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Elli Heikkilä
Saara Koikkalainen
(eds.)

FINNS ABROAD

*New Forms of Mobility and
Migration*





Elli Heikkilä
Saara Koikkalainen
(eds.)

FINNS ABROAD

New Forms of Mobility
and Migration



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**New Forms of Mobility
and Migration**

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Preface



Finland was long a country of emigration, and the number of incoming migrants only started to exceed the numbers of outgoing migrants during the 1980s, much later than in most European countries. Common stereotypical images of Finnish migrants range from the early 20th century lumberjack who left his native country to work in the timber trade in North America, to his countryman who found employment in the factories of prosperous Sweden in the 1960s or 1970s. Women have also emigrated from Finland to work as maids in St. Petersburg or nurses in Germany and the United Kingdom, or to accompany their families that crossed oceans to look for a new life abroad.

This collection of articles aims at broadening our understanding of Finnish emigration and the multitude of different types of transnational mobility that Finns engage in, which is a distinctive feature of our times. The days when entire villages in the peripheries had to contemplate international migration to a single destination as a survival strategy are long gone. Current migration from Finland is much more diverse, as people make individual choices with their own motivations for undertaking international mobility. For some, the motivation is grounded in career aspirations, while for others it is linked to love, family or a personal lifestyle choice, such as wanting to experience life in a global city or retirement in sunny Spain or Thailand. The origins of this book lie in the realization that many scholars in the early stages of their career who agreed to write to this volume are researching these interesting new migration phenomena in different settings.

Finns Abroad – New Forms of Mobility and Migration takes you, our reader, on a trip that spans over four continents and explores different types of mobility,

such as marriage and family migration, company secondments and highly-skilled migration. The historical perspective is present here too, as some destination countries have long attracted Finnish migrants. The first chapter by Elli Heikkilä introduces recent statistics on out-migration from Finland. Elli gives a profile of some Finnish emigrants and presents some of their thoughts about their possible return to Finland. In the second chapter, Krister Björklund first walks us briefly through the history of Finnish migration abroad over the past fifty years. He then continues with a comparison of the integration of Finnish migrants into local society in Sweden and in Switzerland, two quite different destinations in terms of the migrant stocks that have moved to each destination.

In chapter three, Saara Koikkalainen discusses the phenomenon of highly skilled migration in the European context, focusing on the motivation of Finns who have moved abroad to other European Union countries. Salla Saarela's article in chapter four also looks at expatriate Finns in Europe, especially the place experience of Finns living in Ireland.

In chapter five, Johanna Leinonen tracks the changes in Finnish emigration to the United States over the course of the twentieth century, showing how the marriage patterns of Finnish emigrants have changed along with deepening globalization processes. Our next stop in the United States is Silicon Valley, where in chapter six Carol Marie Kiriakos explores how the Finnish professionals situate their identity between their fellow citizens living back home and the non-Finns living in this innovation hub.

In chapter seven, we find ourselves on the other side of the globe where Nicol Foulkes explores how Finnish and Danish privileged migrants on company secondment navigate the social systems of India's mega-cities Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai. In the following chapter Anu Warinowski concentrates on the migration experiences of expatriate families who have returned to Finland after a company placement abroad.

In spite of originating from what is now a relatively prosperous nation, not all Finnish migrants live privileged lives when they are abroad. In chapter nine Leena Vuorinen takes a look at the life course of Finnish male alcoholics who have emigrated to Sweden and Australia. In chapter ten we stay downunder and Tiina Lammervo describes the differences between older and newer Finnish migrants living in Australia in terms of their linguistic and cultural identity. Our journey concludes with chapter eleven by Sanna-Mari Vierimaa, who discusses Finnish emigrant politics through the lens of the active member associations of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament.

We would like to thank the Spatial Citizenship in European Labour Markets (2008–2011) research project which was financed by the Academy of Finland Research Programme on The Future of Work and Wellbeing (WORK) for supporting the publication of this volume. We are grateful to the leader of the research project,

professor Asko Suikkanen and team members Seppo Koskinen, Anni Vilkko, Nicol Foulkes, Marja Katisko, Timo Tammilehto and Hannu Mikkola.

We would also like to thank the Institute of Migration, particularly the director, Ismo Söderling, for his insightful comments on the manuscript, the librarian Sisko Tampio who organized the lay-out of the book and lastly the information service manager, Jouni Korkiasaari.

We hope you enjoy your ride around the globe with us.

Turku and Rovaniemi, December 7, 2011

Elli Heikkilä and Saara Koikkalainen

Chapter 1

Finns abroad – the profile of emigrants and their thoughts about returning to Finland

Elli Heikkilä

Abstract

Finland's balance of international migration has been positive from the beginning of the 1980s, but since the first half of the 1990s up to the recent times there have been net losses of Finnish citizens. Substantially more Finnish citizens have left the country than expatriates have returned. The reverse is true for foreign citizens who come to Finland, for which the total balance of international migration is positive. During 2008–2009 this balance has also been positive for Finnish citizens but in 2010 it turned out to be negative again.

This chapter gives an overview of emigrant characteristics and the regions from which they are emigrating. The analysis also includes information about the destinations, i.e. which countries and global regions are the most attractive for Finnish emigrants, and especially for those Finnish citizens who emigrated in the 2000s.

In the analysis, emigrant demographic characteristics observed are age, gender, education, primary activity and economic sector. Both Finnish emigrants' interest in returning to Finland and the factors for staying in the destination country will be discussed.

1. Introduction

Emigration alters the population structure of Finland and its regions. In this chapter, emigration is discussed, not only in terms of persons born in Finland,

but also of immigrants. For an immigrant emigration may involve either a return to the country of origin or migration yet to another country. Finland's balance of international migration has been positive since the beginning of the 1980s. A closer look at the development from 1988 to 2007 shows that international migration balance has been positive due to foreign citizens' migration and net losses of Finnish citizens since the first half of the 1990s. Substantially more Finnish citizens have left than expatriates have returned. In 2007, the net loss of Finnish citizens was -805, whereas in 2008 there was a positive balance of 47 persons. In 2009 the figure for Finnish citizens' international migration balance was even more positive, 498 persons, yet negative again in 2010 (-1,358) (Figure 1).

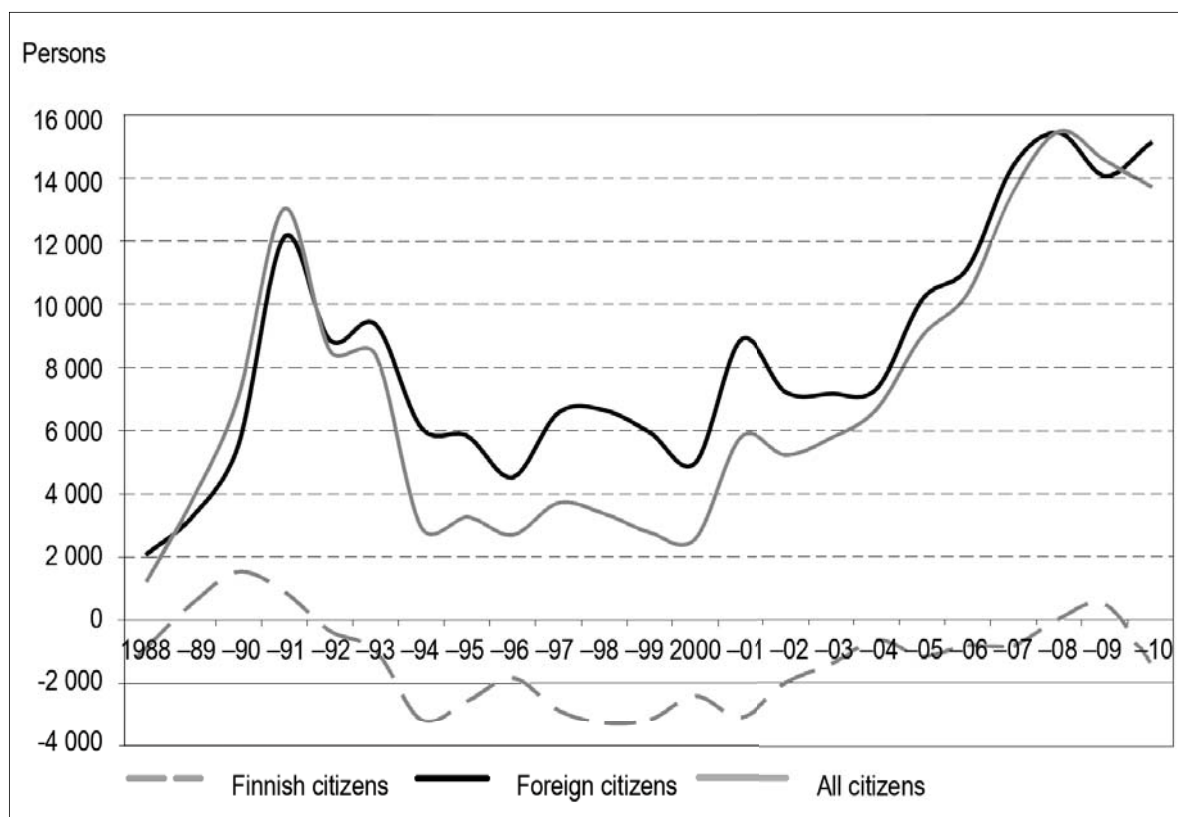


Figure 1. International migration balance of Finnish and foreign citizens in 1988–2010 in Finland (Data: Statistics Finland)

Currently, most Finns live abroad to study, work, or gain more life-experience, and usually do so on a temporary basis, which can last, however, many years (long-term temporary migration). Plans to stay often become permanent due to marriage. Retired persons constitute their own emigrant group: many live abroad for only for part of the year and are known as seasonal migrants.

This chapter looks into emigrant characteristics and the regions from which they are emigrating. The analysis also includes information about the destinations,

i.e. the countries and continents that are the most attractive for Finnish emigrants, and especially for those Finnish citizens who emigrated in the 2000s. Emigrant demographic characteristics observed are age, gender, education, primary activity and economic sector. Additional information is sought on expatriate Finns, i.e. on their plans to move back to Finland and the related push and pull factors.

Basic statistical data for the analysis was obtained from Statistics Finland (Statistics Finland 2011). In addition, special data on expatriate Finns from the European Social Fund -project conducted at the Institute of Migration will be used (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008). The data used for analyzing outgoing migration at the general level is from the year 2010. For the more detailed analysis of emigrant educational background and employment sector, for example, figures dating from 2000 to 2008 are used, if that data is the most recent available.

2. Emigration flows

In all, 11,905 persons emigrated from Finland in 2010, of whom 8,782 persons were Finnish citizens (74%). The majority (69%) of Finnish citizens emigrated to other EU member states (Figure 2; Table 1). Of these, Sweden has been undeniably the most preferred, having attracted 2,298 migrants in 2010 (Table 2).

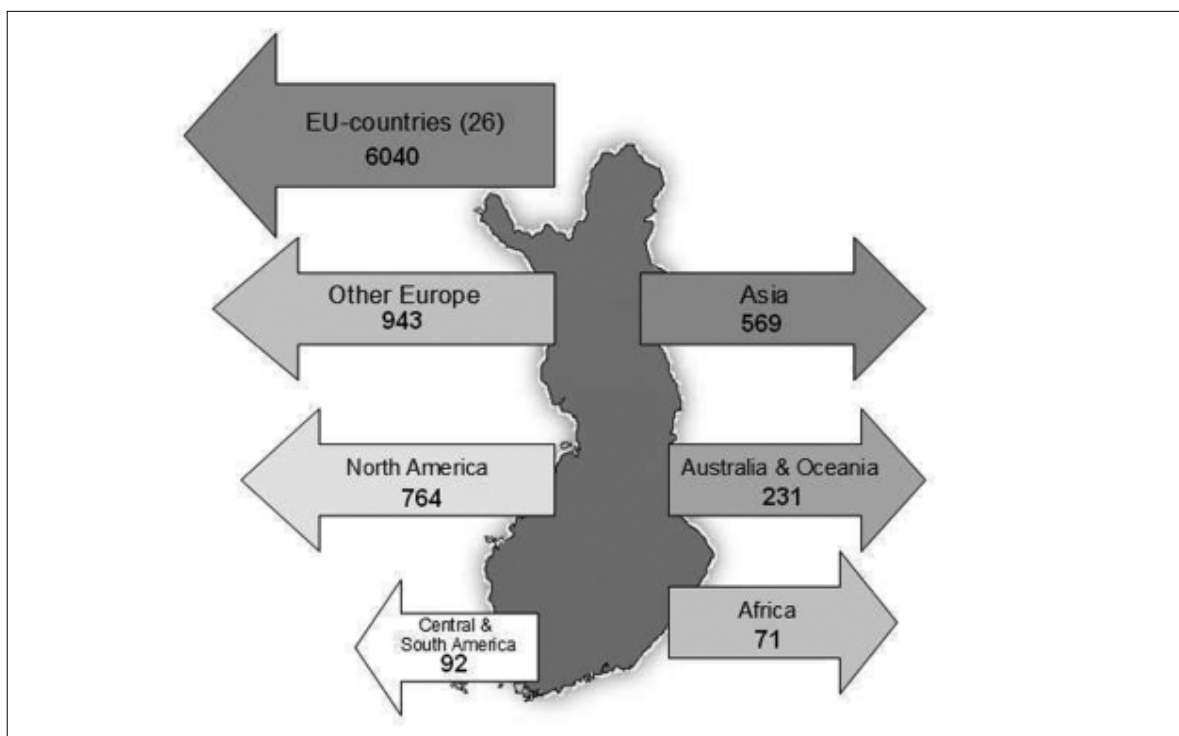


Figure 2. Emigration of Finnish citizens from Finland to global regions in 2010 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Table 1. Emigration from Finland to global regions by citizenship in 2010 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Destination of emigration	Citizenship										Total
	Finland	Other EU (27) countries	Other European countries	Africa	North America	South America	Asia	Oceania	Unknown	Total	
Other EU (27) countries	6,040	1,575	62	32	30	15	74	3	17	7,848	
Other European countries	943	32	347	3	5	0	14	0	4	1,348	
Africa	71	2	0	74	0	0	0	0	0	147	
North America	764	38	11	1	140	4	24	0	0	982	
South America	92	8	1	0	0	46	0	0	0	147	
Asia	569	36	2	3	3	1	443	2	0	1,059	
Oceania	231	15	0	0	1	0	3	17	0	267	
Unknown	72	5	10	4	0	0	9	0	7	107	
Total	8,782	1,711	433	117	179	66	567	22	28	11,905	

Table 2. Finnish emigrants from Finland to foreign countries in 2000, 2005 and 2010 by top-ten countries

2000			2005			2010		
		%			%			%
Sweden	3,349	32,9	Sweden	2,823	29,0	Sweden	2,298	26,2
Norway	1,236	12,1	Britain	1,133	11,6	Britain	933	10,6
USA	793	7,8	USA	844	8,7	USA	617	7,0
Britain	770	7,6	Spain	584	6,0	Spain	507	5,8
Spain	734	7,2	Germany	577	5,9	Germany	505	5,8
Germany	695	6,8	Norway	506	5,2	Norway	456	5,2
Denmark	304	3,0	Denmark	303	3,1	Denmark	349	4,0
Netherlands	234	2,3	Estonia	281	2,9	Switzerland	347	4,0
Switzerland	224	2,2	Switzerland	262	2,7	Estonia	269	3,1
Belgium	211	2,1	France	218	2,2	France	222	2,5
Total	8,550	84,0	Total	7,531	77,3	Total	6,503	74,0
Emigration total	10,183	100,0	Emigration total	9,737	100,0	Emigration total	8,782	100,0

Great Britain, the USA, Spain and Germany have followed. From other European countries (non-EU countries) Norway and Switzerland stand out as significant destinations. Over 80% of the moves to North America were to the United States. The most common destination in Asia was China, where for example Finnish companies have made business investments in the recent years. The United Arab Emirates stands out as another important destination alongside Thailand where many retired people move to stay permanently. Every fourth Finnish emigrant to Thailand was 55 years old or older in 2010. There has been less Finnish emigration to other continents.

It is worth noting that the number of Finnish emigrants has diminished from 2000 (10,183 persons) to 2010 (8,782 persons) with the difference of 1,400 persons (Table 2). The global economic crisis may affect individual decisions for not to emigrate. Another important observation is that Finnish emigration was very much concentrated to the so-called top-ten countries during the 2000s: 74% of them moved to these countries in 2010 and the share was even higher, 84%, in 2000. Totally, Finnish people moved to 106 different countries in 2010. Nineteen of them have received only one Finnish migrant. The variation between the destination countries is therefore very high.

Interestingly, Table 1 also shows that emigrants other than Finnish citizens have moved back to their home-continent in 2010. 92% of those citizens of other EU countries were moving to other EU countries. A destination country may be also other than the country of origin. Of the citizens of an African country, almost

two thirds moved back to Africa, or of the citizens of a South American country, 70% moved from Finland back to South America. We can hence say that there is a return migration phenomenon at least on the global region level, i.e. people move back to their home-continents.

Table 1 also shows that some people continue from Finland to a so-called third country (i.e. not to their country of origin). Thus 13% of citizens of an Asian country have moved from Finland to other EU countries, and over one fourth of citizens of an African country have moved to other EU countries. This is a sign of other countries being more attractive destinations compared to Finland; however, the reasons may vary greatly from person to person.

3. Departure areas of emigration within Finland

The county of Uusimaa has been the main departure region for emigrants during the 2000s: in 2010 half of all the emigrants moving abroad were from Uusimaa. Helsinki, the capital of Finland, which is located in Uusimaa, accounted for over one quarter of emigrants moving abroad in 2010. Varsinais-Suomi, Pirkanmaa and Ostrobothnia were the next most frequent counties of departure. Very few people have moved from Central Ostrobothnia and Kainuu (Table 3). In all counties, however, there have been instances of emigration.

Emigrants have very often moved from urban municipalities: the share of emigrants originating from these areas was almost 85% in 2008 (Table 4). The respective shares of semi-urban and rural municipalities remain low. The same can be seen in other indicators of international migration, i.e. in immigration and net migration. Emigrants tend to reside in areas with higher proportions of the total population.

4. Demographic and educational profile of emigrants

Young Finnish adults (aged 25–34) emigrated most frequently in 2010. Their share was around one-third and the absolute number was 2,727 persons. There have been slightly more women than men in this age group of emigrants. When looking at 15–24 years old persons, the propensity to emigrate has been even nearly twice as high among women compared to men. About 3% of emigrants were at least 65 years old. The share is similar to country-internal migration for those who are 65 years old and older. The older the people are the lower the propensity is for migration. There have been considerably more male than female emigrants among 55–74 years old (Table 5).

Table 3. Emigration by counties in 2000, 2005 and 2010 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Year 2000	Persons	%	Year 2005	Persons	%	Year 2010	Persons	%
Uusimaa	6,446	45,0	Uusimaa	5,402	43,7	Uusimaa *	5,938	49,9
<i>Helsinki</i>	3,487	24,4	<i>Helsinki</i>	2,919	23,6	<i>Helsinki</i>	3,171	26,6
Varsinais-Suomi	1,232	8,6	Varsinais-Suomi	1,055	8,5	Varsinais-Suomi	912	7,7
<i>Turku</i>	752	5,3	<i>Turku</i>	639	5,2	<i>Turku</i>	560	4,7
Pirkanmaa	856	6,0	Pirkanmaa	993	8,0	Pirkanmaa	884	7,4
<i>Tampere</i>	537	3,8	<i>Tampere</i>	655	5,3	<i>Tampere</i>	578	4,9
Northern Ostrobothnia	804	5,6	Northern Ostrobothnia	701	5,7	Ostrobothnia	584	4,9
<i>Oulu</i>	428	3,0	<i>Oulu</i>	444	3,6	Northern Ostrobothnia	561	4,7
Ostrobothnia	683	4,8	Ostrobothnia	549	4,4	<i>Oulu</i>	333	2,8
Lapland	656	4,6	Lapland	494	4,0	Central Finland	404	3,4
Central Finland	425	3,0	Åland Islands	401	3,2	Åland Islands	398	3,3
Pohjois-Savo	413	2,9	Central Finland	391	3,2	Lapland	349	2,9
Åland Islands	383	2,7	Päijät-Häme	340	2,7	Päijät-Häme	277	2,3
Päijät-Häme	368	2,6	Pohjois-Savo	302	2,4	Satakunta	256	2,2
Kymenlaakso	319	2,2	Satakunta	265	2,1	Pohjois-Savo	210	1,8
Satakunta	282	2,0	Kymenlaakso	226	1,8	Kymenlaakso	207	1,7
Kanta-Häme	222	1,6	Kanta-Häme	215	1,7	Kanta-Häme	180	1,5
Etelä-Savo	217	1,5	Southern Carelia	186	1,5	Southern Carelia	174	1,5
Northern Carelia	208	1,5	Itä-Uusimaa	177	1,4	Southern Ostrobothnia	153	1,3
Southern Carelia	198	1,4	Etelä-Savo	170	1,4	Northern Carelia	153	1,3
Southern Ostrobothnia	190	1,3	Southern Ostrobothnia	169	1,4	Etelä-Savo	135	1,1
Itä-Uusimaa	186	1,3	Northern Carelia	166	1,3	Central Ostrobothnia	66	0,6
Kainuu	112	0,8	Central Ostrobothnia	91	0,7	Kainuu	64	0,5
<i>Kajaani</i>	59	0,4	Kainuu	76	0,6	<i>Kajaani</i>	33	0,3
Central Ostrobothnia	111	0,8	<i>Kajaani</i>	38	0,3			
Counties total	14,311	100,0	Counties total	12,369	100,0	Counties total	11,905	100,0

*) The emigrant figures of major cities and towns are included in the total of the respective county. E.g. the number of emigrants from Helsinki (3,171) is included in the total number of emigrants from Uusimaa (5,938)

Table 4. International migration by type of municipality in Finland in 2000 and 2008 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Type of municipality	2000					
	Immigration		Emigration		Net migration	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Urban municipalities	13,804	81,7	11,710	81,8	2,094	81,0
Semi-urban municipalities	1,320	7,8	1,205	8,4	115	4,5
Rural municipalities	1,771	10,5	1,396	9,8	375	14,5
Total	16,895	100,0	14,311	100,0	2,584	100,0
	2008					
	Immigration		Emigration		Net migration	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Urban municipalities	24,032	82,5	11,511	84,3	12,521	81,0
Semi-urban municipalities	2,401	8,2	1,005	7,4	1,396	9,0
Rural municipalities	2,681	9,2	1,141	8,4	1,540	10,0
Total	29,114	100,0	13,657	100,0	15,457	100,0

Table 5. Age and gender structure of Finnish emigrants in 2010 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Age	Men		Women	
	abs.	%	abs.	%
0–14	737	18,2	729	15,4
15–24	683	16,9	1,266	26,7
25–34	1,197	29,6	1,530	32,3
35–44	641	15,9	629	13,3
45–54	401	9,9	323	6,8
55–64	256	6,3	172	3,6
65–74	110	2,7	66	1,4
75–	20	0,5	22	0,5
Age groups in total	4,045	100,0	4,737	100,0

Of the 2008 Finnish emigrants, nearly one-quarter either had primary school education or the educational background was unknown, slightly more than one-third (39%) had secondary school education. The educational background of Finnish emigrants is quite high since 37% of them had higher education in 2008.

