

THE APPLE NEVER FALLS FAR FROM THE TREE—OR DOES IT? FINNISH FEMALE MIGRANT TRANSNATIONAL GENERATIONS ON THE SWEDISH LABOR MARKET

Hanna Snellman, University of Helsinki
Lotta Weckström, University of California, Berkeley¹

ABSTRACT

Migration from Finland to Sweden has taken place throughout times, yet the Westward migration reached its peak during the 1960s and 1970s: half a million Finns migrated to Sweden, predominately motivated by employment opportunities. This article is about Finnish female labor migrants, their daily experiences in the Swedish labor market, and the experiences of these labor migrants' transnational generations. We studied the education, career choices, and occupational opportunities of both groups and found that little upward mobility can be detected. This, however, does not translate to dissatisfaction in the women we studied; on the contrary, both generations were content with their careers. In our data, the experience of the Finnish language as a burden in a professional setting seems to have carried over to the next generation, as only a few spoke of their bilingualism as a real asset.

Keywords: education, female migrants, migrant occupations, Sweden Finns, transnational generations

INTRODUCTION

Like father, like son; an apple never falls far from the tree—we all are familiar with these proverbial sayings. Many cultures share the idea which these sayings convey:

¹ The authors of this article have worked together, and the names appear in alphabetical order. All parts have been co-authored.

habits, preferences, and ways of living are passed on from one generation to the next, such notions assuming that no major changes are to be expected in the paths of generations. To a certain extent this is true: for instance, in the area of education, children of parents with an advanced degree are still more likely to graduate from high school and go to college than children of high school dropouts (see Pugsley and Coffey 2002; Galotti and Mark 1994; David, Ball, Davies, and Reay 2003; Lichtenstein, Pedersen, and McClearn 1992; Jacobsen 1999; Kniveton 2004). Wealth, political affiliations, and spending habits are often passed down from one generation to the next (Ball, Bowe, and Gewirtz 1995). In this article, we look at the case of Finnish immigrant women who migrated to Sweden during the 1960s and 1970s, and their daughters' generation. We are primarily interested in exploring education, work, life experiences, and career paths for both generations. How far or how close do the apples fall from the tree, when the tree is transplanted to a new environment with a new language, habits, and expectations? Our aim is not only to add post-war female daily experiences to the study of Finnish migrants in Sweden, the experience that memory organizations have largely neglected (Snellman 2010), but also to take the next logical step and include their daughters' generation as well. By taking these steps, we are able to look at the Finnish case against the backdrop of Finnish immigrants and their transnational generations in Sweden.

This article also reports on an experiment: to what extent does our thesis, an apple never falls far from the tree, hold when Mothers and Daughters are not real mothers and daughters,² but from different families from different parts of Sweden? In other words, are we thus able to detect patterns of education or career choices spanning over generations of women, instead of observing certain family traditions being passed on to the next generation? Do apples of "immigrant trees" fall close to, or perhaps roll far away from the mother tree?

We were inspired to combine our data sets also to discuss Snellman's (2003) and Ågren's (2006) earlier studies with Finnish immigrants and their transnational generations. Snellman and Ågren studied Finnish immigrants in Gothenburg in the early 2000s, and interviews with parents and their actual children formed the empirical data of their research project. The researchers were interested in the inter-generational experiences of growing up with a Finnish background in Sweden. Snellman and Ågren ran into problems, both ethical and practical, soon after starting the interviews: it proved difficult, if not impossible, to keep the research

² In this article, we refer to Snellman's research data with the capitalized Mothers, and to Weckström's data with capitalized Daughters.

subjects anonymous. The researchers could recognize their interviewees' children/parents in each other's data. If the researchers could recognize children and parents from the data, most likely the interviewees could as easily do the same. In addition, readers might recognize research participants in the final written product. It might not have been a problem per se for a mother to merely recognize her daughter (or a daughter to recognize her mother) from an interview excerpt that was used in the final report, but it might have been painful to read her own daughter's experiences involving delicate family matters, conflicting recollections of events, or her child's sad memories concerning the Finnish family background. Yet, hurt feelings aside, it is unethical to present such data in which the research participants are not appropriately anonymized if they indeed were promised anonymity. According to guidelines for ethnographic research defined by the Council of the American Anthropological Association already in 1971 (see AAA Statement on Ethics), all subjects should be granted absolute anonymity should they so wish [see also the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity online source (Ethical Review in Finland) and the Swedish National Science Council/Vetenskapsrådet online source (Ethical Guidelines)]. The researchers should do everything in their power to protect the informants' physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honor their dignity, interest, and sensitivities (Spradley 1980, 20–25). In the case of Snellman and Ågren's project that took place between 2000 and 2004, anonymity was a challenge from the beginning. The realization complicated their work all along, and they had to take extra steps to conceal their informants' backgrounds. In the end, there was no ethical problem, because the researchers guaranteed that even the other researcher could not recognize who was interviewed and who the interviewee was.

