an interesting dish, because although it is well known in the United States, in Finland, the name *mojakka*[3] is generally unknown. The name apparently originated in the Kalajoki region in Northern Ostrobothnia in Finland, but in most of Finland the word is practically unknown. The only references to the word in Finland that I have found concern the history of fishing in the Kalajoki region. The other reference is from the website of the Fishing Museum in Kalajoki old town and the other is from a report concerning the history of the River Siiponjoki and the nearby archipelago of Rahja (Jylkkä-Karppinen, Koskamo, Kuusela & Laitila 2009, 54; Vanha Plassi 2017). Despite the fact that the word *mojakka* is unknown in Finland, for some reason the name of the dish spread among Finns in the United States and became more or less the quintessential Finnish American dish (at least in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Northern Ontario in Canada).[4]

Mojakka used to be essential food during the St. Urho's Day celebrations in Finland (MN), but for some reason in 2016, it was missing. In the previous years, there were *mojakka* cook-offs and the soup was served in local restaurants. It could be that 2016 was just a temporary lapse, or this might indicate that the "Finnishness" of the celebration could be fading, and the focus could be shifting toward a more general community celebration.

St. Urho's Day in Menahga

Menahga is a small city in Central Minnesota with a population of around 1,300 people, which many are of Finnish descent. According to a census made in 2010, over 35 percent of the people living in Menahga claimed Finnish ancestry (United States Census Bureau 2017). St. Urho's Day is one of the most important yearly celebrations in Menahga and it has been organized there annually since 1982. Menahga also advertises itself as the home of St. Urho. Since 1913, Menahga has been known as "The Gateway to the Pines," a slogan it uses in its advertisements. Following the erection of a statue of St. Urho in 1982, the city branded itself as associated with St. Urho and added "The Home of St. Urho" as the city's other slogan (City of Menahga 2017). Much like Finland (MN), in Menahga the celebration is organized by the Menahga Civic & Commerce Association which is made up of "local business owners, manager, group and church leaders and citizens concerned about Menahga's growth and positive development" (Menahga Civic & Commerce 2017).

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[3] Soup made out of fish or meat is quite a common dish in Finland, but it is not called *mojakka*.

[4] For example, see http://mojakka.com/ (accessed January 12, 2017).

Although the celebration has been held annually in Menahga since 1982, it has a longer history in the area. In 1956, the publisher of *The Menahga Messenger*, Jack Bloomquist, was told the story about Richard L. Mattson and St. Urho that appeared in the *Mesabi Daily News*. Bloomquist decided to republish the article in *The Menahga Messenger* because he thought that many people of Finnish ancestry would find it amusing. A year later, many readers asked about the article and by popular demand, it was published again. Afterward, Sulo Havumäki contacted the paper and insisted that St. Urho had banished grasshoppers, not frogs, and that the correct date for the celebration was March 16, not May 24. Bloomquist decided to add these corrections, revised the *Ode to St. Urho,* and published the new article in the following March, just before St. Urho's Day. Since then, the legend and the ode have been published annually in *The Menahga Messenger*. (*The Review Messenger* 1982.)

In 1975, the Menahga Civic & Commerce Association decided that with the ever-growing popularity of St. Urho, they should build a statue of him, so that people would know how he looked like. They organized a contest for the likeness for St. Urho, and Rita Seppala, a native of Menahga, was declared the winner. However, it took more than six years before the actual work for the statue begun. In the winter of 1982, the wooden statue of St. Urho was finally erected. The statue was carved by a chain saw artist named Jerry Ward. The original wooden statue had to be replaced later with a fiberglass replica that now stands in Menahga. (*A History of St. Urho,* n.d.) Today, the statue is an essential part of the celebrations. As in Finland (MN), the St. Urho's Day celebrations in Menahga serve two purposes, namely, celebrating the Finnish heritage of Menahga and bringing in people from outside of Menahga to visit the town and the local businesses.

The St. Urho celebrations have varied over the years, but the essential parts of the celebration are the crowning of a St. Urho King and Queen (which has been part of the celebration at least since 1991), a changing of the guards by the "Nytes of St. Urho,"[5] serving *mojakka*, and the parade. St. Urho's Day in Menahga is a two-day event. In 2016, it began with a welcoming ceremony held at the local High School. The ceremony started by bringing in the U.S. flag and singing of the U.S. National Anthem, followed by a speech from the mayor, a St. Urho lookalike contest (held for the first time), and the coronation of the St. Urho King and Queen. One of the locals I interviewed said that in the earlier years, they also sang the Finnish National Anthem at this ceremony, but not anymore. The event closed with a performance by a magician.

The celebrations continued the next day starting with a breakfast and raffle at the local community center, followed by the St. Urho Volleyball Tournament. Afterwards, the changing of the guards took place at the statue of St. Urho. First, the mayor gave a speech and declared the day as St. Urho's Day. Then, the "Nytes of St. Urho," a group of young men and women dressed in green and purple, marched carrying the Finnish flag. They undressed most of their clothes into a big pile, and took random pieces of clothing

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[5] The word "nytes" refers to "knights" and might be a spoof of, or a reference to, Finglish.

and put them on, thus "changing their guards." After they changed their clothes, they marched back towards the center of Menahga. Then the parade started. It was much smaller than the one in Finland (MN) and lasted only about 15 minutes. After the parade, there were more activities like human foosball, dog sled rides, and even *mölkky*[6] (also called the Viking bowling). The official program ended with Bingo and live music at the local VFW (the Veterans of Foreign Wars). One specialty during the St. Urho's Day in Menahga is bar stool racing, which is held at the local Spirit Lake when there is enough snow and ice. The contestants have to make their own race sled from a barstool and skis. In 2016, the lake was not frozen, so the bar stool race was cancelled. In addition to the St. Urho's Day celebrations held in March, Menahga also hosts a St. Urho Run and St. Urho Wife Carry for Charity Challenge in the summer.

Similarities and Differences between the Two St. Urho's Day Celebrations

There are many similarities between the St Urho's Day celebrations in Finland (MN) and Menahga. They both hold a parade, both celebrations last for more than one day, both showcase Finnishness, and both have been organized annually for many years. There are also some notable differences. In Finland (MN), the organizers of the celebration are younger than in Menahga, and the whole celebration feels targeted at a younger audience. In Menahga, the celebration seems more family-oriented. Although there were carnival-like aspects in both celebrations (the Miss Helmi Contest in Finland (MN) and the Nytes of St. Urho in Menahga), in Finland (MN) the celebration seemed a little rowdier. Also in Finland (MN), there were visibly more people visiting from the surrounding area.

The "Finnishness" of the celebrations also seemed to vary. In Finland (MN), the focus is starting to shift from an ethnicity-based celebration to a more communal and general celebration. The Finnish flag was not very prominently visible on the street nor used in the parade decorations, Finnish words were not used in any decorations apart from the word "Urho," and Finnish food was no longer served in any of the three local restaurants. These changes may relate to the fact that many of the current organizers do not have any Finnish heritage. For example, the 2016 St. Urho Committee leader does not have any Finnish heritage, although she said that she felt that St. Urho's Day is still very much Finnish. However, the name of the town is Finland, so the connection

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[6] A Finnish throwing game, reminiscent of *kyykkä*, a centuries-old throwing game with Karelian roots. Wikipedia page for Mölkky, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%B6lkky (accessed January 19, 2017).

to Finland and Finnishness will always be there, even if other signs of Finnishness are not so prominently visible anymore.

In Menahga, on the other hand, Finnishness is much more visible. The Finnish flag was very visible and used in the opening ceremony, in the changing of the guard, and in the parade. Finnish food (*mojakka*) was also served in the local restaurants and at the local museum they served coffee with *pulla* (cinnamon bread). In earlier years, they had also sang the Finnish National Anthem during the opening ceremonies, but this was no longer the case in 2016. Thus, there are some changes in Menahga, where the Finnishness of the celebration could also be diminishing.

It seems to me that the main difference between the celebrations was the organizing, overall atmosphere, and the audience at the events. In Finland (MN), the celebration is a bit more carnival-like, directed especially toward young adults as well as locals of all ages. The celebration seemed to me to be moving from an ethnicity-based celebration towards a more communal and general celebration. In Menahga, the celebration is a little bit more restrained, more family-oriented, and more ethnicity-based.

Although I am looking at symbols of Finnishness and how Finnish or not these celebrations are, it is clear that both the celebrations in Finland (MN) and in Menahga are Finnish American traditions and part of Finnish American culture, not Finnish culture. St. Urho's Day was created in the United States by people born and living in the United States and it is celebrated by people living in the United States. Many aspects of the celebrations, for instance the parade and the carnivalistic aspects like Miss Helmi and the changing of the Guards are not very "Finnish" in nature and are clearly influenced by the surroundings. Still the celebrations are seen by many locals who have Finnish heritage as a way to celebrate their Finnish ethnicity and heritage. Some of the ways in which it is done can be approached through the concept of symbolic ethnicity.

Symbolic Ethnicity

One way to approach St. Urho's Day celebrations and their meaning to Finnish Americans is the concept of symbolic ethnicity. The term "symbolic ethnicity" was introduced by Herbert J. Gans (1979) in response to a discussion about the ethnic revival that happened during the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. Many Americans of European descent chose to identify themselves in ethnic terms and express more pride in their ethnic roots. Many scholars saw this renewed interest as an argument against the assimilation theory. (Leinonen 2014, 312.) Gans counter-argued that there never was any revival, and indeed, acculturation and assimilation into U.S. society and culture continued to happen. Gans stated that even though there was a new kind of ethnic involvement among the third or fourth generations, this revived ethnicity relied more on symbols than on ethnic cultures or organizations (Gans 1979, 1). These later-generation Europeans were

merely expressing symbolic ethnic identity needs. This meant that, instead of investing time and effort in ethnic cultures or organizations, they expressed their ethnic identities in ways that did not take too many resources and were not in conflict with other interests or activities (Gans 1979, 7—8; Leinonen 2014, 312). According to Gans, third-generation ethnic individuals could join an ethnic organization or take part in formal or informal organizations of fellow-ethnics. They could also learn about and relate to their cultural identity by affiliating with an abstract collectivity that did not exist as an interacting group. This collective, according to Gans, could be mythic or real, contemporary or historical (Gans 1979, 8).

St. Urho's Day is a way for people of Finnish heritage to celebrate their cultural identity and ethnicity. For people who do not have any Finnish heritage, St. Urho's Day functions as a festival where they can perhaps learn about Finland and Finnish Americans or just enjoy the festival as such. Much of the celebration is done using ethnic symbols, such as language, foods, stereotypical ideas about Finnishness, and the Finnish flag. Other ethnic symbols used during the St. Urho's Day celebrations include the St. Urho colors of royal purple and Nile green. It is debatable whether St. Urho's Day can be seen as a sign of vitality of ethnic identity or as just an occasional expression of symbolic ethnicity.

According to Mary C. Waters, language is one of the cultural attributes that can have the strongest effect on maintaining integration and solidarity in an ethnic group. It is also one of the first elements of a migrant culture to disappear over passing generations (Waters 1990, 116). Almost all the people I interviewed in Finland (MN) and Menahga told me that they either had forgotten or never really learned Finnish although their parents and grandparents spoke it. Many also felt certain sadness or regret because of this. Most of the interviewees told me that Finnish was spoken at home until the children started school; then the language at home was changed to English even at home. For example, a man I interviewed in Finland (MN) told me that he understands Finnish because he listened to his father and grandfather talking in Finnish when he was a boy. He also said that his parents did not want to teach him Finnish because they were bullied in school for speaking Finnish when they were children, and they did not want the same thing to happen to him. There was a certain stigma attached to being Finnish in the United States in the early twentieth century. Finns were at times stigmatized as "dumb Finlanders," communists, or as Mongolians who were not seen as "proper" Europeans or whites. Because of this, some especially second-generation Finnish-Americans wanted to distance themselves as much as possible from the Finnish community. (Kivisto & Leinonen 2011, 21, 26—27.) This included using, learning, or teaching the Finnish language.

> Q: *Yeah, so they didn't teach you Finnish or...*
> A: *No they didn't. They didn't teach, they didn't want us because when my dad and them were kids my Grandma says that it was rough because they would, other nationalities, would pick on them and call them dumb Finlanders and that and my Grandma didn't like that she didn't want her grandchildren being...*

Q: *Being picked on, yeah.*
A: *...picked on or bullied or whatever and so... I wish I would know the full Finn but [...] my dad says, Uh, that would be hard.*[7]

Many others told me the same thing, namely, that they never got to learn the language or really use it in their everyday lives. Mary C. Waters (1990, 11, 116) found similar stories when doing fieldwork with third or fourth generation white ethnics in suburban communities outside of San Jose in California and in Philadelphia. Waters studied white Roman Catholics who were of Polish, Italian and Czech descent. Although the history, dynamics, and experiences are quite different with each group, there were many similarities with the Finnish Americans. Most of her interviewees could not speak the language of their ancestors. Many remembered certain words and phrases that they had been taught as children or heard from their grandparents or other older relatives. Many also expressed sadness that they had not been taught the language of their ancestors and could only use certain words or phrases. These were also only spoken within the family at certain times or situations. According to Waters, the fragments of a maintained language show the intermittent nature of symbolic ethnicity. The language of the ancestors survives in bits and pieces, in words and phrases that are cherished because they evoke memories of family, and, thus, language becomes only a voluntary part of their ethnic identity (Waters 1990, 116—118). In a way, St. Urho's Day offers people the chance to use what little Finnish they know, even if it is only a few words spoken symbolically, for example, by reciting the words used to banish the grasshoppers, "*heinäsirkka, heinäsirkka mene täältä hiiteen*." The use of the Finnish language, however, can be seen as strengthening their cultural identity as Finnish Americans. For the participants who do not have any Finnish heritage, the use of Finnish language can make the celebration feel exotic and enticing.

In addition to language, food can also be a very important part of ethnic identity. In many cases, certain ethnic foods are associated with a particular holiday, event, or a special occasion, not with everyday cooking (Waters 1990, 118). Although many ethnic foods are traditionally connected with certain cultures, creolization or hybridization is particularly significant in food culture. According to Yvonne R. Lockwood, cuisine is especially responsive to new environments. Often original ingredients are not available and new social settings require new ways of eating and cooking. Although food habits are quick to adapt and change, at the same time, no aspect of any culture can be seen as totally resistant to change. Even after losing the language of their ancestors, the later generations still often cook and eat some version of their family's original and traditional ethnic foods. (Lockwood 2012, 54.)

Finnish Americans are no exception. Examples of Finnish foods still eaten in the United States are certain meat and fish stews or soups (*mojakka*), pea soup, pickled

[7] The interview in the possession of the author.

herring, beet salad, various uses of rutabaga, clabbered milk similar to yogurt (*viili*), a baked fresh cheese (*leipäjuusto*), cardamom-flavored sweet bread (*pulla*), baked pancakes (*kropsu* or *pannukakku*), a lemon flavored slightly alcoholic drink (*sima*), rice pudding, and fruit soup (Lockwood 2012, 54). According to Lockwood, the frequency of consuming these foods depends on the generation, location, and the degree of cultural accumulation. However, certain dishes are almost always offered at ethnic events. For example, *mojakka*, pea soup, *pulla,* and *kropsu* are usually available on St. Urho's Day or Laskiainen. (Lockwood 2012, 54—55.)

Mojakka is usually connected with St. Urho's Day and is served especially during the festivities. In some areas, there are even *Mojakka* cook-offs that are organized during the festivities. In Menahga, *mojakka* is a significant part of the festivities and especially mentioned in the schedule of events for the days. It is mentioned even in the local newspaper, the *Review Messenger,* and *mojakka* is served in restaurants during St. Urho's Day. In previous years, they also organized *mojakka* cook-offs in Menahga but not in the last couple of years. In Finland (MN), *mojakka* was not served during the 2016 St. Urho's Day, but the people I interviewed told me that it had been an integral part of the festivities earlier, with many restaurants serving the dish and some even organizing *mojakka* cook-offs. One local restaurant owner whom I interviewed said:

> *[…] but yeah I think they connect it to Finns, and we usually always have like […] was saying before kalamojakka […]*
> *[…] and this year we got going so much on all the other foods that we forgot to do it but everybody usually had, each business usually has kalamojakka to pass out to people free for the day just to, because it's been a Finnish dish.*[8]

Cooking and eating are expressive behaviors laden with symbolic meaning (Lockwood 2012, 54). Having *mojakka,* a dish perceived by locals as traditionally Finnish, served in local restaurants and at *mojakka* cook-offs during St. Urho's Day festivities, is one aspect of trying to preserve and showcase Finnish ethnicity among Finnish Americans in the United States.

Although symbolic ethnicity is a useful tool in pointing to certain ways in which some forms of ethnicity can be highlighted, it is also not without its limitations. Many researchers have contested the idea that while certain people are very interested in ethnic identity, they are not so interested in ethnic behavior and group affiliation. For example, Peter Kivisto and Ben Nefzger (1993) and Stephen Sharot (1997) have argued against this in their research concerning American Jews. Some researchers have also criticized symbolic ethnicity as being too shallow. Yiorgos Anagnostou, for example, criticized Mary C. Waters and her conclusions about symbolic ethnicity for reducing white ethnicity to something that is socially weak, artificial, and leisure centered (Anagnostou

[8] The interview in the possession of the author.

2009, 98). Waters later responded to this critique by stating that this was the result of her fieldwork and the empirical reality she found in her interviews (Waters 2009, 132).

It would be unfair to only see the people who participate in the St. Urho's Day celebrations as showcasing symbolic ethnicity. Many people whom I interviewed stated that they are Finns and are proud of their Finnish heritage. A man and a woman whom I interviewed in Finland (MN) both clearly stated that they are Finnish.

> *"Oh, I'm a 100% Finn or if you want to call it 200 proof..."*
>
> *"And I know I'm really proud of it, I'm not afraid to say I'm Finnish and tell people I'm Finnish..."*[9]

The fact that they also participated in the St. Urho's Day celebrations in a way that could be described as a form of symbolic ethnicity does not mean that they do not consider themselves as ethnic Finns. In other words, the fact that Finnish Americans can visually celebrate their Finnish heritage on St. Urho's Day does not mean that Finnish ethnicity is not visible also in their everyday life. Although symbolic ethnicity can be used in describing the behavior of some of the participants, it is not possible to generalize it to describe every Finnish American taking part in the St. Urho's Day celebrations. Also, even though some aspects of the current Finnish American culture like language, certain foods, and the use of specific imagery can be seen as symbolic, this does not mean that these symbolic representations of culture are without a deeper meaning. On the contrary, for example, after the everyday use of the Finnish language has disappeared, the use of certain Finnish words becomes more and more important to the people using them. Although the use of Finnish words can be seen as being symbolic in nature, it certainly is not shallow.

From a Joke to a Tradition: Celebrating Saint Urho as Finnish American Heritage

Although St. Urho's Day started as a humorous reaction toward St. Patrick's Day, it has evolved into a real ethnic celebration and tradition for Finnish Americans. Its popularity coincided with the ethnic revival during the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. Because the celebration got popular among Finnish Americans, it indicates that there was a need for a Finnish American ethnic festival and St. Urho's Day filled that need. Many of the participants in St. Urho's Day are second, third, or even fourth generation

[9] The interviews in the possession of the author.

Finnish Americans, and to some of them, Finnish ethnicity might not be specifically visible in their everyday lives. Through symbolic ethnicity, it is possible for people to express their ethnicity and pride in a tradition that can be felt fully without having to be incorporated in their everyday behavior. Then again, in my view, in many cases symbolic ethnicity is too shallow of a concept to apply to all. Even if the uses of Finnish American culture seem symbolic in nature, the symbolic value of these elements is significant. Hence, St. Urho's Day functions as a way for people of Finnish decent to celebrate their "Finnishness" both in a symbolic way and as a true expression of their Finnish American everyday identity and culture.

Today, St. Urho's Day is celebrated in many different places in the United States and Canada, but its intensity, duration, content, and attendance at the celebrations vary widely. The ethnic celebrations in Finland (MN) and Menahga share many similarities, but they also differ in certain aspects discussed here. The main aspect they both share is that they celebrate Finnishness and both have continued to grow annually. There have been small changes in both celebrations over the years with additions of new aspects to the festivities, like the Miss Helmi contest in Finland (MN) or the St. Urho look-a-like contest in Menahga. Finnishness of the celebrations, however, is still visible in both communities although it appears to be more visible in Menahga. It might be that in Finland (MN), Finnishness of the celebration may not be seen as being as important in the future as it was before. This change could partly be explained by the fact that the organizing committee is now younger and many of its members do not have Finnish roots; in Menahga, the organizing committee still consists of older people with Finnish heritage.

Although St. Urho's Day is one of the most important Finnish American celebrations, it is by no means as widely shared among Finnish Americans as for example St. Patrick's Day is among Irish Americans. While St. Patrick's Day is celebrated widely in the United States by people of different ethnic backgrounds, St. Urho's Day is mainly celebrated amongst Finnish Americans or in places with significant Finnish ethnicity, especially in small communities in the Upper Midwest. Although St. Urho's Day is clearly a Finnish American festivity, it is more of a communal than an ethnic festival. Most of the people I interviewed did not know much about the origins of the story or the tradition. For example, 2016 was the 60th year for St. Urho's Day, but this point was not addressed anywhere. St. Urho's Day functions in many places as a way to bring the local community together, to enliven the community life and local businesses, and (in Finland, MN, at least) to activate younger members of the community. Both in Finland (MN) and Menahga, the overall emphasis was on its being more of a local communal than an ethnic celebration. It could be argued that St. Urho's Day will continue to evolve into this direction and while the Finnish American ethnicity will stay at the premise of the celebration, the Finnishness of the celebration might lose its importance. In the future, these festivities might also include other ethnicities in their activities. This direction could also ensure that the celebration will continue even if the number of

people with Finnish heritage diminishes. Similar progress has already happened with different Finnish American organizations or, for example, with such celebrations like Laskiainen in Palo, Minnesota (Hovi 2017, 22).