The analysis of what global regions Finnish emigrants have moved to in 2008 proves interesting when observed by their educational background (Table 6). The most important destinations were other EU countries concerning all education categories. Of those with upper higher education, 770 persons moved to other EU countries. The next highest flow has been to North and South America (145 persons). The number of persons with doctoral level education moving to other EU countries was 93 persons and 20 persons to North and South America. Around one hundred upper higher educated moved to the rest of Europe as well as to Asia. Those with secondary school education typically moved to Nordic countries outside the EU, which especially refers to Norway as a target country. Those with primary school education moved even further to North and South America that are the second most important regional destinations for them.

To analyse the differences between those who move abroad to country-internal migrants and those who do not move, we look at data from 2002 (Table 7). On average, persons who moved abroad from Finland during that year had a slightly higher educational level compared to the other two groups. 32% of such emigrants had higher education, in contrast to 28% of internal migrants and 26% of the population staying in place. The emigrant group included the smallest absolute number of persons with doctoral education (166), but had the largest doctoral-educated share of any of the three groups (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008: 120–121).

The well-educated often represent a case of “target migration”, whereby emigration speeds up career development. More common among the less educated is the so-called “forced migration” that is motivated by unemployment in the country of departure and by the hope of finding work in the new country. The migration flows from Finland in 2002 consist largely of young and well-educated people: of emigrants between ages 25 and 29 for instance, 38% had higher education and 37% secondary school education. In terms of the 30–34-year-olds, it is found that a clear majority had higher education (47%) in contrast to secondary education (24%). In addition, 47 persons within this emigrant age group had doctoral education (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008: 121–122). For Koikkalainen (2008: 36), men seem to move more often on grounds of work (33%) and women on grounds of love (37 %).

Table 6. 15-years-old and older Finnish citizens' emigration by destination region and education in 2008 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Destination region	Primary education/ unknown	Education												
		%	Secondary	%	Lowest higher	%	Lower higher	%	Upper higher	%	Doctoral	%	Total	%
Other EU countries	1,321	74,7	2,280	76,3	342	62,9	607	64,0	770	63,4	93	67,9	5,413	71,2
Nordic countries outside EU	116	6,6	248	8,3	56	10,3	75	7,9	49	4,0	8	5,8	552	7,3
Rest of Europe	56	3,2	98	3,3	30	5,5	57	6,0	99	8,1	9	6,6	349	4,6
Africa	8	0,5	27	0,9	6	1,1	6	0,6	13	1,1	1	0,7	61	0,8
North and South America	159	9,0	189	6,3	50	9,2	103	10,9	145	11,9	20	14,6	666	8,8
Asia	63	3,6	105	3,5	45	8,3	81	8,5	98	8,1	4	2,9	396	5,2
Oceania	42	2,4	36	1,2	15	2,8	17	1,8	39	3,2	2	1,5	151	2,0
Unknown	3	0,2	4	0,1	0	0,0	3	0,3	2	0,2	0	0,0	12	0,2
Total	1,768	100,0	2,987	100,0	544	100,0	949	100,0	1,215	100,0	137	100,0	7,600	100,0

Table 7. Education level of emigrants, of internal migrants, and of the population staying in place in 2002, including all persons of 15–74 year old (Data: Statistics Finland)

Year 2002	Emigrants		Internal migrants		Population staying in place	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
Primary education	3,306	34,5	16,824	19,6	1,348,465	35,6
Secondary education	3,204	33,5	44,679	52,0	1,477,165	38,9
Lowest higher education	943	9,9	8,098	9,4	494,092	13,0
Lower higher education	812	8,5	8,078	9,4	219,453	5,8
Upper higher education	1,141	11,9	7,818	9,1	231,381	6,1
Doctoral education	166	1,7	482	0,5	24,050	0,6
Education total	9,572	100,0	85,979	100,0	3,794,606	100,0

5. Primary activity of emigrants

In this section, emigration structure is examined using primary activity data combined with other demographic indicators from the beginning of the year 2008. Finnish people are classified as those who speak Finnish, Swedish or Saami as their mother tongue. The data are obtained from Statistics Finland.

Nearly one third of the Finns who emigrated in 2008 were employed in the beginning of 2008 (Table 8). Almost every fifth were others outside of labor force and over every tenth were children. This means that also Finnish families with children have moved abroad. The share of the unemployed was very small among Finnish emigrants. Importantly, there is quite large a number of persons whose primary activity is unknown.

Table 8. Primary activity of Finns who emigrated from Finland in 2008 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Primary activity	Number	%
Employed	2,723	30,2
Unemployed	211	2,3
Child (0–14 y.)	1,101	12,2
Student	776	8,6
Retired	316	3,5
Conscript	31	0,3
Unemployed-retired	14	0,2
Other outside labour force	1,546	17,1
Unknown	2,298	25,5
Total	9,016	100,0

An interesting aspect to look at is from what economic sectors Finnish emigrants moved in 2008. The highest share (16%) included the employed in manufacturing, which in absolute numbers amounts to 443 professionals. Next largest group were those employed in wholesale and retail trade (14%). 262 professionals employed in human health and social work activities left Finland in 2008. The occupational range of the employed is, however, rather wide implying that emigration is not sector-specific (Figure 3).

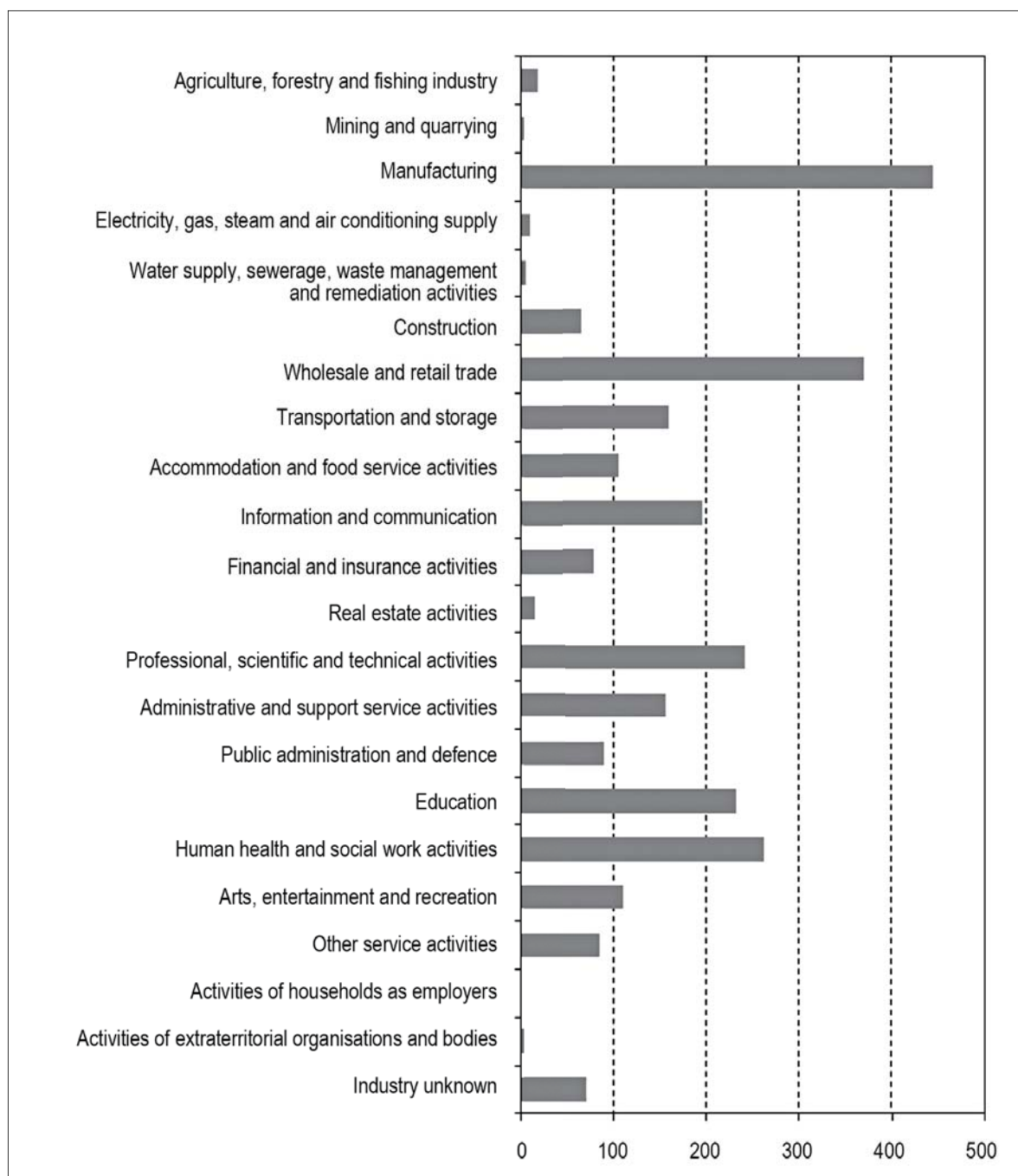


Figure 3. Economic sectors of employed Finns in the beginning of 2008 who emigrated from Finland in 2008 (Data: Statistics Finland)

A closer look at the economical sectors and education of Finnish emigrants in 2008 shows that the most common economic sectors of those with lowest higher education were in human health and social work activities (27%), manufacturing (16%) and wholesale and retail trade (15%) (Table 9). Those with lower higher education had the same sectors in their top-three categories as the earlier educational group but manufacturing was the most important sector (23%), followed by human health and social work activities (14%), and wholesale and trade (12%). Persons with upper higher education were mostly employed in manufacturing (23%), but also in professional, scientific and technical activities (15%), and education (15%). The most common fields among those with doctoral education were education (54%) and professional, scientific and technical activities (16%). Every tenth emigrant was also employed in human health and social work activities.

Of those with secondary education every fifth was employed in wholesale and retail trade and every tenth both in manufacturing and administrative and support service activities. Emigrants with primary school education in 2008 were employed in wholesale and retail trade (14%), transport and storage (13%) and every tenth in manufacturing. Finally, in terms of absolute numbers, the greatest number of emigrants were those with secondary education employed in wholesale and retail trade (176 persons), those upper higher educated employed in manufacturing (157 persons) and lower higher educated in manufacturing (115 persons) (Table 9).

In comparison, among the employed persons who emigrated in 2002, it is found that the most common employment sectors were trade (15%), finance, insurance, real estate and business activities (14%), and education and research (9%). In the following sectors the majority of emigrants were male: construction (90%), manufacture of machinery and equipment (87%) and manufacture of transport equipment (87%). The majority of emigrants in social care (85%) and health care (80%) were women (Figure 4; Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008: 123).

6. Are expatriate Finns willing to return?

A research by Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2008) looked into expatriate-Finns' plans to return back to Finland. A web-based survey was conducted in the spring of 2006. Responses were received from 430 persons. 78% of the respondents were women and 22% were men. The age range was between 19–84 years old and an average the age of respondents was 47 years. The largest age groups were 50–54 years old (68 persons) and 55–59 years old (61 persons).

The respondents represented a total of 28 countries of residence, and the largest share (about 45%, or 193 persons) lived in Sweden. The next largest groups of respondents lived in Australia (17%, 73 persons), the United Kingdom (7%,

Table 9. Economical sector and education of employed Finns who emigrated from Finland in 2008 (Data: Statistics Finland)

Employed by economical sectors	Level of education												Total		
	Primary/ unknown		Secondary		Lowest higher		Lower higher		Upper higher		Doctoral		abs	%	
	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	
Agriculture, forestry and fishing industry	5	2	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	18	1
Mining and quarrying	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Manufacturing	29	10	104	11	33	16	115	23	157	23	23	5	6	443	16
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	5	1	1	0	0	10	0
Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0
Construction	22	7	34	4	2	1	4	1	5	1	1	0	0	67	2
Wholesale and retail trade	42	14	176	19	31	15	61	12	56	8	8	3	4	369	14
Transportation and storage	40	13	77	8	10	5	23	5	10	1	1	0	0	160	6
Accommodation and food service activities	13	4	69	7	5	2	15	3	4	1	1	0	0	106	4
Information and communication	16	5	53	6	16	8	40	8	70	10	10	1	1	196	7
Financial and insurance activities	5	2	19	2	3	1	17	3	36	5	5	0	0	80	3
Real estate activities	2	1	6	1	1	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	14	1
Professional, scientific and technical activities	8	3	59	6	9	4	52	10	101	15	15	13	16	242	9
Administrative and support service activities	28	9	84	9	3	1	28	6	14	2	2	0	0	157	6
Public administration and defence	8	3	23	2	7	3	11	2	37	5	5	5	6	91	3
Education	9	3	39	4	7	3	29	6	106	15	15	43	54	233	9
Human health and social work activities	23	8	79	8	56	27	68	14	29	4	4	7	9	262	10
Arts, entertainment and recreation	21	7	56	6	5	2	10	2	17	2	2	1	1	110	4
Other service activities	9	3	30	3	7	3	10	2	28	4	4	1	1	85	3
Activities of households as employers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Industry unknown	20	7	33	3	8	4	4	1	6	1	1	1	1	72	3
Total	301	100,0	951	100,0	204	100,0	496	100,0	691	100,0	100,0	80	100,0	2,723	100,0

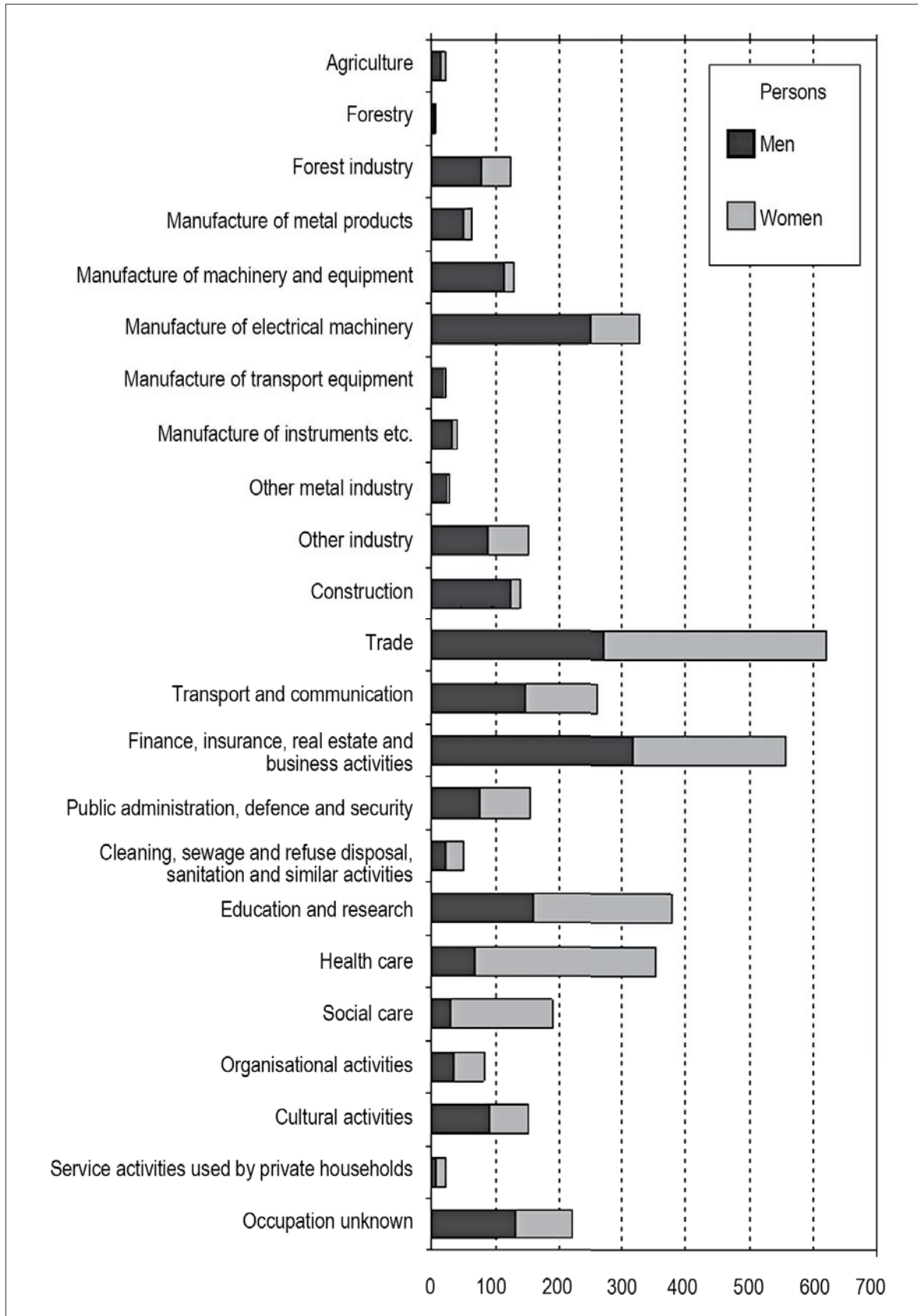


Figure 4. Economic sectors of employed emigrants in Finland in 2002 (Data: Statistics Finland)

31 persons), Belgium (6%, 26 persons), the United States (5%, 20 persons) and France (3%, 15 persons).

The education level of the respondents varied, however, most represented held Master's Degrees (27%). The women respondents were, on average, more educated than the men. 69% of the respondents were employed at the time of the questionnaire's publication. 92% of the respondents had not planned for the length of their stay prior to their emigration. 40% planned to move to Finland someday, 53% did not, and 7% were undecided. The women were more inclined to move to Finland: 44% of the women as opposed to 29% of the men. Students in particular were contemplating return migration.