DATA THROUGH THE EYES OF AN ETHNOLOGIST AND A SOCIOLINGUIST

Our data are based on ethnographic interviews and participant observations collected in Sweden during extensive fieldwork periods between 2001 and 2006. For ethical reasons, the exact locations are not revealed in this article. The interviews with Mothers were conducted in Finnish by Snellman, and the interviews with Daughters by Weckström in Finnish, Swedish, or a mixture of both. For this article, we use interview material from six Daughters and fourteen Mothers. Snellman's interviews were transcribed by a research assistant, and the transcripts and recordings are stored at Oulu Municipal Archive in Finland. Weckström transcribed her interviews, and the digitized audio is stored at the Language Center of the University of California, Berkeley.

In Snellman's (2003) previous research on Finns in Gothenburg, she created a system where the pseudonym of the interviewee also revealed the time of birth of the interviewee. She grouped her interviewees according to the experiences they had shared in their childhood and youth in Finnish Lapland. She called the groups "The Children of the Second World War" (born between 1931 and 1944), "The Children of the Reconstruction Years" (born between 1945 and 1948), and "The Children of the Structural Change" (born between 1949 and 1959). Each person belonging to the same group was given a pseudonym that started with the same letter. Therefore, further in the analysis, one could tell approximately when the person was born. However, the grouping had no other relevance for the analysis of the interviewees' lives in Sweden. That system turned out to be quite practical: the researcher did not have to record how old the people described were, or when they were born because the pseudonym revealed that information. Consequently, with this procedure, pseudonyms are not only fictional names fabricated to conceal the interviewees' identities; they are also an analytical tool.

In this study, Snellman (2003) groups her interviewees according to their shared experiences of immigration. Interviewees belonging to the first group were early pioneers, who had immigrated to Sweden between 1960 and 1965. The interviewees of the second group immigrated to Sweden between 1968 and 1970, during the so-called "gold rush," when, within the time of a few years, tens of thousands of Finns immigrated to Sweden. Those belonging to the third group immigrated to Sweden between 1974 and 1979, when immigration from Finland gradually slowed down. The pseudonyms associated with these three groups start with the letter P (the first group), with the letter H (the second group), and with the letter M (the third group). Therefore, in the following, the name of the person reveals the time of immigration of the person discussed.

All of Weckström's interviewees were in their mid or late twenties at the time of the interviews, and all of them chose their pseudonyms independently. During the interviews, Weckström discussed with the Daughters their chosen names (and names in general). All the Daughters explained that they had chosen a name to reflect trends in naming children around the time they were born and to highlight how they placed themselves in the Swedish context. Some selected Swedish names while others chose typically Finnish names. Yet, everyone commented on the significance and power of a name and naming. Finnish names, such as Katariina and Sanna, were explained to emphasize Finnish identity and the experience of growing up identifying primarily as a Finn in Sweden. Swedish pseudonyms, such as Emma

and Sandra, were explained to give a certain anonymity since the name did not reveal anything non-Swedish about the person. Some names, such as Pia and Maria, are common both in Swedish and Finnish, and Daughters who chose these kinds of names talked about the flexibility of identity when the name can indicate affiliation with both cultures (Weckström 2011; see also Ågren 2006, 52–55).

WHO ARE SWEDEN FINNS?

The term Sweden Finn refers to people who live permanently in Sweden and have some Finnish background. Statistics Sweden defines a Sweden Finn as someone who has at least one Finnish grandparent. According to Statistics Sweden (2016), Sweden has approximately 9.9 million inhabitants, and of the approximately 12 percent (1.1 million) who are immigrants or children of immigrants living in Sweden, more than half come from the neighboring Nordic countries. Even in the light of the ongoing refugee crises in Europe, the group of Finnish immigrants is by far the largest immigrant group if we look at transnational generations, regardless of how the calculations are made. Estimates of the number of people of Finnish descent vary between 200,000 and 721,000 people, depending on how this descent is defined and which criteria are applied. Sweden Finns are no longer necessarily seen as an immigrant group, but rather as a minority. Not only did Sweden Finns achieve the status of one of the five national minorities in 1999, but also the images and representations of Sweden Finns in the media have changed tremendously over the past decades. Markku Huovila, Sweden's beloved Finnish artist, drew a brilliant cartoon (Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000) about the image lift of Finns in Sweden. In his cartoon, Svea mamma, the Swedish matron representing the Swedish crown and state, sits at a table with a crown on her locks, sipping coffee. Two small characters are sitting next to the matron, and one offers commentary on how immigrants either assimilate into Swedish society (in Finnish the word *sulautua* 'melt' is used for this purpose) or sink to the bottom. The second character answers, "[y]es, they have become the sugar at the bottom of Svea Mamma's coffee cup!" (464). In another comic strip, we see two identical scenes: two men sitting on a park bench reading the newspaper. The first scene is set in 1970, the second in 1990. In the 1970s scene, one says, "Guess who robbed the bank?" The other answers: "Well, a Finn, of course." In the 1990s scene, the first man says, "Guess who bought the bank?" The other exclaims, "Well, a Finn, of course!" (435). As implied by these cartoons, the image of Finns in Sweden has evolved from a brute, drunk, and ill-educated factory worker to a much more successful character, a sweet finish of a cup of coffee.