Nevertheless, St. Urho's Day still clearly offers Finnish Americans a good and positive way to celebrate their Finnish heritage and roots, as well as their own distinct Finnish American identity and culture, and it has become a part of Finnish American everyday culture. St. Urho's Day has indeed evolved from a joke to a tradition.

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9. On the Maintenance and Use of Heritage Finnish among Today's North American Finnish Migrants: A Survey[1]

Helena Halmari

Heritage Finnish – Then and Now

In this chapter, I discuss the maintenance of the Finnish language among today's North American ethnic Finns, those who have migrated from Finland into North America relatively recently, and, most pronouncedly, after the Great Migration years from Finland during the transition to the twentieth century. I am specifically interested in the patterns of the use and maintenance of Finnish among this group of new migrants, whose life circumstances are drastically different from the lives of the old migrant population (for accounts of the latter, see, e.g., Virtanen 1975; Virtaranta et al. 1993; Kero 1996; Alanen 2012; Kostiainen 2014; for studies on contemporary Finnish North Americans, see, e.g., Korkiasaari & Roinila 2005; Kiriakos 2014; Leinonen 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b).

The pattern of the old-wave migrant population typically showed strong maintenance of Finnish by the first generation and speedy linguistic assimilation to the mainstream (i.e., acquisition of English) by the second generation (cf., e.g., Valdés 2005, 2006). Describing the situation of old-wave Finnish migrants, Martin and Jönsson-Korhola (1993) argue that the command of Finnish was not regarded as important; sometimes

[1] I want to thank the Finns in North America who gave their time to participate in this study and thus made it possible. I also acknowledge the editors, Johanna Leinonen and Auvo Kostiainen, as well as two anonymous reviewers, for their valuable comments. I, however, am solely responsible for the remaining weaknesses.

it was considered even embarrassing.[2] What this chapter begins to explore is whether the higher socioeconomic status and higher education levels of the recent Finnish migrants (see Leinonen 2011a; Habti & Koikkalainen 2014; Warinowski 2016) may have influenced a change in how the command of Finnish is regarded. Is there, for instance, an articulated effort to pass heritage Finnish on to the next generation? With a limited population, this exploratory study contributes to the larger field of heritage language maintenance by looking at what ethnic Finns in North America — a minority within minorities — think about their heritage language and what measures they take to try to pass that language to the next generation (on heritage languages and their maintenance in North America, see, i.a., Fishman 1991; Kainulainen 1993; Peyton, Ranard & McGinnish 2001; Valdés 2005, 2006; Polinsky & Kagan 2007; Kelleher 2010).

This chapter also contributes, in a modest way, to recent research on the North American Finnish population, including language issues (e.g., Kainulainen 1993; Martin & Jönsson-Korhola 1993; Virtaranta, Jönsson-Korhola, Martin & Kainulainen 1993; Leinonen 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Remlinger 2016; Warinowski 2016). Studies of expatriate Finns elsewhere include Heimo (2016), Lammervo (2011), and Watson (1997) for Australian Finns, and Braun (2017) for Finnish mothers in the United Kingdom, to mention a few (see also Korkiasaari 2003). This study draws survey information from a small number (n=253) of North American Finns who are social media users. The main goal is to describe how these Finnish migrants use their language repertoire on a daily basis and what measures, if any, they take to facilitate the transmission of heritage Finnish to their children.

The term heritage language is relatively new (see, e.g., Peyton, Ranard & McGinnis 2001; Valdés 2005; Polinsky & Kagan 2007; Brinton, Kagan & Bauckus 2008; Kelleher 2010). It came to use with the widening realization and acceptance of the fact that maintaining migrant and other minority languages is difficult unless some measures are taken to increase the input in those languages. The fact is that by the third generation, the migrant language has, in most cases, changed to the language of the surrounding majority culture (Valdés 2006, 39). This shift may happen even earlier: the second generation is often more fluent in the societal majority language than in their home, heritage language (Virtaranta 1993, 25).

Among the second generation — the children of today's migrants — Finnish, indeed, is in danger of being quickly replaced by English, despite the Finnish-speaking parents' efforts (Halmari 2005). Finnish, however, prevails among the survey respondents, thanks to electronic and social media, which have come to form a new, virtual ethnic "village" (cf., e.g., Navarrete & Huerta 2006; Skop & Adams 2009; Komito 2011). For contemporary North American Finns, the Internet offers a daily opportunity to be exposed to their native tongue, and for parents, who are eager to pass heritage Finnish to the next generation, these virtual groups may offer subtle encouragement and support by their mere existence.

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[2] "Suomen kieltä ei pidetty tärkeänä, vaan joskus jopa hävettävänä" (Martin & Jönssön-Korhola 1993, 19).

Throughout this chapter, comparisons are made between the situations of today's highly-skilled Finnish migrants and their compatriots from a century ago. For the migrants of a hundred years ago, life was materially challenging, but Finnish had a theoretical chance of being transmitted because of the support from the strong Finnish communities that surrounded the Finnish-speaking families. However, the surrounding English-speaking majority did not support migrant languages in any official manner, and despite rich exposure to Finnish, the second generation adopted English as their stronger language (see, e.g., Kainulainen 1993).

For the recent migrants, life is materially easier, and, in today's North America, preservation of heritage languages is relatively widely accepted, and sometimes (albeit not universally) it is even a laudable goal. However, what makes the intergenerational transmittal of heritage Finnish more difficult is, ironically, migrants' own good command of English. The supporting Finnish network no longer consists of a tight web of neighbors, relatives, stores, churches, and Finnish halls. Today's Finns, therefore, resort to virtual networks to cater for their Finnish-language needs (cf. Navarrete & Huerta 2006; Skop & Adams 2009).

Data and Limitations

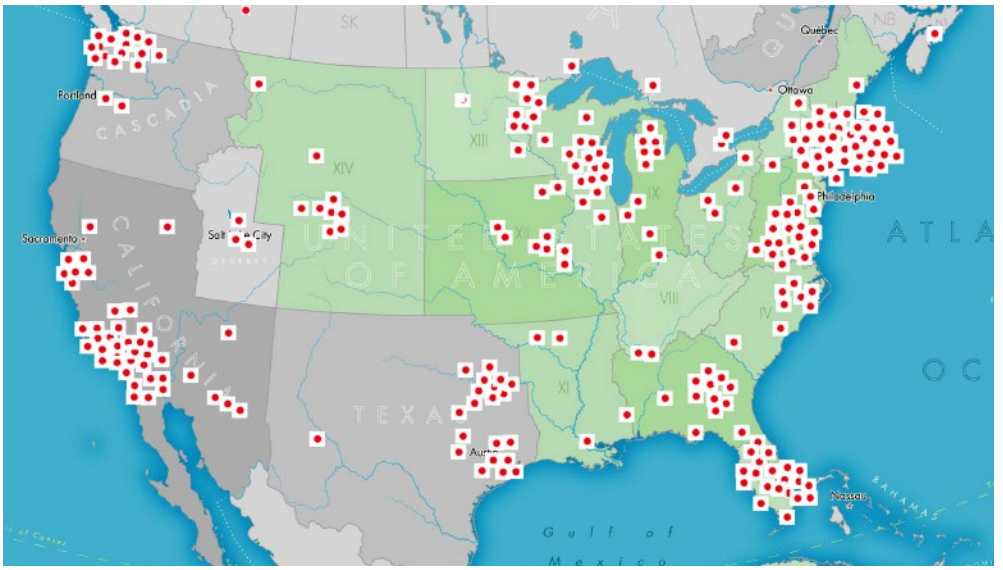
This chapter is based on an online language survey, administered to a small, self-selected group of Finnish North Americans. The survey questions addressed heritage Finnish maintenance and attitudes about passing Finnish to the second generation. The survey was titled "Use of Finnish vs. English among Finnish Americans," and it was posted during the fall of 2016 on three closed Facebook groups: *USA:n suomalaiset* (Finns in the USA; 2,500 members); Finns in America — *Suomalaiset Amerikassa* (1,400 members), and *Ellit Amerikoissa* (Ellis in America; 600 members). I received 253 responses to the survey from Finnish North Americans (5.6 % of the total membership of these online groups) who by responding agreed to be anonymous participants in this study. In addition to answering questions about their language-use patterns, the participants also provided basic demographic data. The information was gathered from the participants through the survey tool SurveyMonkey.

The study has obvious and serious limitations, and the results are not generalizable to the larger North American Finnish population beyond the social media groups to which the respondents belong. The survey shows a strong self-selected bias as the participants are avid social media users who were also interested in responding to a language questionnaire. In a more ideal study, people would be recruited also through other means than social media, and the sampling would need to ensure that responses are drawn from a wider range of demographic groups (i.e, not only from highly-skilled migrants). A more even distribution of men and women should be aimed at. As one of

the most pressing concerns is the transmission of Finnish competence to the second generation of Finnish migrants, a longitudinal, follow-up study should be carried out to address questions of language transmission, and empirical data (e.g., language tests) rather than self-reports should be collected. At the moment, this study remains merely exploratory and descriptive. In the form of ethnographic survey data, it does provide small vignettes to the daily struggles of 253 North American Finns to keep up with their Finnish and to pass it on to their children as well.

Participants: Who Responded to the Survey?

The respondents are found all over in North America, and they tend to conglomerate in large cities (see Map 10):



Map 10. Survey respondents in North America (n=253)

The dots in the map show the locations where the respondents live (cf. also Raento 2005, 6). This map differs essentially from the familiar maps indicating the traditional concentrations of Finnish ethnicity according to U.S. census data.[3] While strong concentrations of ethnic Finns in the United States are found in the upper Midwest (Minnesota and Michigan), for instance, in so-called "Finnish American nesting place[s]," such as the Keweenaw Peninsula in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Remlinger 2016, 168—169), the respondents to the present survey are scattered all over the United States, specifically

[3] See, e.g., http://www.finncamp.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/pct_finnish.pdf.

in large cities on both coasts: the Seattle area, San Jose, Palo Alto, Los Angeles, and San Diego on the west coast and New York and Washington, D.C., in the east. Many are located in Atlanta and in South Florida, and some in Texas, in the Dallas-Austin-Houston triangle. There are still many respondents who come from the traditional Finnish centers around the Great Lakes, but the respondents here now tend to live in large cities such as Minneapolis. Figure 1 lists the participants according to state.

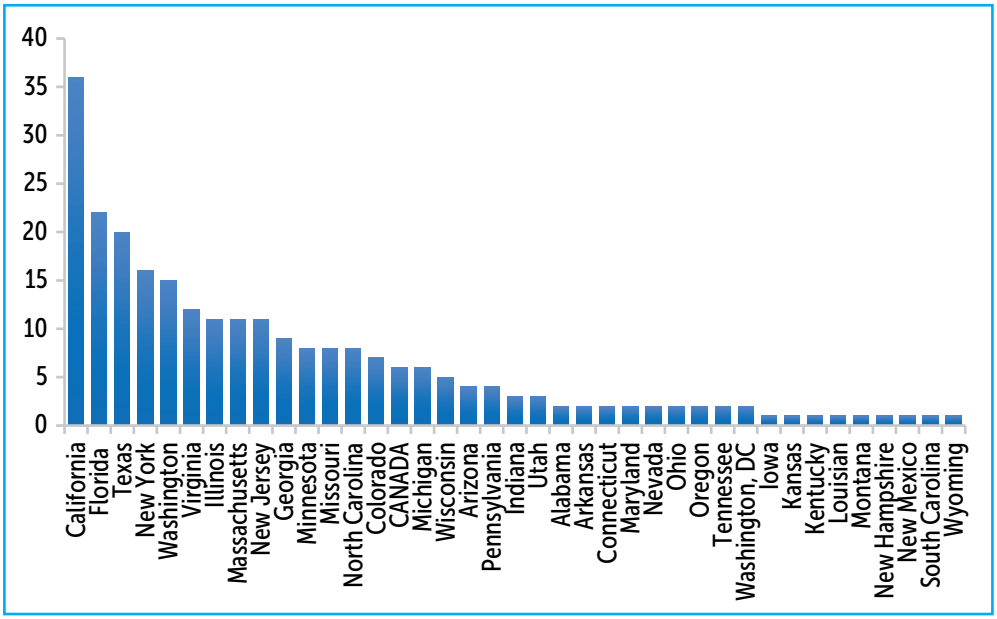


Figure 1. The states of the respondents (n=252)[4]

Altogether 252 participants indicated the state in which they lived. Only six participants lived in Canada. Thirty-eight U.S. states were represented, but not evenly, as 31 percent (n=78) of all the participants came from only three states: from California (36), Florida (22), and Texas (20). Over 60 percent of the participants (154) came from only nine states (California, Florida, Texas, New York, Washington, Virginia, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey), and eighteen states were represented by only one or two participants each.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents (n=242, or 98 % of the 247 who answered the question "Where were you born?") were born in Finland. Only four had been born in

[4] California (36), Florida (22), Texas (20), New York (16), Washington (15), Virginia (12), Illinois (11), Massachusetts (11), New Jersey (11), Georgia (9), Minnesota (8), Missouri (8), North Carolina (8), Colorado (7), Michigan (6), Wisconsin (5), Arizona (4), Pennsylvania (4), Indiana (3), Utah (3), Alabama (2), Arkansas (2), Connecticut (2), Maryland (2), Nevada (2), Ohio (2), Oregon (2), Tennessee (2), Washington, D.C. (2), Iowa (1), Kansas (1), Kentucky (1), Louisiana (1), Montana (1), New Hampshire (1), New Mexico (1), South Carolina (1), Wyoming (1). In addition, there were 6 responses from Canada.

the United States and one in Canada. Thus, almost all participants were first-generation migrants. They were born between the years 1935 and 1996, and their age range was thus between 81 for the oldest and 20 for the youngest, with the average age at 47—48 years (the average birth year was 1968). To the question "About how long have you lived in the USA or Canada?" the answers ranged from four months (the respondent had just arrived) to seventy-five years (this respondent was born in Canada and lived there all his life).

Only 12 percent of the respondents were male; 88 percent were female (of 252 replies). This skewed gender distribution is likely to result from the fact that one of the groups surveyed — a very active social network — was a women-only group. Also, women in general are more active on social media (Finn 2011; Greenwood, Perrin & Duggan 2016) and, in addition, perhaps more inclined to reply to a survey about language, posted by a researcher who is also a woman.

As one of the demographic questions, the respondents were asked to indicate their educational background; 246 people replied. The answers are summarized in Table 4, which shows the distribution of the respondents' educational background earned in Finland and in the United States or Canada. The respondents were asked to indicate all choices that applied, and, therefore, the percentages add up to over one hundred:

Table 4. What is your educational background? (Indicate all choices that apply) (n=246)

IN FINLAND	%	n
Less than nine grades	2.0	5
Nine grades or *keskikoulu*	12.6	31
High school diploma (*ylioppilastutkinto*)	**31.3**	77
Vocational school (*ammattikoulu*)	10.6	26
Vocational college (*ammattikorkeakoulu*) or other 2- or 3-year college (e.g., *kauppaopisto*)	**20.7**	51
Some university, but no degree	8.5	21
BA-level degree (e.g., HuK)	13.8	34
MA-level degree	**18.7**	46
Licentiate degree	2.0	5
Doctoral degree (e.g., FT)	2.0	5
IN USA/CANADA		
Less than high school diploma	0.4	1
High school diploma	5.7	14
Vocational degree	2.8	7
Associate's degree	7.7	19
Some university, but no degree	4.9	12
BA-level degree	**17.1**	42
MA-level degree	**13.8**	34
Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD)	5.3	13

In her dissertation, Leinonen (2011a, 52—53) used U.S. census data from the year 1940 to the early twenty-first century in order to show convincingly the steadily rising edu-

cational attainment of Finnish-born migrants. Leinonen's results are corroborated strongly by the numbers in Table 4 (bolded for clarity). My participants, indeed, are also highly educated: 31 percent (n=77) have a high school diploma (*ylioppilastutkinto*) from Finland; 21 percent (n=51) have a Finnish vocational college degree; and almost 19 percent (n=46) have a Finnish Master's degree. The respondents have earned degrees also in North America: 17 percent (n=42) list a BA-level degree and almost 14 percent (n=34) have earned a Master's degree. Five percent (n=13) had earned doctorates in the United States or Canada; another five respondents had doctorates from Finland.

Table 4 hence confirms Leinonen's (2011a) results, showing the overall high level of education of recent Finnish Americans, thus distinguishing them from the migrants a hundred years ago. This has obvious repercussions for the next two questions: "Which of the following best describes your current occupation?" and "What is your approximate household income?"

Table 5. Which of the following best describes your current occupation? (n=190)

Answer Choices	%	n
Education, Training, and Library Occupations	18.4	35
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations	12.1	23
Sales and Related Occupations	12.1	23
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations	11.1	21
Business and Financial Operations Occupations	10.5	20
Management Occupations	7.9	15
Office and Administrative Support Occupations	7.9	15
Computer and Mathematical Occupations	7.4	14
Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations	4.2	8
Healthcare Support Occupations	4.2	8
Food Preparation and Serving Related Occupations	3.7	7
Legal Occupations	3.2	6
Community and Social Service Occupations	2.6	5
Transportation and Materials Moving Occupations	2.6	5
Architecture and Engineering Occupations	2.1	4
Personal Care and Service Occupations	2.1	4
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations	1.1	2
Protective Service Occupations	0.5	1
Construction and Extraction Occupations	0.5	1
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Occupations	0.5	1
Production Occupations	0.5	1
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations	0.0	0
Total Respondents 190 (N.B.: some respondents listed more than one choice.)		219

One hundred and ninety respondents reported their current occupation (see Table 5 above). For this question, instead of self-reported occupations, the demographic categories predetermined by the survey tool, SurveyMonkey, were used. Table 5 shows that the

most often reported occupations were in Education, Training, and Library Occupations (over 18 % of the respondents), with Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations, as well as Sales and Related Occupations following on the shared second place (12 % for each). Manual labor and service occupations, typical of the old-wave migrants, were not strongly represented. Note that some respondents listed more than one occupational category in which they worked — hence the discrepancy between the number of respondents (190) and listed occupations (219).

Table 6. What is your approximate average household income? (n=235)

Answer Choices	%	n
$0–$24,999	3.8	9
$25,000–$49,999	10.6	25
$50,000–$74,999	12.8	30
$75,000–$99,999	14.9	35
$100,000–$124,999	16.2	38
$125,000–$149,999	11.5	27
$150,000–$174,999	6.0	14
$175,000–$199,999	6.4	15
$200,000 and up	**17.9**	**42**
	100.0[5]	235

The question about the average household income was answered by 235 respondents. As Table 6 shows, the fewest (n=9 or 4 %) of the respondents earned less than $25,000.[6] Depending on their household size (which was not included in the questionnaire), these nine respondents may (or may not) fall below the poverty line, as defined by the Department of Health and Human Services (see the Federal Poverty Level Chart, 2016, according to which the annual income of $24,250 marks the poverty line). Two thirds of all respondents (n=155 or 66 %) fell within the mid-level income categories, between $25,000 and $150,000. Nearly 18 percent (n=42) of the respondents reported the highest level of household income ($200,000 and up). The median income for the respondents fell into the category of $100,000—$124,999. In 2015, the United States median income was $55,775 (the United States Census Bureau 2016), and thus the survey participants, on an average, can be categorized as economically well-to-do. This is a significant change when compared to the life situation of the Finnish migrants a hundred years ago.

[5] In all tables, the percentages have been rounded and do not necessarily add up exactly to 100 percent.

[6] Note that this relatively low income level does not necessarily correlate with the respondents' social status: these respondents may have been, for instance, graduate students, working on a modest graduate stipend, or recently arrived migrants who had not yet had time to establish their lives and secure a higher income level.

The question "Are you in the USA or Canada permanently?" shows that over 82 percent (n=206) of the 251 respondents for this question do not have plans to return to Finland. Only less than five percent (12 people) indicated that they were not in North America permanently. Thirty-three respondents (or 13 %) said that they were in the United States or Canada "more or less permanently." In this sense (i.e., the majority's decision to stay permanently in North America and not to return to Finland), the respondents resemble the old-wave migrants. Their reasons for leaving Finland, however, are different: for the new migrants, an escape from poverty, unemployment, or the tsar's oppression has not been among the push factors (see, e.g., Kero 1996; Niemi 2003; Leinonen 2011a, 36).

An indication of the permanence of the move to North America is that 50 percent (n=127) of all the respondents had acquired dual citizenship. Forty-four percent (111) were citizens of Finland, and only five percent (13) were citizens of the United States solely. Only one was a Canadian citizen, and one preferred not to answer. Those who had dual citizenship or solely Finnish citizenship constitute 94 percent of all respondents.