One third of the respondents living in Sweden intended to move back to Finland someday, one-quarter of the 73 living in Australia, nearly 80% of the 31 living in the United Kingdom, 65% of the 26 living in Belgium, 70% of the 20 living in the United States and two-thirds of the 15 living in France. Of those who were thinking that Finland was their home country, 60% were planning to move back to Finland. Of those who were thinking that Finland and also recent country of living was a home country, only 29% were planning to return Finland. Of those who were thinking that some country other than Finland was a home country, only less than every fifth were planning to return to Finland. The following quotes from the survey responses represent these different points of view:

► *"We've been immigrants in Australia for two three-year periods. It's time to return to our roots, where we have the advantage of being on our home ground and don't need to prove that we belong." (38-year-old woman, Australia)*

► *"Finland is a good place to live, especially for families with children. This has already been the third multi-year period in which we've lived abroad. It has been good to return to Finland each time." (44-year-old woman, China)*

► *"Actually, I don't even think about returning to Finland because currently it isn't an issue at all. But maybe someday, I don't know. The soonest would be in 5–10 years." (27-year-old woman, Hungary)*

A 62% majority of those willing to return have based their plans specifically on work. This suggests that Finland has not permanently lost her skilled citizens to other countries; the situation is one of "brain circulation" (see Williams 2005: 441–442). Plans to return are relatively strongest among licentiate (63%) and

those with doctoral (50%) education groups, whereas only about 15% of those with primary education were thinking of moving. The absolute numbers for plans to return were the highest for those who had Master of Sciences educational background. One in three considered spending their retirement years in Finland, but a few planned to return to study. Some respondents had left Finland for the very reason that they could not find interesting, well-paid work in Finland that would have corresponded to their education. Those who were willing to come to work in Finland, half of them believed that they would find a job without any problems, one fourth did not believe in the possibilities for employment and one fourth was unsure about the situation in the labor market. Employment opportunities are clearly of importance for this respondent, for example:

► *“If I got a job, I’d move right then! In any case, my plans are to move back to Finland within a few years...” (47-year-old woman, Sweden)*

Many of the respondents were married to foreigners at the time of the survey and doubted that the spouse could adapt to or find work in Finland as easily as they had done in the foreign country. Plans for returning back to Finland involved considerations for not only finding work for the expatriate Finn but also for their spouse. Many respondents believed that it was easier for them to find a job abroad than for their spouse to find a job in Finland due to the lack of language proficiency (Finnish or Swedish). The following quote exemplifies the difficulties of return:

► *“Finland is a cold, drab, clannish country, and Finnish expatriates as well as foreigners have a hard time adjusting to it. It’s also hard to find work and make friends in Finland if you don’t speak perfect Finnish (my husband’s situation). I once returned to Finland a few years ago after my studies and noticed that my education was not at all valued there; I was just considered a misfit – as a job applicant, as an employee, and in the eyes of the bureaucracy.” (27-year-old woman, Hungary)*

Family reasons may constitute both push and pull factors for returning back to Finland. Marriage, having a family with children, divorce, widowhood and having grandchildren may contribute to plans for return or not to return. Close social connections and networks are important for such plans. Many expatriate Finns are willing to offer Finnish education to their children to encourage them to learn Finnish language and culture. Issues such as illness of a close family member may also affect a decision to move back to Finland such as in the case of elderly care. Another factor stated was to do with missing Finnish nature and the four seasons. For some people Finnish health care system and opportunities for study were important pull factors in the decision-making process. Returning to make

one's children grow up to be Finnish was something this respondent places a high value on:

- ▶ *“Finland is the home country, as close friends and relatives are there. Also for the sake of the children becoming Finnish, I would [move to Finland]; going to school only in foreign countries would alienate them from their own culture and take them away from their roots.” (35-year-old woman, Singapore)*

Family reasons are also important for those who are not willing to come back to Finland as there already is a new network of friends and work community, i.e. social capital. The worry about the situation of the foreign spouse if the family moved to Finland often postpones or hinders the return plans. Some believe that expatriate Finns are not appreciated in Finland even if they had international work experience and language proficiencies. Some respondents mentioned the climate: rainy autumns and long, dark winters. For them the summer time “with more sunlight” was attractive enough for visiting Finland but not to live there permanently.

7. Discussion

The Finnish population is aging fast as is the case also in other developed countries like Japan. It is expected that in the whole country the age-group of 65-years old and older is growing during 2010–2020: the share of the elderly has been 17.5% in total population in 2010 and it is predicted that it will be 22.9% in 2020. This increase means around 350,000 more elderly persons. In terms of the age group of 15–64 years old, the share was 66% in 2010, but will diminish during this decade to 60.5%. The working age population will thus decrease by 138,000 persons up to 2020 (Statistics Finland 2011). Now that the baby boomers have begun to reach the retirement age, there will not be enough labor force to replace them, and some parts of the country are especially affected. Expatriate Finns are one potential source of labor force for the Finnish labor markets.

The young and educated are prominent among the emigrants from Finland, and this development skews from its own part population structure as long as Finland does not receive a corresponding number of return migrants. For Finland it is essential that net international migration somehow increases and Finnish citizens' balance of migration changes to positive once again. It is natural to go abroad and acquire human capital but it is also essential that Finland is competitive enough to attract these persons back home. Nowadays Finnish people can move also from foreign country to another and not necessary return back at all. In addition, temporary migration can turn to permanent especially in the case

of intercultural marriages. The longer the migrant is away from the country of origin the less obvious is the return. This is evident in the study of expatriate Finns: social networks are formed in the country of residence and moving away from one's children and grandchildren is not an easy choice.

Importantly, however, there is a vast potential group of return migrants who are willing to come to Finland to work: of those who are considering moving back to Finland 62% are willing to do so. Yet there are also obstacles to put the plans into reality since there are worries about the foreign spouse and his/her possibility to find work in Finland. Expatriate Finns might know about immigrants' situation in the labor market and that it is not always easy to find employment. The prospect of having to learn the Finnish or Swedish language is also a significant consideration.

Surprisingly, the study of expatriate Finns shows that only a half of them anticipate finding a job without any problems, one fourth do not believe in the possibilities for employment and one fourth are unsure about the situation in the labor market. Expatriate Finns do not have problems understanding and commanding Finnish language. Some of them have, however, thoughts that their human capital obtained in foreign countries is not appreciated in Finland.

When an expatriate Finn returns to the country of origin, he/she often brings along a foreign spouse. Therefore, the benefits to the labor market include not only the returning Finn's own human capital acquired abroad, but also additional resources brought into the country. For return migration to be more appealing to expatriate Finns, Finland needs to consider the expatriate's entire family and their various requirements for better integration to our society. Working life is only one aspect to the integration as there are others such as social networks including relatives, friends and neighbors, children's education, to mention a few. The integration of expatriate Finns and their families is a process involving many spheres of life and might also vary considerably from one family member to another.

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Finland's flag decoration in a car during FinnFest 2008, Duluth, USA. (Photo: E. Heikkilä)

Chapter 2

Finns in Sweden and Switzerland – between cosmopolitans and locals

Krister Björklund

Abstract

Towards the end of the 1940s Sweden became the main destination for emigrants from Finland. But there was more than a trickle of Finns moving to other countries as well; most of these went to West Germany, Great Britain and to the somewhat unlikely destination Switzerland. The emigration gained momentum in the 1960s and declined in the 1980s. Although these two migration streams coincided, their composition differed substantially. Sweden attracted largely unskilled labour from rural areas of Finland, while the rest of Europe attracted especially educated emigrants from Finnish urban areas, the majority being women. Although many of the emigrants returned to Finland, the majority of the expatriate Finns in Sweden and Switzerland migrated during the later part of the 20th century.

This study describes how the background and socio-demographic characteristics of the Finnish emigrants living in Sweden and Switzerland relate to their present life situation and ethnic identification in the context of the different spatial and cultural settings. For this purpose statistical data on Finns in both countries and data from two separate surveys are analysed and completed with interviews.

1. Introduction

The migration from Finland has changed greatly in magnitude, structure and dynamics during the last thirty years. The period between 1950 and 1980 was

dominated by labour migration to Sweden and only a trickle of migrants went to other countries. When this great migration wave petered out, other destinations increased in importance, especially Western European countries.

The structure of migration also changed; the post-1980 migrants were better educated and could obtain qualified jobs in Sweden as well as in other countries. Migration to outside Scandinavia had begun to increase in the late 1970s, but there was practically no mobility of unskilled labour involved (Korkiasaari 2008: 14–24). The Finnish EU membership 1994 gave free access to the European labour market, but the time of mass migration was over. Migration became increasingly selective because professional skills were in demand.

Thus the structure of the Finnish population living abroad became temporally, spatially and socially layered. There are now four main groups of migrants with respect to age: younger adult migrants who yet haven't permanently settled in their destination, middle aged migrants who are more or less settled, migrants who have reached old age in their destination and older people who migrate. This shows in the geographical distribution of Finns abroad. The first group is spread all over the world, most of them in various European countries. Most of those in the second and third groups are settled in Sweden and also other parts of Europe. The fourth group consist largely of retirement migrants, especially in Spain (Björklund & Koivukangas 2008).

Social differentiation among migrants increased with time. Sven Reinans wrote in 1996 that the Finns in Sweden fall into two different categories: those who immigrated in the 1960s and 1970s and those who came to the country since the 1980s. These two groups have little in common and do not interact. This can be expected to apply also to Finns in other countries, but in lesser degree, because the temporal and social distance between the old-comers and new-comers there are not so pronounced as in Sweden.

Most of those migrants who constituted the flows from the 1950s to the 1970s came from depressed rural areas and had modest education and relatively few formal or technical job skills. Their departure disrupted their contacts to family and friends. In Sweden the Finns tended to cluster together, their social networks were spatial and they kept contacts to the place of origin by regular visits. Local Finnish associations and Finnish newspapers and other media in Sweden thrived where the Finns were numerous (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen 2000). Their social networks consisted largely of other Finns in contrast with other countries, where the Finns were few and had ethnically heterogeneous social networks (Björklund & Koivukangas 2008).

Applying the terms of Robert Merton (1968) migrant groups can be classified as locals and cosmopolitans. Merton applied the categories in community study, not migration, but migrants do constitute communities, if not on a local basis then as social networks and associations. According to Merton the locals maintain a

spatial network of personal relationships while cosmopolitans have only weak ties to their locality, they maintain wide networks and are ready to be mobile.

The interaction between these two groups varies with the cohesion of the community – in this case with the immigrant community. Several studies have documented forms of working class localism and middle-class cosmopolitanism, where the former socialise with family and old friends and the later maintain links with family and socialise with new friends and work colleagues. Social divisions become based on access to consumption and relationship to place, where mobility and immobility are the defining forms of privilege and exclusion (Thomson & Taylor 2005).

Between the local and cosmopolitan migrants from Finland is also a third “intermediate” category of migrants, who integrated into their host society at an early stage of their migration, often because of marrying a local or/and their work bringing them in close everyday contact with the locals. Especially Finns in the European countries outside Scandinavia fit into this category. They connect rather loosely with other Finns, in contrast to their compatriots in Sweden. Although they have much in common with cosmopolitans, having wide social networks and being potentially mobile, they maintain strong ties to their locality.

The temporal, spatial and social factors shaping migrants’ lives are intertwined. The setting of international migration today is quite different from what it was some fifty years ago. Moving a short distance used to have less social costs than moving over a long distance, but with the rapid development of communications such as the internet enabling real-time communication and international flights becoming cheaper, distance factors have lost in importance. Maintaining social contacts over vast distances does not differ much from over shorter distances. Social media enables real-time contact regardless of geographical proximity. Visiting the home country on a regular basis has rather become a rule than an exception for an increasing number of migrants. Thus migration does not necessarily cut former social ties. The difference between migrating to Switzerland and to Sweden, the two countries that this chapter focuses on, is not as big in terms of social costs as it was in the 1970s.

Transnational lifestyles and also maintaining dual residences have become available to an increasing number of migrants since the 1990s. Their options are not limited to staying or returning, but also include dual residence in the adopted country and the country of origin or even including a third country (which has become increasingly common with retirement migration) (Warnes & Williams 2006).

These three groups, the locals, the intermediaries and the cosmopolitans, do not quite correspond to the division in old-comers and new-comers. E.g. the locals are typically old-comers, but new-comers may also enter the local migrant community or social network. All cosmopolitans are not new-comers; some of them remain potentially mobile and only connect loosely to their locality even

when they have lived at the same place for many years. New-comers may integrate quickly when they speak the local language and knit social ties with the locals.

This chapter focuses on Finns in living in two different countries, Sweden and Switzerland. The main question is: Do the migrant groups defined by the different temporal, spatial and social settings significantly differ from each other in terms of integration and maintaining their own cultural heritage? The analysis draws on statistical data, earlier empirical studies and data from two surveys by the Institute of Migration. The first was made in Switzerland in 1997 (N=979) (Björklund 1999) and completed with interviews made in 2011 (N=10). The second was conducted in Sweden in 2007 (N=1797) (see Levä 2008 for details). The common background for the respondents analysed in this chapter is that they had grown up in Finland and emigrated as adults.

2. Overview of Finnish migration

Migration from Finland to European countries outside Scandinavia did not attract much research interest before the 1990s. This was probably due to the comparatively small number of Finns moving to many different countries in Europe and also the lack of reliable statistics. Yet another reason for the little research interest might have been that emigration studies before the 1980s largely were problem-oriented focusing on Finns in Sweden (e.g. Koiranen 1966; Hansegård 1968), and the Finns living in countries outside Scandinavia were no issue in comparison to the mass migration.

Migration from Finland had increased substantially in the 1960s, because of the economic and social structural change in Finland and the increasing demand for labour in Sweden. Sweden had been the main target country for Finnish emigration already since the early 1950s and the magnitude of this emigration came to overshadow all other migration until the 1980s. Sweden attracted well over half a million Finns during this period, while those who chose other countries counted only in thousands.

It was fairly easy to move to Sweden: the distance was short, and only basic skills in Swedish, if any, were needed and migrant networks aided in finding job, housing and social contacts. The common Nordic labour market since 1954 had minimized bureaucracy and work was readily available.

Moving to a non-Scandinavian country was more difficult. The geographic and cultural distances were greater, work permit and language skills were crucial. This migration started in the 1960s and increased in the beginning of the 1970s, when the baby-boomers entered the labour market. Many of them had professional qualifications which were welcomed abroad, especially in the health and service sectors (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen 2000).

The migrants were young, and wanted to see the world, not just find better job opportunities. Unlike their parents, they had possibilities to realize such dreams having better education and skills in foreign languages. Thousands migrated to European countries, mostly to Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland. Chance played an important part in the migration decisions. Intended short-term stays became extended and eventually permanent. The overwhelming majority of these migrants were women and a great many of them found a partner abroad, married and settled down (Björklund 2008).

In the 1980s return migration from Sweden to Finland increased substantially. The Finnish economy thrived and the demand for labour in Swedish industry declined. Thus both the push and pull factors influencing migration diminished. The Swedish service sector offered employment, especially in health care. Only some 40 percent of the Finns in Sweden were employed in the industrial sector during this decade, while the share of the service sector gradually increased to over 15 percent (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen 2000). In Switzerland, the most common profession was traditionally within the health sector, but the share of Finns working in other service sectors was clearly increasing towards the end of the 1980s (Björklund 1999). The life of the Finns abroad was gradually changing and with new migration and return migration also the structure of the expatriate population.

The share of the Finnish emigration to Sweden dropped between 1980 and 2010 from 79 to 26 percent and the emigration to other Europe increased from 14 to around 53 percent. The gender distribution also changed; the proportion of women migrating to the Nordic countries increased, while it decreased from some 75 percent to around 60 percent for the migrants to other European countries (Statistics Finland 2011).

The educational and occupational structure of the migrants changed permanently. Between 1987 and 1996 the share of emigrants from Finland with a university degree increased from around 10 to 30 percent. Between 1995 and 2006 12000 persons, 25–44 years old, born in Finland who had completed a higher education degree moved to the EU15 countries. Switzerland was one of the countries attracting well trained migrants, while Sweden continued to attract also less trained migrants (Koikkalainen 2009; Korkiasaari 2008).

Switzerland ranked third in Finnish migration to European countries outside Scandinavia until in the 1980s. Then Spain rose to the third rank as a migration destination because of the retirement communities which had formed there. Since the turn of the millennium, migration to Switzerland follows the same pattern as migration to many other countries. Migration to the most important destinations (Sweden, Great Britain, Germany and Spain) has shown a decreasing trend during the last five years. Switzerland has received some 200-300 Finnish immigrants yearly during the past five years according to Finnish statistics (Statistics Finland

2011). According to Swiss statistics (Statistik Schweiz 2011), the immigration is roughly twice as high, but as the status changes in residence are included in the numbers, the truth lies between both these statistics. The proportion of female migrants has declined from ca. 70 percent to 55 reflecting a change in the occupational structure (Statistics Finland 2011).

The numbers of migrants from Finland to Sweden correspond quite well in the statistics of the two countries, due to the inter-Nordic moving certificate, which migrants submit when migrating between the Nordic countries. Migration to Sweden has steadily declined since the millennium turn, but Sweden is still the most important migration target for Finns. The gender differences in migration have shown only minor fluctuations having been fairly equally distributed during the last 15 years (Figure 1).

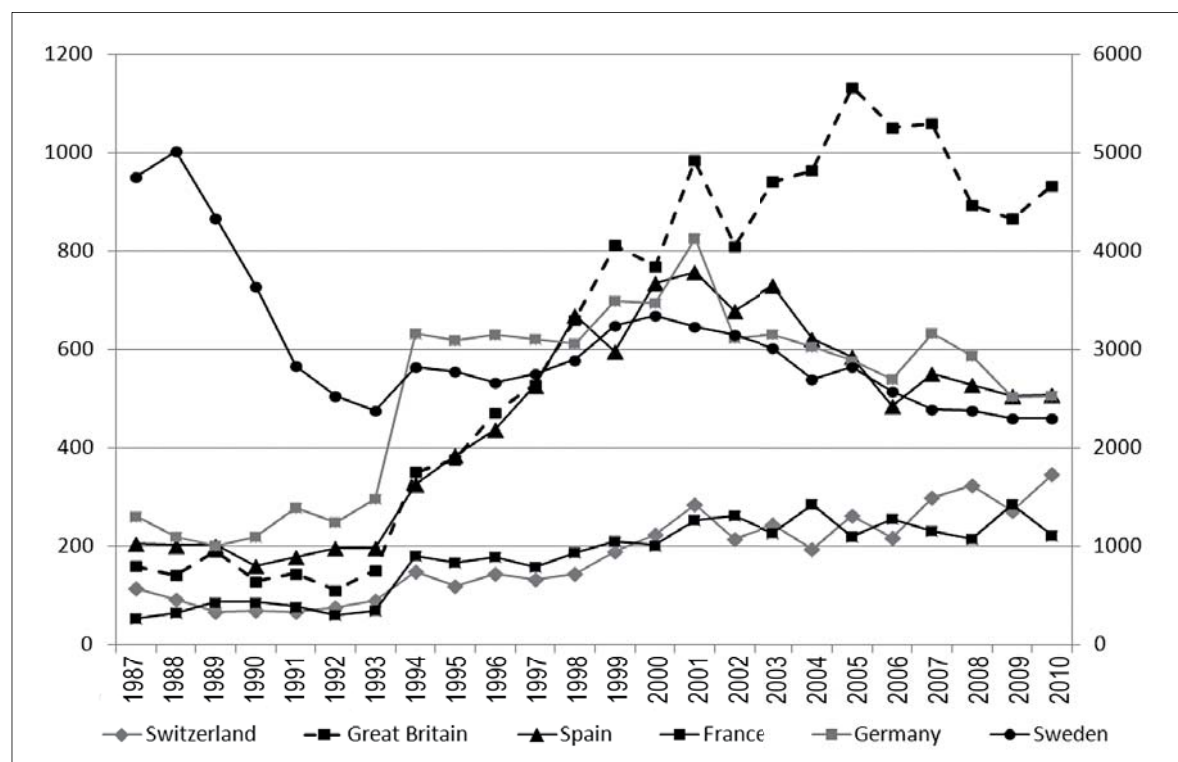


Figure 1. Finnish migration to selected European countries in 1987–2010 (note the different scale of the secondary axis for migration to Sweden). Source: Statistics Finland 2011

The difference in age structure of the Finnish populations in Sweden and in Switzerland in 2006 is shown in Figure 2. The data are not quite comparable and must be interpreted with caution, because the Finns in Switzerland with Swiss nationality are missing. Still the data is instructive: most of the Finns in Sweden are older than 50, while the Finns in Switzerland concentrate in the age group 30–50.

The age structure of the current migrants is quite different. For migrants to Sweden, the biggest group consists of young people between 15 and 24 years of

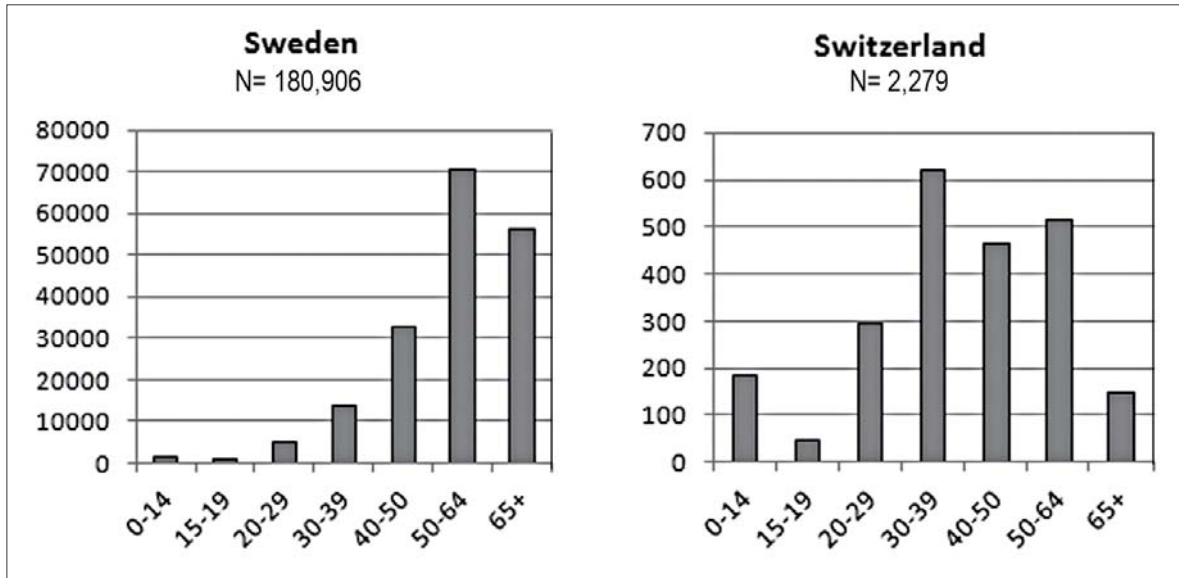


Figure 2. Age structure of the Finland born population in Sweden (left) and Finnish citizens in Switzerland (right) 2006. Sources: Statistics Finland 2011; Statistik Schweiz 2011

age, suggesting that those who move are students or move with their parents. This group is small among migrants to Switzerland, but family migration is still common, which the number of children under 14 years show. From age 35 years onwards the pattern is similar. The geographical and cultural proximity of Sweden makes it easier for young people to study and work in Sweden. The largest age group of the Finns moving to Switzerland is 25–34 years old suggesting that professionals in different sectors move there as part of their career (Figure 3).