Immigration from Finland to Sweden is closely linked to the post-war decades and especially to the years of colossal labor immigration in the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s. The massive migration from Finland to Sweden could be even referred to as an exodus. In those decades, the most extensive migration movement in Finnish history took place: during the post-war era, more than half a million Finns migrated to Sweden (Lainio 1996). Of these half a million migrants, approximately two-thirds returned to Finland either permanently or temporarily; a pendulum migration was common as families moved back and forth between Finland and Sweden. One of the Daughters, Emma, narrates her mother's journey to Sweden:

Yes, so she was there, in S [a town in rural Eastern Finland] working at a garment shop [laughter] and said like, I'm going to move to Helsinki because you earn 500 marks more a month working at Elanto [a department store]. Or something like that, yes, 500 marks and from there she went to Sweden, I believe to Gothenburg first and then to Stockholm, and there she made even more money. No one believed her that it was possible to make so much!³

Thus, Emma's mother was motivated to migrate by higher earnings and possibly some adventure too. The leap from rural Finland to a bustling big city like Gothenburg or Stockholm was huge. As many other immigrants did, she also found work as a cleaner, and later, after she had married and had children, in heavy industry, where she worked until early retirement. Emma's family moved three times across the Baltic Sea, to Finland and back to Sweden, finally settling near Stockholm.

The migration movement between Finland and Sweden is associated with certain power relations. These relations of power between Finland and Sweden are not usually referred to as colonialism, and Finland was never a colony of Sweden in the sense that India was a colony of Britain or Algeria of France; nevertheless, historically speaking, the relationship between the countries shares many characteristics of a colonial master-servant constellation. Finland was, for much of the written history, a part of the Swedish kingdom, and even after independence in 1917, the educated, political, and cultural elite in Finland was Swedish speaking. Savolainen (1982) analyzes the colonial aspects of the connection between Sweden and Finland and argues that colonialism has a negative impact on the self-esteem of

3 All interviews were carried out in Finnish or Swedish, and the excerpts used in this article have been translated into English by Hanna Snellman and Lotta Weckström.

the colonized; this impact is applicable also to Finns in Sweden. Finnish immigrants came to Sweden with a “baggage of servanthood,” unlike, for example, Turkish labor immigrants who arrived in Germany with no such history.

According to Lainio (1996), the absolute peak of migration was reached between 1969 and 1970, when net immigration amounted to 100,000 people; after this, Sweden stopped the active recruitment of foreign workers. The numbers of this peak year might be skewed because the entries and exits were not tracked (see Junila and Westin 2006). As discussed by Ahrne, Roman, and Franzén (2003, 89, 150) and Lainio (2015), from 1975 onwards labor immigration became subject to stricter controls, and Sweden started to follow an integration policy based on cultural pluralism. Immigrants were given the opportunity to keep their ethnic identity or adopt Swedish identity if they wished. They were granted the same rights, duties, and opportunities as those who were born in Sweden. Migration from Finland to Sweden ebbed in the 1980s.

The areas most prone to migration in Finland were rural. People often left agricultural jobs and settled in urban areas by finding employment in factories. Thus, the change was very dramatic for most migrant Finns. Not only did their language and daily social environment change; the geography and infrastructure, physical landscapes, and most often professional profiles changed as well. Low level of education played a crucial role in the lives of those who migrated in the 1960s and 1970s. Before the education reform of 1972, after which everyone in Finland received nine years of education, most Finns had received only the basic four to five years of elementary education. For these people, Sweden often offered what Finland could not: a job.