To investigate the strength of ties to Finland (beyond the preserved citizenship), the respondents were also presented the question "How often do you visit Finland?" Here it is possible to see a clear difference between my current research participants and the old-wave migrants: unlike earlier migrants, who came to North America to stay and never (or extremely rarely) visited "the Old Country," the recent migrants visit Finland often:

Table 7. How often do you visit Finland? (n=248)

Answer Choices	%	n
More than once per year	12.1	30
Once a year, on an average	36.7	91
About every other year	27.0	67
About every fifth year	10.9	27
I do not visit Finland regularly	13.3	33
Total	100.0	248

As Table 7 shows, almost half of the respondents (n=121 or 49 %) visit Finland once a year on an average or even more often:

- Joka toinen kuukausi (Every other month)[7]
- 5 times a year
- 1—2 x yr
- We currently plan to visit at least once a year for Christmas but I would prefer to visit twice.

[7] The cited examples are direct quotations from the participants' responses. If the response was given in Finnish, an English translation follows in parentheses. Note also that the responses have not been edited for grammar or spelling. However, if the spelling error might affect the understanding of the example, it is signaled by *sic*.

Another 27 percent (n=67) visit Finland about every other year. Only 11 percent (n=27) of the recent migrants visit Finland as rarely as every fifth year; only 13 percent (n=33) report that they do not visit Finland regularly at all. For students or for older respondents, visits to Finland become rarer:

- Used to go every other year but it has been 3 years since i went there the last time (went back to school and student budget is tight)
- [...] last visit 2011, looks like last one, age is greeping [*sic*] on you.
- Nuorempana joka toinen vuosi, nyt ehkä joka kolmas (Every other year when I was younger, now perhaps every third)

The research participants' relatively frequent visits to Finland stand in contrast to the earlier migrants, many of whom never went back to Finland after emigrating (see also Leinonen 2011a, 147, 176).

Findings on Language

The Respondents' Competence in and Use of Finnish

Many of the survey questions focused on the language use patterns of the respondents. First, they were asked which of their languages was stronger. Table 8 presents this information:

Table 8. Which language would you name as your strongest language? (n=248)

Answer Choices	%	n
Finnish	**56.5**	**140**
English	20.6	51
Another language	0.4	1
Depends on the situation	22.6	56
Total	100.0	248

As Table 8 shows, only one fifth (n=51 or 21 %) of the respondents deemed English stronger than Finnish; for more than half of the respondents (n=140 or 57 %), Finnish was the stronger language. This is not, of course, surprising because the majority was born in Finland. In the comments section, several respondents underscored the fact that both Finnish and English were equally strong: "I would say Finnish and English are just as strong." Others expressed this same sentiment in Finnish: "Puhun sekä suomea

että englantia yhtä sujuvasti" (I speak both Finnish and English as fluently) and "Yhtä vahvat molemmat" (Both equally strong).[8]

Fifty-six respondents (23 %) pointed out that which language is stronger depends on the context and the features of the speech situation. This seems to have led to a somewhat diglossic situation (Ferguson 1959), where the use of Finnish and English in the respondents' lives rarely overlapped: Finnish was reserved for certain spheres of life and English for clearly different communicative tasks. Examples from the comments follow:

- Professional language is harder for me in Finnish
- Some vocabulary is easier to produce in English; I don't have all the current Finnish terminology though I've kept up very well.
- Some work vocabulary I know only in English
- My business language is English only, but I like conversing [about] casual topics in Finnish
- Työasioista puhuessa meinaa suomen sanasto välillä olla hukassa, kun vaikka ala on sama kuin Suomessa, tilanteet ja rakenteet ja siten sanastot ovat yllättävän eroavia. (When talking about job-related things, Finnish vocabulary tends to be lost at times because even though my field is the same as in Finland, the situations and structures — and, thus, vocabularies — are surprisingly different.)

The survey contained three questions or statements that sought to find out the respondents' level of competence in Finnish ("How easily can you have conversations in Finnish?"; "I can read Finnish easily"; "I can write Finnish"). Over 90 percent (n=228) claimed that they do not have any trouble having conversations in Finnish; eight percent (n=21) felt that sometimes their conversations are limited to certain topics; and less than two percent (n=4) said that they struggle to speak Finnish (Table 9).

Table 9. How easily can you have conversations in Finnish? (n=253)

Answer Choices	%	n
I don't have any trouble having conversations in Finnish.	**90.1**	**228**
Sometimes I feel my conversations are limited to certain topics.	8.3	21
I struggle to speak Finnish.	1.6	4
Total	100.0	253

Sixteen respondents elaborated. Some commented that they are fully bilingual ("I consider myself completely bilingual, 50/50"), but many reported word-finding difficulties and some language mixing:

[8] The respondents used mostly English in their open responses, but Finnish was used as well. The following prompt for replying to the comments was given: "You may write your comments either in English, in Finnish, or in a combination of both. Voit kommentoida suomeksi tai englanniksi."

- I often forget words when talking to my family
- I usually use some English words in Finnish conversations though because I've forgotten many Finnish words and learnt some words only in English.
- Joskus täytyy hakea yksittäistä sanaa, jos puhe on aiheesta, josta ei ole pitkään aikaan puhunut. Puheeseen hiipii myös englannin rakenteita ja joskus huomaa kääntäneensä suoraan jonkin englannin kielen idiomin. (Sometimes I have to look for an isolated word when talking about a topic I haven't talked about in a long time. English structures also sneak into my language, and sometimes I realize that I have translated an English idiom directly.)
- Jotkut sanat tuppaa unohtuun ja joistain aiheista on vaikeampi keskustella tai joskus kaytan ns. suoria kaannoksia enkusta suomeks mitka huvituttaa kavereita. (Some words tend to be forgotten and some topics are more difficult to discuss. Sometimes I use so-called direct translations from English into Finnish, which amuse my friends.)
- Vähän kangertelee aluksi kun menen Suomeen, mutta sitten alkaa luistaa! (I stumble a bit in the beginning when I go to Finland, but then it becomes fluent!)

Only one person commented that he cannot "speak Finn."

Ninety-seven percent of the respondents said that they could both read and write Finnish easily. This, again, is not surprising because of the respondents' origin in Finland. However, even though almost all respondents can read Finnish easily, based on the comments there obviously is some variation in the level of the reading competence:

- Love to read in Finnish
- That's as easy as reading English
- I read Finnish daily
- But not as easily as before
- Slower than English
- I still read finnish [*sic*] novels at times, reading newspaper feels funny because the way they say some things sounds so awkward and funny, kind of cumbersome compared to english.
- Certain topics. Also don't recognize words introduced since 1990s.

A respondent who had spent fifty-nine years in Canada and had been a one-year-old toddler when the family migrated, commented: "I can read fairytale books and some dialect writings. Simple clear language."

Almost all the respondents (97 %) could write Finnish — again, not a surprise, as most had completed their schooling in Finland. The only comment to this question was provided by a Finnish American woman who had been six years old when she arrived in the United States twenty-seven years ago: "[I can write Finnish] with some case ending difficulties."

Answers to the question "Finnish is spoken at my home regularly" begin to show the contexts in which Finnish Americans strive to keep up their (and their children's) com-

petence in Finnish. In almost half of the homes (48 %), Finnish is not spoken regularly. In her dissertation, Leinonen (2011a) has analyzed the language use in families where one spouse was Finnish and the other American. My survey results reflect Leinonen's findings closely. The reasons for not speaking Finnish were understandable: "Mieheni ei puhu Suomea lainkaan" (My husband does not speak Finnish at all); "My husband and step kids are American."

Those who do not have immediate family members with whom to speak Finnish look for other opportunities: "puhelimessa päivittäin" (daily on the phone); "I live alone but speak Finnish to my cat :)"; "But I have lots of finnish [*sic*] speaking friends, and keep in touch with family and friends in Finland"; "In my mother's home when i visit her usually once a day."

The question about the use of Finnish at home elicited many comments, which reflect the commitment of the respondents to pass the Finnish language to their children by using it in the interactions with them:

- with my 19 year old son, daily
- My children are adults. I speak Finnish with them when I see them.
- I speak always Finnish to my son.
- Puhun tyttäreni kanssa Suomea. (I speak Finnish with my daughter.)
- I speak only Finnish to my children, who [were] born in the USA.
- I try to speak only Finnish to my 1-year-old.
- I talk Finnish to my newborn baby girl

But some comments also reflect the decline in the use of Finnish by the next generation (for a case study on intergenerational language shift, see Halmari 2005):

- Me and husband speak Finnish, kids English.
- I speak Finnish with my two kids. They used to answer in Finnish when younger, now they are teens and usually reply in English. Their Finnish was better when we were able to go to Finland more often but 3 years has had its effects.

Language shift (Fishman 1991) is a natural process among migrant populations, and it is only relatively recently that the importance of heritage language maintenance has become a focus of rigorous research (Peyton, Ranard & McGinnish 2001; Valdés 2005, 2006; Polinsky & Kagan 2007; Kelleher 2010). The changes in the structure of the heritage language and the reluctance of its use by the second generation tend to catch the migrant parents by surprise. The first step to any remedy of heritage language loss is the parent's conscious knowledge of this distinct possibility, and language use surveys like the present one may help to raise this consciousness.

When the spouse or children are interested in learning Finnish, survey participants usually mention this:

- my husband is learning Finnish though

- Not much but my daughter attempts to learn it.
- My boys have learned all the bad words!?? We can use simple sentences like lisaa mehua, mina haluan jaatelo (more juice, I want ice-cream)...

Eighty-nine percent of the respondents (n=222) have family members and relatives who speak Finnish, but most of them live in Finland. People use phone, Skype, and e-mail to keep in touch with them. This also provides opportunities for the participants to use Finnish, but it is not daily. Eighty-four percent (n=212) also report that they have friends who speak Finnish; most of these Finnish-speaking friends, however, live — quite predictably — also in Finland. One respondent says that she speaks Finnish face-to-face one to two times per month ("Puhun suomea kasvotusten täällä 1—2 kertaa kuukaudessa"). Sixteen percent (n=40) do not have Finnish-speaking friends in North America.

The participants were also asked not only to report with whom they use Finnish but also to estimate the daily quantity of how much Finnish they use (Table 10):

Table 10. Estimate how much Finnish you use daily (n=253)

Answer Choices	%	n
Most of my communications (more than 50% on an average day) are in Finnish.	14.2	36
25–50%	24.1	61
less than 25%	17.8	45
less than 10%	24.5	62
I do not use Finnish daily.	19.4	49
Total	100.0	253

On an average day, almost one fifth (19 %, n=49) did not use Finnish at all: "Sometimes 0%." Only 14 percent (n=36) of the respondents estimated that they used Finnish during more than half of their communications per day; the reason for that much use of Finnish was to talk with their children:

- I speak Finnish only with my 10-year-old son. He is fluent in both English and Finnish.
- I speak it only with my daughter unless I'm on the phone with my mother.
- I talk a lot to my kids. So that will make it about half or more.
- Speak Finnish with 5 yr daughter
- Ever since I stayed at home with my daughter, although for now communication is pretty much one-directional with a 1-year-old :)
- Puhun lapsille suomea, vaikka he vastaisivat englanniksi. (I speak Finnish to the children, even if they were to reply in English.)

It is the children who motivate (and give an opportunity for) the respondents to speak Finnish, as the following comment indicates:

- Workdays without the company of my son, I rarely speak Finnish. Weekends with my son, 75—80% of conversations are in Finnish.

For many, electronic and social media provide a chance to use Finnish. Facebook comes up often: "I communicate in Finnish daily in several Finnish fb groups." The following comments reflect the importance of these forms of communicating in Finnish and getting exposure to it:

- I'm in one FB group that writes in Finnish
- I watch a lot of Finnish TV like Salatut Elämät etc.
- Texting daily. Actual speaking not every week.
- Valtaosa suomen käytöstä arjessa on sosiaalisen median tai pikaviestien lukemista tai kirjoittamista. (Most of my use of Finnish in everyday life consists of reading or writing on social media or texting.)
- Some days Finnish only used online/social media

The respondents were also asked to report if they read Finnish books on a regular basis, watched Finnish movies, followed Finnish news on the Internet, or listened to Finnish music. The results are summarized in Table 11:

Table 11. On a regular basis, I... (check all that apply) (n=228)

Answer Choices	%	n
read Finnish books	56.1	128
watch Finnish movies	23.3	53
read Finnish news on the Internet	**94.3**	**215**
listen to Finnish music	56.6	129

It turns out that while the participants did at least occasionally read Finnish books (n=128 or 56 %) and magazines (one mentions *Kotiliesi*) and listen to Finnish music (n=129 or 57 %; "Auran Aallot hyvä siivotessa ;-) — tykkään kuunnella mainoksia" [The Waves of Aura is good when cleaning the house ;-) — I like to listen to the ads]), most of them reported that they followed news in Finnish on the Internet:

- I sometimes read Finnish news on the internet.
- Turku newspapers
- Read Iltasanomat online
- I read Finnish news and blogs daily, and watch more Finnish TV than American

Social media, especially Facebook, surfaced again as a source of Finnish:

- talk on social media — skype/whatsapp... emails
- I read Facebook updates in Finnish.
- Use Finnish on FB Finnish groups

Some also like to watch Finnish news and other Finnish TV programs and shows online, as this has become more and more convenient during the past few years. One respondent commented, "Kuuntelen suomenkielistä musiikkia silloin tällöin, mutta siitä tulee helposti koti-ikävä!" (I listen to Finnish music every now and then, but it makes me easily home-sick!).

The Respondents' Competence in and Use of English

The respondents clearly differ from the old-time Finnish migrants in their knowledge of English: today's migrants to North America arrive with a good competence in English. Some comment on their formal education in English: "I have a Master's in English"; "I'm a college English teacher in the US." Two comments reflect the typical Finnish modesty: "Kind of fluent but not without errors"; "Jos puhe on vieraasta aihepiiristä, oikeaa sanaa tai ilmausta joutuu joskus hakemaan" (If the discussion topic is unfamiliar, I sometimes have to look for the right word or phrase).

The prevailing fluency in English is obviously related to the fact that 210 respondents (84 %) speak English daily in their homes: "English is the language of our home." This is often necessitated by the fact that the spouse does not speak Finnish: "My husband only speaks English." Leinonen's research (2011a) shows the increase in international marriages among Finns in the United States, and this fact, obviously, increases the necessity and opportunities to use and practice English. (Simultaneously, this, of course, probably decreases the exposure to Finnish and opportunities to continue to use it.) Accommodating the majority-language speakers other than the spouse is also a natural reason to speak English at home: "We speak English when the kids have friends over.. and that is daily. But when it's family only, we speak Finnish."

The question about the home language, however, triggered a number of comments about the fact that, through the children, English is making an entrance into the participants' homes:

- My daughter will often answer in English or elaborate/explain further, her Finnish is elementary.
- My sons speak mostly English.
- Lapset puhuvat keskenään pääasiassa englantia. (The children speak mostly English among themselves.)

If the respondents' children have retained their competence in Finnish, this is mentioned, with a touch of pride: "I speak only Finnish to my children, now 23 & 25. Both are fluent and have spent several summers in Finland as youngsters and also working there."

Altogether 250 participants responded to the question about the daily use of English in their homes. With 84 percent (n=210) reporting that English is spoken daily, it is

obvious that English is thus a strong influence in the lives of the respondents — and of their children. Only forty respondents (16 %) out of the 250 who replied to this question said that English was not used daily in their homes.

The questions about the use of English were meant to provide a cursory idea about the amount of majority-language exposure in the lives of the research participants. The question, "English is spoken among (some of) my family members and relatives" produced 212 "yes" replies (84 %). These responses correlate with those to the prompt "English is spoken daily in my home," where also 84 percent answered "yes." Some comments illustrate:

- All of my Finnish relatives also speak fluent English. They speak English with my husband.
- Step dad is American so he and my mother speak English.
- Mieheni vanhemmat ja sukulaiset puhuvat kanssani Englantia. (My husband's parents and relatives speak English with me.)
- All in laws and [my] American family speak English only.

Some comments include an implied concern of the English take-over (see also above):

- Kids speak English together.
- my 2 boys to each other and with my son's girlfriend, who lives with us.
- Both of my sons speak English only.
- Unfortunately my sister mixes Finnish and English when speaking with my nephew.

The prompt "English is spoken among (some of) my friends" received 99.6 percent of affirmative answers (n=249). The situation is captured by the comment "All my friends in the States speak English." Only one respondent did not have English-speaking friends.

According to Leinonen (2011b, 90), "ethnic communities of Finns in the U.S." no longer exist in the sense they did during the old-wave migration. The boundaries between ethnic Finns and native speakers of English have become much more porous. In his classic work on language acquisition, Schumann (1976) points out that the larger and the more cohesive the migrant group is, and the more social distance there is between the migrant group and the majority-language speakers, the more difficult it is to learn the majority language (here, English). From the point of view of heritage language maintenance, the easier it is, under those circumstances, to maintain the native language (here, Finnish). A hundred years ago, despite the fact that the Finnish migrant groups were not very large, they nevertheless were extremely cohesive, and the social distance between the Finns and the mainstream society was large. Today's Finnish migrants are approaching what Schumann would have called an ideal language learning situation: the group is small in numbers; it is not cohesive; and the social distance between the mainstream society and the Finnish migrants has greatly diminished from the days of early Finnish migration. The use of English is becoming

easy through the frequent interactions with English speakers, but the flip side of this equation is that the maintenance of Finnish is, at least theoretically, becoming more and more challenging the less exposure people have to Finnish. The traditional Finnish village has disappeared and is being re-established within the virtual world. Whether this virtual world can provide the cohesiveness necessary for language maintenance is, however, questionable.

English Taking Over as the Default Home Language

Which language becomes the default language of the home is greatly dependent on the native language of the participant's spouse or partner. The pie chart below (Figure 2) indicates that of the 252 respondents who reported their gender, most (56 %, n=140) were married to or lived with native speakers of English. Only 22 percent (n=55) had a Finnish spouse or partner. Twelve percent (n=29) had spouses or partners whose native language was other than English or Finnish: Arabic (2), Arabic/French, Bengali, Farsi, German (4), Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Korean (2), Mandarin Chinese, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, and Tagalog. Nine reported having a Spanish-speaking spouse or partner, and one did not specify.

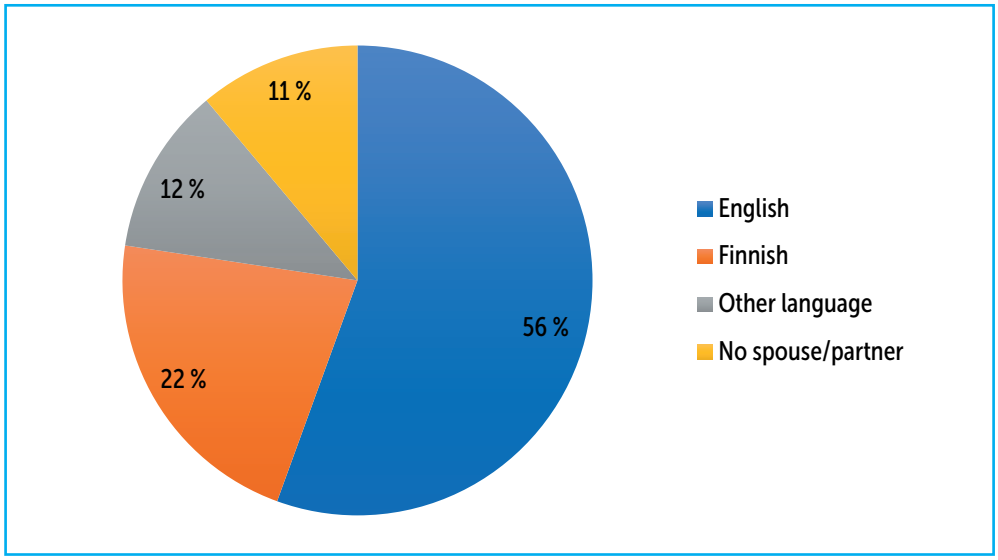


Figure 2. Spouse's/partner's native language (n=252)[9]

[9] "If you are married/have a partner, what is your spouse's/partner's native language?" English-language spouse/partner (n=140); Finnish-language spouse/partner (n=55); other-language spouse/partner (n=29); no spouse/partner (n=28).

The language background of the spouse or partner differed somewhat according to the gender of the respondent. As pointed out above, many more women participated in the survey (224 female vs. 28 male participants who reported their gender),[10] but proportionately many more women — over half — had partners or spouses who were native speakers of English (58 %, n=129). Only one-fifth of women had Finnish spouses or partners (20 %, n=45). Eleven percent of the women's spouses or partners spoke a language other than English or Finnish (n=24). For men, the numbers were too small to talk about percentages, but the proportions were different from those for women and may be indicative of differential preferences in marriage patterns (see, e.g., Leinonen 2011a, 2011b; Heikkilä, Oksi-Walter & Säävälä 2014). Ten spouses or partners of the male participants were also Finnish (thus, resembling the old-time scenario and making it possible to have a fully Finnish-speaking household). Eleven of male participants' spouses/partners were still native speakers of English, but a few (n=5) spoke another language than English or Finnish as their native language. (In these cases, the question becomes what language is the default family language and what language the father speaks to the children.) Twenty-eight participants did not report a partner or spouse. Table 12 below shows the differences in partners'/spouses' native languages for men and women.

Table 12. If you are married/have a partner, what is your spouse's/partner's native language?[11]

	Female Respondents		Male Respondents		All Respondents	
Answer Choices	%	n	%	n	%	n
English	**58**	**129**	39	11	56	140
Finnish	20	45	36	10	22	55
Other language	11	24	18	5	12	29
Not applicable	12	26	7	2	11	28
Total	100	224	100	28	100	252

This scenario — the fact that most participants live with spouses and partners whose native language is not Finnish — differs radically from the scenario of a hundred years ago when the spouses of Finnish migrants were almost always also Finnish, and Finnish thus was the language of the family (Leinonen 2011a, 2011b). It was typical that children learned English only when they entered school and then became exposed to it (Martin & Jönsson-Korhola 1993, 18). Now, the family's default language is often English and chil-

[10] The editors point out that this is a reflection of the structure of recent migration from Finland to the United States, where the majority of migrants are women. This pattern, in contrast with the older male-dominant pattern (Leinonen 2011b, 84), and reasons for it, would be worth investigating in a separate study.