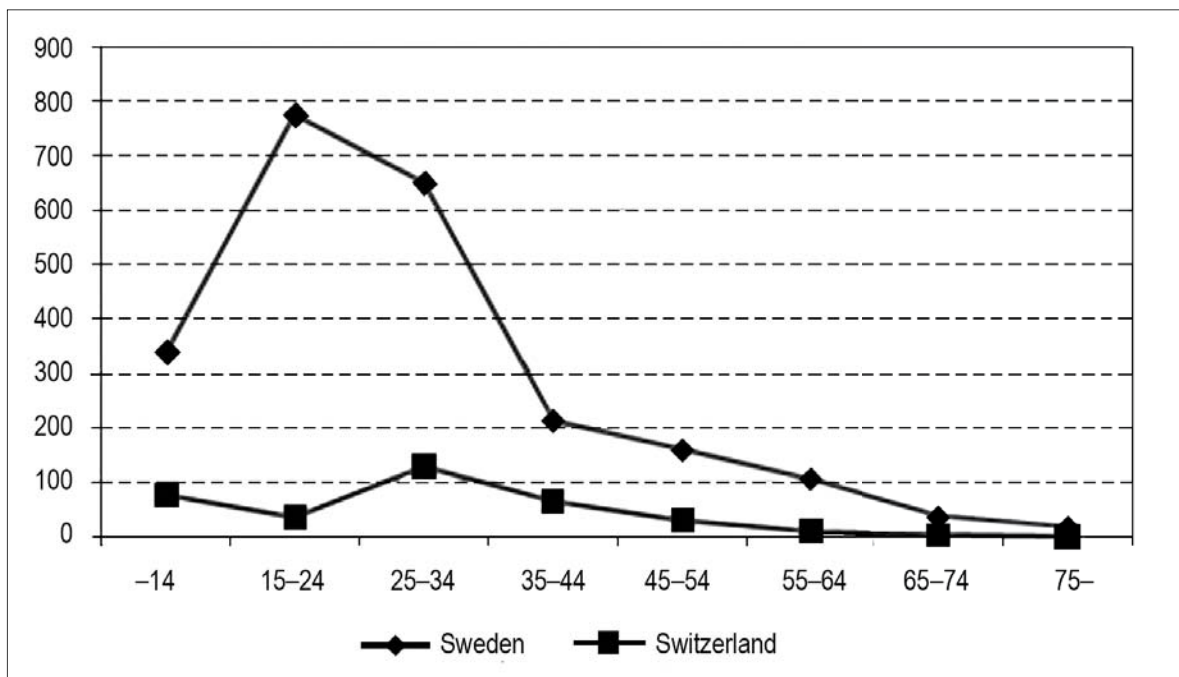


Figure 3. Age structure of Finnish migrants to Sweden and Switzerland 2010. Source: Statistics Finland 2011

Unfortunately the available data on occupational structure do not allow any direct comparison because a great proportion of the Finns in Sweden are retired. Most of them have worked within the industrial sector and the service sector having jobs requiring low level of qualification (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen 2000). The single most common professions among the Europe-emigrants were in the health sector. The education of nurses in Finland exceeded the demand and it was easy for them to find work abroad since the 1970s. By the middle of the 1970s almost half of the employed Finns in Switzerland were working in the health sector. 37 percent of all Finns there were not on the labour market; the overwhelming majority of these were dependent family members (Björklund 1999). At the same time more than 70 percent of the Finns in Sweden were working in the industrial sector.

Marrying a Swiss national was an important reason for settling down in Switzerland for many women, but it was not so common for men. Very few Finns migrated to the country with their families before the 1990s. This was not the case in Sweden. Many came with their families and those who came alone often married another Finn or later brought their families from Finland.

The latest available Swiss statistics on the occupational structure of the resident Finns are from the census made in the year 2000, and they reveal that of the 1,527 Finns on the labor market, more than 20 percent, were employed in the health sector, 15 percent in banking, financing and insurance, 13 percent in trade and restaurant services, 12 percent in industry and production as technical specialists and the rest in various other sectors. Only 42 persons were doing work requiring little qualifications (Statistik Schweiz, unpublished statistics).

Since the 1990s the structural differences in migration to Sweden and Switzerland have diminished, but such are still visible: the migrants from Finland to Switzerland are better educated (Figure 4) and more often bring their families along than the migrants to Sweden (Korkiasaari 2008). The newcomers form a socially different group from those who came before the 1990s – the migrants to both countries now rather resemble each other than the resident Finns in both countries and the differences between the old- and new-comers are particularly great in Sweden.

3. The Finns as minorities in Sweden and Switzerland

Apart from the micro-chronology of the migrant's life, there is also a macro-chronology of society constituting the settings for the migration phenomena. This can differ greatly between countries and affects different migrant groups in different ways. The establishment of the Nordic common labor market enabled the mass-migration from Finland and the shaping of the Swedish immigrant policy gradually facilitated permanent staying. Migrating outside Scandinavia was more

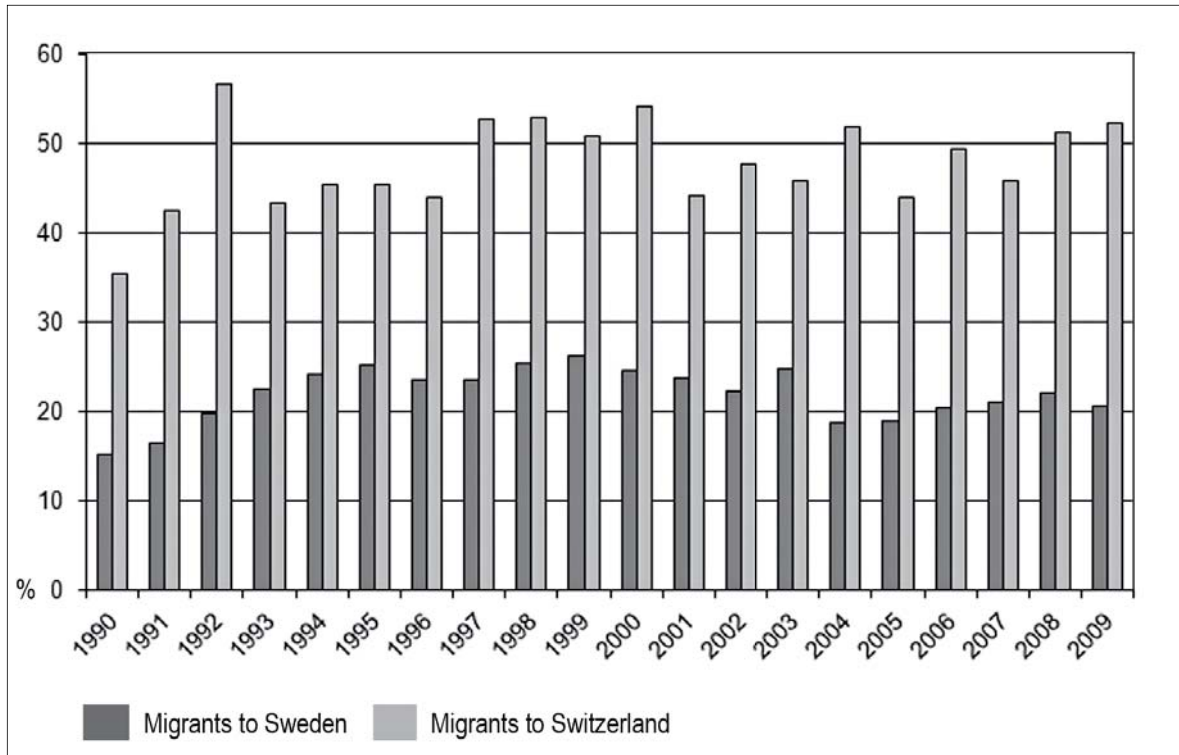


Figure 4. The migration of Finnish citizens with higher education (% of total) and destination country 1990–2009. Data obtained from Statistics Finland (Saara Koikkalainen)

tedious before the establishment of the common EU-market. Since then migrant policies also have been increasingly harmonised between the member countries.

It may seem somewhat far-fetched to go far back in time when studying present day migration, but history came to have practical significance for the Finns in Sweden and also to a certain extent in Switzerland. The Finns in Sweden could claim minority rights because of the long history of Finnish presence in Sweden and in Switzerland the Finns enjoyed goodwill from the very beginning partly because of the cultural, economic and personal contacts which had formed before and also during and shortly after the Second World War. These furthered contacts between the two countries and facilitated early migrants settling down in Switzerland (Björklund 2008; Laaksonen 1991). The pre-war migration history, however, played no part in attracting post-war migrants to either Switzerland or Sweden. The old ties were "rediscovered" in the 1970s and used as expatriate identity factor and a source for pride of the national origins.

The Finnish friendship association in Switzerland (Schweizerische Verein der Freunde Finnlands) was officially founded shortly after the war, in 1947, but traced its roots to the war-time voluntary help for Finland. Regional friendship associations were established in the following years all around Switzerland. Many of the early post-war Finnish migrants received practical assistance and support from

them (Björklund 1999, 2008). Initially the associations were intended for Swiss interested in Finland, but Finns in Switzerland “adopted” them as organizational basis for contact, culture and maintaining ties to Finland.

Although the Finns in Switzerland once constituted the third largest group of expatriates in Europe outside Scandinavia, they were a tiny minority in the country. Switzerland attracted hundreds of thousands of labour migrants mainly from Southern Europe, especially Italy, and it became the very model of a country implementing “Gastarbeiter” (guest worker) policy. In 1970 the number of immigrants in Switzerland was 584,000 plus some 200,000 seasonal workers (Wottreng 2000: 158). The number of Finns in Switzerland at this time was around 1,500 (Björklund 1999).

In Sweden the Finns constituted the biggest migrant group. Sweden initially imported workers from many European countries and from the 1960s onward mainly from Finland. In 1970 the total number of immigrants in Sweden amounted to 538,000 of which 235,000 were from Finland (Nilsson 2004).

The national immigration policies of both countries had much in common; the immigrants were not expected to stay; they were treated as replaceable temporary labour. The situation changed, when an increasing number of the immigrants settled down in their host country and brought families along – the labour importing countries faced an unprecedented situation (Castles & Miller 2009).

The Finns in Sweden accepted their position as guest workers in the early years of mass migration, but in the 1960s an increasing number of migrants found themselves settled down. Few demands for an official Swedish minority policy were raised at this time, but when the immigrants’ children reached school age, the need for language education and classes in Finnish became urgent. Until then the Finns had pretty much kept to themselves and were concentrated to certain industries and dwelling areas, socializing mostly with other Finns (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen 2000; Lainio 1996).

Since the overwhelming majority of the Finns in Sweden were workers, the working class perspective created conflicts within the Finnish organizations, where many members were most concerned with maintaining and strengthening Finnish culture in Sweden downplaying the issues relating to social class. When the occupational structure became more diversified, minority interests gained in importance. In the middle of the 1970s the Swedish immigrant policy adopted principles of multiculturalism, gave immigrants voting rights and issued support for cultural activities (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen 2000).

Towards the 1980s when Finnish migration had turned to return migration and new immigrants arrived from other countries, the minority policy was separated from immigrant policy. One of the consequences was that immigrants were no longer considered linguistic or national minorities. In the middle of the 1990s integration replaced multiculturalism as the leading principle and all im-

migrants were to be treated on equal basis. When the Swedish immigrant policy changed course, the Finns in Sweden intensified their demands for getting the status of a national minority. In 1997 two governmental reports (SOU 1997:192; SOU 1997:193) recognized Finns as minority groups in some areas of Sweden, and at the turn of the millennium five municipalities in Northern Sweden were designated as Finnish administrative districts.

In 2009 Finnish got the official status as minority language and the next year a new law on national minorities and minority languages came into effect, where the Finnish administrative district was enlarged to 18 new municipalities. Since then more municipalities have received this status and new applications are pending.

Swiss immigration and immigrant policy, on the contrary to Sweden, had marginal relevance for the Finns living and moving there. Already in 1932 Finns had gotten the official position of “favoured nationality” and the visa requirement was abolished in 1952. The number of Finns in Switzerland was small at this time, in 1953 only between 200 and 250 (Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv). Since then no significant legislative changes were made which would have affected the Finns there. They were not guest workers, so the Swiss immigrant policy had little or no significance for them. The only form of organized labour import from Finland was that Swiss hospitals actively recruited nurses in Finland, especially in the 1970s, but they were only a small fraction of the immigrants to the country at that time and integrated quickly, many of them marrying Swiss nationals (Björklund 1999: 75–80). The Finns were a small unobtrusive well-integrated minority in Switzerland.

The reform of the Swiss family laws in 1992 came to have importance for the Finns. Nationality changes had been proportionally more common among Finnish women in Switzerland than in Sweden, because until 1992 they automatically got Swiss citizenship with marriage. In those days dual nationalities were not allowed by Finnish law, so they had to renounce their Finnish citizenship upon taking another nationality. When double nationality was allowed in Finland in 2003, this resulted in many Swiss Finns retaking their Finnish citizenship. In Sweden the situation was the opposite: there was a clear rise in adopting Swedish citizenship, partly because it was possible to retain the Finnish (Statistics Sweden 2011; Statistik Schweiz 2011). The most important legislative improvement for Finns in Switzerland came in 2002, when citizens from the EU/EFTA member states basically got the same rights as Swiss citizens with regard to entering, residing and working in Switzerland. The subsequent harmonization of other legislation facilitated moving to the country and settling there. This made it easier for companies in Switzerland to employ EU-citizens. Also many Finns took advantage of this.

Thus the situations of Finns in Sweden and Switzerland are different. Finns in Switzerland are immigrants among others and lack the official institutional support that Sweden-Finns have. On the other hand, the Swiss Finns do have their

own vital organizations which bring them together and have great importance for Finnish minority culture and language in Switzerland.

4. Adaptation and integration

Few migrants leave with the intention of settling permanently in their destination country. Most of the migrants to Sweden and Switzerland intended to stay only for a limited period of time. Only five percent of the respondents in the survey by the Institute of Migration came with the intention of settling down in Sweden, most of them came to work for a while. Also the overwhelming majority of the Finns who came to Switzerland intended to stay only for a year or two. Chance and coincidence played a major role in taking the decision (Wettstein 2009: 61; Björklund 1999: 127–131).

As the provisional stay becomes longer and longer, the migrants' preferences tend to shift from return migration to permanent stay and also to dual residence. Many want to live part of the year in their new home country and part in the old, because both have meaning and significance in their lives (Bolzmänn et al. 2006). According to the survey 49 percent of the Finns in Sweden had no plans to move to Finland and 27 percent answered that they are settled but maybe would return to Finland. The length of stay in Sweden was significant for the plans to return: 70 percent of the pre-1960 migrants had no such intentions, while the corresponding number for then post-1980 migrants was 26. As expected, return intentions were most common among the late-comers. Among the Finns in Switzerland 41 percent had no intention to return and 32 percent would maybe return to Finland (Björklund 1999: 219). In Wettstein's (2009) study more than half of the respondents had no plans to return to Finland.

Very few of the Finns in Sweden and Switzerland rarely or never visit Finland, less than five percent of the former and even less of the latter according to the surveys. Those who moved to Sweden after 1980 visit Finland most frequently, three or more times a year, while those who moved with the great migration wave 1960–1970 mostly visit once a year. The pattern is similar for the Swiss Finns. Most migrants keep frequent contacts with relatives and friends in Finland, especially those who have migrated after 1980: 40 percent of the Finns who migrated to Sweden between 1971 and 1980 kept weekly contact and of the post 1980-migrants 71 percent. In the case of Switzerland weekly contacts are even more frequent, obviously due to later migration.

Summer houses and relatives in Finland in combination with frequent contacts to the old home country enable many Finns living abroad a "halfway choice" between their two countries. Most of those who keep no or very little contact to Finland and rarely go there are found among those who emigrated before 1960.

They are assimilated and have lost contact to friends and relatives in Finland and their children and grandchildren have grown up in their new home country. A good illustration of their rootedness was Lukkarinen Kvist's (2009) discovery that the elderly Finns in Sweden wanted to be buried in Sweden because "who would tend to my grave there (in Finland)".

Family and children are decisive for the future plans of the migrants. Bolzmann et al. (2006) found that among those immigrants in Switzerland, who had a child living in the former home country, a clear preference prevailed to return there, while those who had all their children in Switzerland preferred to stay or wished for dual residence. When the children are still small it is easier for the family to return, but as the children grow and attend local school, the decision is much more difficult, especially if the children forget their Finnish.

There seem to be no differences between Finns in Sweden and in Switzerland in keeping up their language. According to the survey 72 percent of the Finns in Sweden spoke Finnish at home, 66 percent with their children. The two studies of Finns in Switzerland (Wettstein 2009: 60; Björklund 1999: 224) gave similar numbers, so no significant differences can be inferred from the data. The Finnish schools abroad give the children the language skills needed to keep contact with their relatives in Finland and reinforce their roots. They also give better options for families to return to Finland, when the children keep up the Finnish language. In Sweden, the Finnish schools are alternatives to Swedish schools and provide education in Finnish through the whole compulsory education, while the Finnish schools in Switzerland provide training in Finnish at most one afternoon a week.

The family background of the Finnish pupils has gradually changed. An increasing number come from families where both parents are Finnish. In the 1980s there were more children with an international family background (Suomi-koulu Zürich archives). This reflects the change in marriage patterns: for those who immigrated 1976–1985 62 percent had a Swiss spouse, but among the migrants during the following ten years the percentage was 36. The corresponding share of Finnish spouses had increased from 5 to 27 percent. The pattern for Finns in Sweden was the opposite: 76 percent of the married Finns who had immigrated 1961–1970 had a Finnish spouse and for the period 1981–2006 it had declined to 41 percent. The share of Swedish spouses had increased from 20 to 39 percent during the same time.

Those migrants who marry a national of the destination country can be expected to enter a smoother way to integration than those who have a spouse of the country of origin. The survey data from Sweden show this clearly: 45 percent of those married to another Finn considered themselves as predominantly Finns, while the number was 30 for those who had a Swedish spouse.

Several studies have shown that the importance of the Finnish roots diminishes with time spent in the new country (e.g. Levä 2008; Korkiasaari & Roinila 2005;

Österlund-Pötzsch 2001). According to the survey data, the identity of being a Finn diminished with time. More than half of those who had migrated between 1980 and 2006 felt mostly as Finns only, while only 38 percent those who had arrived in Sweden between 1939 and 1960 considered themselves as mainly Finns. Those who have spent only a few years in Sweden also considered the Finnish language more important and missed Finland more than the old-comers.

The same pattern was evident among the Finns in Switzerland: 83 percent of those who had lived less than five years in Switzerland considered themselves as Finns only, while the corresponding number for those who had lived more than 30 years there was 26 (Björklund 1999). The breaking point for both migrant groups seemed to be around ten years spent in the new country, after that the Finnish identity weakens.

The general pattern is that the new-comers are less integrated than the old-comers with no bigger differences between Sweden and Switzerland. The main explanation for this is that the new-comers have not yet decided to settle. Most of them are purpose-oriented migrants, and intend to stay abroad only for a limited period of time. Thus it is important for them to maintain their ties to Finland, maintain their language and keep up a strong Finnish identity. The Finns in Sweden and Switzerland confirm loosely to the division in locals, cosmopolitans or the intermediate group as outlined in the beginning of this chapter. According to the findings outlined above, it seems like temporal factors have a much greater importance for the forming of these categories than the spatial.

Most of the Finns resident in Sweden sort in the group of locals, but the dividing line to the intermediate category is diffuse. Most of the locals are already retired or nearing retirement age. They migrated to Sweden during 1950–1980 being part of the mass migration. They created the Finnish associations in Sweden and fought for Finnish culture and schools in Sweden and are still the main support of the organizational activities. The second generation came to Sweden as children or were born there. They have assimilated into Swedish society, generally identifying themselves as Swedes with Finnish origins. The newcomers from Finland are generally well-educated and confirm to the general picture of EU-migrants. They are quite different from the other two groups in terms of integration.

In Switzerland the situation is somewhat different. The Finns there are generally not yet retired, as they emigrated later than the Swedish Finns. They did not rely on other Finns, a large part of them were active in Finnish organizations, but they overcame the language barrier much faster the Swedish Finns and integrated quickly. Finns in Sweden worked and lived in a Finnish context in Sweden, while the Swiss Finns lived and worked among the Swiss and often had Swiss spouses and did not keep to themselves. The Finnish organizations were – and still are – important, but they never had the same importance for them as was the case for the Swedish Finns. Neither did the associations become interest groups tar-

getting Swiss society. There was no prejudice in Switzerland towards Finns; on the contrary, the past and present Finland (especially the Second World War for the older generation and the present affluence for the younger generation) gave goodwill. There was no Finnish working class in Switzerland, nor was there any visible social problems pertaining to the Finns – they migrated straight into the middle class. Their children attended Swiss schools with few problems, a great part of them had learnt the language (mostly German, fewer Finns went to the French and Italian speaking parts of Switzerland). Finnish language schools helped the children to preserve the Finnish language. They receive new pupils because of the continuing migration of Finns to Switzerland.