“FINNISH JOBS”

The focus of this chapter is on the daily life experiences and practices of Finnish immigrant women, our Mothers, and how they came to Sweden and entered the Swedish labor market during the busy migration years. What kinds of jobs did the Mothers find and how did they find these jobs? If they were formally trained, did they find positions where they could put their experiences to use, or did they assume an entirely different role on the labor market? Our data reveal three main areas of employment for Finnish immigrant women in the 1960s and 1970s: live-in domestic help, heavy industry, and cleaning. Both groups, Mothers and Daughters, spoke about these types of jobs as “typical Finnish jobs” in the interviews. When we extend our gaze beyond one generation, and beyond one immediate family, we

can ask whether the Mothers' experiences carried over, informing and shaping the Daughters' choices and experiences in the Swedish labor market. Do these collective experiences—immigration, entering the labor force in a new country, and shaping one's life in a foreign place—carry across generations within a migrant group? In other words, do the experiences of immigrant women influence the vocational choices and experiences on the labor market of the second generation of women?

In the beginning of the extensive migration of the 1960s and 1970s, more men than women migrated to Sweden. However, this gender imbalance was quickly corrected when girlfriends, wives, and families joined the men. It is noteworthy that it was not uncommon for young Finnish girls to migrate alone to Sweden; most minors worked as babysitters helping family members or friends of the family, thus repeating the classical chain migration pattern. Some decisions to migrate were a result of much consideration, but others were taken on a whim. In Snellman's data, a Finnish woman recalls the moment that shaped her life for good, estimating that it took "about two hours" to decide after she was asked to become a live-in domestic help for relatives in Sweden. A babysitter, a live-in maid, or domestic help were indeed the typical first occupations for females (Rahikainen 2007). This occupation enabled girls to immigrate to Sweden at an early age right after their compulsory education, and many of these girls were not older than fifteen. Usually the employers were close relatives, but not always. In many cases, domestic work was a positive occupational choice because it provided a kind of domestic apprenticeship and was an improvement on agricultural work. Usually girls moved to better paying factory jobs as soon as they turned eighteen. Often the employers, at least if they were relatives who had invited the girl from Finland, helped their babysitter to find a job at the factory right after her eighteenth birthday (Rahikainen 2007; Snellman 2003, 116). For Swedish families, a Finnish girl was most likely the second-best alternative, if a Swedish girl was not available. Finnish girls did not necessarily speak Swedish, but many times they had experience working as babysitters in upper- and middle-class families in Finland, and they were familiar with their employers' bourgeois values. Someone coming from Southern Europe was different in many respects, religion being one of them. It is known, for example, that Protestant American housewives were worried about Catholic Irish servants "corrupting their children" (Gabaccia 1994, 48). Todd (2005) points out that, in general, women immigrated at a younger age than men, exactly because it was easy for young girls to get a job as domestic help (123).

The situation was the same as in North America, among Irish women in Boston, Swedish women in Chicago, and Finnish women in Canada (Lindström 2003, 93). In 1920, 87 percent of employed Swedish women living in the United States were servants. Similarly, of all employed Norwegian women in the United States in 1920, 86 percent were servants. For Irish and Slovak female workers, these percentages reflected the same pattern: 81 and 86 percent, respectively. There are some common characteristics among live-in domestic workers regardless of country and time: domestic servants live where they work, they have little control over their own time, they work irregular and often long hours for low cash wages, and their relations with their employers are unpredictable, ranging from harsh, distant, and exploitative to familial and controlling or warmly friendly. Sexual harassment is a typical experience among domestic help (Gabaccia 1994, 47–48).

In 1964, at the beginning of the large-scale migration, 60 percent of the entire Finnish labor force that was visible in statistics in Sweden worked in heavy industry. In 1969, almost two thirds worked in heavy industry. Yet, two decades later, in 1986, the number was down to 41 percent. The number of Finns working in nursing, childcare, and other care professions in Sweden rose lightly between 1964 and 1986, but it never reached the national average of job distribution (Sisuradio May 14, 2013). In the 1960s and 1970s, Finns, like other labor migrants in Sweden, were overrepresented in heavy industry, assisting jobs, cleaning jobs, and hospitality jobs, and underrepresented in administrative and clerical positions. In the 1970s and 1980s, earnings in general were significantly higher in Sweden than in Finland, as the hourly wages of a factory worker could be as much as 90 percent more than back home (Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000, 175). However, this number should be taken with a grain of salt: it speaks volumes about the terrible economy and extremely low wages for unskilled jobs at the time in Finland, not necessarily about sky-high earnings in Sweden as compared with the cost of living. Yet, the gross earnings in unskilled jobs in Sweden were 40 to 50 percent higher than in Finland. Finns who migrated to Sweden often had very little or no insight into Swedish taxation or commodity prices and, for many, reality came as a surprise.