[11] The percentages have been rounded. Note that the numbers for male respondents are too small for reliable comparison.

dren hear English from the start, even though the Finnish-speaking parent valiantly attempts to expose the children to Finnish as well.

It can be inferred that if only 22 percent of Finns living in North America have spouses or partners who are native speakers of Finnish (Figure 2), and if most Finns are married to English speakers or speakers of other languages (Table 12), for most North American Finns, the language spoken with the spouse/partner will be English. Table 13 verifies this: 56 percent speak English with the spouse/partner; four percent report speaking mostly English, and six percent mix Finnish and English (this with the Finnish-speaking spouse).

Table 13. What language do you speak with your spouse/partner? (n=251)

Answer Choices	%	n
English	**56.2**	**141**
Finnish	20.0	50
Mostly Finnish	2.0	5
Mostly English	4.4	11
I mix Finnish and English	6.4	16
Not applicable	11.2	28
Total	100.0	251

The responses to the command and use of English among the participants, their families, relatives, and friends show a heavy, daily influence of English in the respondents' lives. Unlike in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnic Finnish communities, where Finnish was spoken among neighbors and friends, today's migrants must resort to other resources in order to communicate in "the Old Country" language.

Passing Heritage Finnish to Children

One of the survey questions concerned the need to use Finnish among the respondents. Table 14 summarizes the results:

Table 14. I need Finnish... (check all that apply) (n=250)

Answer Choices	%	n
for my work	14.4	36
during my weekly hobbies	2.8	7
to communicate with friends and relatives in the USA or Canada	40.4	101
to communicate with friends and relatives in Finland	98.0	245
to feel connected to my homeland	65.6	164

Quite predictably, relatively few (n=36 or 14 %) needed to use Finnish for their work-related activities: "I work as a FI-EN translator"; "I serve as an honorary consul - use a lot of Finnish." Most people (n=245 or 98 %) needed Finnish to communicate with friends and relatives in Finland — and because of today's real-time communication options, the upkeep of conversational fluency in Finnish is perhaps more critical than it was among the migrants a hundred years ago, when the language in the letters could be planned and polished before mailing.

Family ties are obviously important (see, e.g., Leinonen 2012). Forty percent of the participants (n=101) needed Finnish to communicate with friends and relatives in the United States or Canada. The comments revealed that most people here referred to the immediate family. One respondent made this clear: "The relative is my daughter." Especially poignant was this need to communicate, in Finnish, with one's own children, as well as with other loved ones:

- To teach my kids Finnish
- to speak with my children
- To keep up Finnish language with my children
- For keeping my kids fluent in it
- And to communicate with my fiancé who lives with me in the US.

From this bulleted list, it becomes clear that children emerge as the most often mentioned motivation to speak Finnish. Unlike the migrant a hundred years ago, who often could not speak English, today's migrants have a choice: they themselves know English, and their children are aware of the parent's English competence. Both parents and children can choose to use either language, and using Finnish is thus a conscious choice, often against the easiest choice to resort to the majority language. Especially if the other parent does not speak Finnish, the use of Finnish may cause awkward situations within the family (e.g., Barron-Hauwaert 2004, 126—128, 132), but many still choose to speak Finnish to the children (cf. Leinonen 2011a).

The following question was addressed to those respondents who had children: How do you promote knowledge of Finnish with your children? This question yielded 161 replies, reported and discussed in the following section, 4.4.1. In addition, 143 respondents shared strategies that they had found successful in promoting their children's Finnish competence. These will be presented in section 4.4.2 below.

Promoting the Knowledge of Finnish with Children

An interesting theoretical question to investigate would be the connection between the demographic differences between the two Finnish migrant populations (the early wave vs. the recent) and the transmission of Finnish competence to the next generation. Is it easier or harder for heritage Finnish to prevail among the children of today's families?

Could Finnish still be passed to third and even fourth generations, as was sometimes the case in earlier times within more isolated, and thus more cohesive, Finnish communities in North America (e.g., Kainulainen 1993)? Today, Finnish language input is very limited, and often only one parent is the main source of this input. With English often taking a large proportion in daily communications at home, with no actual need for the children to speak Finnish to their parents (as these parents also know English), and with few "natural" opportunities for communication in Finnish among friends, neighbors, and the community, what measures do today's Finns in North America take to pass Finnish to their children? And what measures seem to be working?

Acknowledging that preventing (or at least slowing down) the language shift (Fishman 1991) from Finnish to English will involve a conscious effort, the respondents also shared their strategies to fight the loss of Finnish by the next generation. What is particularly delightful about the survey results is the willingness of the participants to share the means they use in order to pass some level of competence in Finnish to their children.

The results of the question "How do you promote the knowledge of Finnish with your children?" are summarized in Table 15:

Table 15. How do you promote the knowledge of Finnish with your children? (n=161)

Answer Choices	%	n
I provide them Finnish books.	49.1	79
I read Finnish to them.	44.1	71
I encourage them to access Finnish films and other programs on the Internet.	39.1	63
I try to send them to Finland often.	37.9	61
All the above	32.9	53

Books and reading, films and the Internet were popular means of providing children with more Finnish input. In addition, many sent children to Finland for immersion in the language, and many respondents resorted to all these means of increased exposure to the heritage language. The respondents were also asked if there was anything else they did to promote their children's competence in Finnish, and the list of means provided was long: 73 responses. Clearly, people were interested in sharing their experiences (see also Leinonen 2011a). The following list is only a selection of typical responses to the question "Is there anything else you do to promote your children's Finnish language?"

- I promote all kinds of exchange programs — summer camps, high school age exchange, university study abroad programs.
- Hired finish teacher during summer for 4 days (3hrs/day) to teach reading and writing.
- We have a Finnish au pair.

- have Mummo visit
- Was supportive of their decision to do military service in Finland. One stayed in Finland after that.
- Kannustan pitämään yhteyttä suomalaisiin ystäviin ja sukulaisiin. Pelataan paljon suomalaisia lautapelejä ja korttipelejä. Kyselen tyyliin, keksipäs sanoja joissa on pitkä vokaali tms. Kotona on myös suomalaisia oppikirjoja, etenkin äidinkielen kirjat tarjoavat monipuolisia tekstejä. (I encourage [the children] to keep in touch with their Finnish friends and relatives. We play a lot of Finnish board games and card games, and I keep asking, try to think of words that have a long vowel, etc. At home, we also have Finnish textbooks, especially books of the mother tongue offer varied texts.)
- I try to find other Finnish speaking children of his age that live in the area and arrange playdates. We also go once a week to a Finnish family club.
- I tell them about their relatives and family history and culture
- We talk with Finnish relatives and friends on Skype as often as possible. Listening to Finnish radio.

Some mention the help of formal teaching in Finnish and have enrolled their children in the Finnish online or distance-learning school, Etäkoulu Kulkuri, a program run by *Kansanvalistusseura* (The Finnish Lifelong Learning Foundation). In this program, children can learn Finnish through coursework, and, if need be, they can also complete all basic coursework.[12] Many also mention Suomi-koulu, the Finnish school, if it is available within a reasonable distance:

- Lapset käyvät San Diegon Suomi-koulua (Children go to San Diego Finnish school)

One parent summarizes the simplest means of language transmission: "Speak Finnish to them." Another parent elaborates:

- I speak only Finnish to them no matter what. If needed, I will first speak in Finnish and then reiterate words in English if I feel they might not have understood or they tell me they haven't understood.

However, promoting Finnish is not necessarily a priority for everyone. One parent comments briefly: "I don't promote it." However, from the abundance of responses and the enthusiasm in the respondents' tones, it becomes clear that these migrant parents are quite aware of the fact that the language shift from Finnish to English will happen unless conscious measures are taken to maintain the children's heritage Finnish (cf. Halmari 1997, 221). For most of these highly-skilled migrant parents, promoting some level of competence in Finnish seems to be a priority. The survey yielded 185 responses to the question, "How important is it to you that your children and grandchildren know Finnish?" Only 12 percent (n=22) responded that this is not important; for 25 percent

[12] See https://peda.net/kulkuri.

(n=47) it was somewhat important. For most respondents, 63 percent (n=116), the next generation's knowledge of Finnish was very important.

Successful Strategies

The research participants were also asked the following question: "What seems to have helped most in boosting your children's Finnish language?" The list below provides examples of the 143 collected responses:

- Being in Finland around only Finnish speaking people (without me). We did 5 day over night horseback riding camp and that developed their speech immensely.
- Joka kesäinen Suomessa käynti ja kaksikielisyys syntymästä (Visits to Finland every summer and bilingualism since birth), language camp in Minnesota
- Consistency with only speaking Finnish. Also providing fun, interesting and age-appropriate materials. I am actually struggling a bit now because Moomins are getting to be too childish and I have not found anything as frequently appealing to replace them. Aku Ankkas are working now but will not do the trick forever. I try to keep my encouragement for Finnish materials positive so it does not become a chore. It is always wonderful when people provide praise for my son's Finnish skills. He has by now realized it is something positive and important and worthy for him, not only to mom but to himself, as well. :)
- Se, että olen ollut johdonmukainen enkä ole koskaan puhunut heille englantia muuten kuin sosiaalisissa tilanteissa amerikkalaisten kanssa. Kun he oli vielä lukutaidottomia, luin heille jopa englanninkielisetkin kirjat suomeksi. (The fact that I have been consistent and never spoke English to them other than in social situations with Americans. When they were still illiterate, I read even English books to them in Finnish.)
- Pikku Kakkonen app for streaming kids shows and other Finnish apps (Mostly Pikku Kakkonen app)
- Finnish speaking friends. Humor. Music.
- Their mummo (Their grandmother)

From these responses, consistency, persistence, and strong Finnish-speaking support networks emerge as the key strategies. Regular language immersion in Finland or elsewhere (reference to the Salolampi language program in Minnesota); sticking to speaking only Finnish to the children; introducing them to positive experiences that involve Finnish literature and Internet applications — these strategies and approaches have proven successful. Finally, naturally occurring interactions with Finnish-speaking relatives and friends provide concrete proof to the next generation that Finnish is a living language that can be used for social interactions also outside the nuclear family.

In Conclusion: Nurturing the Virtual Finnish Village

Today's Finnish migrants are scattered all over North America. Instead of the small, rural villages in Upper Midwest or New England where a hundred or so years ago Finns could navigate through their lives without necessarily having to learn English, today's North American Finns live among and work with English speakers, often in large urban centers. They have a good education and demanding, often high-paying jobs, where command of English is key. These demands necessarily pose a huge challenge to their maintenance of Finnish. People no longer live in small communities, among their ethnic countrymen, where Finnish was spoken by both parents and could also be heard outside the home. Situations to be exposed to Finnish and for its use often need to be consciously sought after.

Therefore, the small Finnish migrant communities have re-emerged, now transformed into the relatively tight Finnish American social-media "virtual villages." This is not a unique phenomenon, as migrant communities all over the world resort to similar solutions. Navarrete and Huerta (2006) use the metaphor of building "virtual bridges" to maintain a sense of community in the new country. Komito (2011, 1075) claims that social media use in virtual spaces, albeit perhaps passive, still "supports a dispersed community of affinity." According to Skop and Adams (2009), cyberspace allows for the development and celebration of ethnic identities.

It is in these virtual villages where North American Finns of the twenty-first century also can post, chat, and connect with other "Old Country" people and do that in their own language. Old ethnic village stores have been replaced by net stores where one can buy Finnish delicacies, design, and decor. Virtual "yard sales" make it possible to trade pre-used Finnish products (e.g., Amerikansuomalaisten Markkinapaikka) and sell and buy gently read Finnish books (e.g., USA:n suomalaisten kirjakirppis).

The self-selected nature of the population of Internet-using, highly-skilled Finnish migrants who volunteered to participate in this study poses a severe limitation to the findings reported in this chapter. In addition, the number of participants is small. However, what shines clearly from the enthusiastic responses is that, at least for this group of migrant Finns, the language issue is close to the heart. They face the same fundamental problem of second-generation language loss confronted by their fellow migrant Finns a century ago. Yet, the virtual Finnish "village" provides opportunities to use Finnish, and the determination, consistency, and creativity of today's migrant Finns in exposing their own children to Finnish is admirable. Technology allows the survey respondents and their children to communicate in Finnish even though face-to-face conversations are necessarily limited. People today also have money to travel to Finland (and travel takes less time) — an opportunity few migrants had around the year 1900. What has been lost with the disappearance of the old Finnish ethnic communities has been replaced by a world where connections to Finland are easy and frequent, a world where communication is enabled through virtual spaces.

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IV
CONTEMPORARY FINNISH MOBILITIES

10. Finns' Contemporary Emigration Abroad, Their Profile and Willingness to Return Migrate: A Special View of Their Human Resources

Elli Heikkilä and Marko Alivuotila

Finns are part of international migration flows in the 2010s, as they have been earlier in international migration history, including significant emigration to North America in the late 1800s and early 1900s and to Sweden in the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s. Finland's net migration balance has been positive already since the beginning of the 1980s. This is especially because of foreign citizens' migration to Finland. There have been net losses of Finnish citizens since the first half of the 1990s. This means that substantially more Finnish citizens have left than expatriates have returned. The net loss of Finnish citizens was -805 in 2007, but in 2008, there was a turn towards more positive numbers, a net gain of 47 persons. In 2009, this figure was even more positive, 498 persons, but negative again in the 2010s. The latest figure is for 2015, when the balance was -2,296 Finns. The emigration flow of Finnish citizens has increased between 1990 (5,539 migrants) and 2015 (9,628), i.e. the number has almost doubled. The largest emigration flow occurred in 2001 (10,996 Finns) during this research period (1990—2015) (Figure 3).

Currently, most Finns decide to live abroad for the sake of studies, work, and life-experiences, and intend to stay to only temporarily. Plans to live permanently abroad are often due to marriage. Retired persons constitute their own migrant group: many live abroad for only part of the year and are known as seasonal migrants (Heikkilä 2008; Könnilä 2014). In Koikkalainen's research on Finns in Europe (2011), Finnish migrants moved abroad to experience new things, get a better quality of life, or live in the home

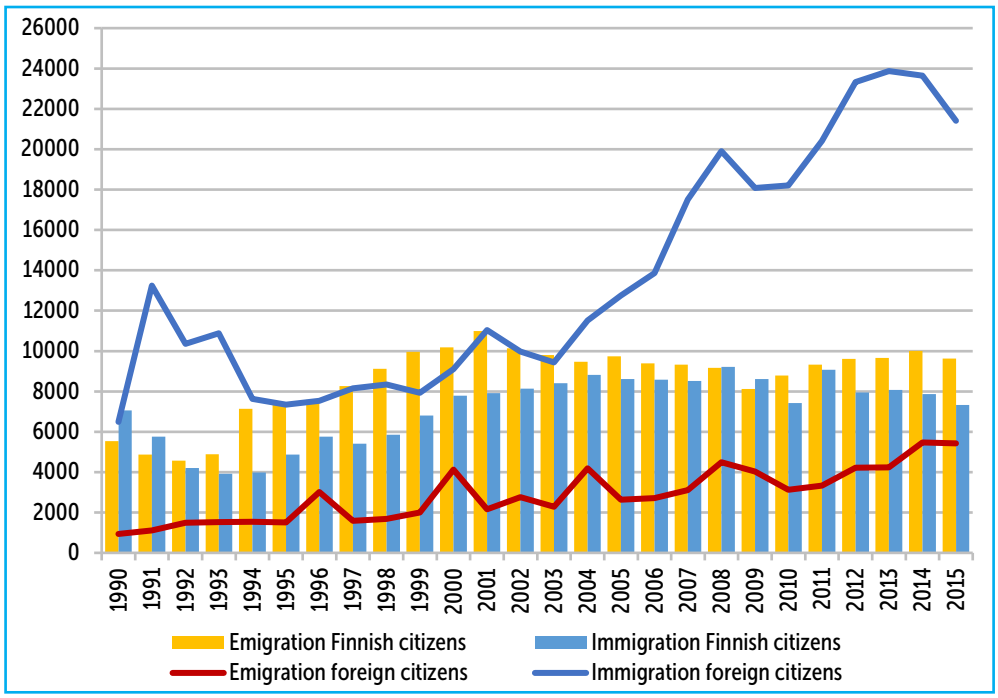

Figure 3. Emigration and immigration flows of Finnish and foreign citizens in 1990-2015 in Finland. Source: Statistics Finland.

country of their spouse. Some explained that they ended up abroad almost by accident, when they took on a job opportunity that suddenly presented itself, while others said they had always known that they would move abroad one day.[1]

This chapter examines those who are emigrating, and from which regions in Finland. Additionally, the analysis includes information about Finns' destination areas in the world, i.e. which countries and global regions are the most attractive for migrants from Finland, and especially for Finnish citizens who have moved abroad in the 2010s. We analyze migrants by demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, education, primary activity, and professional groups. We compare migrants' professions to the shares of employed Finns and employed foreign citizens. The chapter also presents information about expatriate Finns' plans to return to Finland. What attracts them back to Finland, and what kinds of obstacles have they faced in repatriation?

For this chapter, we obtained statistical data from Statistics Finland (Statistics Finland 2017). We also use statistical data about Finnish migrants moving abroad in 2002, as well as data about expatriate Finns and their willingness to return to Finland. The expatriate data was gathered in the spring of 2006 by web-based questionnaires. The

[1] Theoretical approaches and reasons to international migration of Finns are discussed in more detail in Heikkilä and Pikkarainen 2006 and 2008.

number of respondents was 430 persons from 28 countries around the world (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008). In the subchapter on return migration, we also discuss recent research by Haanpää and Laine (2013) and Niemeläinen and Korhonen (2017).

Emigration Flows

In 2015, altogether 16,305 persons emigrated from Finland, and 9,628 of them were Finnish citizens (59 %). The majority (70 %) of Finnish citizens moved to other EU member states. Migration to other European countries and North America represented over eight percent of emigration flow each. The share of Asia was six percent. Finnish emigration to other continents was less significant.

Sweden was undeniably the most preferred destination, attracting 2,363 migrants in 2015 (Table 16). The United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and Spain followed. Out of the other European countries (non-EU countries), Norway and Switzerland stand out. Around 87 percent of the moves to North America were to the United States. The main destination in Asia was the United Arab Emirates (27 % of the emigration flow to Asia) in 2015. China — where Finnish companies have invested during this century — also stands out as an important destination. Thailand is one of the main destination countries where many retired people have moved to. Every fourth Finnish migrant in Thailand was 55 years old or older in 2015.

Table 16. Finnish emigration by destination country in 2000, 2010, and 2015, top-10 countries. Source: Statistics Finland.

2000	abs.	%	2010	abs.	%	2015	abs.	%
Sweden	3,349	32.9	Sweden	2,298	26.2	Sweden	2,363	24.5
Norway	1,236	12.1	United Kingdom	933	10.6	United Kingdom	991	10.3
USA	793	7.8	USA	617	7.0	USA	695	7.2
United Kingdom	770	7.6	Spain	507	5.8	Germany	623	6.5
Spain	734	7.2	Germany	505	5.8	Spain	495	5.1
Germany	695	6.8	Norway	456	5.2	Denmark	486	5.0
Denmark	304	3.0	Denmark	349	4.0	Estonia	394	4.1
Netherlands	234	2.3	Switzerland	347	4.0	Norway	393	4.1
Switzerland	224	2.2	Estonia	269	3.1	Switzerland	268	2.8
Belgium	211	2.1	France	222	2.5	Portugal	223	2.3
Total top-10	8,550	84.0	Total top-10	6,503	74.0	Total top-10	6,931	72.0
Emigration total	**10,183**	**100.0**	**Emigration total**	**8,782**	**100.0**	**Emigration total**	**9,628**	**100.0**

It is important to notice that the number of Finnish migrants decreased from 10,183 persons in 2000 to 9,628 persons in 2015 (a drop of 555 persons, Table 16). The global economic crisis in 2008 is likely to have influenced individual decisions to not move abroad, when

looking at the greater drop of 1,455 persons from 2000 to 2010. Another important finding is that the top-ten destination countries attracted the majority of migrants during the 2000s and the 2010s: 72 percent moved to these countries in 2015, and the share was even higher, 84 percent, in 2000. Altogether, Finnish migrants have moved to 104 different countries in 2015. Eighteen countries have received only one Finnish person.