The “intermediate” group of Finnish migrants is large in both countries and in Switzerland they constitute the majority, as can be interpreted from the statistics and other data. Cosmopolitans form the smallest, but growing group. They are quite different from other migrants. Their migration is purpose-oriented driven more by choice than by push or pull factors. They are well-trained professionals, managers etc. and being “in orbit”, they have little interest in integrating into their host country. They socialise with international colleagues and their children go to international schools. If both spouses work, the contacts to the host country are quite superficial. It is common, though, that the husband is the main breadwinner and the rest of the family adapts to the situation. In Switzerland it seems to be common for the wife to seek the company of other Finns and take part in the activities of the Finnish organizations. Many put their children in Finnish language schools, and this draws them into local Finnish networks. If the stay extends, it is not uncommon for them to take part-time jobs. Thus many of the cosmopolitan spouses shift into the “intermediate category” of migrants, closer to the locals. Of the eight families interviewed in Switzerland the following case is quite representative for a cosmopolitan family, who is in the process of settling down.

► *Timo (50), who is an engineer and his wife Saara (48) (names are altered for anonymity) moved to Switzerland from Kotka with their three children in 2006 because Timo was offered a job at an international company located in Zürich. The company subsidizes the rent and the tuition fees for their children who attend Zürich international school. Their oldest daughter moved to Britain to study after graduating, their son decided to return to Finland and the youngest daughter still attends school. The daughters now consider Zürich their home, although they still aren't fluent in Swiss German. Timo and Saara have no plans to return to Finland. They have built a summer house near Kotka, where they spend their summer vacations. In addition to the summer vacations Timo visits Finland ca. 5 times a year and Saara 2. When they retire, they plan to live in Finland and Switzerland or some other country with a pleasant climate.*

Timo's friends come from Britain and France, Saara's friends include Swiss, Finns, Swedes and Brits and their common friends are Swedes, Swiss and Finns. Saara has found a part time job in Zürich. They speak Finnish at home, English and German with their friends. They have access to Finnish tv at home, Timo often watches Swiss news and sports.

5. Conclusions

The answer to the main question of this chapter, if migrant groups defined by the different temporal, spatial and social settings differ from each other in terms of integration and maintaining their own cultural heritage is both yes and no. Spatial factors have declined in importance for integration as the structure of migration has changed. Generally, those who move to another EU country are not pushed abroad by unemployment; they choose to move because they can (Koikkalainen 2009). For young well-qualified migrants the European labour market provides new opportunities (as also the rest of the world) and spatial distances are minor obstacles. In both Sweden and Switzerland the integrated are found mainly among the old-comers. The main difference between the countries is the institutional support of the Finns in Sweden. Especially elderly Finns can take advantage of this, as they can demand social services in Finnish, which is important for those who aren't fluent in Swedish. For a Finn in Switzerland mastering the local language is a must, if (s)he wants to stay permanently.

No significant differences were found in spatial or social terms between the migrants' relation to Finland and maintaining Finnish culture abroad. Time was the most important factor. Social settings are also important, and there is a "critical mass" of Finns in Switzerland, especially in the German language parts of the country, which enables Finnish cultural activities ranging from celebrating Finnish national holidays to choirs and folk dance. The great number of Finns in Sweden has always formed a solid basis for Finnish culture, even though it is declining due to the aging population.

Return migration is most likely to occur among the late-comers. From the data available it can be concluded, that for those who have settled down in their host country, Finland is not the only option if they want to migrate again. Countries with a warm climate are attractive especially for the elderly Finns abroad, and they have the option of double or even triple residence. For the Finnish postwar migrants the country of residence does not seem to have any greater significance for the ethnic identification or relation to Finland.

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Chapter 3

Highly skilled Finns in the European labor market: why do they move abroad?

Saara Koikkalainen

Abstract

This chapter discusses the phenomenon of skilled migration in the European context, especially focusing on the motivation of Finns who have moved abroad to other European Union countries. The chapter is based on data from the *Working in Europe* web-survey (Työntekijänä Euroopassa) conducted in 2008 (n=364) and in 2010 (n=194). It gathered the experiences of Finns aged between 23 and 45 in the labor markets of the EU15. Even though 70 percent of the respondents estimate their wages in the destination country to be higher than in Finland, a closer look at the migration motivations reveals that money was not the main or sole incentive for moving abroad. The chapter first discusses the phenomenon of skilled migration worldwide, defines what is meant by highly skilled migrants, and introduces the concepts brain drain, brain circulation, brain exchange and brain waste, which are commonly used in connection with highly skilled migration. It then focuses on the positioning of Finns in the European context. The chapter concludes by challenging the assumption, widely held by the human capital and neo-classical theories of migration, that higher wages and standards of living are the main motivational factors inducing migration. It is argued that many other factors, such as life-style choices and seeking adventure play an important role in migration decision-making, especially for highly skilled migrants in Europe.

1. Introduction

An educated and skilled workforce is increasingly seen as a key component of a competitive knowledge economy. It has been claimed that there is a process termed either as a *global war for talent or battle for brains* where highly skilled workers are attracted to nodes of the global economy that offer the best salaries, career advancement opportunities and working conditions (e.g. Cornelius & Espenshade 2001; Bertoli et al. 2011). Highly skilled migrants are the only truly accepted migrants of today (Raghuram 2004) and easing their immigration has been high on the political agenda in Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia, for example.

Almost 90 percent of the international stock of tertiary-educated migrants lives either in Europe or North America. (Docquier & Marfouk 2006; Lowell 2007: 17.) As many European countries face demographic pressures from aging populations and try to compete in innovativeness in the global economy, they too have started to pay attention to attracting skilled labor from abroad. Migration policies of the EU are characterized by an inherent dualism: free movement of European citizens has been a fundamental right guaranteed by EU founding treaties for decades but regulating immigration of third-country nationals has fallen within the sovereignty of each member state. In EU policy documents this difference has been highlighted by referring to the former as *internal mobility* while the latter is called *international migration* (Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010). In recent years steps have been taken to create common European immigration policies, and also to attract highly skilled workers from outside the EU via the Blue Card initiative (e.g. Bertoli et al. 2011: 13; European Commission COM (2005) 669 final; European Council 2009). European citizens are free to choose their workplace within the common labor market and also intra-European labor mobility is seen as a way of guaranteeing the promotion of full employment and ensuring that Europe is a “competitive, dynamic knowledge-based economy” (European Commission 2001: 17). In the recent years skilled professionals, or *Eurostars* (Favell 2008), have been more eager to embrace this freedom than more traditional labor migrants: The Eurobarometer mobility survey of 2005 noted that as educational level increases, the percentage of people who experience long-distance moves outside their own region or country also increases. About 7 percent of the highly educated have moved within the EU compared with 4 percent of the lower educated. The younger higher educated cohorts are also more internationally oriented than the older cohorts. (Mobility in Europe 2006: 15–16.) The PIONEUR study, which looked at the mobility of individuals from the five largest EU member states, noted the same phenomenon: “EU-movers” are more educated than “EU-stayers” (Recchi & Favell 2009: 16).

In Finnish discussions the possibility of looking for a career abroad has been seen also as a threat: what if the best and the brightest leave for job opportunities

abroad as the borders between European countries are more open than ever? Such discussions have been fuelled by research on the migration intentions of different educated groups, including recent university graduates and members of the trade union confederation Akava (Koskinen 2005; Virtanen 2003). These studies show a high interest in working abroad: up to 60 percent of Oulu university graduates, for example, were interested in working abroad (Koskinen 2005). Gross earnings are higher in Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Germany and France, for example (Atkinson & Marlier 2010: chart on p. 277), so greener grass on the other side of the border can attract highly skilled migrants from Finland.

Mobility from Finland to Europe has, indeed, increased: 66 percent of the 11,905 individuals leaving Finland in 2010 headed for one of the EU countries. In the past ten years, the EU has constantly been the destination for most outgoing migrants. At the same time the popularity of Sweden among Finnish migrants is in steady decline: when Finland joined the EU in 1995, 34 percent of Finnish citizens who moved abroad migrated to Sweden, compared to only 24 percent in 2010 (Stat-Fin 2011). The share of tertiary educated migrants of all Finnish citizens moving abroad has varied between 21 to 36 per cent within the past 20 years. In terms of numbers this has meant that 1,115 (in 1991) to 3,802 (in 2001) highly educated Finns have moved abroad each year. (Statistics Finland 2011.) More individuals move abroad than come back, as can be seen from Figure 1, which depicts the numbers of outgoing and incoming tertiary educated Finnish citizens from 1990 to 2009¹.

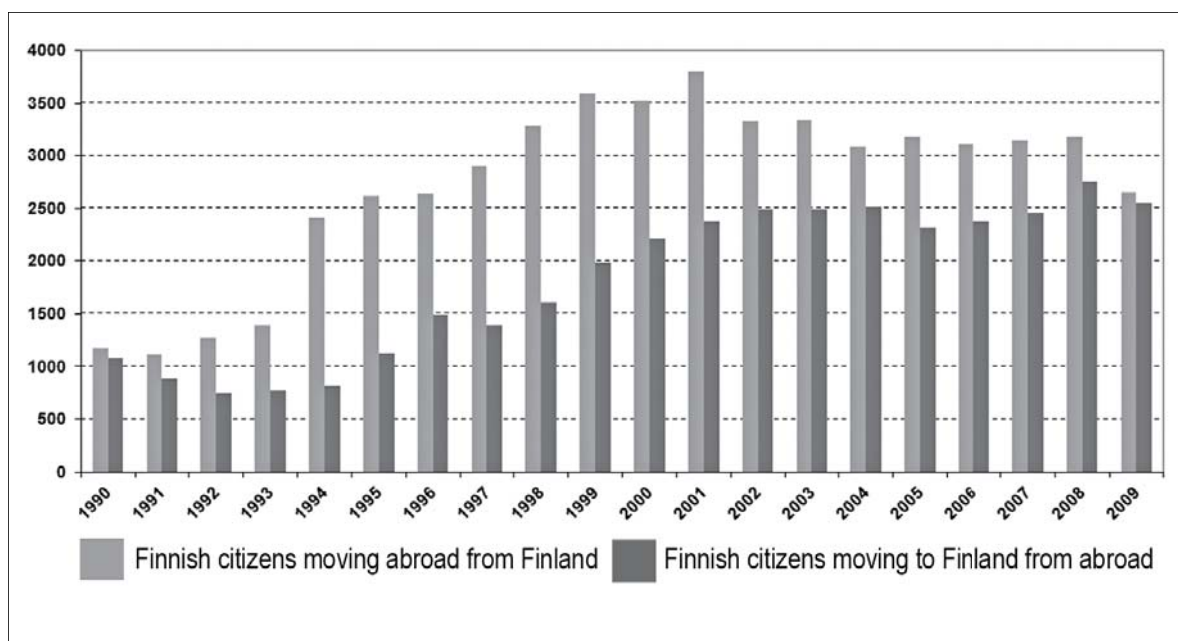


Figure 1. Yearly migration of tertiary educated Finnish citizens from/to Finland in 1990–2009

This chapter discusses the phenomenon of skilled migration in the European context, especially focusing on the motivation of Finns who have moved abroad to live and work in one of the EU15 countries². It challenges the assumption, widely held by the human capital and neo-classical theories of migration, that higher wages and standard of living are the main motivational factors inducing migration. Through empirical evidence gathered from Finns via the *Working in Europe* web-survey³ conducted in 2008 and 2010 as a part of my ongoing doctoral research, it is argued that many other factors, such as life-style choices and seeking adventure play an important role in their migration decision-making.

This chapter is divided into six sections. After this introduction, I describe the global flows of human capital and key concepts in the debates on skilled migration, define highly skilled migrants and situate the Finnish participants of the *Working in Europe* survey in the intra-European mobility context. Then I discuss the mobility choices of such privileged migrants and conclude with the findings of this chapter.

2. The global flows of human capital

The current era of globalization has witnessed an increase in the numbers of educated and skilled migrants. Steven Castles & Mark Miller, who have declared that we live in *The Age of Migration* (2009) explain the role of globalization on increased mobility as follows: “Globalization has helped create the new technologies facilitating mobility: cheap air travel, electronic media and spread of images of first-world prosperity. Spreading the cultural capital and networks facilitating mobility has also been aided by globalization as information on migration routes and employment opportunities is more readily available than ever before” (Castles & Miller 2009: 56). Tertiary-educated migrants represented a 30 percent share of all adult emigrants in 1990 but by 2000 their share was 35 percent of the worldwide migrant stock. Thus it has been argued that this substantial increase in the numbers of skilled migrants was one of the “central migration stories of the 1990s” (Lowell 2007: 14).

Highly educated professional migrants moving from one country to another bring along their education and skills acquired in the country of origin. The idea of *human capital* dates back to Adam Smith (1776) who saw “the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society” as one of the four cornerstones of the wealth of nations. This capital, though based within individuals, was also to benefit the society: “The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs.” (Smith 1776: II.1.17)

Human capital as the embodiment of an individual's education, abilities, skills and knowledge has been utilized also in the field of migration. Neo-classical migration theory has focused on the economic rationale of migrants seeking the best return for their human capital investment and thus moving to where the salaries are highest. The understanding of international migration being based on various push and pull factors has been shown to be overly simplistic as there should be more mobility between richer and poorer countries, if even the educated sectors of each society engaged in such cost-benefit calculations. (Castles & Miller 2009: 21–26.) There are serious problems in obtaining reliable, comparative data on global migration flows and the transfer of human capital, as countries do not keep comparable records on their emigrants' education levels. Yet there is enough evidence to show that the flow of skilled migrants towards the developed world has increased over the recent years (Skeldon 2005: 13).

It has been noted that globalization increases the demand for labor in the opposite ends of the skill hierarchy: of low-skilled, service and agricultural workers and of highly skilled professionals (Cornelius & Espenshade 2001). Largest global movements of skilled labor at the turn of the new Millennium took place from developing to post-industrialized countries of the Global North, especially the United States and Western Europe (Iredale 2001: 17). This phenomenon, where educated and skilled workers move from one country to another and create a one-way flow of human capital has been called *brain drain*. Discussions on brain drain date back to the 1950s and 1960s and were focused primarily on the loss of talented, university-educated individuals from Europe, mainly from the United Kingdom, to the United States and later from India to both of these countries. (Ackers 2005: 1–2; Castles & Miller 2009: 63; Skeldon 2005: 1.) Clemens (2009) proposes that *skill flow* – a more neutral and objective term than brain drain – should be used to describe the phenomenon today. A simple one-way flow of talent from the less developed countries to the wealthier ones is not the full picture of skilled migration today, as many countries of the Global North both receive and send high numbers of skilled migrants. The term *brain exchange* has been used to describe a more equal or balanced exchange of skilled workers between different countries: there is transnational movement of workers, but the human capital of immigrants replaces that lost in the outgoing emigrants (Straubhaar 2000: 8). Migration is not always permanent and the concept of *brain circulation* has been introduced to describe a situation where emigrants return to their original home country when the economy begins to take off and provide jobs for qualified returnees (Castles & Miller 2009: 65). In addition to her human capital the emigrant returns with additional skills and networks that can in turn help the economy and create jobs. Also remittances sent back home during the stay abroad can be used to facilitate return migration.

The term brain drain is rarely used in the context of European mobility, where the concepts of brain circulation and brain exchange are more appropriate. The very fact that mobility across the intra-European borders is so easy, allows forms of temporary or circular migration to go unnoticed by official statistics. As for example King (2002) and Favell (2007) have argued, in the light of the current multitude in the forms of mobility, some of the underlying assumptions taken for granted by migration scholars should be rethought. One such agreed definition is the time period of one year, after which a move to another country is seen as “permanent”. Focusing solely on this population ignores the diverse forms of shorter-term mobility of, for example skilled professionals that all belonging to what King (2002) calls “The New Map of European Migration”.

3. Who are highly skilled migrants?

Migrants’ skill level is often determined by the number of years they have spent in schooling. Some of the most common definitions of skilled or highly skilled migrants include: tertiary degree-holders, university degree-holders or individuals with extensive experience from a given field (Iredale 2001: 8). There is considerable variation and diversity within this migrant category. Mahroum (2001: 29) identifies five different groups of highly skilled migrants, each with their own specific logic for mobility. The categories he uses are: 1) senior managers and executives, 2) engineers and technicians, 3) scientists, 4) entrepreneurs, and 5) students. Sometimes a further distinction is made between those who are skilled (e.g. nurses and teachers) and those who are highly skilled (e.g. information and communication technology [ICT] workers, scientists and doctors). (Iredale 2001: 8; Skeldon 2005: 8.)

Skeldon (2005: 6) identifies three separate research strands within the brain drain and skill flow discussion, namely those focusing 1) on scientific workers, especially in the ICT sector, 2) on health workers, and 3) on student mobility. Iredale (2001: 16–20) uses a slightly different approach and recognizes five typologies of professional migrants. Skilled migrants can be categorized: 1) by motivation, ranging from forced exodus of the skilled to government or industry led migration, 2) by the nature of source and destination countries, be they less or more developed, 3) by mechanism of their mobility, either as intra-company transferees, through recruitment agencies, or as independent job-seekers, 4) by length of stay, whether it is permanent, temporary or circular, and 5) by mode of integration into the destination country and economy. In addition he proposes a sixth category: that of national versus international professions, as the level of internationalization of different professional fields plays an important role in explaining the flows of skilled migrants.

Women form nearly half of the international migrants of today (Morrison et al. 1997; United Nations 2009). While the most distinct skilled migration streams, such as the flow of ICT professionals from India and China to the United States, are heavily male-dominated (Iredale 2001: 14-15), women are also part of this mobility. Kofman and Raghuram (2009) note that academic research on, and media stories of, migrant women's employment have largely focused on sex work or domestic work, often dangerous, dirty and low-paid (for an exception, see Zulauf 2001). Yet women do not only follow the male breadwinner or move due to family unification, but also as individual skilled migrants. Especially the global healthcare migration has increased the numbers of skilled women migrants since the 1960s, as over 90 percent of migrant nurses are women. Countries such as the Philippines and Bangladesh are training nurses above the national need, and engage in deliberate export of skilled human resources. (Kofman & Raghuram 2009: 1-4; Iredale 2001: 14-15.)

In Finland, women complete more higher education degrees than men, and also move to look for work abroad. In the past 20 years the share of women among those completing a Master's level university degree has varied between 54 to 61 percent (Kota-online database). During the same time between 48 to 53 percent of the outgoing migrants from Finland have been women (Stat-Fin database). From the Finnish citizens moving abroad during the past 20 years, 56 per cent of all tertiary educated migrants have been female (Statistics Finland 2011).

The category of highly skilled migrants includes a great variety of people moving abroad for different reasons. Some plan to stay abroad permanently while for others the assignment abroad is a short-term career move or an adventure. What can be said to unify this migrant group is that the labor market skills that they possess should be transferable across borders and their experience should be internationally recognized, for the transfer to a new country to go smoothly. Some degree-holders suffer from a process called *skill downgrading* or even *brain waste*, as despite their education levels not all are necessarily regarded highly skilled in the destination country (Bertoli et al 2011: 20). To be able to fully benefit from their previous education and work experience, the migrants must also possess the skills and language proficiency to negotiate the value of their human capital in the destination country labor market (Csedö 2008; see also Koikkalainen 2009). This is the case especially for those migrants who do not move with the help of their employer, some multinational company or international agency for example, but have to find employment on their own.

In my study on highly skilled Finns, the completion of a tertiary degree, either at a university or a university of applied sciences, has been adopted as the definition of being highly skilled. All the categories Mahroum (2001) identifies were present in the *Working in Europe* survey (n=364), as the respondents included consultants and finance managers, ICT-workers and engineers, graduate students

and post-doctoral scholars, freelance journalists and self-employed language specialists, and students who are completing their degree at a foreign university. For most respondents the decision to move abroad was based on an individual choice, as they are not part of a government program or a forced exodus. The sample includes both professionals moving with the help of their employer, often a multinational company, and independent movers, aptly labeled by Favell (2008) as *Eurostars*. Their intended stay abroad varies from permanent emigration to short-time mobility with a fixed time limit, as does their desire to integrate to the destination country, as some are strongly rooted to the current home, while others contemplate either returning to Finland, or moving on to a new destination. The experiences and mobility choices of this national group can highlight the diversity of intra-European migration and give a human face to the abstract image of a skilled migrant.

4. Finns as an example of highly skilled intra-European migrants

The mobility of highly skilled migrants within Europe has only been researched as a specific phenomenon since the mid-1990s (Ackers 2005) possibly due to the fact that intra-European migrants have largely been invisible migrants, blending in with relative ease in their new home countries. Intra-European⁴ migrants of relatively good status can easily fall outside of the radar of migration theorizing, as they have not been the target of state integration efforts or posed a real or perceived threat to the cultural and political stability of the receiving society. Also mobile European students, experimenting with living abroad via the Erasmus program, can be classified into the invisible category. While their position is different from both the typical immigrant experience and the privileged expatriate elites, they, too, can be said to belong to a migratory elite⁵. (Murphy-Lejeune 2003a: 5–6; see also Favell 2008.) Studying abroad while completing a higher education degree is one possible path leading to an international career, as it creates “mobility capital” that can help with career enhancement later on in life (Findlay et al. 2006: 293–294; see also Murphy-Lejeune 2003b: 103–105).