LACK OF LANGUAGE SKILLS AND DOWNWARD MOBILITY

Nancy Foner (1998), an American anthropologist who studied migrant women in New York City, observes that most Dominican and Chinese immigrant women, regardless of their education and training, were drawn to garment-factory work because they did not speak English. Factory work, wherever it was performed,

seldom required the ability to speak, it was quickly learned, and, in the case of her subjects, most garment sweatshops were owned, operated, and managed by compatriots. These jobs were easy to access without English-language skills (7–8). We see the very same dynamic in our data. Many Finns, regardless of education, found work in heavy industry through their fellow compatriots. In many cases, working in a factory did not require language skills of any kind. It was easy to perform these manual jobs well, without exchanging one single sentence during a work shift. There were, of course, exceptions to the rule: Finnish women who were already trained as nurses found employment at hospitals and private clinics. Yet many worked in assisting functions instead of being able to utilize their training from Finland as relatively independent nurses. The lack of skills in Swedish posed a real problem in the healthcare profession, and many skilled and trained women worked jobs they would never have accepted in Finland. For immigrant Finns, language skills could become very important later on, especially if they had ambitions to advance in the hierarchy to become foremen or shift managers, for example. But in the beginning it was most important to earn a living.

In her study on female immigrants in New York City, Foner (1998) shows that a number of Haitian and Hispanic aides in the New York nursing home she studied in the 1980s were professional nurses when they emigrated, but their qualifications were not recognized in the United States, and language problems stood in the way of passing requisite licensing exams to practice nursing in New York. Language problems were a reality for Finnish nurses working in Sweden, too. The only nurse in Snellman's data (we call her Hannele) was recruited to Sweden primarily because she was a trained nurse. At the beginning, she was dressed like a nurse at the hospital but was getting paid for a lower position mainly because of language problems:

And then I arrived in Stockholm. I had a sister already living in Stockholm, she had come a little earlier with her husband, a younger sister, they were working near Stockholm, and then . . . I started, I got a place to stay in Roslagstull, the hospital had arranged a place in a dormitory. But it was difficult, because I noticed immediately, and so did others as well, fellow workers and the director, that I couldn't manage, that is, I could not succeed being a nurse because of language. Then we made an agreement that I will work as an auxiliary nurse until I learn the language. And I remember how difficult it was . . . how difficult it was to be an auxiliary nurse and for all that . . . there was an authoritarian head nurse

who was fond of the Finnish nurse's uniform and she wanted me to wear the uniform even though I did not do nurse's work.

We don't know whether Hannele's experience was typical in Swedish hospitals or not, but recognizing Finnish qualifications in Sweden was by no means automatic. Poor or non-existing competence in Swedish made employment difficult for many professionally trained Finnish women.

Foner points out that many immigrant women, who had professional or white-collar jobs in their home society, experienced downward occupational mobility when they arrived in New York City. Without American-recognized training, English-language proficiency, or work permits, highly qualified women were often consigned, at least temporarily, to relatively low-level positions when they arrived. Many Jamaican private household workers whom she interviewed had been teachers and clerical workers back home, some experiencing the downward transition from "mistress to servant" (Foner 2000, 4). The downward transition was a reality for Finnish women in Sweden as well. Hellevi had been the head of a small post office, but in Sweden she could not dream of white-collar work without further education. Heta had been a hairdresser entrepreneur in Finland, but in Sweden she sought work at a factory. She first tried to work as a hairdresser, but that turned out to be impossible because she could not speak Swedish even though she had lived in Sweden several years as a child. However, she, too, preferred to be a cleaning woman instead of being a factory worker:

In the evenings I worked at a potato factory. . . . I threw up and sat there. We were sitting there like chickens and the potatoes smelled so bad. I picked the bad ones out and threw up. It was strange for me because earlier I had worked in business. I divorced my second husband after five years and started looking for a part-time job and found one in a record factory pressing records, but because I am no person to stand by machines doing one gesture, I resigned and started working in cleaning.

CLEANING AS AN "IMMIGRANT JOB"

In Snellman's data, Marja was the only interviewee of the fourteen Mothers with a high school diploma. She also had a diploma from a Finnish commercial college. However, she started her working life in Sweden as a cleaning woman. At first she had not even looked for work where she could use her education because of language problems. She also felt that pay was good in manual labor. She was not a cleaning

woman for long because she got a job at the factory. Soon, Marja started work at the office of the Finnish Association of her home community, and got that job because of her commercial education and Finnish background. Later, when she moved to another town, she found employment at a metal factory. After she had children, the most convenient way to earn a living for her was to care for other people's children. "Cleaning has always been the work of immigrants, you don't have to talk when you clean," stated one of Snellman's interviewees, Pirjo. She hits the nail on the head. For example, Portuguese immigrants in Canada from the same era found work as housekeeping staff in hospitals and as cleaners in factories and in other cleaning jobs (Brettell 1982, xv). In Sweden, cleaning was usually the first job for Finnish women over eighteen years of age. Mothers of young children could work in the evenings and at nights and take care of children, their own and maybe others', too, during the daytime. They could take on more cleaning tasks as their children grew older. How much this arrangement was a burden to older children, especially daughters in the family, is not known (see Todd 2005, 79). Pirjo's daughters were responsible for taking care of their younger brother:

When I was working in the shop, I worked six days a week, and Sunday was for laundry and preparing meals for the following week. I put the meals in the fridge, so the children could just warm them up. . . . I wrote a list saying who does what each day. It was always there on the countertop. And when I came home in the evening, the first thing I did was to sit in the kitchen and listen to who had been mean to whom, who had done what, who had hit whom. . . . My son was in kindergarten, but he did not want to be there. I had to pull him out, my eldest daughter always . . . daughters were taking turns in taking care of him.