Departure Areas of Emigration

Emigration alters the population structure of Finland and its regions, as international migration affects the whole country in different scales. The county of Uusimaa in the south has been the main departure area in Finland during the 2000s and the 2010s (Ta-

Table 17. Total emigration by county in 2000, 2010, and 2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

Year 2000	Persons	%	Year 2010	Persons	%	Year 2015	Persons	%
Uusimaa	6,446	45.0	Uusimaa *	5,938	49.9	Uusimaa *	8,900	54.6
Helsinki	3,487	24.4	Helsinki	3,171	26.6	Helsinki	4,714	28.9
Varsinais-Suomi	1,232	8.6	Varsinais-Suomi	912	7.7	Varsinais-Suomi		7.7
Turku	752	5.3	Turku	560	4.7	Turku	710	4.4
Pirkanmaa	856	6.0	Pirkanmaa	884	7.4	Pirkanmaa	1,105	6.8
Tampere	537	3.8	Tampere	578	4.9	Tampere	762	4.7
Northern Ostrobothnia	804	5.6	Northern Ostrobothnia	561	4.7	Northern Ostrobothnia	608	3.7
Oulu	428	3.0	Oulu	333	2.8	Oulu	431	2.6
Ostrobothnia	683	4.8	Ostrobothnia	584	4.9	Ostrobothnia	704	4.3
Lapland	656	4.6	Lapland	349	2.9	Lapland	321	2.0
Central Finland	425	3.0	Central Finland	404	3.4	Central Finland	452	2.8
Pohjois-Savo	413	2.9	Pohjois-Savo	210	1.8	Pohjois-Savo	307	1.9
Åland Islands	383	2.7	Åland Islands	398	3.3	Åland Islands	475	2.9
Päijät-Häme	368	2.6	Päijät-Häme	277	2.3	Päijät-Häme	359	2.2
Kymenlaakso	319	2.2	Kymenlaakso	207	1.7	Kymenlaakso	335	2.1
Satakunta	282	2.0	Satakunta	256	2.2	Satakunta	311	1.9
Kanta-Häme	222	1.6	Kanta-Häme	180	1.5	Kanta-Häme	289	1.8
Etelä-Savo	217	1.5	Etelä-Savo	135	1.1	Etelä-Savo	151	0.9
Northern Carelia	208	1.5	Northern Carelia	153	1.3	Northern Carelia	201	1.2
Southern Carelia	198	1.4	Southern Carelia	174	1.5	Southern Carelia	194	1.2
Southern Ostrobothnia	190	1.3	Southern Ostrobothnia	153	1.3	Southern Ostrobothnia	204	1.3
Itä-Uusimaa	186	1.3						
Kainuu	112	0.8	Kainuu	64	0.5	Kainuu	50	0.3
Kajaani	59	0.4	Kajaani	33	0.3	Kajaani	32	0.2
Central Ostrobothnia	111	0.8	Central Ostrobothnia	66	0.6	Central Ostrobothnia	80	0.5
Counties total	14,311	100.0	Counties total	11,905	100.0	Counties total	16,305	100.0

* Including also Itä-Uusimaa

ble 17). In 2015, over half of all migrants moving abroad were from Uusimaa. Helsinki, the capital of Finland located in Uusimaa, accounted for almost 30 percent of migrants moving abroad in 2015. The number of migrants from Uusimaa increased by almost 40 percent from 2000 to 2015. Varsinais-Suomi and Pirkanmaa were the next most frequent counties of departure. Very few people have emigrated from Kainuu and Central Ostrobothnia. However, migrants have departed from all counties in Finland.

Emigration has increased in all types of municipalities from 2010 to 2015. However, urban municipalities have been the main departure areas in Finland in the 2010s (Table 18). The share of these areas was over 85 percent in 2015. The shares of semi-urban and rural municipalities remained low. Similar patterns can be found in other indicators of international migration, i.e. in immigration and net migration. Emigrants have moved from the urban areas, where also a high proportion of the total population lives. All types of municipalities have been gainers in the international migration, since the net migration has been positive in both years under study.

Table 18. Total international migration by type of municipality in Finland in 2010 and 2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

	2010					
	Immigration		Emigration		Net migration	
Type of municipality	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Urban municipalities	20,965	81.8	9,880	83.0	11,085	80.7
Semi-urban municipalities	2,003	7.8	994	8.3	1,009	7.3
Rural municipalities	2,668	10.4	1,031	8.7	1,637	11.9
Total	25,636	100.0	11,905	100.0	13,731	100.0
	2015					
	Immigration		Emigration		Net migration	
Type of municipality	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Urban municipalities	24,553	85.4	13,892	85.2	10,661	85.7
Semi-urban municipalities	1,810	6.3	1,210	7.4	600	4.8
Rural municipalities	2,383	8.3	1,203	7.4	1,180	9.5
Total	28,746	100.0	16,305	100.0	12,441	100.0

Demography and Primary Activity of Finnish Emigrants

A half of Finnish migrants abroad (4,888 persons) were 15—34 years old in 2015. When looking at persons between the ages 15—24, the propensity to emigrate was clearly higher among Finnish women (27 %) than Finnish men (16 %). In comparison, the share of the elderly, 65 years old and older, among all Finnish emigrants abroad was only five percent. This is almost the same share as it is in country-internal migration

(4 %) for those who are 65+ years old. The older the people are, the lower is their propensity for migration.

When looking at the gender structure of Finnish migrants in 2015, there are some differences between the top-15 countries (Figure 4). While migration to Estonia (70 %) and Portugal (59 %) was male predominant, women formed the majority of migration to Denmark (64 %), the United Kingdom (61 %), and Australia (60 %). When looking at the total emigration of Finns, there was a slight excess of females (53 %) in 2015.

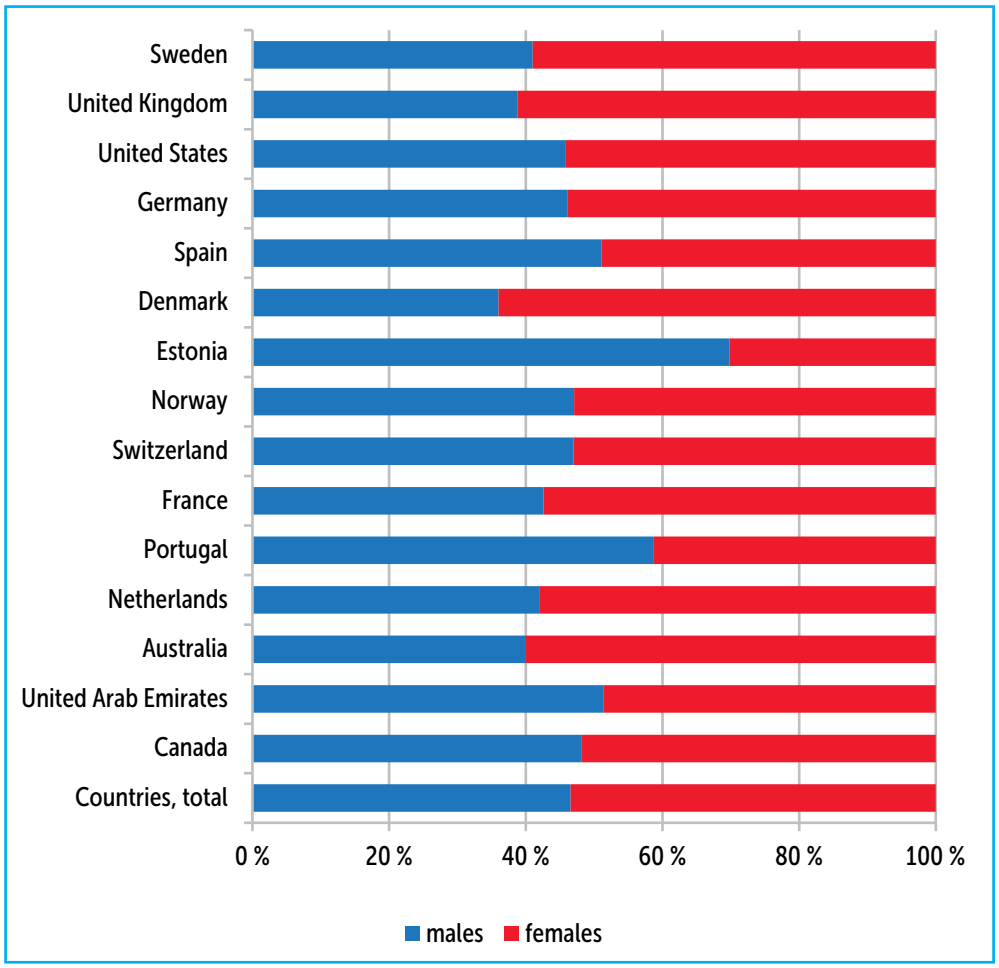

Figure 4. Gender structure of Finnish migrants in 2015 by top-15 countries and all countries. Source: Statistics Finland.

Primary activity shows a more detailed profile of Finnish emigrants in 2015 (Table 19). Over one-third (36 %) were employed in the beginning of 2015. Almost every fifth was outside of labor force, for example as stay-at-home parents, and every tenth was a child. This means that Finnish families with children have also moved abroad. The share of

students was 12 percent and of retired people a half of that. The share of unemployed has also been small among Finnish migrants. The number of persons with unknown primary activity is quite high.

Table 19. Primary activity of Finnish migrants in 2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

Primary activity	abs.	%
Employed	3,486	36.2
Unemployed	618	6.4
Child (0-14 y)	1,316	13.7
Student	1,128	11.7
Retired	589	6.1
Conscript	37	0.4
Unemployed-retired	1	0.0
Other outside labor force	1,815	18.9
Unknow	638	6.6
Total	9,628	100.0

When looking at the educational background from upper secondary education upwards, we find that nearly a half of Finnish migrants had upper secondary education. The tertiary-educated represented a slightly higher share (52 %). The educational background of Finnish migrants is higher than that of the total population. This can be seen most clearly among lower level and higher level tertiary educated persons. Also, the share of doctorate level educated is over twice as high among Finnish migrants as it is among the total population. In absolute terms, the number of migrants is, however, the lowest in this educational group (191 persons) (Table 20).

Table 20. Educational background of Finnish migrants as compared to the total population in 2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

	Total population		Finnish emigrants	
Education	abs.	%	abs.	%
Upper secondary	1,867,828	57.5	3,241	48.1
Lowest level tertiary	447,112	13.8	348	5.2
Lower level tertiary	484,271	14.9	1,456	21.6
Higher level tertiary	403,731	12.4	1,497	22.2
Doctorate level	42,782	1.3	191	2.8
Total	3,245,724	100.0	6,733	100.0

For the well-educated, the case is often "target migration," i.e. migration is motivated by pull factors in the destination country. For example, emigration of a person who is employed in Finland can speed up the progress of their career. More common among the less educated is migration motivated by push factors in the country of departure,

such as unemployment and a job opportunity in the new country. Koikkalainen (2011) found out that highly-skilled Finns in the labor markets of the EU15, aged between 23 and 45, moved to a metropolis such as London, Paris or Brussels to advance their careers. At the same time, among those moving to smaller cities and rural areas, there were more of those who moved because of a foreign spouse. What was common in the responses of both groups was that the mobility decision was not viewed through the prism of salary or career only, but also as a lifestyle choice, as a learning experience that had consequences far beyond one's career.

According to Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2008, 121—122), migration flows from Finland in 2002 consisted largely of young and well-educated people: for instance, among migrants between the ages 25 and 29, 38 percent had higher education and 37 percent secondary education. Among the 30—34-year-olds, a clear majority had higher education (47 %) in contrast to secondary education (24 %). In addition, 47 persons with a doctoral degree fell within that migrant age group. For example, in the academic world it is common to gain work experience abroad as part of the career building.

Labor Market Participation of Finnish Migrants before Emigration

The largest groups of employed Finns moving abroad in 2015 were those with secondary education (1,315 persons) and with higher level tertiary education (898 persons). A large proportion of the secondary educated were young, 15—24 years old (45 %). Lowest level tertiary educated were clearly older, as 43 percent were 45—54 years old. In the other tertiary education groups, the most common age group was 25—34 years old. Among the highly educated, career advancement could be the driving force for emigration (Table 21).

When looking at unemployed Finns who moved abroad in 2015, the highest number is among those who have secondary education (235 persons). Two-thirds of them were 15—34 years old. Among the unemployed, the second and third largest educational groups were formed by those with lower level and higher level tertiary education. They were most often 25—34 years old. There were only few Finnish migrants among the lowest level tertiary and doctorate level educated who were unemployed (Table 21).

Unemployment is, however, an important factor that motivates people to look for jobs in foreign labor markets. For example, the EU citizenship gives an opportunity to look for jobs within the common EU labor market, for example, through the European jobs network EURES (2017), which can help find a suitable vacancy in another EU country.

It is interesting to examine from which professional groups Finnish migrants have moved abroad in 2015. The highest share (24 %) of them was formed by professionals (in absolute numbers 1,005 persons), which includes, for example, science and engineer-

Table 21. Employed and unemployed Finnish migrants by age and education (emigrated from Finland in 2015). Source: Statistics Finland.

Employed

	Secondary		Lowest level tertiary		Lower level tertiary		Higher level tertiary		Doctorate level		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
15–24	591	44.9			97	12.9	10	1.1			698	21.7
25–34	378	28.7	6	5.0	433	57.5	453	50.4	54	43.2	1,324	41.2
35–44	184	14.0	20	16.7	136	18.1	281	31.3	42	33.6	663	20.6
45–54	97	7.4	51	42.5	54	7.2	107	11.9	17	13.6	326	10.2
55–64	59	4.5	41	34.2	29	3.9	41	4.6	9	7.2	179	5.6
65–	6	0.5	2	1.7	4	0.5	6	0.7	3	2.4	21	0.7
Total	1,315	100.0	120	100.0	753	100.0	898	100.0	125	100.0	3,211	100.0

Unemployed

	Secondary		Lowest level tertiary		Lower level tertiary		Higher level tertiary		Doctorate level		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
15–24	76	32.3			7	5.8					83	16.3
25–34	75	31.9			65	53.7	65	56.5	10	58.8	215	42.2
35–44	44	18.7	2	9.1	29	24.0	27	23.5	5	29.4	107	21.0
45–54	21	8.9	12	54.5	12	9.9	16	13.9	2	11.8	63	12.4
55–64	18	7.7	8	36.4	8	6.6	7	6.1			41	8.0
65–	1	0.4									1	0.2
Total	235	100.0	22	100.0	121	100.0	115	100.0	17	100.0	510	100.0

ing professionals, teachers, and health-care professionals, such as medical doctors. The next largest group was those working as service and sales workers (16 %, 655 persons). Additionally, 603 persons (15 %) working as technicians and associate professionals had left Finland. This professional group includes, for example, business and administration associate professionals and health associate professionals, including nurses. The diversity of the employed is, however, remarkable. The share of unknown professions is almost a quarter (Figure 5).

When comparing Finnish migrants and their professional groups to those of foreign and Finnish origin in Finland[2] (Figure 5), it can be seen that the shares of managers, professionals, and unknown professions are higher among Finnish migrants than in the other groups. People of foreign origin worked as service and sales workers, craft and

[2] Persons whose both parents or the only known parent were born abroad are considered to be of foreign background. Persons with at least one parent born in Finland are considered to be of Finnish background.

related trades workers, plant and machine operators, and assemblers, and frequently as workers in elementary occupations. Elementary occupations consist of, for example, cleaners, helpers, and laborers working in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport. As data on the educational background (see Table 20) already showed, Finland has lost highly educated professionals abroad.

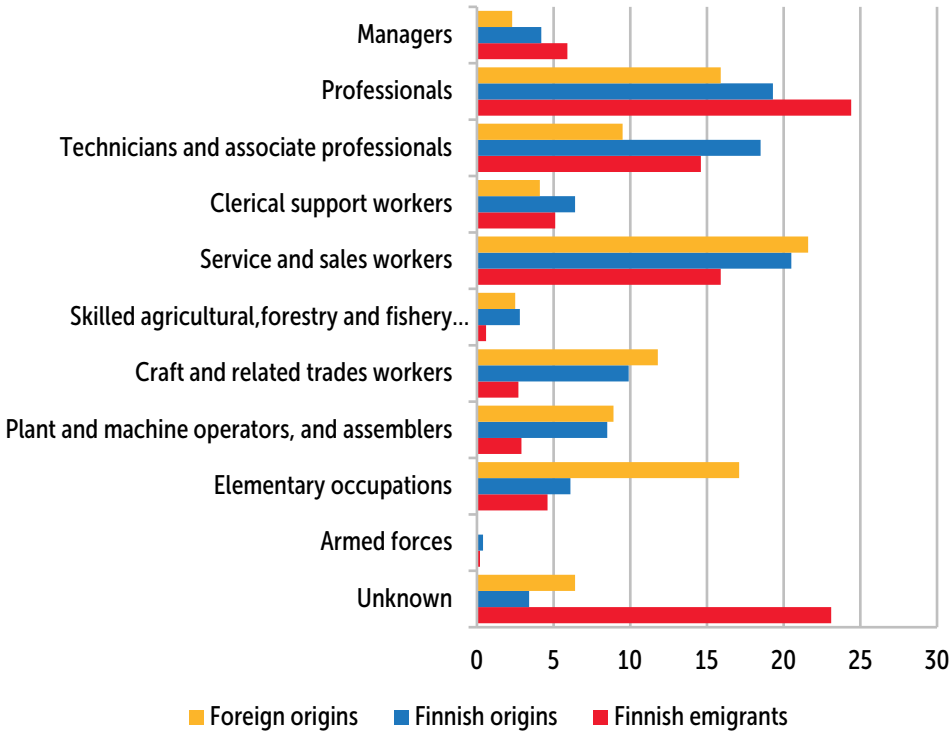

Figure 5. Professional groups of employed Finns who emigrated from Finland in 2015 in comparison to foreign and Finnish origins in the end of 2014. Source: Statistics Finland.

Examining more closely the professional groups and education of those Finnish migrants who moved abroad in 2015, one finds that the most common professional group of those with secondary education was service and sales workers (34 %) and those with lowest level tertiary education technicians and associate professionals (34 %) (Table 22). Among those with lower level tertiary education, there were two equally important professional groups: professionals (32 %) and technicians and associate professionals (32 %). Persons with higher level tertiary education were working mostly as professionals (57 %). The most common field among those with doctorate level education was professionals (82 %).

Table 22. Professional groups and education of Finns who emigrated from Finland in 2015. Source: Statistics Finland.

Level of education

	Primary/ Unknown		Secondary		Lowest level tertiary		Lower level tertiary		Higher level tertiary		Doctorate level		Total	
Professions	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%
Managers	13	1.3	46	3.4	21	16.5	40	5.7	114	13.4	9	8.5	243	5.9
Professionals	36	3.6	151	11.2	18	14.2	224	32.0	489	57.4	87	82.1	1,005	24.4
Technicians and associate professionals	39	3.9	157	11.7	43	33.9	224	32.0	135	15.8	5	4.7	603	14.6
Clerical support workers	11	1.1	114	8.5	6	4.7	48	6.9	32	3.8	0	0.0	211	5.1
Service and sales workers	81	8.2	455	33.8	20	15.7	80	11.4	18	2.1	1	0.9	655	15.9
Skilled agricultural,forestry and fishery workers	9	0.9	12	0.9	1	0.8	2	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.9	25	0.6
Craft and related trades workers	31	3.1	74	5.5	0	0.0	5	0.7	3	0.4	0	0.0	113	2.7
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	20	2.0	77	5.7	3	2.4	11	1.6	7	0.8	0	0.0	118	2.9
Elementary occupations	57	5.7	115	8.5	2	1.6	13	1.9	3	0.4	0	0.0	190	4.6
Armed forces	0	0.0	1	0.1	0	0.0	1	0.1	5	0.6	0	0.0	7	0.2
Unknown	695	70.1	145	10.8	13	10.2	52	7.4	46	5.4	3	2.8	954	23.1
Total	992	100.0	1,347	100.0	127	100.0	700	100.0	852	100.0	106	100.0	4,124	100.0

Emigration level of education and profession is in line with the end of the previous year (December 31, 2014)

When looking at the total numbers, it can be seen that wide a variety of skilled labor has been moving abroad in 2015. Quite a remarkable number of professionals have left Finland, 1,005 persons.

An important question for Finland to consider is whether they are going to stay abroad. Is Finland able to attract them back? This is the issue to be discussed in the next section.

Return Migration

When Finnish migrants plan to move back to Finland, they may face some expected and unexpected challenges. The current economic situation and the challenging labor market make many to think carefully where to relocate. Haanpää and Laine (2013, 23, 28—29) looked at expatriate Finns' plans to return to Finland in 2013. This large survey comprised Finns in 23 European countries (n=820). According to Haanpää and Laine (2013, 23, 28—29), Finns in Europe enjoyed themselves well or very well (93 % of the respondents). Reasons for liking their new country of residence included positive and warm atmosphere, friendly people, beautiful nature, rich cultural atmosphere, inexpensive cost of living, good employment possibilities, and an international living environment. Even if they missed Finland, they were often comfortable staying in their current country of residence. The things that they missed from Finland included friends and relatives as well as the Finnish nature. In their view, the positive aspects of Finland included its organized society, safety, and gender equality. The reasons to plan a return to Finland were related to personal, family, and social issues.

The Finnish labor market seems to have set obstacles for potential returnees for quite some time already. A study of expatriate Finns living abroad in 2006 showed that only a half of them anticipated finding a job in Finland without any problems, one-fourth did not believe in the possibility for employment in Finland, and one-fourth was unsure about their situation in the labor market (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008). Additionally, Finnish employers do not always seem to appreciate return migrants' human capital and gained international experience. This is even though the returnees' human capital could be very useful for the Finnish society and working life (Tuomi-Nikula 2013).

According to the respondents in Haanpää's and Laine's study (2013), common difficulties related to remigration to Finland included, among others, lack of friends, returnees' and especially their spouse's problems with the Finnish language, the country's climate, and the Finnish "mentality" characterized as "anti-social" by the respondents. Many Finns abroad felt that they had acquired an international identity, which some said was incompatible with Finland's political and social atmosphere (see also Niemeläinen & Korhonen 2017).