It is difficult to determine, whether the more internationally oriented students opt for going abroad in the first place, or does the exchange experience offer a real career boost (Findlay et al. 2006: 301). However, it can be argued that it is exactly this kind of highly skilled students and professionals, who have an inherent interest in taking part in different international activities that benefit most from the opportunities offered by the European free movement regime (see also Fligstein 2008). It has been noted in previous research on intra-European migrants that prior international experience does increase the probability of migration (Santacreu et al. 2009: 70). Also all respondents of the *Working in Europe* survey

(n=364) had lived, studied, worked or at least travelled abroad before the current move. When asked for their previous international experiences, the most common choice selected was having been “a tourist in 10–20 countries” (154 responses), taken part in “language courses abroad” (146 responses), taken part in “university student exchange” (141 responses) and worked in a “summer job abroad” (124 responses). 107 of the respondents had already lived in at least 3 different countries apart from Finland.

The survey listed 15 possible reasons for mobility that the respondents could select from. Each respondent chose an average of four reasons for why they had moved abroad. These reasons can be classified into motivations related to: 1) work, 2) personal relationships, 3) studying, and 4) quality of life and adventure. The most popular choices in these categories were the following: “to get valuable work experience to my career” (136 answers), “to join my foreign spouse abroad” (107 answers), “to better my language skills” (106 answers) and “to see the world” (202 answers). Only 86 survey respondents out of 364 chose “to get a better salary” as a motivating factor, even though the number of possible selections was not limited. Gaining valuable work experience and “to get a more interesting job” (125 answers) were more common work-related reasons for moving than financial considerations. This was reflected also in the responses to the open-ended questions of the survey: while higher salaries are mentioned as a positive feature of working abroad, they are also balanced by higher taxation (e.g. in responses from Belgium and Denmark) and higher cost of living and requirements for longer working days and shorter holidays (from London, UK). Those responding from Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, note that salaries in these countries are lower than in Finland.

Unemployment did not drive the respondents abroad, as nearly half of them had found work that matched their education already while studying in Finland or right after graduation (48%). Only 6 percent responded that they had been unemployed before finding work. 46 percent responded that they have never worked in Finland, as they had moved abroad to study for a degree. The labor market position of those respondents who had worked in Finland was good, as 83 percent agree with the statement “I had a job well suited to my skills”. Also, 76 percent agree to “I had a job well suited to my degree” and 66 percent to “I could change jobs if I wanted to”. Only 21 percent of the respondents had been “afraid of becoming unemployed”. Further, only 2 percent report having looked for work abroad via the EURES employment agency network, which would have been a natural choice had they been customers of the local unemployment agency while still in Finland.

The transition to the new country’s labor market has mostly been easy for the respondents, as 76 percent of them were in full-time employment at the time of the first survey. Only 4 percent said they were unemployed and another 4 percent

reported that they had looked for work for longer than six months. They were also asked to compare their current country with Finland on a number of claims related to their labor market position. There is a general consensus of things being better in the new country, as the share of “agree completely/somewhat agree” replies to “I get a better salary than in Finland” was 70 percent, to “I have a job that fits my qualifications” 79 percent, “My degree is recognized” 77 percent and “My previous job experience is recognized” 77 percent. Being foreign had not been a major obstacle in finding work, as only 11 percent report having faced discrimination (Koikkalainen 2009).

In the PIONEUR project, Ettore Recchi examined the social mobility of movers in the EU labor market, where European citizens possess the same rights as native citizens of the destination country. He concludes that there is no significant difference between the intergenerational mobility of EU movers and EU stayers – at least within the five largest EU countries involved in the study. In addition he concludes: “(T)he free-movement regime of the EU is an alternative route to social mobility for the less privileged young who are ready to leave their home countries, working also as an additional means of class reproduction for the transnational fraction of the European bourgeoisie.” (Recchi 2009: 95). The educational background of the *Working in Europe* respondents’ families was quite varied: while 41 percent came from families where at least one parent had completed a university degree, 15 percent had parents who had only completed grammar school. For those respondents moving abroad can represent upward social mobility, even though in the case of this educated group the same mobility via higher education could probably have been achieved by staying in Finland.

5. Privileged, voluntary migrants and the freedom to choose

For voluntary migrants, such as the privileged European citizens who can choose where to live, several factors outside the working life influence the migration decision. Madison (2006) introduces a concept called existential migration and defines this type of motivation as follows: “Rather than migrating in search of employment, career advancement, or overall improved economic conditions, these voluntary migrants are seeking greater possibilities for self-actualising, exploring foreign cultures in order to assess their own identity (...)” (Madison 2006: 1). He argues that for some migrants the original home country never really “felt like home”, so these individuals move abroad to look for a place better suited to their lifestyle. Also King (2002: 89) refers to migration as a form of “self-realization” or even “consumption”. Nearly one third of all *Working in Europe* respondents (117) did not choose any of the possible options related to work or career when asked about their motivation for moving abroad, so clearly they are not trying to

maximize returns from their human capital investments. Yet, even though finding a better job was not their main reason for migrating, a clear majority (75%) of the respondents were happy about their labor market situation in the destination country and saw the move as a beneficial decision for their career (for more on the experienced labor market success, see Koikkalainen 2009).

For some respondents of the survey the desire to move abroad had been harbored since childhood, while for some the opportunity had suddenly presented itself and the move itself was realized quickly. Again, for others mobility was the result of negotiations with a foreign spouse on the best place to start a common life. This diversity in how the mobility decision was described can be noted also from the open-ended responses to the follow-up of the *Working in Europe* survey (2010, n=194). The comments in response to the question of how long it took for you to decide to move abroad varied from “I always knew I would want to move away from dreary Finland”, “I just kind of ended up staying abroad after traineeships and such” to “My husband (who is a foreigner) got a job in the UK after looking for work for six months in Finland. It’s easier for a Finn to find work abroad, than a foreigner in Finland.”

Carol Kiriakos (2010) notes that Finns who have moved to Silicon Valley, California report a variety of personal as well as professional reasons for their move. While some external, work-related factor may have been the first and foremost reason, also a personal desire to live abroad was significant. The professionals Kiriakos interviewed expressed an interesting duality: with those who had lived abroad before, the desire was backed by the confidence of previous experience, and with those who had never lived abroad it was boosted by curiosity towards the new and unknown. She argues that a separation has to be made between the activity prompting the move, such as relocation or starting a new branch office for example, and the actual motivation, the complex personal and professional desire to live abroad in a certain place. (Kiriakos 2010: 97–100, see also Kiriakos, ch. 6 of this volume.)

The sheer diversity of intra-European migration paths today negates the possibility of making sweeping generalizations on why some Europeans move abroad while some choose to stay in their home countries. As Santacreu et al. (2009: 57–64) found in the PIONEUR project: the mobility motivations of those migrating between the five largest EU member states varied from work and study to quality of life and love and relationships, depending on the country of origin and the country of destination. The same applies to the Finns in my study: among those moving to a metropolis such as London, Paris or Brussels there are more career-oriented jobseekers, while among those moving to smaller cities and rural areas you find more of those who moved there because of a foreign spouse, for example. What is common to the responses of both of these groups is that the mobility decision is

not viewed through the prism of salary or career only, but also as a lifestyle choice, as a learning experience that has consequences far beyond one's career.

6. Conclusions

The respondents of the *Working in Europe* survey do not reflect the standard image of a highly skilled migrant as they are described in much of the literature discussed in the beginning of this chapter. For these educated Finns moving abroad is a possibility, not a matter of survival, as it may be for many of those who cross national borders to work in the Global North to send money back home, or a matter of career obligations, as it may be for the corporate executives moving from one global city to the next. Economic theories of migration stress the importance of wage differentials and standards of living as the causes of human mobility. Yet as this analysis of research literature and the migration motivations of Finns who have moved to other EU15 countries demonstrate, higher income is clearly not the only motivating factor. In fact, as Krieger (2004: 36) argues based on his study of East European countries, it seems that while financial reasons dominate in the migration motivation from poorer countries, "increasing national wealth goes hand in hand with an increase in personal and family motives for migration."

Many researchers cited in this chapter argue that there is a global competition to attract human capital, as it is seen as one driver of innovation and economic growth, as well as a way of ensuring flexible labor in changing economic conditions. Yet some researchers, such as Brown, Lauder and Ashton (2010) argue that the global "education explosion" and especially the rising numbers of tertiary-educated workers in some of the developing nations, such as India and China, is cutting into the value of education as a route to higher earnings. Instead of a *battle for brains* they predict that a *battle for jobs* for tertiary-educated workers might be on its way. Instead of taking part in a war for talent, all affluent nations will be faced with growing numbers of high skilled, yet low paid employees.

Are educated Finns, then, part of a global trend where the best and the brightest cross national borders to get the best possible financial compensation for their human capital investment? Based on the *Working in Europe* survey I argue against such a simplified explanation. Even though 70 percent of the respondents estimate their wages in the destination country to be higher than in Finland, a closer look at the migration motivations reveals that money was not the main or only incentive for moving abroad. Highly skilled individuals move abroad for a variety of reasons, and seeing skilled migration through a simple model based on maximizing the monetary return for one's human capital misses much of this diversity.

In the open-ended responses of the *Working in Europe* survey many explained that they wanted to move abroad to encounter new things, get a better quality of

life or live in the home country of their spouse. Some explained that they ended up abroad as if 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. When asked to analyze whether the move was beneficial for their career, 70 percent of the respondents replied that the move was positive, but a higher income earned abroad as proof of it was only mentioned by a handful of them. New experiences, increased language and intercultural communication skills, interesting job assignments and the sheer amount of different employment opportunities available are much more common reasons in their interpretations of labor market success.

Notes

- ¹ *During 1990-2009 a total of 54,732 tertiary educated Finnish citizens moved abroad. While the number of those citizens who returned to Finland was 36,434, the size of the skill outflow was 18,298 highly educated individuals during the past 20 years. This data does not, however, take into account those incoming educated migrants, who are not Finnish citizens. It is also possible that a sizeable number of those Finnish citizens who were educated abroad do not show up on these statistics, as their degrees may not be recorded in the Finnish databases that Statistics Finland uses.*
- ² *The EU15 are the so-called old member states that formed the EU after Finland's accession in 1995 to 2004 when the first 10 new Central and Eastern European joined the Union.*
- ³ *For a description of the survey, see Appendix 1.*
- ⁴ *Again this refers to migrants within the old EU member states, the EU15. How mobility from the 12 states that joined in 2004 and 2007 see Recchi & Triandafyllidou 2010 or Koikkalainen 2011.*
- ⁵ *The Socrates-Erasmus exchange program is one of the success stories of European cooperation, as it has financed the mobility of over 2 million students since its inception in 1987 (European Union 2010). The program currently covers 33 European countries and facilitates the mobility of nearly 200,000 students and trainees each year (Europa Press Releases 2010).*

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Appendix 1. The Working in Europe survey

This chapter is based on the 2008 *Working in Europe* web-survey (n=364) of Finns living in EU15 countries. The respondents were found via a method of snowball contact from various discussion forums and websites that service Finns living abroad, such as www.expatrium.fi and www.ulkosuomalainen.com. Because the sample is not random, but based on participant self-selection, it is treated as qualitative, not quantitative data. While this data cannot be used to generalize on the whole Finnish population abroad, I argue that it is substantial enough for observations to be made on the working life experiences of this particular group of highly skilled Finns. In the summer of 2010, a follow-up questionnaire was sent to 269 respondents who had given their e-mail addresses in the first survey. These responses (n=194) are also taken into account. In addition, 18 participants of the survey were selected for telephone interviews conducted via Skype in the summer of 2011.

The participants are rather representative of educated Finns insofar as there were former students from all the university towns and university centers of Finland. In addition, all Finnish provinces apart from the Åland islands were represented among the respondents' place of birth. Majority of the respondents (77%) were female and did not have children (76%) at the time of completing the first survey. The gender bias is at least in part due to the method used to find respondents: women are active in networking with other Finns in online communities, and perhaps they were more willing to take the time to respond to the survey. The respondents are largely fairly recent movers, as 78 percent of them had moved abroad after the year 2000. The large EU countries that attract most intra-European migrants were also heavily represented here: 87 percent of the respondents lived either in the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, France or Spain (in order of frequency).

The majority of the respondents lived in big cities, as 72 percent lived in either the capital city or another city with more than 0.5 million inhabitants. Most of the respondents were in a relationship, either co-habiting (45%) or married/living in a registered partnership (28%). The most common degrees completed were university level Masters' degrees (55%) and university of applied sciences Bachelors' degrees (21%). 48 percent had obtained their degree in Finland, 20 percent from abroad, and 25 percent had a degree from both countries. 7 percent of them were still studying while working abroad. The most common fields of study were social sciences, business, marketing and economics, and humanities.

Chapter 4

Between cultures – place experiences of the Finns in Ireland

Salla Saarela

Abstract

In this chapter I shall take a look at the personal experiences of the Finns in Ireland on their place between cultures. How do they think their migrant-selves develop and have developed in relation to places they have lived and experienced? Which attributes do they attach to Finland and Ireland in terms of inside-outside division? The chapter is based on my master's thesis in cultural anthropology.

The research material was collected in the late summer of 2008 in Ireland. It consists of 15 slightly thematic interviews of Finns aged 26 to 59. Male-female ratio was 3/12 and the time spent in Ireland varied from three years to almost thirty, albeit the most had moved in the country some years after Finland joined the European Union in 1995.

The number one concept in the article is *place*. It is seen from the perspective of humanistic geography: place is connections between people and locations, it is cultural meanings, mental processes and personal images. Place is a tool by which we rationalise and organise our environment. Place is a personal resource which is interpreted varyingly over time.

Methodically I work with the concept of *ethnography of experience*. I aim at creating a topobiographical picture of an Irish Finn by concentrating on certain concrete aspects of life as narratively expressed by the interviewees. Thus a picture of the Finnish migrant experience in Ireland takes a form in the course of an ethnographic description.

Every migrant experiences place through a complex and personal web of meanings: lived history, social connections, values and expectations are never exactly alike. The research material tells a story of a place-bound, time-bound self that changes as life is lived on. The chapter is a glimpse on the subject at a certain moment: different narrating positions give different results.

1. Introduction

Where am I from? The question is difficult to answer if there are several places one sees as home-like units in the personal living history. In an era when it is more and more effortless to move from one country to another the question begs for a definition. Am I from where I was born? Am I from the place where I have spent most time in my life? Or am I from the place where I live at the moment? As *place*, among other things, gives an undeniable background to self definition it is crucial to ponder its ambiguous meaning in the context of changing international migration.

Lived places leave marks on our lives. We meet new experiences by reflecting them to the earlier ones. As lived places are one of the defining aspects in the construction of experienced selves, they are also one of the most integral filters in taking in new experiences. In this chapter I shall concentrate on the meaning of place *between cultures* in the stories told by Finnish people in Ireland. The chapter aims at enhancing understanding of place-related experienced self in the context of migration, where at least two cultures, two locations have an effect on the daily life and mental processes of a Finnish migrant. Through ethnographic description I shall try to construct a picture of a Finn living in Ireland in terms of his or her attachment to places.

The earliest contacts between the Finns and the Irish are assumed to have happened through the communication of seamen as well as writers and academics. The Second World War strengthened the contacts between the countries and the diplomatic relations were agreed on in 1961. (Bell 2008: 180) Only a few Finns lived in Ireland in the 1970s but in the next decade some economic developments attracted more and more Finns to do business in the country. In the 1990s the Irish economic boom accelerated Finnish migration to Ireland which was further eased when Finland joined the European Union in 1995. (Bell 2008: 181) The turn of the century emphasized the importance of the EU institutions and the information technology companies as employers of the Finns in Ireland. Still, the Finns work on a wide range of fields and no clear generalisations can be made. The population of Ireland is centred around Dublin on the east coast and so are the Finns living in the country. The statistics concerning the Irish Finns are not accurate but some estimates can be made. The 1996 census was the first time when the Finns were registered as a group, as a consequence of joining the Euro-

pean Union. In the 2006 census 926 resident Finns were registered, 574 of them in the age group 24–44. (Central Statistics Office Ireland, nationalities) According to the Finnish ambassador Seppo Kauppila the number of the Finns in Ireland is about 1,500; just lately some have left Ireland after the economic recession but also more children have been born in the Finnish families in Ireland over the last few years (Kauppila 2009).

This chapter is based on my master's thesis. The empirical data of the research was collected in the late summer of 2008 in Ireland. It consists of 15 thematic interviews of Finns aged 26–59 at the time of the fieldwork. Three of the interviewees were male and twelve female. The time spent in Ireland varied from three years to almost thirty, albeit the most had moved in the country some years after Finland joined the European Union in 1995. In this article I quote nine of the interviews (my translations from spoken language transcribes) but still refer to all of them in the general arguments. That is why the list of informants is attached in its entirety. Although the interviews were thematically structured, the interviewees had a freedom to express themselves the way that suited them best: I used narrative approach and thus put emphasis on the things the interviewees found relevant and worth telling. Geographically I concentrated on the Finns living in the greater Dublin area because overall most of the population of Ireland is centred in this area.

2. Methodical approach

The methods used in the research are determined on the basis of what I want to achieve and what I think is possible to achieve in an interview-based research. I want to understand personal experience and that has some implications for the use of methods. Experience as such is a subjective phenomenon which needs to be made visible in one way or another in order for it to be available for discussion. I believe that experience is best concretised by paying attention to speech and narration. In my view a human being structures one's experiences through creating stories; understanding one's own life as well as other people's life happens through narration (see Karjalainen 2008: 22). Secondly, I think that people categorize their experiences through language; language allows us to objectify the personal world of experiences (Berger & Luckmann 1994: 49). In practice, an interviewee forms a story reflecting his/her experience; s/he formulates a mental image into a linguistic representation through narrative thinking (Erkkilä 2005: 206).

When examining an experience in the form of speech, what needs to be taken into account is that linguistic representations of mental images are never wholly subjective; they are formed in interaction with the surrounding culture and envi-

ronment (Tolska 2002: 78–83). One’s personal history, socio-cultural background and interviewer’s personality all have an effect on the narration (see Davies 1999; Erkkilä 2005; Moen 2006).

The approach leading to these methodological choices could be called *ethnography of experience* (see Rantala 2007). The most important tools of my study are language and narrative thinking as the aspects which take us closer to understanding informants’ personal worlds of experience. I read the transcribed data as stories, interviewees’ interpretations of their experiences. I do not question the facts or the objective truth of the data, but concentrate solely on the interpretations, personal, narrated experiences. The approach is hermeneutic: I use some hypothesises as filters of analysis and come gradually and cumulatively closer to understanding the personal experiences of the Finnish migrants in terms of their place-bound selves.

3. Theoretical filters

Theoretically I lean mainly on humanistic geography and its conceptions of place. I examine the data through *topobiographical* analysis. Topobiography is a concept and a theoretical approach developed by geography professor Pauli Tapani Karjalainen. It enables us to examine personal place relations in a biographical way where the self is seen to be formed by memories which in turn are spots where time and place meet. Place relations can be seen as feelings and observations that reflect the past, the present and the future simultaneously. As all biographies are unique so are all experiences of place. Thus topobiographical analysis can not cover all. However, by concentrating on an individual’s memories it is possible to build topobiographical understanding. Memories are not only about time but also about place. They become reachable through narration; narrative identity speech reveals lived places, planned places or even imagined places – in other words, place relations can be examined through narration and topobiographical analysis. (Karjalainen 2006: 83–92; 2008)

Furthermore, like Arturo Escobar (2001: 143) I also see our inevitable immersion in place, and not the absoluteness of space, having ontological priority in the generation of life and the reality. Perception is always embodied – thus we always find ourselves in places. These are the grounds why *place* is the concept I lean on when trying to reach the experienced realities of the Finns in Ireland in search of better understanding of the migrant selves between cultures.

Secondly, I concentrate theoretically on the idea of in-betweenness and the inside-outside division, which is strongly present in the interview-based data of the Finnish migrants. The concepts of insideness and outsideness help deepen the understanding of the experience of place in the context of migration. Insideness

can be seen to represent belonging or identification in relation to place. (Relph 1976: 49) The time spent abroad assumingly correlates with the increasing feeling of insiderness: the longer a Finn has lived in Ireland the more inside s/he feels in the new culture. It is also relevant to consider whether we really need this clear division between insiderness and outsiderness in a world of globalization: the duality might seem artificial as communicating and connections between countries are so effortless. However, as experience of place is inevitably corporal, I find this theme worth examining; a person can physically exist in only one place at a time – thus feeling of insiderness or outsiderness is probably a part of a migrant's living world in some degree.

Also strangeness and familiarity are aspects of in-betweenness in the migrant experience. They can be seen as concepts parallel to insiderness and outsiderness. Arto Haapala (1998) argues that strangeness and familiarity are basic concepts of classification in a human experience. Strangeness exists temporarily before familiarity; everything is strange in the beginning. Strangeness is never a static state of things: a human being is inclined to connect with the environment and thus make it familiar little by little. By concentrating on this process, a part of a migrant experience in-between cultures can be examined.