Hilkka, Heidi, and Päivi all worked as cleaning women when their children were young. In the evenings, the father could be with the children, and according to the Mothers, it was also easy to get help from Finnish neighbors. Pirkko chose to work as a cleaning woman until her daughter was ten years old:

First, when I came here, because I was totally without the knowledge of Swedish, I just had [to] . . . and because my husband was working and we had a child—that is to say—I had already a son, and then we had a daughter together—we had a child and he went to work during the days, and when he came home in the evening, I went cleaning. After we moved here, I finished working in town and got a job here, cleaning schools.

I was cleaning schools, there were several small schools here, but not anymore. . . . I was cleaning, and then I also took care of the elderly as a home help. I did it until my daughter was ten years.

Paula's first job was in a textile factory, but when her children were small she, too, chose to work as a cleaning woman for practical reasons:

I did some cleaning work. My husband was working in two shifts, so I went cleaning when he was at home. I went cleaning in the morning before the workers came. You were not allowed to do the job when the office employees were there. And the same in the evening, when he came home, I went to work. Because of the children, so actually they didn't have to go . . . at that time there was no day-care for children, if you did not have some friend or something. Grandmothers and grandfathers were all in Finland, so it was . . . you had to arrange it somehow. When I had to do the laundry, I had to do it in the daytime, so he had to come home from work to be with children. You couldn't otherwise.

When Martta moved to Sweden in 1979, she started working three shifts as a fork-lift driver even though she was a single parent with four children. The pay was good and compensated for the dirty working conditions. Pirjo started as a cleaning woman, but after she was widowed, working in the evenings was not possible, and she found work in the kitchen of a restaurant. Still stressed by her lack of ability to speak and understand Swedish, she was fortunate to find employment with the Finnish Association.

Whereas Daughters never dismissed their mothers' professional paths or compared them to their own choices, they often used terms such as "unfair" and "hard" when they spoke about their mothers' career options and paths. Some remarked that their mothers could have done many other things had they been in the Finnish context, spoken Swedish, and found more support in their surroundings. In general, however, daughters applauded their mothers' generation for its "bravery and the hard work" the mothers had done in Sweden. Daughters' accounts of their mothers' careers in Sweden echoed Snellman's Mothers' narrations: most mothers had found employment within cleaning or factory work. Pia, Katarina, and Niina who were interviewed in a group setting, talked about "immigrant jobs" their mothers had. Pia's mother had worked at a laundry ever since the family had arrived in Sweden more than three decades before. Pia commented, with a lot of laughter, "It looks like all older Finnish people are working in the laundry or cleaning [. . .] especially those

who don't speak Swedish so well." Many Daughters mentioned Finnish acquaintances who had started their own cleaning companies and were successful in the business. Niina, however, saw no glory or success in cleaning jobs: "When they (Finns) moved here in the sixties, they were just given all the shit jobs the Swedes didn't want to do. Then they started cleaning companies and such, it isn't really a status thing at all."

SPEAKING FINNISH AT WORK: BONUS OR BURDEN?

As we mentioned earlier in this article, non-existent or poor Swedish-language skills had a strong impact on the professional lives of immigrant women. Most could not even dream of having their Finnish white-collar lives after migrating to Sweden. For most immigrant Finns, Finnish remained the primary language of their private life but also the language of work connections. Since Finnish social networks were tight, it was possible in certain areas of Sweden to get by almost exclusively in Finnish (see also Jaakkola 1989). One of the Daughters, Sandra, talked about the first-generation Finnish immigrants that she encountered through her work as a laboratory technician taking samples sometimes at hospital bedsides. She spoke about older patients who would not say a word until they noticed her nametag (she has a recognizably Finnish name) and then let a sigh of relief and started to talk. Sandra said that she sometimes sees the patient's name at the end of the bed before she even addresses them, and if she starts the conversation in Finnish, the elderly patient is at ease and "almost like a different person." Her experiences confirm the low level of Swedish-language skills some immigrant Finns still have after thirty or forty years in Sweden. The combination of manual labor in loud factory environments and strong, Finnish-speaking social networks might indeed have enabled a completely Finnish-speaking life until old age. Katariina and Pia mentioned that they still help their parents with official paperwork and go with them to doctors' appointments, insurance companies, and banks. Thus, our data highlight the concept that new immigrants arrived into already existing, strong Finnish networks through which they found jobs and meaningful social connections. Our two data sets, Mothers and Daughters, reiterate how minimal any spoken contact with Swedish-language speakers could be even over the course of a lifetime. Most immigrant Finns learned Swedish well over the years, but every single Daughter commented on their mother's Swedish skills. The skills were described as "perfect" or "really good," yet their accents were characterized as "very Finnish" and "giving away" that they were Finns. To sound as a Finn has not always been something people would necessarily find as a bonus; it was rather a burden. Here we come back to the negative images associated with Finnish immigrants (Weckström 2011; Ågren