Furthermore, spouses' difficulties in finding employment might cause obstacles for repatriation. For example, in the 2006 study on expatriate Finns (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen

2008), the respondents worried about their spouse's employment if they were to move to Finland. Finns abroad were often aware of migrants' challenging situation in the Finnish labor market. The employers' common requirement of knowing the Finnish/Swedish language might turn out to be a factor preventing the move to Finland. The Finnish labor market could benefit not only from the returning Finns' human capital acquired abroad, but also from the additional resources brought into the country by their spouses. For return migration to be attractive for Finns abroad, Finland needs to consider the expatriate's entire family and their various needs for better integration to Finnish society (Heikkilä 2011, 27; Warinowski 2012).

Recent research by Niemeläinen and Korhonen (2017) also examined expatriate Finns' plans to return to Finland. They conducted a survey in the spring of 2016 among 20—40-year-old Finns who lived around the world (n=799). The respondents were asked about their probability of returning to working life in Finland. About a quarter, 26 percent, of the respondents said that their return was very unlikely, and an additional 29 percent considered their return as unlikely. Another quarter, 26 percent, stated that their return plans were just as likely as they were unlikely. The remaining 19 percent of the respondents were likely or most likely to return. Interestingly, in the earlier study by Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2008), plans to return were in relative terms the strongest among those with a licentiate and doctoral degree but in absolutely terms among those who had a master's degree. However, according to the more recent results by Niemeläinen and Korhonen (2017), the return plans have become less likely especially among doctoral graduates. Thus, the highly educated seem increasingly inclined to stay abroad. Furthermore, according to Niemeläinen and Korhonen, female respondents were more unlikely to return to working life in Finland than men. Educated female expatriates seem to appreciate international atmosphere and values more than men do. Perhaps women are also more willing to settle down in their spouse's country.

The longer Finnish migrants live abroad, the more unlikely they are to repatriate (Björklund 2011; Haanpää & Laine 2013). Furthermore, Finland is not their only option if they wish to remigrate. Some scholars have suggested, for example, that countries with a warmer climate are attractive especially for the elderly Finns abroad (Björklund 2011, 44; Könnilä 2014).

Family can have both pull and push effects on migrants' decision to repatriate. Marriage, having children, divorce, widowhood, and having grandchildren can keep the person either in place or motivate further migration. Close social connections and networks are important in life planning. Many Finnish migrants wish to offer Finnish education for their children and give them an opportunity to learn the Finnish language and culture. Furthermore, illness of a close family member can influence the decision to move back to Finland. For example, migrants may wish to be close to their elderly parents and take care of them. (Leinonen 2011.) Family reasons may also influence the decision to stay abroad, as migrants often establish new networks of family, friends, and other community members, i.e., they have social capital abroad (Heikkilä 2011).

Conclusion

Finnish emigration rate was more or less 10,000 emigrants per year in the period of 2000—2015. Finland has experienced net losses of its citizens since the first half of the 1990s. This means that substantially more Finnish citizens have left than expatriates have returned to Finland. The latest figure is for 2015, when the balance was -2,296 Finns.

The majority (70 %) of Finnish citizens' moves were to other EU member states in 2015, followed by other European countries, North America, and Asia. Sweden was the most preferred destination country in 2000—2015. The English-speaking countries the United Kingdom and the United States followed, and the next popular destinations were Germany and Spain.

The top-ten destination countries have attracted the majority of Finnish migrants during the 2000s and the 2010s: 72 percent moved to these countries in 2015. Thus, Finnish migrants clearly prefer certain countries over others. Sweden as the neighboring country has always been an important destination, and many Finns have close ties and relatives there. A widely-discussed phenomenon in Finland in 2015 was the increasing emigration of Swedish-speaking Finns to Sweden, for example, to Stockholm's wider labor market (Penttinen 2015).

A half of Finnish migrants abroad (4,888 persons out of 9,628 migrants) were 15—34-years old in 2015. In the age-group of 15—24 years, the propensity to emigrate was clearly higher among Finnish women (27 %) than Finnish men (16 %). In the total emigration of Finns, there was a slight excess of females (53 %) in 2015. In migration, it is probable for the younger age-groups to move, as they might still be single: the decision to migrate is easier for them than for families.

According to their primary activity, over one-third of Finnish migrants were employed in Finland in the beginning of 2015. The share of unemployed was small. Other migrants were, for example, families with children, students, and retired. When looking at Finnish migrants' educational background from upper secondary education upwards, nearly a half had upper secondary education in 2015. The tertiary-educated represented a slightly higher share (52 %). The total number of employed Finnish migrants who had at least secondary education was 3,211 persons in 2015. The largest group was formed by employed Finnish migrants who had higher level tertiary education (898 persons). The number of unemployed Finnish migrants was much smaller, 510 persons, and most of them had secondary education (46 %). Overall, the educational background of Finnish migrants was higher than that of the total population.

What we can infer from these numbers is that moving abroad has been an attractive choice for Finns of different skill levels. There has been demand for Finnish labor — especially skilled labor — abroad, since many employed Finns have decided to move abroad (Korhonen 2017). An important question is whether these migrants are going to stay abroad or whether Finland is able to attract them back. Many move permanently, but living abroad can also be a temporary decision, connected to a certain phase of life,

for example, gaining international work experience, pursuing a degree, and so on. Furthermore, family and other social ties can have both pull and push effects on migrants' decision to move. Family reasons may also influence the decision to stay abroad (see also Leinonen 2011, 2012).

Professional and well-educated Finnish migrants present valuable human capital to Finnish society. Decision-makers in Finland ought to think about how to make repatriation easier and profitable for the returning migrant on every level. According to Tuomi-Nikula (2013), Finns abroad felt that upon repatriation, they could bring to Finland good language skills, intercultural know-how, and new perspectives on a variety of issues. Also in Heikkilä's and Pikkarainen's (2008) research, a majority (62 %) of those willing to return planned to (re)-enter the Finnish workforce. This suggests that Finland has not permanently lost its skilled citizens. There are still, however, challenges for the Finnish society to attract expatriate Finns, since their return plans have become less probable, especially among doctoral graduates (Niemeläinen & Korhonen 2017). The competition for skilled and talented labor takes place on a global level.

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11. Intercultural Experiences of Finnish Expatriate Children

Anu Warinowski

International migration is a diverse and complex phenomenon. One of its contemporary features is temporariness. Contemporary migration includes millions of short-term migrants involved with global working life, such as expatriates and their family members (see, e.g., Ward & Kagitcibasi 2010). An expatriate is defined in this research as an employee working temporarily abroad. Due to globalization, the number of internationally mobile employees has increased worldwide (see, e.g., Warinowski 2011a). As work goes global, more expatriates and their families are in transitions, either in expatriation or repatriation.

This chapter discusses a study (see Warinowski 2012) that examined the consequences of a global working life and international mobility in the lives of children of Finnish expatriates. The study investigates expatriation and repatriation, caused by a parent's global work, as cultural transitions for the children. My aim in the study is to understand the construction of children's experiences in those cultural transitions. Thus, this chapter contributes to migration research, childhood studies, and studies on multicultural education.

Approach to Finnish Expatriate Children's Cultural Transitions

Scholars have examined expatriates extensively. However, expatriates typically move with their families, including a spouse and often at least one child. Expatriate studies have shown that expatriates' family members face more challenges and stress than the expatriates themselves (Shah & Lund 2007; Haslberger & Brewster 2008). Nonetheless, it was not until some time ago that other members of expatriate families began to get some attention in the expatriate research field (e.g., Halsberger & Brewster 2008). The view on children in the expatriate studies has been that of "luggage" that the adults must take with them when they move (Selmer & Lam 2004, 432). In Finland, the concept of *matka-*

laukkulapsi (luggage child) has been used especially in regards to missionary children. In childhood studies, this concept is considered as inappropriate because the metaphor of luggage emphasizes the passive role of a child in transitions (Warinowski 2012, 31—32).

On the other hand, there is a long tradition of studying children who move because of their parent's work, especially in the United States and Japan. This research has been done in a quite self-sufficient way, disconnected from the research on expatriates or other research fields. Among the concepts that appear in the previous research, the most common are U.S.-based "Third Culture Kids" (TCK) and "Global Nomads." Both terms refer to children who have been raised elsewhere than their country of citizenship because of a parent's work-related expatriation (e.g., Bell-Villada & Sichel 2011, 3). I am using the concept of "TCK research" to refer to all the separate studies that have previously been done concerning expatriate children (Warinowski 2012).

There have been several difficulties within TCK research (see Warinowski 2012). One of the challenges is that TCK research deals with conceptual fluidity. TCK research has also been nation-centric and, thus, context-specific in its nature. European studies on TCK have been scarce. There has been a shortage of TCK studies in Finland too, until Warinowski's 2012 study, which this chapter is based on. Many studies have concentrated on English-speaking children who have several advantages: a language to communicate globally, a vast international school network, and large and lively expatriate communities all over the world. The situation of a Finnish child of an expatriate is different from that of an English-speaking child (Warinowski 2011b).

The current study examines the consequences of macro-level phenomena — global working life and international mobility — on a micro level, in the life of a child. I examine children with the concept of expatriate children (EC), which has not been used regularly in previous studies (Warinowski 2011b, 2012). The concept of EC refers to children who move temporarily abroad with their families because of a parent's work (Warinowski 2012). I associate the concept of expatriate in this study with the concept of children in order to emphasize this macro-level linkage to expatriates' work and international mobility.

The situation of EC as an internationally mobile group does not only concern traditional "cultural" issues, such as ethnicity and language, but also social class, as it is an important factor shaping EC's experiences. Expatriates are typically highly-skilled and most expatriate families represent the middle class. Thus, compared with other migrant children in transition, EC do have certain advantages. Their families are typically well-to-do, and the children have opportunities to travel and obtain intercultural experiences, and, consequently, to develop a global mindset. Families also have many resources to draw from to support their children. (Warinowski 2012.) The various challenges that these children face are less known by scholars.

In this chapter, "cultural" refers especially to the various cultural contexts of living. During cultural transitions, EC undergo diverse, simultaneous changes of different forms (Nette & Hayden 2007; Grimshaw & Sears 2008). Almost everything in an EC's life is changing in expatriation and repatriation processes. These changes include, in the

case of Finnish EC, school and schooling system, peers, language, as well as the country of residence (Warinowski 2012). The family is the only permanent context during the transitional processes, though not even the family is unchanging. Thus, cultural learning is much needed in these transitions.

This study uses a childhood study approach to investigate children's experiences linked with international mobility. The above-mentioned linkage between macro (international mobility) and micro processes (children's experiences) is typical for childhood studies (e.g., Alanen 2009). Furthermore, I define children in this study according to the childhood study approach (e.g., Uprichard 2009) as 0—18-year-old children and adolescents. I use child-centric research methods and conceptual approach to children, which are also linked to childhood studies. I also employ central concepts of childhood studies, such as agency and experience. I consider EC as active participants: instead of just "adjusting," they are actively learning, doing, acting, participating, and constructing their identities in specific social contexts. EC are not just "luggage" adults take with them when the parents are dealing with the processes of international migration.

EC face dual transitions between the country of citizenship, Finland, and the country where their parents are assigned to. Here, I define these two transitions — expatriation and repatriation — as cultural transitions that EC undergo. Although there has been extensive research on cultural transitions in general, the focus has tended to be on one transition only (e.g., König 2009), and the expatriation research has generally focused on the expatriation stage (Szkudlarek 2010). Thus, only a few previous studies emphasize both transitions. These studies consider sojourners' (Sussman 2002) or children's (Kanno 2000; Fail, Thompson & Walker 2004; see also, König 2009) cultural identities in the processes of expatriation and repatriation. The present study recognizes both expatriation and repatriation as dual overlapping cultural transitions for EC.

Expatriate Children's Intercultural Experiences

Mobility is widely known to be a stressful experience for adults (e.g., Oishi, Krochik, Roth & Sherman 2012). Transitions can have even more severe and long-lasting effects on children as compared to adults, because these transitions take place at a highly impressionable developmental age (Nette & Hayden 2007; Grimsaw & Sears 2008). For instance, as a long-term consequence of cultural transitions, children can have difficulties in identity construction (e.g., Nette & Hayden 2007). Also, the roles of children and adults are different in the family. Children normally lack control over moving. Thus, mobility is bound to be a more demanding, even traumatic experience for children (Oishi et al. 2012, 153). Studies on cultural transitions have mainly focused on adults (Dobson 2009). In the field of migration research, the importance of investigating migrants' experiences, and especially migrant children's experiences, has recently been discussed (e.g., Gaytán, Carhill & Suárez-Orozco 2007; Dobson 2009). Besides migration

research, this study draws inspiration from the childhood study approach. Children's own views, voices, and experiences have been at the centre of childhood study approaches (see, e.g., Alanen 2009).

This study concentrates on the cultural transitions of expatriation and repatriation with a special focus on intercultural experiences of EC. Experiences can be examined at least from three viewpoints: narrative, phenomenological, and sociocultural (Warinowski 2012). The current study combines sociocultural and phenomenological views on studying experience. Both approaches highlight two concepts, contextuality and agency (Warinowski 2012), which are also central in childhood research. In this study, the cultural contexts of transitions are important, and I see children as active participants in these contexts.

According to the socio-cultural view on experiences, EC's transitional experiences can be seen as socially and culturally constructed (Tardif-Williams & Fisher 2009; Warinowski 2012). From this viewpoint, cultural learning is considered focal. Thus, EC's experiences are associated with cultural learning. EC's experiences are learning experiences which comprise three dimensions: emotional, social, and cognitive (Illeris 2002, 2007). Accordingly, as noted above, I analyze EC's intercultural experiences as emotions, actions, and identity (Warinowski 2012).

Previously, I have investigated parents' views on their children's adaptation to cultural transitions of expatriation and repatriation (Warinowski 2012). According to my findings, parents' impressions of EC's adaptation were extremely positive. In this chapter, I examine children's own views on their transitions to find out whether children also found transitions as purely positive experiences. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to understand the construction of Finnish EC's experiences in the cultural transitions.

Data and Methods

The data consist of interview data with self-report measures gathered from children. I used the childhood study approach in the data collecting.

Participants

Eight children participated in this study. The criteria for the interviewee selection were the following: (1) they were enrolled in a comprehensive school after repatriation in a Finnish city, (2) they attended a local school both abroad and after repatriation, instead of an international school, (3) they had lived abroad in a European or a North American city, and (4) during the expatriation, they were at least three years old. There were two criteria for the parents: they were both Finnish (born in Finland) and the father of the

family had been an expatriate while living abroad. Thus, these children were quite typical concerning their background and adjustment processes (see Warinowski 2012). The children were between the ages of 9 and 15 years and most of them (n = 6) were girls. The children's background information can be seen in Table 23.

Table 23. Children's background information[1]

Child	Age: Study Moment	Age: Expatriation	Age: Repatriation	Years of Living Abroad	Years from Repatriation	Continent Where Lived	Type of Class in Current School
Amanda	14–15	4–5	6–7	2–3	Over 3	Europe	Language class
Matilda	**12–13**	**8–9**	**8–9**	**Less than 1**	**2–3**	**North America**	**Finnish class**
Julius	14–15	8–9	10–11	1–2	2–3	North America	Finnish class
Simo	**8–9**	**6–7**	**6–7**	**1–2**	**1–2**	**Europe**	**Language class**
Anniina	8–9	4–5	6–7	2–3	2–3	North America	Language class
Helmi	8–9	4–5	6–7	1–2	1–2	North America	Finnish class
Elli	**12–13**	**6–7**	**10–11**	**Over 3**	**Less than 1**	**North America**	**Language class**
Emma	8–9	4–5	6–7	1–2	2–3	Europe	Language class

According to the survey data of parents of 333 EC that I analyzed previously, the parents' general views on their children's adjustment to transitions of expatriation and repatriation were extremely positive (Warinowski 2012). Moreover, according to the parents of the interviewees for this study, the children had the average amount (which was small) of adjustment problems (Warinowski 2012, 164).

As this study concerned children and their personal experiences, I took research ethics into account during the whole research process. For example, I used pseudonyms in presenting the findings (e.g., Table 23). I secured the anonymity of the children, for example, by using categories instead of specific data (see Table 23). I received consent for participating in the study from the parents, but also from the children. In the beginning of every interview, I explained what kind of a study this was and what the children's rights were. For example, the children gave consent for the pseudonyms used for them. (Warinowski 2012.)

[1] Bold text: the children whose experiences are represented more thoroughly in the findings (see also Data analyses).

Methods

The primary way of collecting data with EC was personal interviews conducted in 2009. I applied the childhood study approach during the data collection. I designed the methods for collecting data to be child friendly, motivating, and innovative (Punch 2002; Mason 2006; Taylor & Coffey 2009). I mixed different methods in the data collection (Mason 2006; Liebenberg 2009). I used an applied stimulated-recall approach in the interviews. In addition, I utilized computer-operated visual stimuli (Liebenberg 2009). A PowerPoint presentation of 34 slides with focal words, pictures, and smileys formed the frame for the interview. I showed the PowerPoint presentation from my laptop while sitting in the child's room, usually on the bed. This made the interview more structured and easier to answer, and the laptop made the situation more relaxing for the children. I divided the structure of the interview into three viewpoints on transitions:

1. Chronological process (in Finland, abroad, in Finland)
2. Cultural contexts (home, school, other significant places)
3. Dimensions of experience (emotions, actions, and identity).

A self-report measure for one of the dimensions of experience, cultural identity, complemented the interview. I saw children's identities as contextual and situational (e.g., Weinreich 2009). I used the conception of intercultural identity as a theoretical standpoint (see, Kim 2008). In Kim's (2008) integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation, she critiques the static perspective on cultural identity and emphasizes the complex and evolving nature of identity and its systemic account. According to her, intercultural identity is an extension of cultural identity. Intercultural identity represents the phenomenon of identity adaptation.

Because the children were seen as active participants in the interview situation, it was logical that they used the self-report measure. The children were treated as active constructors of their identity, and, thus, they could make their own identity visible and, at the same time, rebuild their identity. The situations concerning identity construction in the PowerPoint presentation were the following:

1. Abroad (expatriation)
    - at home
    - at school
    - at another place (hobby, shopping etc.)
2. In Finland (repatriation)
    - at home
    - at school
    - at another place.

According to the hybrid view on intercultural identity, EC are seen as negotiating their identity situationally. Their identity is not simply fixed with one or two cultures, but shifts in-between them. In the scale designed as a self-report measure, "interculturalness" can be seen concretely and visually by a space between flags at both ends of the scale (see Figure 6).

The children estimated their identity in relation to Finland and the country where they had lived abroad at the same time. The question was "What did you think at home/at school/at another place?" In the PowerPoint slide, flags of Finland and the country in which the family had lived abroad were presented with a 9-point scale (Finnish 4 =completely Finnish, 3F, 2F, 1F, 0, American/European 1, 2A/E, 3A/E, 4A/E =completely local in North America or Europe) (Figure 6). I had three alternatives/countries where the children had lived: the United States, France, or the United Kingdom. A child had only two flags on her/his scale: the Finnish and the flag of the country where (s)he had lived abroad (Figure 6). The children chose one of the rankings in each context and situation. After that, they explained in the interview why they chose that ranking. I used the ranking as a stimulus for the interview.

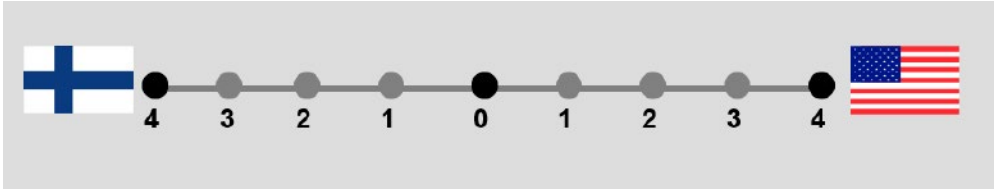

Figure 6. An example of the self-report measure of the interview

Data Analysis

I analyzed the interview data using an interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009). I found themes for all three categories of experiences. When reporting the findings, I included only themes that at least half of the children mentioned. (Warinowski 2012). These main themes and their subthemes can be found in Table 24.

I present the findings of the IPA in the following sections by focusing on one child's experiences (see, e.g., Smith 1999). These children are Elli for emotions, Simo for actions, and Matilda for identity.

Table 24. Main themes and subthemes of the interviews

Dimension of Experience	Main Themes	Subthemes
1 Emotions	1.1 Sense of longing	Longing linked with peer relations Longing linked with family relations (relatives) Ambivalence of emotions
	1.2 Home as a space and an emotion	Feeling of home Details of physical space Living abroad as a form of travelling
2 Actions	2.1 Significant places	Park as a significant place Schoolyard as a significant place
	2.2 Active agency	Child's active agency Hobbies Minor role of ICT in child's actions Mother's active agency
3 Identity	3.1 Identity linked with language	Identity linked with media Identity conceptually hidden
	3.2 Identity linked with peer relations	Peer relationships with local children Experience of otherness

Expatriate Children's Intercultural Experiences

I present next the findings on EC's intercultural experiences in transitions of expatriation and repatriation. The findings are divided into three parts (children's emotions, actions, and identity) according to the three dimensions of experiences.

Expatriate Children's Emotions

Emotions defined deeply EC's transitions. The two main themes concerning emotions were (1) a sense of longing and (2) home as a space and an emotion. This section focuses on Elli, who was a 12-year old girl at the time of data gathering.

Sense of Longing

Children's experiences were defined by a sense of longing. The sense of longing had three subthemes: (1) longing linked with peer relations, (2) longing linked with family relations (relatives), and (3) the ambivalence of emotions.