The dichotomies mentioned help reveal the mental place where the Finnish people in Ireland see themselves in terms of belonging or feeling at home. This chapter is not about the acculturation process but about the possible thoughts, ideas and feelings of the Finnish migrants in a certain moment about their personal place in connection with two cultures. As such the chapter creates a picture of the experienced place-related self of a Finn in Ireland.

4. The experience of place between cultures

The stories told by the interviewed Finns varied substantially. According to the topobiographical starting point in this article, building a solid and simple description of migrant place relations is not possible or even desirable. The informants experienced their trans-cultural way of life in many different ways. Every migrant has a personal view on their place relations, and in addition, the view changes as they live their lives. The world is seen, understood and interpreted from a certain personal position and when the position changes, also the picture of the world changes (Karjalainen 2008: 22). As mentioned before, the aim of this chapter is to get closer to understanding the *possible* ways of experiencing Finnish migrants' life between cultures. That is where I direct my attention in the following ethnographically accentuated discussion.

4.1 Scales of home

Dimensions of the cross-cultural home in the narration of the informants can be perceived on different levels: in the discussions home was described visible on physical, mental and practical scales. For every migrant the meanings of home are different; generalisations covering all migrants can not be made. However, it is possible to get closer to a topobiographical picture of a Finnish migrant by highlighting these different ways of experiencing home as a place. For some home does not need to be defined – it is unnecessary to belong to a place. For others, home is a very clearly defined space of mental or physical identification. In this chapter home is discussed on various scales starting from a very concrete level of understanding home as an apartment and ending up examining feelings of home more as a mindscape.

Keeping Finland visually close is important for some informants on the daily life -scale. The Finnish background shows in the homes in the form of kitchenware, furniture or decoration:

► *“I have some Iittala glasses and next time I am planning to buy a Marimekko tablecloth or a set of curtains. Somehow I am missing “Finnishness” now, even though it has not been important to me before. I have brought some of my own furniture here: it is nice to have your own piece, a piece of Finland here.” (H11)*

► *“I never used Marimekko back in Finland but here it somehow feels nice. For the children I have bought Marimekko clothes. In the Finnish club we always want to have some Marimekko on.” (H7)*

Some informants thus seem to have a new-found need to keep symbols of the ethnic background close. As the temporal distance to everyday life in Finland grows, the material embodiments of Finnishness get more value in self determination. They are mental links to stability or continuity in ethnic terms when the experienced life overall is quite detached from the Finnish routines.

For some, only customary use of Finnish things in the household has been a factor in choosing to continue using them in Ireland:

► *“I do not specially bring anything but I had some kitchenware before: Hackmann cutlery, Kermansavi dishes, Arabia plates, Moomin mugs and some textiles... Something that had better design, cheese-slicer or something. But not because it is Finnish, but because my hand is used to using it.” (H6)*

Thus Finnishness has through practice become a part of the daily home activities in Ireland; it is lived to become a part of the Irish context and moulded into a comfortable mix with Irishness in a personal everyday life.

Finnish literature is a part of the concrete, visual Finnishness in many migrant homes. Children's books, crime stories and winners of the Finlandia-award were mentioned in the interviews as well as magazines and newspapers. Wall-to-wall carpets are often removed and replaced by rag rugs, hand-knitted oven cloths are in daily use and children are dressed in dungarees. Certain brands are repeatedly mentioned as signs of the Finnish culture, as signifiers of both style and design on the one hand, and things that are durable and practical on the other. The images of other (half)-Finnish homes are similar: many interviewees think that the ethnic background is often emphasised visually and the expressions of Finnishness are centred in design and everyday kitchen ware:

- ▶ *"You can spot a Finnish home based on an Alvar Aalto vase, possibly some Marimekko, Arabia and Iittala. In addition you can find scissors from Fiskars and some Hackmann. Finnish home reflects Finnish design, wherever the home is." (H12)*

Home can also be seen to find its expression in the familiarity of everyday routines, whether they are about certain streets walked everyday, same weekly grocery shopping, regular meetings with a circle of friends or relatives or knowing what goes on in a co-worker's life. Routines cultivate the feeling of insideness or belonging:

- ▶ *"It is about the routines at home – everyday life is the same all around. You have to take care of your home, clean, cook... The fundamental feeling of security is to have your own home and to be able to organise it the way you want to. It is about very simple things." (H11)*

The collective history and the central physical frames of the city of Dublin are shared experiences for those living the city (for some of the most central areas, see Figures 1, 2 and 3). Still, as Doreen Massey (2008: 27; see also Haapala 1998) states, the identity of a place is never fully homogeneous in the minds of the observers; personal routes through it, favourite spots in it and its connections with the outer world draw a unique map of place relations for everyone. All the interviewees build their own Dublin with different mental and concrete connections to different spots in the city. Feeling of home in Dublin is constructed as the place is lived, through time.



Figure 1. In the interviews, a mid-city drive-through O'Connell Street was often mentioned: busy traffic, the Spire monument, relatively low buildings and rain are shared experiences for Dublin-based Finns. (Photo: S. Saarela)



Figure 2. Grafton Street. A few central shopping districts are collectively viewed as defining the city, its areas and borders between different neighbourhoods. (Photo: S. Saarela)



Figure 3. Seaside at Howth right north from Dublin. The sea is an essential element in defining Dublin and its surroundings for most of the Finns living in Ireland. (Photo: S. Saarela)

In addition, as the *body* plays a big part in experiencing place in everyday life, the feeling of insiderness increases as the daily environment is modified through corporal activities. Home is constructed mentally in physical action; the place is lived to be familiar:

► *“In a house like this, where there is a lot to do... There are lots of things you have made or mended or fixed yourself – that makes you feel like home. Window casing is dangling but at least it is my own window casing.” (H6)*

Corporal presence in the physical frame of a house or an apartment is a part of the home building on physical as well as mental levels. A perceiver of the world is always necessarily a situated subject (von Bonsdorff 1998: 20–21): corporality restricts or at least directs the experience. The home in Ireland changes through time, as a corporal experience, and comes to mean what it means today. Thus the home can be seen as one of the reflectors of experienced self on both temporal and spatial levels – it concretizes the search for continuity in the web of changing place relations.

4.2 Memories and nostalgia

Even if a migrant's relationship to Finland is close, Finland is not his/her everyday environment, a corporally lived place. To be able to discuss the ideas of nostalgia in the context of migration the concept of "homeland" needs to be defined. For the German ethnologist Ina-Maria Greverus, the meaning of homeland can be described as an emotional relationship with a place that has socio-cultural importance (ref. Olsson 2003: 258). Further, Charles Westin (2000: 41–42) states that homeland is a spot in the time-space continuum of life, where one moves through time regardless of whether or not the place changes. While it is possible to return to the spatial location of homeland, temporally it is impossible. Temporal homeland, the exact place one left behind, exists in the mind of the observer, the migrant. For Finnish migrants in Ireland, Finland exists mainly as memories and images. Finland is visited regularly and other contacts may be very lively but still the everyday experience of Finland is not corporal, it happens mainly on a mental level. Thus the relationship to Finland changes through time as life is lived in the time-space continuum as a Finnish migrant, corporally outside Finland. Finland is no longer the everyday environment but one kind of a benchmark, a starting point, a place of nostalgia and the focus of changing memories.

According to Karjalainen (1997: 235) a self gets a form where time and place meet. A migrant defines his/her relationship to the past and the present at a certain moment, in a certain place. As the place and the moment change, also the relationships change. As Olsson (2003: 257) states, the past has an important role in the formation of a local identity. Following the lines of topobiography, the relationship to the past concretizes in memories. Both past and future mould the experienced self to what it is now – attention to memories and nostalgia in a research can thus reveal parts of the intercultural self of a migrant and deepen the topobiographical understanding of living between cultures. Memories, images and nostalgic ideas about Finland tell a story of the relationship to both Finland and Ireland the way they are experienced at this moment.

Nostalgia is often experienced through multiple senses. What kind of sensations do the migrants attach to Finland? The interviewees spoke about the sweetness of peas and strawberries on a marketplace in the summer, the smell of forests and birch trees especially, or of comfortable silence. Different senses play a key role in our place experiences. Sensuousness in the context of experiencing environments can be described as integration of different senses and sensations in the experiencer's body (von Bonsdorff 1998: 81). Putting these sensuous experiences into words creates a very expressive description of the mental images of nostalgia. Past – and in this context also things that are absent or are missed with nostalgia – are often reminisced with special pleasure (Olsson 2003: 247).

The following citations bring us close to the atmosphere that the Finns living in Ireland attach to Finland in a nostalgic, sensuous way:

▶ *"All this... when you are fishing on a silent river at night in the summer... All that quietness and even the smell..." (H6)*

▶ *"Of course I don't share my Geisha chocolate bar. It's got so many memories and it's my thing and all that." (H15)*

▶ *"...smell of cleanliness. Already when you land at the airport in Finland... it's so clean compared to for example Dublin." (H8)*

▶ *"Skiing there on the frozen lake in the spring sun... I would still like to experience that more than once in my life." (H3)*

According to the interview based data the things that are thought of nostalgically or that are missed, are things which are not a part of the living world in Ireland, things which differ from the everyday life of the migrants. I do not try to strengthen a stereotypical view of a Finn abroad missing everything Finnish as for many migrants Finland is not an object of nostalgia at all. However, for those who do miss something, the things tend to be quite similar; the ideas of nostalgia are shared. Four seasons, rye bread and Karelian pies, cleanliness, open space and nature, salty liquorice and orderliness are things that were all mentioned several times. Still the reverse side is also acknowledged: in Ireland biking is possible throughout the year as the temperature changes are more modest than in Finland (H6). New Irish favourites replace the groceries which are missed from Finland (H5).

The sense of sight is often considered the dominant sense in observing the environment (see for example Forss 2007: 78). Still the experience of place is a formation of multiple senses, corporal integration of different sentiments (von Bonsdorff 1998: 81). Especially memories and feelings are often attached to senses and come to life through associative senses like smelling or hearing. This is often the case with nostalgia or homesickness among migrants – one of the informants in the research had paid attention to music having such an effect:

- *“Music does it... if I listen to Finnish music I often get homesick. It somehow triggers it. If I listen to J. Karjalainen or something like that, it makes me think about all the things in Finland and how the friends are and everything...” (H11)*

4.3 Migrants, strangers?

Migration can be seen as a phenomenon involving balancing between two cultures, living on the border of outsidership and insidership. Strangeness in everyday language is connected to loneliness, deviance or detachment from the environment – something negative overall. However, in this research strangeness is a conceptual tool in formulating the essence of the Finnish migrant experience in Ireland. It has to do with the dichotomies discussed earlier: strangeness and familiarity, insidership and outsidership – the migrant searches his/her place as a stranger in-between Finland and Ireland. Strangeness is one kind of a personal place experience if place is understood according to Cresswell (2004: 11) as connections between people and locations – strangeness illustrates the migrants’ relationships to the two homelands and depicts mental distance to physical places. The theme of strangeness was very much present in the interviews – not necessarily conceptualised but still observable in the narration. The Finnish people in Ireland often recognize feelings of strangeness in their chosen lifestyle:

- *“What I realized maybe five years ago was that once you leave your background, you can no longer return. It will never be the same for you. And it might be silly to leave. These days people do leave but it’s not necessarily good for a person.” (H15)*

- *“I don’t think it is even important to belong to a place one hundred percent. It is always... it is like a tragedy of a lifetime when you live somewhere else – there are always things that would be better in the other place.” (H6)*

These citations reflect the feeling of detachment present in the reality of migrants who build their life between two cultures. Homeland is no longer the same as it was while living there but it is mainly determined by nostalgia or thinking backwards, remembering. However, it also has to be realized that in the changing, globalizing world attachment to several different places does not somehow automatically transform the individual into a constantly moving outsider who desperately searches for something unreachable in between things. Attachment to place can not be taken as a self-evident humane need either; for some, safety,

continuity and stability are needs that are in a postmodern manner fulfilled by something else than stable place relations. On an experiential level new forms of international migration can be examined through Avtar Brah's (1996: 180) argument concerning transnational identities: rather aptly she distinguishes between homing desire and desire for a homeland. The latter is not always present in the narration of Finnish migrants in Ireland but homing desire can hardly be ignored. Still, strangeness is a concept that sheds light to the place experiences of migrants. The interviews made it clear that after leaving one place, a migrant is bound to get accustomed to a level of detachment or outsidership every now and then, in relation to both the old and the new homeland.

Corporally living in a place attaches an individual to the collective memory of the place (see Forss 2007). If this historical dimension in a migrant's personal living environment does not go back over several decades, some time-related situations, such as remembering the past, might trigger feelings of strangeness. The data illustrates that for the Finns in Ireland, feelings of outsidership are often present when discussing the Irish history or remembering the time back at school:

▶ *"When they speak about Ireland in the past, or how it was in the 60's, that's when I feel totally like a stranger." (H11)*

▶ *"I feel like an outsider, when people talk about education. When I go out and people look back at their school days. Some of our family friends have attended a boarding school and that is so unfamiliar- A Finn can't imagine that, we only might have read about it in books." (H8)*

4.4 Language

▶ *"I sometimes speak Finnish to my cat. But I have to admit, mainly that goes in English too." (H6)*

Language is a social construction, collective system of meanings that is tightly connected to the surrounding culture. Language situates the individual in a certain community. Through language knowledge a person knows the values of the community even if s/he does not share them (Hall 2003: 89–90). In this kind of a community a person is linguistically an insider.

According to the data the ability to express oneself in English is considered one of the crucial aspects of feeling at home in Ireland. None of the informants

had problems with the language anymore, but instead the deterioration of Finnish was found uncomfortable. Still the meaning of language was vividly discussed and the personal adaptation was remembered to have happened alongside with the development of the English language:

- ▶ *"Feeling like an outsider lasts a long time. It goes, or at least for me it went as the language got better." (H8)*

Some of the migrants maintain their Finnish language intentionally by for example reading every second book in Finnish, but still for the most, living the everyday life and adapting to the English environment is more central. Experiencing place includes living the language. Often the choice between languages is considered necessary:

- ▶ *"I think that was the price I had to pay to be able to write flawlessly in English. ... It is an inevitable and worthwhile investment. But on the other hand, it is also a tiny bit sad that the Finnish has suffered." (H3)*

Finnish and English still have different meanings as languages even if the ability to speak both is the same. The experienced expressive strength of Finnish was mentioned in several interviews:

- ▶ *"I don't enjoy poetry in English. I don't find the same colour of the words or the same emotion that I have when I read poems in Finnish and enjoy them." (H6)*

-
- ▶ *"The biggest element of homesickness is still the language. Even if you speak English well and have learnt it at school for a long time, it is still always the second language. It is still not the emotional language." (H15)*

As in all aspects of experiencing place, it is also impossible to generalize about the meaning of the mother tongue for migrants. For some it is a way of maintaining the self whereas for others it is only an instrumental tool of everyday life:

- ▶ *"I don't know if it's important. It's nice to speak. Somehow it is more of a tool than an absolute value. You use it when you need it." (H14)*

The Finns with families in Ireland seem to have a tendency to try to speak mainly Finnish to their children. It is not always easy: for some of the interviewees speaking Finnish takes more effort than speaking English. Often also sharing a language

environment with the family is considered more important than systematically speaking Finnish to the children:

- ▶ *“I’m trying [to speak Finnish]. But it’s difficult because I feel that I can’t speak Finnish to my daughter all the time... because then our family wouldn’t have a shared language at all.” (H8)*

4.5 Time

For a migrant, adapting to the linguistic practices of the everyday environment is evidently one of the central things in feeling comfortable in a new country. In addition to the language itself – the phrases and words, a migrant needs to adopt a wide selection of other culture-related codes of conduct to get closer to feeling like an insider. According to Young Yun Kim (1998: 48; 2001: 45–49) successful adaptation is directly bound to the ability to communicate in a new culture frame. He talks about *communication competence*: a mental ability to position oneself in a socio-cultural environment by creating means of seeing, hearing, understanding and reacting to the environment. Through developing one’s communication competence, a person integrates oneself to the surrounding reality.

Learning the ways of communication requires time. Learning both the language and culture might leave the migrant hanging in the feeling of in-betweenness for a long time. The data of this research has numerous references to time in the migrant experience. The Irish ways of doing things or viewing the world are embraced gradually and made a part of the personal living world little by little. Some of the interviewees experienced the process as very tiring and consuming:

- ▶ *“I was all worn out the first three months. In the beginning the most difficult thing was to create stable friendships... getting to know the city and all. I think it took way over a year, I guess maybe even two years to be well and permanently settled in here and to have got used to all this.” (H8)*

-
- ▶ *“Yes, I could say I have learnt, but it really takes years and years.” (H3)*

One’s relationship to place develops through time and is never finished – the relationship needs constant validation. The Finnish migrants might consider their relationship to Finland quite stable: the former homeland is remembered through experiences in the past and reflected in relation to the everyday life in

Ireland. Gradually, and partly unnoticed, the relationship to Finland changes. Existing corporally in one place physically excludes existing somewhere else simultaneously. The feeling of command over the Finnish culture is no longer as self-evident as it was when living in the country. Some Finnish phenomena might begin to feel strange or distant:

► *“When you go to Finland and hear things, you notice you’re not so much aware of everything that you thought. The language alone changes: there are phrases that didn’t exist when you were there. It’s funny, it feels like I’m losing the thread, that I don’t know- what does that mean again... The Finnish news sharpen when you’re there on a holiday. You’re not really following the way you think you are.” (H11)*

► *“I get irritated by Finnish people being so quiet and them being unable to handle the small talk I’ve had to learn when I came here. It’s the kind of silence that doesn’t bother a Finn, kind of normal silence, but I’ve grown to get irritated by it.” (H8)*

These are examples of how a Finn in Ireland lives and feels the everyday environment, learns from it and changes along with it. Communication competence in the Irish context grows. Simultaneously, Finland and its inhabitants change and the expatriate’s grip of the culture loosens. Thus Ireland is internalized at the expense of “knowing” Finland deeply on an everyday life level. Some estrangement from Finland happens and the emphasis of insideness turns to Ireland.

The aspect of time in the migrant place experience can be further examined by the ideas of humanistic geography. Yi-Fu Tuan (1996, 2006) speaks about the sense of place that often deepens when time goes by. For the Finns the sense of place in Ireland strengthens as the new homeland is lived to be familiar and the feeling of command over the living environment increases. Time evidently has an effect on knowing a place deeply and feeling like an insider. Another classical geographer, Edward Relph (1976: 52–55) distinguishes the degrees of insideness into four classes that are useful in examining the migrant experience. Vicarious insideness stands for experiencing place from the outside, without physical presence; the images that the Finns had before moving to Ireland, literary or media originated representations, are the source of vicarious insideness. In the stage of *behavioural* insideness, a person is physically present in a place and sees it as a collection of observable, distinct features. The Finns experience this phase shortly after having arrived in Ireland: when observing the new environment and comparing it to the Finnish characteristics. In the stage of *empathetic* insideness, a person is consciously trying to understand the symbols and meanings of one’s environment. The Finns in Ireland go through this step at the point when they

have learnt the Irish codes of conduct and when they see and understand the connection between past, present and future. The fourth, *existential* degree of insideness, means experiencing place without a need to consciously try to understand it, simply living the place automatically or self-evidently. The place is still full of meanings but they are no longer paid attention to. The place is adapted to.

To further illuminate the time-related process of place experience, I discuss Karjalainen's (2006: 84–85) circle model which can be seen as parallel to Relph's ideas above: when a migrant moves to Ireland the place is *visible* (Relph's behavioural insideness) – its characteristics are acknowledged and the place is evaluated consciously; when one is getting used to the surroundings the place can be seen as *forming* (empathetic insideness), it is growing familiar; finally the process of living a place ends up with place as *invisible* (existential insideness) – this is the state where the meanings or features of the place are no longer recognized and continuously assessed but the place is lived naturally in the role of an insider. Living Ireland this way was clearly noticeable in the interviews: some informants – the Finns who had lived in Ireland for a long time – were frustrated with the questions of the qualities of Irishness or the Irish. The interviewee could not necessarily specify the characteristics of the country or compare it to Finland and it was difficult for him/her to distinguish oneself from the Irish. I see this as one of the most lively examples of the existential stage of insideness or living Ireland as invisible. The systems of meaning are no longer visible, but the migrants have been absorbed by the surrounding culture and live it, unforced and naturally without constant reflexion of the environment. The experiential environment has grown to be a part of the personal living world and thus a part of the intercultural migrant self. According to Karjalainen, also the *remembered* place, the way Ireland is perceived through personal memories, and the *expected* place – the way life in Ireland is imagined in the future – bring more temporal dimensions to the place experience at this very moment.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to shed light on the Finnish migrant experience in terms of place relations. My interest was centred on the narrated self developing between cultures. Self can be comprehended as individual existence in time and place. Connections between time and place become visible as memories; they mould the personal self that an individual adopts at a given moment. (Karjalainen 1997: 235; 2006: 83) In the data the Finns in Ireland narrated themselves and their selves visible in the hub of their time and place relations at that very moment. If the interviews were renewed now, other kinds of topobiographies would be created, migrant selves would be coloured differently in accordance with different

lived experiences. Every expatriate experiences his/her place in the light of their predispositions and their likings. That is why the place experiences of the Finnish migrants in Dublin, in Finland or between cultures are unique.