2006). Many women in our data, both Mothers and Daughters, had at some point in their lives chosen silence over being associated with being Finnish. Since there are no striking differences in the appearance between Finns and Swedes, silence offered a sort of cover from negative labeling.

Both sets of data, Snellman's interviews with Mothers and Weckström's interviews with Daughters, suggest that Finnish immigrants and their descendants often use the Finnish language only in a domestic setting. All of the Daughters were competent bilinguals, but only a few had experienced their language skills in Finnish as useful in a professional setting. Sandra's hospital example illustrates a situation where Finnish clearly made a difference to everyone involved: the patient was more relaxed and could communicate, and Sandra could take care of her tasks more easily. Yet she had never received a bonus for an extra working language.

Daughters had not chosen their careers with Finnish-language skills on their minds; on the contrary, they claimed that they had never—or rarely in a professional sense—had any use for Finnish. Yet, all of them mentioned having had some small jobs, for example, while they were studying, for which the knowledge of Finnish was an advantage. Such jobs were often related to health or customer care, gastronomy, or working in a team of Finnish-speaking cleaners. According to the Daughters, some employers view additional languages as a bonus, but Finnish had never been considered as “useful.” Sometimes knowledge of Finnish had caused negative reactions in a professional setting for both Mothers and Daughters. Katariina talked about an event that took place at her job at a gas station and the conflicting ways her use of Finnish was reacted to. Her employer claimed that customers had complained about the fact that she spoke Finnish at work with Finnish-speaking customers. Her employer explained that it “bothers other customers and is impolite because others won't understand what was said.” Katariina was angry and hurt but continued using Finnish with Finnish-speaking customers although she “made sure to whisper if the employer was around.” The employer's attitude changed suddenly when an annual truck cruise was held in the town and his gas station could provide service to Finnish-speaking truck drivers as well. Suddenly Katariina's language skills were highly appreciated, and she recalls the cruise weekend as a turning point after which she spoke Finnish whenever she wanted to and as loudly as she pleased.

WHAT ABOUT EDUCATION?

The general picture in Sweden and in the whole of Europe is that the second generation—that is, the children of immigrants—fare better than their parents, but that

they experience disadvantages compared to their majority peers (Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008, see also OECD 2012). According to Statistics Sweden, second-generation immigrant Finns have a significantly higher education than their parents (Sisuradio May 14, 2013). Yet, compared to their Swedish peers of the same age group, the education level of people with a Finnish background is lower. Most young people with a Finnish background have completed high school and opt for vocational training, but few continue to college. The reasons for this discrepancy are manifold, and the level of the parents' education is often cited as the main factor explaining this gap. Here the apples do not seem to fall far from the tree.

The majority of Sweden Finns older than sixty-five have indeed no more than nine years of basic education (Sisuradio May 14, 2013). As we have established already, the majority of Finns came to Sweden to perform manual, often heavy, physical labor in factories, to press laundry, to clean factory floors, hotels, and office buildings, or to work as domestic helpers for family and friends (Snellman 2003). To perform most of these jobs, no language skills were necessary; one could literally put the gloves on and get to work. Our Mothers and Daughters confirm the statistics about education: all Daughters had two Finnish parents who had migrated to Sweden in the 1970s, and all but one had mothers with nine years or less of basic education from Finland. Their mothers, with one exception, did not speak any Swedish when they arrived. All Daughters had a high school diploma and some vocational degree, or studies in an institution of higher education. Maria, Katariina, and Pia each had from two to three years of vocational training. At the time of the interviews, Maria was a social worker while Katariina and Pia worked in retail. All three women described their jobs as satisfying and expressed happiness about their present careers and vocational choices. Sandra, Emma, and Sanna had college degrees. Sandra worked in her "dream job" in healthcare. At the time of our first interview, Emma had just started to work in retail after working at a chocolate factory for a while. At the time of the second interview in 2006, she was studying at a university (she graduated in 2010 and works abroad in a profession she trained for). At the time of our first interview in 2004, Sanna was a college student. When we met again in 2006 for the second time, she worked in a media profession that her degree had prepared her for.