(1) Peer relations were in the core of EC's longing. Peer relationships are important cultural contexts in transitions for EC in general (see, Dixon & Hayden 2008; Weeks, Weeks & Willis-Muller 2010). The finding that peer relations were at the core of EC's longing corresponds with previous studies (e.g., Dixon & Hayden 2008; Hervey 2009). Longing for peers was especially associated with repatriation, like in Elli's case, but also with expatriation, like in Anniina's case. Children missed friends who were living in the country from where they had moved away.

Almost equal in centrality for the children was longing linked with relatives (2). EC longed especially for their grandparents while living abroad. Previous studies have found that connections to relatives are important for EC (e.g., Oksanen 2006; Hyvönen 2009). Grandparents' support in transitions can also be important for children, as they can offer continuity and safety for their grandchildren (Rotkirch, Söderling & Fågel 2010), which are the two things that EC desperately need in transitions. Elli stated one solution for the longing for her grandparents: "They visited us sometimes. We arranged even an own apartment for the granny and grandpa in the building next to us." This kind of support was only possible because of the families' economical resources linked with their social class.

The third subtheme was (3) the ambivalence of emotions. As noted before, according to the parents, transitions were positive experiences for the children. The children mentioned positive things about the transitions in the interviews, but they also had negative feelings about them. In other words, EC's emotions were ambivalent. Elli told about her feelings after repatriation as follows:

> *And now I would want to move back there more than anything. I am still kind of sad. But in the beginning when we moved, I cried many evenings, because I didn't want to be here. Also in the morning I was grieving. And I think that if a child moves to America they should stay there, otherwise there will be horrible consequences. It is not so nice to suffer that you have to live in Finland.*

Elli's experiences concerning repatriation were very negative. Probably she was also depressed. The parents' overtly positive view on their children's transitions is not, thus, completely realistic.

Home as a Space and an Emotion

The theme "Home as a space and an emotion" also had three subthemes: (1) the feeling of home, (2) the details of a physical space, and (3) living abroad as a form of travelling.

(1) The feeling of home was an important theme in EC's transitional experiences. Home becomes visible in transitions; the meaning of home is activated when moving away from "home" (Vilkko 2010). EC's feeling of home was twofold in its character. First, home was experienced emotionally, as a sense of home. This concept is associated with

a sense of belonging, which is defined as a feeling about where the "home" is situated (Nette & Hayden 2007, 437). The sense of home was especially directed towards the home abroad, as in Elli's case, but it could also be targeted towards home in Finland. Second, the children saw home as a physical space (Vilkko 1998), as the house or the apartment where the family lived. For Elli, the idea of home as a physical space intertwined with its aesthetics. In Elli's case, renovating the apartment while living abroad contributed to her positive feelings about home. The emotion and physical space of home were intertwined in Elli's experiences. Also, her adjustment to living abroad or in Finland and the appreciation of the aesthetics of her home went hand in hand. When she enjoyed her living arrangement, she thought highly of her home, and vice versa. Renovating supported her adjustment.

(2) Details of a physical space were important for EC. For example, Elli explained how the ugliness of the green carpets in the apartment was a major issue for her. For her, it was the aesthetics of the space that counted. Also Julius mentioned carpets. He appreciated the soft wall-to-wall carpets which was quite new to him while living in North America. A swimming pool or a bath tub could also be something special for the children while living abroad. The children in this study were highly detail-oriented.

The third theme was (3) living abroad as a form of travelling. Elli told about her first time living abroad in the following way: "We were there just like being on an outing." She was then under school age. During her second time living abroad, she was of school age and her experience of living abroad was different. Elli argued that the school was the place that attached her to the environment. Elli was, thus, in agreement with Bruner (1996), who argues that the school functions an entry to the local culture.

Expatriate Children's Actions

In analyzing the actions in EC's experiences, (1) significant places were focal. Additionally, the discussion about the children's (2) active agency was significant. It is Simo, a 9-year old boy, whose actions, participation, and agency are in focus.

Significant Places

EC's actions connected to places had great subjective significance for them. Two significant places outside home were frequently mentioned in the interviews, in addition to home: (1) parks and (2) the schoolyard. Interestingly, both spaces for children's active participation were outdoor places.

(1) Parks were significant places for the EC while living abroad. They are important places for children in general (e.g., Hill & Wager 2009), especially in urban environments. The children had lived in a European or North American city where natural environ-

ments were scarce. Thus, the children could connect with the nature by spending time in parks. Perhaps playing outdoors is even more important for Finnish EC because of cultural traditions which emphasize outdoor-living during childhood (e.g., babies often sleep outside). During his interview, Simo told about his time in a park in the following way: "With mom we were spending awfully lot of time there in the park, in a large nearby park." In the park, Simo was playing in the playground, for example, climbing, walking in a forest-like environment, and playing with the ball.

(2) The schoolyard was another significant place for Simo. Even though the schoolyard was a tiny urban space, it offered natural experiences. Simo narrated his actions in the schoolyard as follows:

> *Well, at very first alone, when I wasn't familiar with it, I looked at all kinds of places there in the yard, even though it was a pretty boring asphalt yard. I just looked at places, looking for insects in that one green spot, where plenty of trees and something like that were.*

Thus, the schoolyard does not need to be overly rich and nature-like. An urban space can offer stimulus for children too. Details, like insects, are also important to children in an outdoor environment.

Active Agency

As mentioned above, the children were active agents in their families and beyond. Agency was a central concept in constructing EC's experiences. The theme of active agency had four subthemes: (1) the child's active agency, (2) hobbies, (3) the minor role of computer technology in the child's actions, and (4) the mother's active agency.

Concerning Simo's (1) active agency, a gradual process of enlarging his agency can be seen. First, Simo was an observer in the schoolyard. He "watched," "looked for," and "found" (cf. Gallacher & Gallagher 2008). After a while, he "walked," "played," and "climbed." These actions were quite similar to the park context described above. Localizing the park and the schoolyard as significant places in EC's interpretations can be explained particularly through children's actions and agency. EC's agency was mostly defined as activities typical for children.

Interestingly, two EC also had situations of decision-making that are typically included in the field of adults' agency only. The children had adult-like power in decision-making in two cases, when the family decided about the house abroad and about the repatriation time. One of these "overly active agents" was Matilda. She told about her agency in the following way: "In the last part (of living abroad), I had to decide if we are still two years (abroad). But then I didn't want to be there anymore." The two overly active children told that they regretted afterwards the big decisions they had made, and blamed themselves for the decisions. I call this kind of a phenomenon "over agency."

Simo's agency also connected with (2) hobbies. For him, swimming was an important hobby. Hobbies especially defined the time after repatriation. Interestingly, hobbies were not transnational: there was a lack of continuity between the children's hobbies while living abroad and after moving back to Finland. Living abroad, hobbies were connected to the school context, which was not the case in Finland. Many of the interviewed children lived in North America, where extracurricular activities in the school context are common. This is not the case in Finland, where hobbies are typically arranged outside the school.

When thinking about children's contemporary life especially in the context of international transitions, the use of computer technology could have significant role in EC's life. However, (3) computers had only a minor role in the children's actions. This result can have something to do with the time of data gathering (2009). Currently, the role of computers could be bigger in EC's experiences, as computer technology is highly developed and the use of social media has become more central in children's everyday life.

Not only were the EC active but also their (4) mothers had active agency. The mothers' role was especially important in supporting the children's interaction with peers, giving emotional support, and enhancing language learning. The time shared by the mother and the child was significant for the children. The mothers' active role is especially typical for middle-class families. Their activity is crucial in social reproduction of the middle class (e.g., Reay 2005). Therefore, this finding is associated with the social class of expatriate families. Interestingly, the children did not talk about their fathers a lot. However, the fathers were the expatriates and, thus, the reason behind the transitions. It was the fathers who made these children to become EC. Because of their expatriate role as the breadwinner of the family, working for long hours while living abroad, and not forgetting the middle-class family ideal with an active mother, the fathers' role was small in the children's interviews. The role of the father could be more active if the data were gathered now: female expatriates are becoming more and more common (e.g., Harris 2004) and the fathers' role in their children's lives are becoming more diverse in Finland (Mykkänen & Aalto 2010).

Expatriate Children's Cultural Identity

Concerning the identity dimension of EC's experiences, two main themes emerged. These two themes were (1) identity and language, and (2) identity and peer relations. I focus here specifically on 12-year old Matilda's cultural identity construction.

Identity and Language

Links between cultural identity and language are focal in sociocultural, phenomenological, and postmodern approaches towards identity. Some TCK studies (e.g.,

Grimshaw & Sears 2008) have also reported this intertwining. This connection was obvious for the Finnish EC. It was not only "languages" but also smaller differences that mattered for the children. For example, it was important for the children's identity whether American English or British English was used at school in Finland. This was especially important for Elli. Instead of using the concept of English, she used the term "American," pointing to the language spoken in North America. The theme "identity linked with language" had two subthemes: (1) identity linked with media and (2) conceptually hidden identity.

The children (1) linked identity with media. TV channels targeted to children were important for children especially in North America. Channels targeted to children working 24/7, such as Disney Channel and Cartoon Network, were something different from the Finnish TV scene. TV channels were also important for language learning in a motivating way. In this context, too, computers were mentioned rarely.

In one sense identity and language did not connect: children did not know any of the English or Finnish concepts (TCK, global nomad, *matkalaukkulapsi*) used for them as a group. In this sense, their (2) identity was conceptually hidden from the children. Not knowing a grouping concept which could explain one's experiences causes a situation where a child sees her/his problems as personal without links to a group of people sharing the same kinds of challenges (see Baker Cottrell 2011).

Identity and Peer Relations

The children's cultural identities were also constructed in their peer relationships. Scholars have underlined the significance of peer relationships for children's identity construction (e.g., Root 2003). Peer relations are especially central in identity construction in the context of cultural transitions (Prinstein & Dodge 2008, 8—9). The theme of identity and peer relations had two subthemes: (1) peer relationships with local children and (2) experiences of otherness.

(1) Peer relationships with local children are especially typical for Finnish EC. For Matilda, identity construction took place particularly in the school context (cf. Hammack 2008). As a matter of fact, she discussed issues of embodiment and race as follows: "Since I was so awfully different. For example, my best friend was dark. Pretty many were dark and I was awfully the 'captain of a lime ship.'" This Finnish saying shows the physical difference that Matilda felt while living abroad. But for Matilda, dissimilarity was a positive experience and a resource. She described the situation like this: "I was sort of quite popular because I was a foreigner and like that." Being a white, middle-class child had some advantages for Matilda. While Matilda experienced dissimilarity positively, also (2) experiences of otherness were reported. For example, after repatriation, Elli had strong feelings of otherness. EC can be "hidden migrants" (cf. Pollock & van Reken 2009). They do not look different from the dominant population but think and feel differ-

ent. While others see them as Finns, their experiences can bear more resemblance to migrants than native-born children.

The data about EC's identity was gathered not only by interviewing but also through self-report measures (Table 25). The first finding concerning this set of data was that the children of different ages can nicely utilize the self-report measure. The children were acting as agents in their own identity construction also in the interview situation. There was one interesting exception, a 9-year-old girl Emma, who expressed her critical opinion on this measure. When asking about her identity in a specific situation, she answered: "I didn't think anything of that, because little children don't think things like that." Second, there was variation in the EC's self-evaluations in Table 25. Thus, their situational identity varied across time and place. Most of the children did not estimate their identity as being "totally Finnish" after repatriation. Consequently, the situational nature of the children's identity negotiation was captured by these results. EC's identities appeared as situationally constructed, in other words, contextual and dynamic (cf. Kim 2008; Weinreich 2009).

Table 25. Children's own contextual identity assessments[2]

	EXPATRIATION: Places			REPATRIATION: Places		
NAME	HOME	SCHOOL	OTHER PLACE	HOME	SCHOOL	OTHER PLACE
Amanda	Finnish 4	Finnish 1-2	Finnish 2	Finnish 4	Finnish 4	Finnish 4
Matilda	**Finnish 4**	**Finnish 4**	**Finnish 4**	**Finnish 3**	**Finnish 4**	**Finnish 4**
Julius	Finnish 2	Finnish 0-1	Finnish 1-2	Finnish 3-4	Finnish 3-4	Finnish 4
Simo	Finnish 4	Finnish 1-2	Finnish 3	Finnish 4	Finnish 3-4	Finnish 4
Anniina	American 4	American 3	American 4	Finnish 2-3	Finnish 3	Finnish 4
Helmi	American 3	American 3	American 3	Finnish 4	Finnish 4	Finnish 4
Elli	Finnish 3/0	American 4	American 4	American 3	0	Finnish 3
Emma	Finnish 1	0	Finnish 1	Finnish 1	Finnish 1	Finnish 1

The third finding concerning the children's identity was that there were two separate groups among the interviewees (Table 25): a "monocultural" Finnish group and a hybrid, intercultural group. Amanda, Matilda, Julius, and Simo belonged to the quite stable Finnish group. This group was operating only on one side, the Finnish side, of the scale (Table 25, see Figure 6). Anniina, Helmi, and Elli formed the hybrid intercultural group. Interestingly, they all had lived in North America. This group was operating on both sides, Finnish and North American, of the scale (Table 25, see Figure 6). As an exception for these two groups, Emma had a group of her own (Table 25).

[2] Scale: Finnish 4 (=completely Finnish), 3F, 2F, 1F, 0, American/European 1, 2A/E, 3A/E, 4A/E (=completely local in North America or Europe).

Conclusions and Implications

My aim in the current study was to understand the construction of EC's experiences in the cultural transitions of expatriation and repatriation caused by parents' work. I focused on children in expatriate families. I used the childhood study approach to investigate the children's experiences linked with international mobility. Studying the micro level effects of international mobility is important.

I based this study on the findings of the data gathered from the children. According to the previous data gathered from the parents, the children's adaptation in the context of expatriation and repatriation was seen as remarkably successful. This data brought up other aspects beside the parents' positive impressions. According to the children, their experiences had not only positive but also negative tones. Thus, ambivalence is the concept that describes the EC's experiences aptly. Another necessary concept to describe the EC's experiences is agency. Theoretically, I localized the children's experiences along three dimensions: emotions, actions, and identity.

The main finding from the first dimension of experience, emotions, was that the children experienced emotional ambivalence. Comparing these results with the parents' views, it seems that the parents do not notice or understand their children's emotions in the context of expatriation and repatriation. Thus, parents should concentrate on supporting the children's feelings of continuity and emotional well-being during these transitions. Also linked with emotions, the children's experiences were characterized by a sense of longing. They missed their peers and relatives, especially their grandparents. Relationships are dynamic and, thus, continuity is important. Putting a relationship aside in expatriation and reviving that relationship after repatriation can be difficult. Previous studies have reported EC having problems with reestablishing peer relationships after repatriation (e.g., Hervey 2009). Therefore, it is important to keep in touch with friends in Finland while living abroad in order to ease repatriation. In this study, visiting friends abroad after repatriation was one method that the EC used to cope with the sense of longing. Home was seen as an emotional feeling, as a sense of home, and, at the same time, as a physical space. Concerning home as a physical space, small details were important to the children. Parents should remember that small things matter to their children. The finding of the twofold nature of the home, mental and physical, has also been used in in Vilkko's (1998, 2010) studies. Vilkko also mentions an extra dimension for the home: social nature. ECs discussed this viewpoint when they told about their longing for peers and family members.

Considering the second dimension of EC's experiences, actions, the park and the schoolyard appeared as significant places for the children. Both of these places can be seen as natural environments in an urban context. Further research could reveal whether the importance of natural environments for Finnish EC links with childhood in general, with expatriate childhood, or with cultural (Finnish) traditions. According

to this study, children should also have the possibility to enjoy natural environments while living abroad in urban environments.

The EC were active agents concerning their transitions. This agency was mostly participation typical for children. However, there were cases in which the children participated in a way that is usually typical for adults only. In these cases, the children had adult-like power in decision-making, such as when deciding about the house abroad or the repatriation time. I call this phenomenon as "over agency." Supporting EC's agency in transitional contexts should be embraced. At the same time, parents should make age-appropriate boundaries for their children's agency.

The third dimension was cultural identity. I used Kim's (2008) view on intercultural identity as a theoretical standpoint. According to the findings, EC's identity linked with language (e.g., Grimshaw & Sears 2008) and peer relationships (e.g., Root 2003). EC's identities appeared as situationally constructed (e.g., Weinreich 2009) and dynamic (e.g., Kim 2008). The EC's identities were also intercultural in nature (cf. Kim 2008). The EC identities found in this study were parallel to the contemporary view on identities as processual and contextual (e.g., Kim 2008; Weinreich 2009). I identified the EC's identity construction as a process where the child was an active agent in his/her social context.

The children's situational identities were made visible by the self-report measure that supplemented the interviews. The measure was innovative, motivating, and child-centric. Even though Emma had some critical remarks about the visual measure of using flags and scales, the self-report measure proved to be a practical instrument to work with intercultural children when studying their identities. However, further studies are needed to validate this self-report instrument. Based on this measure, I identified two main identity groups of the EC: the monocultural Finnish group and the hybrid intercultural group. Importantly, I found that the identity of all participants in this study was conceptually hidden from themselves. The children did not know any of the concepts used for them in public or academic discussions.

We need concepts to make an identity visible. I have used here the concept of EC (expatriate children) as a general concept for these children, which links them to the work and family context of the parent, and includes both the expatriation and repatriation processes. When considering the children's identity, some of them have intercultural identities, and, therefore, the concept of intercultural children might be useful when referring to them. In the school context after repatriation, these children are return students. This concept could be updated to cover also the EC. (See, Warinowski 2012, 2014.) The concept *per se* is not an issue, as long as there are words that help EC's identities become visible to other people — especially to themselves. Not having any group concept that could explain the EC's experiences makes the children's problems, such as depression, only personal. Without a suitable identity concept, there is no link to a group of people sharing a similar transitional situation and challenges, which could help make sense of their experiences (see Baker Cottrell 2011). The problems and negative

emotions during expatriation and repatriation are not children's personal challenges (their own "fault"), but caused by the transitional processes.

After repatriation to Finland, EC mostly enroll in regular comprehensive schools. In Finnish comprehensive schools, EC are now a hidden group of students. Theoretically, EC are a special group linked closely to other intercultural students and intercultural education. In practice, they are not seen as a specific group of students. Therefore, there is an urgent need to broaden intercultural education to cover all students, not just migrants. EC can be defined as "hidden migrants" after repatriation (cf. Pollock & van Reken 2009). Their experiences can bear more resemblance to migrants than Finns, and, as a matter of fact, many of them are defined as migrants in official statistics when they move back to Finland. Still, others see them only as Finns. EC are situated in a specific space, at the intersection of the stereotyped categories of migrants and Finns. Thus, EC could have an overarching role in bringing these categories together and challenging the borders between the two all too fixed categories.

I gathered the data for this study in comprehensive schools after repatriation. The ex-post-facto design of this study can be seen as its main limitation. When studying a process, the data should be gathered gradually during the process. For practical reasons, which linked with the long duration of the processes and the global scale of the study, this was not unfortunately possible.

This study is located at the intersection of the cultural categories of social class, ethnicity, and language. The middle-class status brings many advantages and several resources to expatriate families. Still, the children of these families can experience challenges, even trauma. Every child should be seen and supported regardless of their background. Families do support their children, but that is not enough. EC should also be seen outside the family.

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12. From Mother to Emigrant? Perspectives to Dual Citizenship

Johanna Peltoniemi

National citizenship implies a set of exclusive rights and responsibilities that apply to members of a country's political community, which is often defined by territorial borders. Citizenship is traditionally linked closely with the evolution of nation states: modern states are based on a territory that is defined by borders, recognised by neighbouring states, and they exercise sovereignty. Thus, citizenship can be understood as an institutionalised form of solidarity. Having dual citizenship allows an individual to possess political and economic rights in multiple countries. Dual citizenship does not fit well with the traditional conception of the nation state: dual state membership as a form of transnational citizenship does not deny the existence or relevance of borders and nation states but simply recognises the possibility of a (simultaneous) membership in two states. Therefore, dual citizenship illuminates the inherent dichotomies in conceptualisations of citizenship by increasing the focus on exclusion and inclusion created by the state (Faist 2000, 202; Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Mirilovic 2015, 510; Leblang 2017, 4).

This chapter explores the factors that influence Finnish migrants' probability of having dual citizenship. The analyses are based on unique data compiled in 2014 with a survey questionnaire from a random sample of 3,600 Finnish citizens residing abroad (n=1,067). The main findings of this chapter indicate that mother's citizenship at the time of the birth, time lived abroad, current country of residence, educational level, and age have a significant effect on Finnish migrants' probability of having dual citizenship.

This chapter proceeds as follows. In the first section following the introduction, I discuss the previous theoretical literature on dual citizenship. In the second section, I present the research design. The third section focuses on the empirical analysis. This will be followed by the concluding discussion.

Dual Citizenship

An important long-term change in nation state attitudes towards political transnationalism is the growing tolerance for multiple nationality. Traditionally, the dominant view was that dual nationality should be avoided, and that everybody must have only one nationality. During the 1990s and 2000s, many countries have reappraised this view and amended their legislation to more allowing in terms of multiple nationality. While in 1960 two thirds of the world's countries (about 66 %) deprived their nationals who naturalised elsewhere of their original citizenship, by 2013 this share had halved to about 31 percent, one-third of the countries. Despite a previously hostile stance on dual citizenship, it is, thus, clear that there has been a shift in global attitudes toward dual citizenship. Rhodes and Harutyunyan (2010, 472) have described the increasing migrant inclusion as a new international normative standard, the "global-norm hypothesis." A large population of highly educated migrants increases the likelihood of dual citizenship toleration in democracies. For instance, migrants from Finland have pushed for their country of origin to tolerate dual citizenship (Freeman & Ögelman 1998, 777—778; Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 31—33; Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 534; Blatter, Erdmann & Schwanke 2009; Newland 2010, 2; Vink & de Groot 2010, 719; Mirilovic 2015, 511).

Dual citizenship allows political participation in both political communities, the sending country and the country of residence. Dual citizenship occurs when individuals are eligible to be citizens of more than one country. Migrants who have left their country of origin are allowed to retain legal ties to that country and to potentially participate in its politics. Dual engagement in two or more nation states is an essential component of transnationalism and distinguishes it from nationalism. Focusing primarily on how migrants remain engaged with the country of origin through economic, political, and socio-cultural connections is essentially examining only a nationalist phenomenon, seeing that it involves only one nation state. The difference to traditional nationalism is merely that the migrants are participating from abroad. Thus, to be truly transnational, a simultaneous, bi-directional impact on both sending and receiving nation states is crucial. Therefore, if dual citizenship is the legal expression of overlapping memberships between independent policies, then the possibility that both memberships are simultaneously active should be considered (Kastoryano 2005, 693—694; Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Tsuda 2012, 633—634; Mirilovic 2015, 510—515).

Dual citizenship signifies a person who holds passports of two nation states and has full rights and duties in both. For individuals, citizenship can be seen as a principle of equality and a way to avoid political, social, and cultural exclusion. Dual citizens are not different from any other native citizens in the eyes of domestic jurisdiction. In fact, only legal citizenship carries the right to equal direct participation in the political community in the full sense of the term. In migrant-receiving nation states, dual nationality is often interpreted as the legal expression of hyphenated identities (e.g., Finnish-Canadian or Sweden-Finns), in which one part signifies the origin and the

other part the political membership. However, the impacts of duality regarding both the instrumental (legal) and the political values should not be underestimated, given that dual citizens can be involved in both the country of origin's as well as the country of residence's politics at the same time (Faist 2000, 202; Bauböck 2003, 716; Kastoryano 2005, 693—694).

Engaging members of diasporas or transnational communities with the politics of the country of origin is not a new phenomenon, however. The relations between migrants, home-country politics, and politicians have always been dynamic. Nonetheless, political parties have only recently started to seek support among migrants and establish offices abroad in order to canvass migrants. Political parties of several European countries also have an incentive to seek support and funding among their migrants in other countries, yet they do not necessarily want to open the political system for the migrants they receive. However, migrants are not passive actors. This has become increasingly visible in the augmented rights of migrants regarding dual citizenship, voting rights, and overseas constituencies. Overall, migrant politics have gradually become a more relevant topic in modern societies (Vertovec 1999, 455; Itzigsohn 2000, 1145; Bolzman 2011, 153).

The countries with longer traditions of migration and citizenship by birth have the most liberal citizenship policies and are the most tolerant of dual citizenship. The Nordic and Germanic countries are still generally less liberal and tolerant of dual citizenship, even if the changes during the past decades in Sweden, Finland, and Germany are notable. From another viewpoint, emigration countries usually allow dual citizenship in order to maintain links with their migrants. This was also the case in Finland, and dual citizenship was not considered as a question of immigration, legal immigrants, or labor migrants as distinctly as in many other countries. In addition, after the Nationality Act came into force in 2003, multiple citizenship is seen more as an issue of Finnish emigrants than as a tool for immigrants' integration. This is also due to the fact that naturalisation policies have traditionally been quite open in comparison to migration policies in Finland. As a welfare state, most of the rights are connected to the residence and not the status of citizenship, and, therefore, for societal membership, a resident permit is more important than citizenship. However, the political membership in Finland is most centrally linked with the rights to vote and stand for elections, and at the national level political citizenship is required in order to be able to participate (Howard 2005, 715; Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 30—36).

Finnish emigrants were an important group in promoting possibilities for multiple citizenship. The migration waves from Finland have produced a diaspora of approximately 1,5 million people with Finnish ancestry living abroad. The civic association Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP) lobbied actively for the acceptance of multiple citizenship. However, the new Nationality Act followed mainly the trends of international development. Due to its geopolitical position as well as its historical background, Finland co-operates closely with the other Nordic countries and Russia. When dual citi-

zenship was under consideration, the public opinion and policy were influenced largely by the state affairs of Sweden and Sweden's full legal acceptance of dual citizenship in 2001. The new Nationality Act of Finland (359/2003) came into force in 2003. The most important change was that the new legislation allows a wider dual/multiple citizenship than the former law did. According to the new law, Finns who acquire citizenship in a foreign country will not lose their Finnish citizenship, and, respectively, foreigners who acquire Finnish citizenship are not obliged to renounce their current citizenship. However, migrants have to show that they possess sufficient connections to Finland (Gustafson 2005, 5; Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 32—33).

The practical policy implications of dual citizenship are substantial. Advocates of dual citizenship have argued that recognising dual citizenship increases integration by granting migrants rights in their host country without requiring them to give up rights at home. Critics, on the other hand, have countered that migrants split their loyalties and, thus, are less integrated in the host society. On political integration, some scholars have found that dual citizens are less engaged than their single nationality counterparts, whereas others have found that they are equally or more likely to vote.[1] Notably, the questions of external voting, how states are to relate to the increasing number of their citizens living abroad and non-citizens residing within their borders, and the exercise of rights and duties by these individuals, have become gradually highlighted. Citizenship has regained a central position in political research because of globalisation and the growing number of migrants' transnational lives. With the increasing commonness of dual citizenship, the concept of citizenship is questioned even further and the normative foreigner-citizen dichotomy becomes questionable (Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Whitaker 2011, 758).

Research Design

I collected the data used in this chapter in autumn 2014. I drew a random sample of 3,600 Finnish migrants who are entitled to vote from the Population Register Center of Finland and included Finnish citizens currently living in Sweden, Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain, Canada, and the United States. I selected these countries because of

[1] However, dual identification as well as dual citizenship does not necessarily function as aligned as perhaps previously have been expected. For instance, Simon et al. (2015, 201) has found out that dual identifications as both Turkish and German positively predicts subsequent political engagement. For Russian migrants, however, dual identification predicted subsequent political engagement negatively, thus, dual identification predicted increases in political engagement among Turkish migrants, but decreases among Russian migrants. Therefore, at least thus far, it seems a bit hasty to make strong assumptions either way.

their relatively high number of Finnish citizens as residents. I sent an invitation letter to the selected individuals, and collected the data via an online survey questionnaire. Of the 3,600 letters sent, 1,067 persons responded to the questionnaire. Thus, the response rate was 29.6 percent.

In the data, young adults (age group 18—35) are slightly underrepresented, as their proportion is 16.3 (25.4 % of the sample) and the 45—74 age group is respectively slightly overrepresented (proportion of 58.1, 47.9 % in the sample). The proportion of female respondents is 67 percent, but this is related to the fact that more women have migrated from Finland than men (Söderling 2002, 208). For example, in the 2015 parliamentary elections, the total number of eligible migrant Finns was 242,096, and of them 60 percent were women and 40 percent men (Peltoniemi 2018). Therefore, also in the sample the proportion of women was high, 62 percent. Thus, the response rate of women (32 %) was very similar to that of men (29.2 %). The low number of respondents among the migrants residing in Sweden was somewhat surprising (response rate 22.2 %). The highest response rate was among those residing in Germany, 39.3 percent. In the other countries, the response rate was rather consistent (30.8 % from the United Kingdom, 30.3 % from the United States, 27.5 % from Canada, and 26 % from Spain). However, it is probable that those who chose to respond are more interested in Finland and Finnish politics than the average migrant is. Therefore, self-selection bias may occur in the data.

Results

Next, I examine the factors that influence Finnish migrants' probability of having dual citizenship. I measured the dependent variable, the dual citizenship, with the question: "Are you a Finnish citizen? I have dual citizenship." The response options were "yes" and "no." Out of the 1,067 respondents, 422 (39.6 %) had dual citizenship. I conducted the analysis by using binary logistic regression, as the dependent variable (dual citizenship) has only two possible values (0= does not have dual citizenship, 1= has dual citizenship). The data and the other variables used in the analysis are better described in the Appendix Tables 1 and 2.

As shown in Table 26, several factors were statistically significant for the probability of Finnish migrants having dual citizenship. A particularly interesting finding was that the citizenship of parents at the time of the birth had a clear significance on the probability of having dual citizenship. For migrants whose mother was a Finnish citizen, but whose father was not a Finnish citizen, it is eight times more likely to have dual citizenship than for the migrants whose parents were not Finnish citizens (OR=8.42). However, there is not an equivalent influence in father's citizenship: migrants whose father was a Finnish citizen but whose mother was not, there is no significant influence in probability of having dual citizenship. If, on the other hand, both parents were

Table 26. Finnish migrants' probability of having dual citizenship (logistic regression analysis, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, Nagelkerke R^2 =0.602)

	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval
Gender[a]		
Female	1.047	[0.710-1.544]
Age[b]		
30–39 years	1.083	[0.530-2.211]
40–49 years	0.832	[0.451-1.535]
50–59 years	1.461	[0.812-2.629]
60–69 years	1.401	[0.792-2.479]
More than 70 years	4.266*	[1.276-14.263]
Marital status[c]		
Married, registered partnership, or living as married	1.143	[0.641-2.038]
Divorced, separated, or widowed	0.769	[0.373-1.588]
Highest level of education[d]		
Secondary education	3.489**	[1.680-7.242]
Higher education	2.499**	[1.291-4.839]
Citizenship of parent[e]		
Both were Finnish citizens	0.141*	[0.031-0.647]
Only father was a Finnish citizen	0.884	[0.138-5.662]
Only mother was a Finnish citizen	8.418*	[1.558-45.486]
Current country of residence[f]		
Sweden	11.981***	[5.308-27.044]
Germany	2.682*	[1.200-5.998]
United Kingdom	1.272	[0.510-3.173]
Canada	62.985***	[26.880-147.486]
USA	22.842***	[10.376-50.288]
Time lived abroad[g]		
6–10 years	1.368	[0.508-3.685]
11–15 years	1.847	[0.730-4.678]
16–20 years	3.340*	[1.276-8.745]
More than 20 years	4.693***	[2.148-10.253]
Never lived in Finland	18.111***	[6.102-53.755]

Dependent variable Has dual citizenship/does not have dual citizenship

[a] Reference category Male; [b] Reference category 18–29 years; [c] Reference category Single; [d] Reference category Basic education; [e] Reference category Neither parent was a Finnish citizen; [f] Reference category Spain; [g] Less than 5 years.

Finnish citizens, it is less likely for the migrant to have dual citizenship (OR=0.14). Thus, it seems that the mother's influence on child's probability of having dual citizenship is rather strong. Mother's effect on child's dual citizenship is not necessarily surprising

though. For instance, scholars have traditionally understood political and electoral behaviour to be rather strongly correlated with parents' political and electoral behaviour, and especially mother's behaviour is often hereditary (see, e.g., Gidengil, O'Neill & Young 2010; Gidengil, Wass & Valaste 2016).

As can be expected, the time lived abroad has a notable significance on the probability of having dual citizenship. Migrants who have lived abroad longer or have never lived in Finland (second- or third-generation migrants) have, quite naturally, more likely dual citizenship than migrants who have lived abroad for shorter time (reference category was less than five years). Migrants who have lived abroad for 16—20 years have three times (OR=3.34); migrants who have lived abroad for more than 20 years nearly five times (OR=4.69); and migrants who have never lived in Finland have 18 times (OR=18.11) more probably dual citizenship in comparison to those who have lived abroad for less than 5 years. This is rather self-evident, as many countries have certain thresholds for acquiring citizenship, which often includes the length of residence. Furthermore, longer stays may also deepen the integration process, and thus, further the need and will of dual citizenship. Higher age seems to affect positively on migrants' probability of having dual citizenship (more than 70 years old OR=4.27), as well as a higher level of education (secondary education OR=3.49; higher education OR=2.50).

The current country of residence seems to influence the probability of having dual citizenship rather strongly. As could be expected, among those living in North America, in Canada or the United States, the likelihood of having dual citizenship was vastly higher in comparison to those living in Spain. Migrants who live in Canada are 63 times more likely to have dual citizenship (OR=62.99), while migrants in the United States are 23 times more likely to have dual citizenship (OR=22.84) than migrants residing in Spain. In addition, migrants living in Sweden and Germany are more likely to have dual citizenship (Sweden OR=11.98; Germany OR=2.68) than migrants in Spain, whereas the United Kingdom as a country of residence did not have a statistically significant influence on having dual citizenship.

Considering especially three factors, the relevance of citizenship, the phase of globalisation at the time of migration, and the reasons for living abroad, these results seem sensible. Citizenship in the Nordic countries as well as in many other European countries does not have the same importance for a resident as it has in North America. Especially in the United States, many rights and the access to social security and benefits deriving from that are often closely linked to citizenship (see, e.g., Balta & Altan-Olcay 2016). Quite on the contrary, in Finland as well as in the other Nordic countries, these rights are more often based on residence. This has undoubtedly resulted in the higher probability of migrants seeking dual naturalisation in North America than in Europe. In addition, the same rights (apart from electoral rights) are usually offered for all citizens of the European Union member states, which makes dual citizenship mainly dispensable within the European Union.

In addition, the countries of residence under scrutinization received Finnish migrants in different times. During the last century, approximately one million Finns migrated first to North America, and later in the 1960s and 1970s to Sweden. Since the 1980s, migration from Finland has been more Europe-orientated (Koivukangas 2003). Thus, the countries under scrutiny have received Finns in different phases of globalisation, and later European integration, which could possibly have some effect as well.

Yet another possible explanation for the influence of the country of residence on the probability of having dual citizenship may be the reason for migration and living abroad. Perhaps the biggest change in terms of migration has been the change of the idea of migration itself. When people migrated to North America at the end of the nineteenth century, it was usual not to intend to return to Finland. However, nowadays studying and working abroad, as well as retiring "in a sunny place," are common phases in life. Therefore, having a citizenship of the country of residence is not a necessity for the short-term migrants of today in the same way it was a necessity for the migrants in the past.

Conclusion

My purpose in this chapter was to explore the factors that influence Finnish migrants' probability of having dual citizenship. I based the analyses on data compiled with a survey questionnaire from a random sample of 3,600 Finnish citizens residing abroad (n=1,067). The empirical results can be summarised as follows:

1) A migrant with a mother who has Finnish citizenship was eight times more likely to have dual citizenship than a migrant whose parents were not Finnish citizens. If both parents were Finnish citizens, it was less likely for the migrant to have dual citizenship. However, the father's citizenship did not have an equivalent effect: migrants whose father was a Finnish citizen but whose mother was not were not more likely (nor less likely) to have dual citizenship in comparison to those whose parents were not Finnish citizens. Therefore, it seems that the mother's effect on the child's probability of having dual citizenship is rather strong, whereas the father's influence is not significant.

2) Migrants who have lived longer abroad or have never lived in Finland are more probable to have dual citizenship than migrants who have lived abroad only for a shorter period of time.

3) Some countries of residence (Canada and the United States) influenced rather strongly the probability of having dual citizenship, whereas other countries of residence had more moderate influence (Sweden and Germany), and the United

Kingdom did not have a statistically significant influence for having dual citizenship. Possible reasons for this could be, for instance, the relevance of citizenship for a resident (assumed to be higher in North America than in Europe and especially within the European Union). Another explanation could be the original reasons for migration, seeing that the idea of migration has changed during the past century. In addition, the countries of residence under scrutinization received Finnish migrants in different phases of globalisation, and later European integration.

The results are significant in at least two major respects. First, the findings of this chapter cast light on the influencing factors behind dual citizenship, and offer a more comprehensive understanding of dual citizenship and the motives behind it. Second, the key findings of this chapter suggest that the mother's influence on the child's probability of having dual citizenship is rather strong, which in fact supports the traditional understanding of hereditary political and electoral behaviour from the mother's side, but which, however, has previously been scarcely mentioned interrelated with citizenship. However, there are still many unanswered questions in this field. How is the political participation of dual citizens? And furthermore, is the normative foreigner-citizen dichotomy outdated from the perspective of political participation and voting rights?

The growing tolerance for multiple nationality has been an important long-term change in nation-states' attitudes towards political transnationalism during the past decades. This chapter has explored the reasons behind dual citizenship by asking which factors influence Finnish migrants' probability of having dual citizenship. However, the reasons for migration are arguably different for the migrants from the Nordic countries than for migrants from many other countries. Therefore, the findings should not be straightforwardly generalised to extrapolate to all migrants, seeing that the case of Finnish migrants is somewhat different outside of its own reference group.

Recognising the problematics of dual citizenship is an important and timely topic. While the public dialogue is, on the one hand, largely focusing on global migration and, on the other hand, questioning dual citizens' simultaneous loyalties to two countries, the matter of dual citizenship ought to be pondered also from the viewpoint of equality. On the practical policy level, it seems likely that new strategies to develop and clarify multiple citizenship will be pursued simultaneously with citizens' ever-increasing mobility. However, the findings of this chapter also indicate the need for further empirical studies on this theme.

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Appendix Table 1. The respondents and the sample drawn from the Population Register of Finland

	Respondents (n=1,067)	**Sample** (n=3,600)
Current country of residence		
Sweden	133 (12.5 %)	600 (16.7 %)
Germany	237 (22.1 %)	600 (16.7 %)
United Kingdom	185 (17.3 %)	600 (16.7 %)
Spain	156 (14.6 %)	600 (16.7 %)
Canada	166 (15.5 %)	600 (16.7 %)
United States of America	182 (17.1 %)	600 (16.7 %)
Other	8 (0.7 %)	0 (0 %)
Missing	0 (0 %)	0 (0%)
Total	1,067 (100 %)	3,600 (100 %)
Age group		
18–24	41 (3.8 %)	332 (9.2 %)
25–34	131 (12.3 %)	582 (16.2 %)
35–44	214 (20.1 %)	704 (19.6 %)
45–54	188 (17.6 %)	543 (15.1 %)
55–64	229 (21.5 %)	550 (15.3 %)
65–74	203 (19.0 %)	629 (17.5 %)
75–84	43 (4.0 %)	228 (6.3 %)
85–94	3 (0.3 %)	30 (0.8 %)
Missing	15 (1.4 %)	2 (0.1 %)
Total	1,067 (100 %)	3,600 (100 %)
Sex		
Female	715 (67.0 %)	2,232 (62.0 %)
Male	336 (31.5 %)	1,368 (38.0 %)
Missing	16 (1.5 %)	0 (0 %)
Total	1,067 (100 %)	3,600 (100 %)

Appendix Table 2. Question wordings main variables

Dependent variables	*Question wordings*	*Answer options*
Gender	Are you?	Male; Female
Age	Year of birth?	
Marital status	Are you currently...	Single; Married; Registered partnership; Living as married; Divorced or separated; Widowed; Other
Highest level of education	What is your highest level of education or degree?	Still at school (comprehensive school, high school, vocational school, etc.); Elementary school (*folke schoole*, *kansakoulu*); Comprehensive school; Vocational school; Gymnasium or abitur; Polytechnic school; University; Licentiate or doctor
Citizenship of parent	At the time of your birth, were both, one or neither of your parents citizens of Finland?	Both were Finnish citizens; Only father was a Finnish citizen; Only mother was a Finnish citizen; Neither parent was a Finnish citizen
Participate actively in at least one association	People sometimes belong to different kind of groups or associations. For each type of group, please indicate whether you belong and participate or not: Political party; Trade union, business, or professional association; Church or other religious association; Sports, leisure or cultural group; Finland Society; Another voluntary association	Belong, actively participate; Belong, don't participate; Used to belong but not anymore; Never belonged; Can't choose
Current country of residence	What is your current country of residence?	Sweden; Germany; United Kingdom; Spain; Canada; USA; Other
Time lived abroad	How long have you lived abroad (in a country other than Finland)	Less than 5 years; 6-10 years; 11-15 years; 16-20 years; More than 20 years; I have never lived in Finland; I have moved back to Finland

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This volume is based on a selection of papers presented at the conference *FinnForum XI: Transnational Finnish Mobilities*, held in Turku, Finland, in 2016. The twelve chapters discuss two key issues of our time, mobility and transnationalism, from the perspective of Finnish migration. The volume is divided into four sections. Part I, *Mobile Pasts, Finland and Beyond*, brings forth how Finland's past – often imagined as more sedentary than today's mobile world – was molded by various short and long-distance mobilities that occurred both voluntarily and involuntarily. In Part II, *Transnational Influences across the Atlantic*, the focus is on sociocultural transnationalism of Finnish migrants in the early 20th century United States. Taken together, Parts I and II show how mobility and transnationalism are not unique features of our time, as scholars tend to portray them. Even before modern communication technologies and modes of transportation, migrants moved back and forth and nurtured transnational ties in various ways. Part III, *Making of Contemporary Finnish America*, examines how Finnishness is understood and maintained in North America today, focusing on the concepts of symbolic ethnicity and virtual villages. Part IV, *Contemporary Finnish Mobilities*, centers on Finns' present-day emigration patterns, repatriation experiences, and citizenship practices, illustrating how, globally speaking, Finns are privileged in their ability to be mobile and exercise transnationalism. Not only is the ability to move spread very unevenly, so is the capability to upkeep transnational connections, be they sociocultural, economic, political, or purely symbolic. Altogether, the volume brings together fresh perspectives on Finnish migration. It is geared toward anyone with a professional or personal interest in research on migration, mobility, and transnationalism.

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