The level of education varied within Snellman's Mothers group and Weckström's Daughters group. Some women had a college or a professional degree, some entered the labor market after some vocational training, and others had just a basic education. The striking difference between the groups was the degree to which the

women had found careers matching their level of education. None of Snellman's Mothers with higher education degrees or professional degrees, such as that of a nurse, found work in Sweden that would have corresponded with their education, experience, and skills right after immigration. Many Mothers took language courses and completed advanced degrees over the years and worked in professions they were trained for and wanted to be in. Others did not succeed in their efforts to climb the ladder to a better position, and yet others stayed at their conveyor belt or cleaning jobs until retirement. The Daughters, on the contrary, reported no such problems. According to the interviews, all of them were, professionally speaking, exactly where they wanted to be. Many of Snellman's Mothers talked about their children and their careers, expressing pride and happiness for their daughters' jobs in manual labor. They talked about their children's ability to be financially independent, own a home, and raise a family. None of these things can be taken for granted by anyone who makes the leap and starts over in a new country.

WHERE DO APPLES FALL AND WHAT HAPPENS TO THE TREES?

To revisit the proverb we evoked in the beginning of this article and in the title, does the apple fall far from the tree or close to it? In what respect might Daughters be like Mothers in their professional choices and experiences? Our data suggest that there are apples that fall very close to the mother tree and others that roll far away. Given the small scale of our data, we can neither confirm nor dispute the pattern that a low level of education, when compared with Swedish peers, would necessarily be passed along to the next generation in the context of Finnish immigrants in Sweden. Our data reveal different kinds of career paths ranging from vocational training to university degrees. What our data do show is that certain kinds of painful experiences, traceable back to the Finnish background and occurring in a professional setting, are repeated generation after generation. Both Mothers and Daughters talked about ridicule—even threats—because they spoke Finnish in a professional setting. Both groups mentioned whispering in Finnish in order not to cause trouble or to be singled out at work. Low-level professions, such as cleaning and factory work, were associated with being a Finnish woman of any generation in Sweden. However, as much as our study reveals painful experiences, it also speaks with a clear and loud voice of professional pride, satisfaction, and happiness. Both Mothers and Daughters were content and proud in their choices, and the Mothers spoke with great pride about their children's careers.

Our research did not consist of “real” mothers and daughters, but examined the hypothesis that, in the scope of generations (as opposed to individual families), daughters would follow their mothers’ footsteps in their career choices. Based on our analysis, it appears that the micro-level unit of a family with its internal dynamics in the case of Finnish immigrant women and their daughters’ generation is reflected in the larger scale of a generation and social class. The generation of immigrant Mothers with low education and jobs in the service industry or factory work is followed by a generation of Daughters with much more heterogeneous careers but the same shared experiences based on Finnish background. Finns in Sweden have not made the upward class trip (*klassresan*); indeed, it appears that the social class of being blue-collar has not changed. This, however, does not translate to disappointment in the light of our data; all Daughters expressed happiness about their career choices. They have, unlike most of the women of their mothers’ generation, been able to pursue careers of their skills, preferences, and ambitions.

As mentioned earlier, statistics show that transnational generations of Finnish immigrants in Sweden are, on an average, better educated than their parents. This is not surprising, given the nature of labor immigration to Sweden. The education system in the 1950s and 1960s, when the first generation was going to school in Finland, was very different compared to the 1980s, when their children went to school in Sweden. The world around us is constantly changing, and statistics about the third-generation Finns in Sweden have not been compiled yet. The third generation is still so young, not even of high-school age, so that we will have to be patient and wait to see where the apples roll. Lainio (2015) argues that “the (stereo)typical Finnish migrant, the industrial worker with only compulsory schooling and a rural background, largely vanished in the 1980s, but the image remains” (118).

How about the trees? The mother trees set roots in a new soil; they learned to nourish themselves from new and often very different sources of energy from those their home grounds nourished them with before. They produce a slightly different kind of fruit in the new country, and to do so they change in subtle ways. We find the agricultural metaphor of grafting highly appropriate when discussing migrants and their transnational generation. The metaphor allows us to look at migrants’ lives as they settle in a new context, keeping something of the old and adding elements offered by the new country. Grafting means adding, amending, and creating something novel, potentially something never seen before. We as researchers made an experiment and worked on a mixed data set. We did this, on the one hand, out of pure curiosity to explore the possible effects of migration across generations, and on

the other, to protect our interviewees. The outcome is that this is an interesting and ethically sound way to do research and a successful experiment as it allows a broader and deeper discussion of topics in migrants' lives when data span across generations.

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