The emphasis of my discussion is on an individual level: one's own experience differs from the experiences of all the rest. It is worth mentioning that on a cultural level there are obviously similarities in the experiences of the Finns in Ireland: for example they surely meet similar stereotypes of Finnishness and Finland, their ideas of nostalgia are often commonly accepted and the shared cultural background directs attention to divergent social norms and ways of behaving compared to Finland. In this relation the Irish Finns can partly identify with certain shared patterns of thinking – thus on a cultural level there are collective aspects in the migrant experience. However, according to the qualitative orientation and based on the search for personal topobiographies I have emphasized an individual view and originality of the narrated experiences at certain moments. From that point of view the very idea of a shared, reachable place experience is quite absurd and thus it can be stated that building a single picture is more or less impossible. Every migrant has his/her own views, opinions and experiences. In addition, they change continuously. Above I have discussed several different aspects of the Finnish migrant reality in Ireland and aimed at creating an ethnography of experience between cultures. The article should be seen as a review of several *possible* ways of experiencing place; as such it might slightly lift a veil of complex inter-culturally developing migrant selves.

Interviewees

- H1: Female, 32 years, in Ireland for 11 years altogether
- H2: Female, 38 years, in Ireland since 1997
- H3: Female, 38 years, in Ireland since 2000
- H4: Male, 30 years, in Ireland since 2001
- H5: Female, 26 years, in Ireland since 2002
- H6: Female, 41 years, in Ireland since 1998
- H7: Female, 30, in Ireland since 2005
- H8: Female, 34 years, in Ireland since 1998
- H9: Male, 59 years, in Ireland since 1974
- H10: Female, 37 years, in Ireland since 2001
- H11: Female, 45 years, in Ireland since 2000
- H12: Female, 45 years, in Ireland since 1996
- H13: Female, 31 years, In Ireland since 2005
- H14: Male, 39 years, in Ireland since 2005
- H15: Female, 42 years, in Ireland since 1993

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(Photo: www.sxc.hu)

Chapter 5

“A Yankee boy promised me everything except the moon.” Changing marriage patterns of Finnish migrants in the U.S. in the twentieth century

Johanna Leinonen

Abstract

Research on Finnish migration to the U.S. has traditionally focused on the years of mass migration (ca. 1870–1930) when approximately 350,000 Finns crossed the Atlantic. There is only little research on more recent migration from Finland to the U.S. – which is in many ways different from the earlier migration of uneducated workers searching for better living opportunities in the New World. This article explores these changes in migration from Finland to the U.S. over the course of the twentieth century, showing how marriage patterns of Finnish migrants in the U.S. have transformed as a result. While in the early twentieth century only 10 percent of Finns who married did so outside of their ethnic community, international marriage has become a majority experience for Finns in the U.S. today. I argue that the increase in international marriages among Finns in the U.S. is inextricably tied to deepening globalization processes: an ever-increasing number of people moving because of work, study, or travel and the accelerating speed of communication across borders. These processes facilitate the formation of personal relationships that transcend national borders: many migrants are young, unmarried individuals looking for education, career opportunities, or just experiences through travel, and they come into contact with others of different nationalities. It is thus hardly surprising that marriage is sometimes the result of or the reason for migration. Moreover, the article underscores the importance of immigration law in providing the framework in which these marriages are contracted, facilitating or restricting them. The sources utilized in this article include U.S. census microdata, records of

the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 130 responses to a questionnaire that I sent in 2002 to Finnish-born women living in different parts of the U.S., and 35 interviews that I conducted in 2004 with Finnish women living in Minnesota and married to an American man.

1. Introduction

There was a saying among Finnish migrants in the early twentieth century U.S., “no matter how ugly a woman is, she will find a husband in America” (Kero 1996: 210).¹ Finnish communities of the turn-of-the-century U.S. were mainly male-dominated, and consequently the marriage market was very favourable to Finnish women. The lack of women of the same ethnic group pushed many migrant men to search for a spouse in the home country through newspaper ads, visits to the home village, or correspondence. It seems that many men preferred to marry not only a Finnish girl, but a girl from the same village or region where he originated from. Figure 1 is an example of a letter by a Finnish man living in the U.S. (in this case, in California) who courted a girl in his hometown in Finland through correspondence (the America Letters Project). Indeed, many women arrived in the U.S. specifically to marry a migrant man (Kero 1996: 211–215). This couple, however, did not end up getting married – she stayed in Finland.

Even though it was sometimes difficult for Finnish men to find Finnish girls to marry, marriages across ethnic boundaries were rare; only 10 percent of Finns who married did so outside of their ethnic community (Ross 1981: 252). In contrast, international marriage has be-

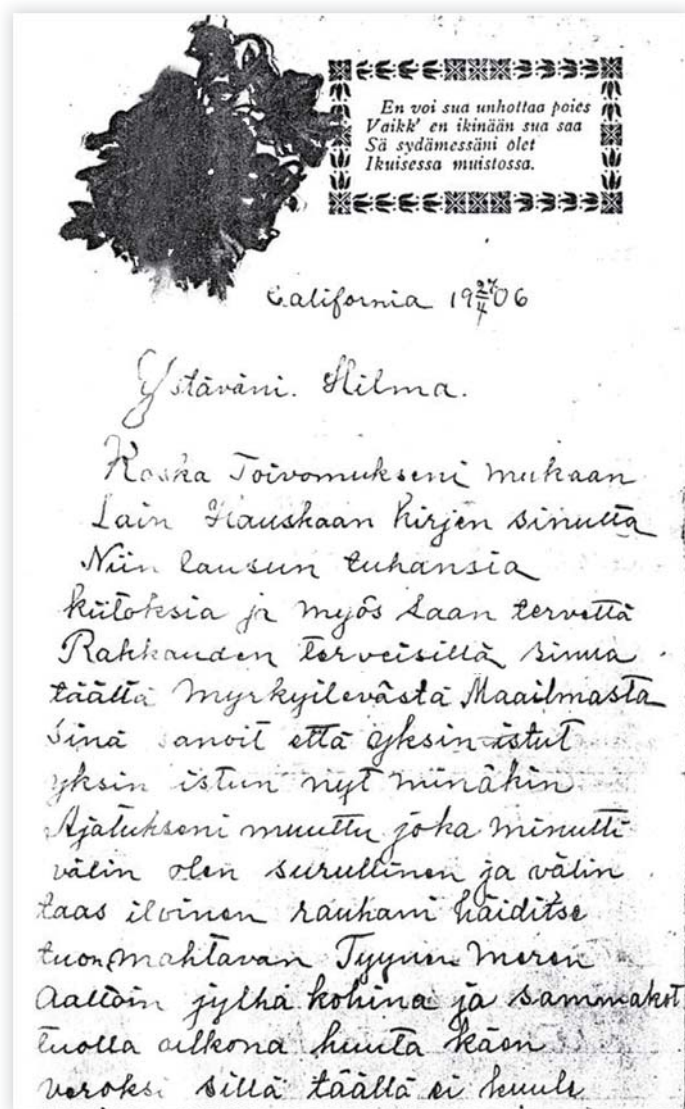


Figure 1. Letter of courtship, California, April 27, 1906

come a majority experience for Finns in the U.S. today. In this article, I examine these changes in marriage and migration patterns of Finns in the U.S. over the course of the twentieth century. My main sources include U.S. census microdata (see Ruggles et al. 2010), records of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 130 responses to a questionnaire that I sent in 2002 to Finnish-born women living in different parts of the U.S., and 35 interviews that I conducted in 2004 with Finnish women living in Minnesota and married to an American man. The article attributes the growth in the number of international marriages among Finns in the U.S. to the increasingly mobile lifestyles of students, professionals, and young people looking for adventure and experiences through travel. Moreover, immigration law provides the framework in which these marriages are contracted, facilitating or restricting them.

2. Marriages in Finnish communities in the early twentieth century U.S.

During the years of mass migration from Europe to the U.S. (1870–1930), approximately 350,000 Finns crossed the Atlantic Ocean. The people who moved were mainly young and unskilled workers in search of a better livelihood in the “land of opportunity.” The majority of Finns settled in the western Great Lakes area, that is, northern Michigan, eastern Minnesota, and northern Wisconsin. These areas were heavily male-dominated, and Finnish migrant men found employment as unskilled laborers in iron and copper mines, lumber camps, and docks. Some acquired small farms. In general, Finnish men settled in small cities or rural areas. Finnish women, on the other hand, were more likely to be found in larger cities such as Boston, New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis, where they most often worked as maids, cooks, or laundresses (Kivisto 1984: 72; Wargelin Brown 1986: 18).

In Finnish communities in the early twentieth century U.S., family formation was a major concern, as the migrant population was male-dominated: 63 percent of Finns who arrived in the country between 1870 and 1930 were men. A majority of Finns migrated alone; family migration did not become more common until the latter years of mass migration to the U.S. There were, of course, regional differences in the availability of Finnish spouses. Gender imbalance was greatest in distant mining communities and lumber camps, where a great majority of the population was composed of men of migrant backgrounds. On the other hand, in New York City in 1920, Finnish women outnumbered Finnish men. This was due to the different employment patterns of Finnish men and women (Kero 1996: 103, 110, 210–211).

Many researchers have argued that the likelihood of intermarriage is greater in migrant groups with unbalanced sex ratios. This simply reflects the limited opportunities to meet partners from the same country of origin (Jasso & Rosenzweig 1990: 175–177; Kalmijn & van Tubergen 2006: 371). However, the skewed sex ratios did not bring about large numbers of intermarriages in Finnish communities in the U.S. Why, then, did Finns, both men and women, marry almost exclusively other Finns, despite the fact that it was sometimes a challenge to find a Finnish spouse? Sinke (2001: 74) notes that cultural perceptions about marriage and a suitable spouse affected marriage and migration. Many migrants strongly favored marriage within their ethnic group, leading migrant men to look for a spouse in the home country. Thus, simple cultural preferences often discouraged the formation of relationships across ethnic borders.

Also group norms about who is a suitable spouse affected partner choices. In Finnish communities, marriages between Finnish women and men of other nationalities were specifically not welcomed; in fact, Finnish men sometimes actively sought to prevent romantic relationships between Finnish women and foreign men (e.g. Lindström-Best 1988: 64). According to Väänänen-Jensen (1992: 3), a daughter of Finnish migrants who grew up in Ely and Virginia in Minnesota in the 1920s, a marriage to an American – meaning white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, and Protestant – was considered worse than marriage to another migrant. Marriage between two migrants was seen as more equal: “If a Finnish girl married a Slovenian boy, that was bad enough, but at least his family was also immigrant and his parents probably spoke as little English as did the Finnish parents”. Women courting non-Finnish men were sometimes ridiculed, too. A male character named “Matti” explains Finnish men’s opinions on Finnish women dating foreigners in a radio play broadcast in *Amerikan Ääni* (“The Voice of America”) in 1953: “I didn’t care for those ‘paradise birds’ wearing heavy make-up and expensive clothes, who looked down on Finns and took a fancy to the ‘yanks’” (the Kolehmainen, John I. Papers).² Finnish women’s interest in “Irish gentlemen” (*airis-kentlemanni*) also ignited scornful comments among Finnish men. Kalle Koski, a Finnish poet, wrote in 1896 about a fictional Finnish maid “Mäkelän Maria” who regretted her falling for and marrying a “foreign Irishman” (*wieras airis*): “A deep sigh comes out from her chest, always when she looks at her child, as the child playing in her bosom, is of foreign Irish blood” (Kero 1996: 208, 212).³

The expectation was, then, that Finnish women were to marry men of their own ethnic group. Not surprisingly, men had more leeway when choosing a partner – their courtship of foreign women rarely aroused public disapproval. Yet despite the scarcity of Finnish women, marriages between Finnish men and foreign women were still few and far between. This was not unique to Finnish migrants: many migrant communities were heavily male-dominated but still showed remarkably low rates of intermarriage. The rarity of intermarriage was

not only a question of cultural preferences of migrants: also the attitudes of the surrounding society influenced their marriage choices. When unskilled migrants poured into the U.S. from Southern and Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the racial status of these “new” migrants was ambiguous. Although today Finns are often linked in the popular mind with Scandinavians (Norwegians and Swedes), in the early twentieth century U.S. migration of Finns was seen as part of the (unwelcomed) migration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Consequently, the Finnish migrant experience was notably different from the experiences of Scandinavians (Riippa 1981: 298).

It is not difficult to find memories of ethnic discrimination and feelings of isolation in the writings of Finnish migrants in Minnesota. Väänänen-Jensen (1994: 175), for example, writes about her feelings of shame when she was recognized as a Finn: “I felt honored when someone said, ‘But you don’t *look* Finnish’”. Many Finnish migrant writers recollect hearing racial slurs from other migrants and “old stock” Americans. Kaarina Leino-Olli wrote in 1938 in *Päivälehti*, a Finnish newspaper based in Duluth that “yes, they called us foreigners, and in less charitable moments they called us bums or dirty Finns. Geography books, encyclopedias, and social studies always used to state that Finns were Mongolians” (ibid. 175, 177). Väänänen-Jensen (ibid. 175) describes her experiences of marginalization as follows: “Perhaps without being consciously aware of it, we thought ourselves, and most certainly of our parents, as marginal people in America, not really Americans, or at least not what we perceived *real* Americans to be – white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, Protestant”.

In this context, it is not surprising that Finns usually found their life companions among their fellow country men and women. Scholars have pointed out that the degree of community cohesion has a profound impact on marriage patterns: segregated and/or tightly-knit communities often show low rates of intermarriage (Penny & Khoo 1996: 16). Once in the U.S., Finnish migrants joined lively Finnish-American communities; co-ops, temperance and workers’ halls, and churches became “substitute homes” for migrants. Feelings of common ancestry, language, and culture and experiences of marginalization tied Finns together (Lindström 1998: 45–47).⁴ Writings of Finnish migrants reveal that many were not comfortable with interacting with other nationalities in the intimate sphere. The radio character “Matti” explains his reluctance to court American girls: “There were of course slender American girls around but we were so slow and awkward in our speech, like Moses used to be, that we didn’t dare to call for them” (the Kolehmainen, John I. Papers).⁵

A contributing factor to the absence of marriages across ethnic boundaries was the lack of language skills among Finnish migrants: they rarely mastered the English language. As a consequence, their social life was restricted to the Finnish community and many Finns never learned English well enough to be fluent in it.

This is reflected in the personal histories of migrants; for instance, Väänänen-Jensen recollects (1992: 2):

► *“I think many Finns were shy, embarrassed, ashamed, and also too frightened to try to carry on any kind of English conversation, which, in fact, many of them were never able to do with any great success, even after years in this country. Not so long ago, I met a Finnish woman who had been in the United States for sixty years on an isolated farm where she raised eleven children. She spoke two English words: “Haloo” [“Hello”] and “Kupai” [“Goodbye”]. For many years our mother harbored fears about answering the knock at the door (...) just as she feared answering the telephone, afraid that she could not handle the situation if the person (...) was not a Finn.”*

The fact that Swedish-speaking Finns married non-Finns (especially Scandinavian migrants) more often than Finnish-speaking Finns speaks to the ways in which language difference shaped personal relationships (Kero 1996: 217). For speakers of Finnish, a non-Indo-European language, the language barrier often proved to be a difficult one to break.

3. Changing migration patterns, changing marriage patterns

Due to changes in U.S. immigration law, the “age of migration” from Europe to the U.S. came to an end in the 1920s. The number of migrants obtaining legal permanent resident (LPR) status in the U.S. dropped 60 percent between 1924 and 1925 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics 2009). Also Finns’ opportunities to migrate to the U.S. withered with the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924: they and other migrants categorized as eastern and southern Europeans were allotted fewer immigration slots than racially more desirable northern and western Europeans under the system of so-called national origins quotas. The Act of 1921 allowed 3,921 Finns to migrate per year, and the Immigration Act of 1924 further reduced the quota for Finns to only 471 persons a year. Consequently, the number of migrants arriving from Finland decreased by more than 80 percent between the time periods of 1921–1925 (when 14,348 were admitted) and 1926–1930 (2,343). In the 1930s, the decade of the Great Depression, the number of newcomers from Finland continued to be small: fewer than 2,500 Finns moved to the country during the whole decade (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration 1924–1932; U.S. Department of Labor, INS 1933–1940).

As the number of Finns arriving in the U.S. decreased significantly, marriage patterns of Finns changed as well. Figure 2, based on U.S. census data, shows the

estimated number of marriages of Finns to other Finns (i.e. in-marriages) and to non-Finns (intermarriages) from 1900 to 2007 (see the left scale of the figure). While the total number of marriages of the Finnish-born in the U.S. decreased throughout the twentieth century, an interesting trend still emerges: after 1950, the number of marriages across ethnic boundaries has clearly exceeded the number of marriages within the Finnish community (Ruggles et al. 2010).⁶

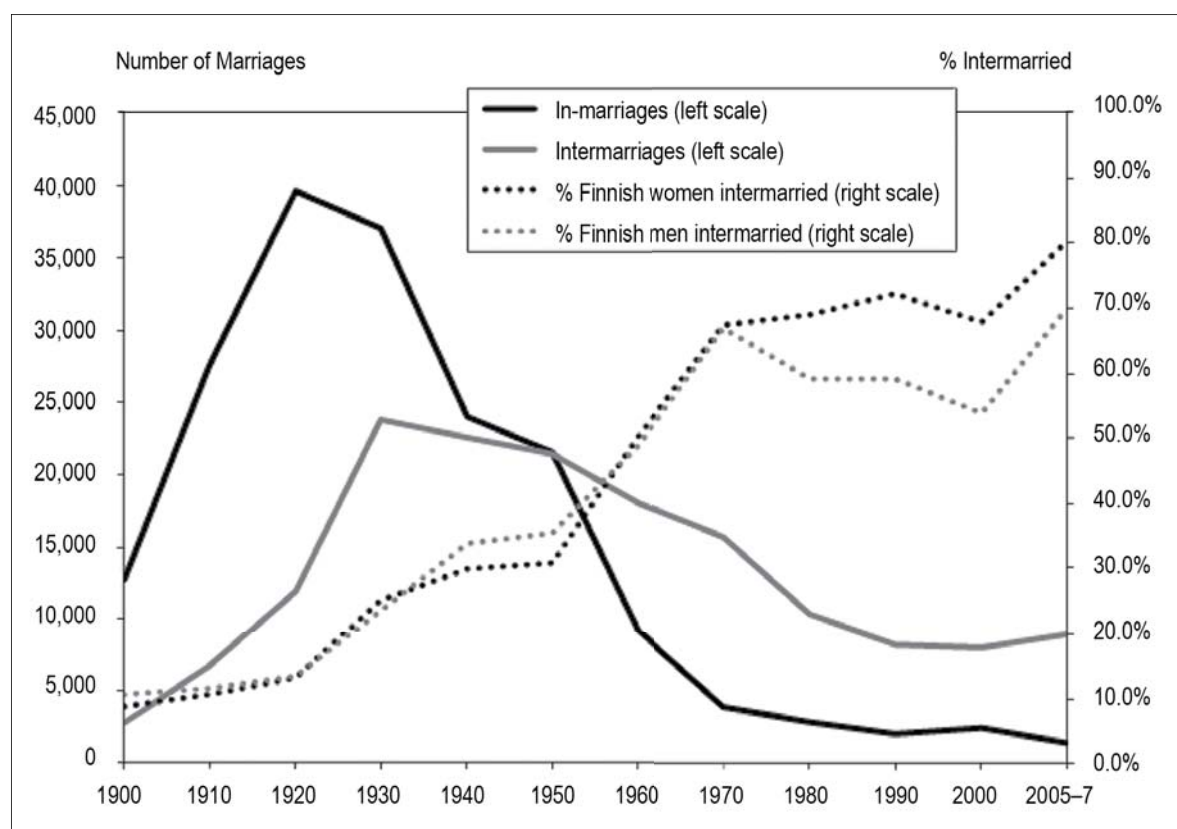


Figure 2. Estimated number of marriages of Finnish-born in the U.S., with percentage of intermarried by gender, 1900–2007

On the right scale, Figure 2 also shows the proportion of Finnish men and women who were intermarried in each census year. After 1960, more than half of both Finnish men and women have married outside their ethnic community. Overall, the proportion of intermarried among Finnish-born women increased steadily throughout the twentieth century. The proportion of intermarried Finnish men, on the other hand, decreased from 1970 to 2000, after which the percent of intermarried has gone up again. This difference to Finnish-born women is likely due to the fact that Finnish men more often moved to the U.S. with their families.

What is more, U.S. census data show that there was a clear jump in the proportion of Finns married to American-born between 1960 and 1970. Figure 3 shows the origins of husbands of Finnish women in the U.S. from 1900 to 2007. In the analysis, I divided husbands into four groups: husbands born in Finland;

husbands born in the U.S. with Finnish ancestry; U.S. born husbands without Finnish ancestry; and other foreign-born husbands (i.e. men born outside Finland and the U.S.). As the figure reveals, the proportion of husbands who were born in the U.S. (and had no Finnish ancestry) almost doubled between 1960 and 1970 (from 23 to 44 percent). A similar rise took place in the proportion of U.S. born wives of Finnish men (figure not shown): the percent increased from 23 percent in 1960 to 47 percent in 1970 (Ruggles et al. 2010).

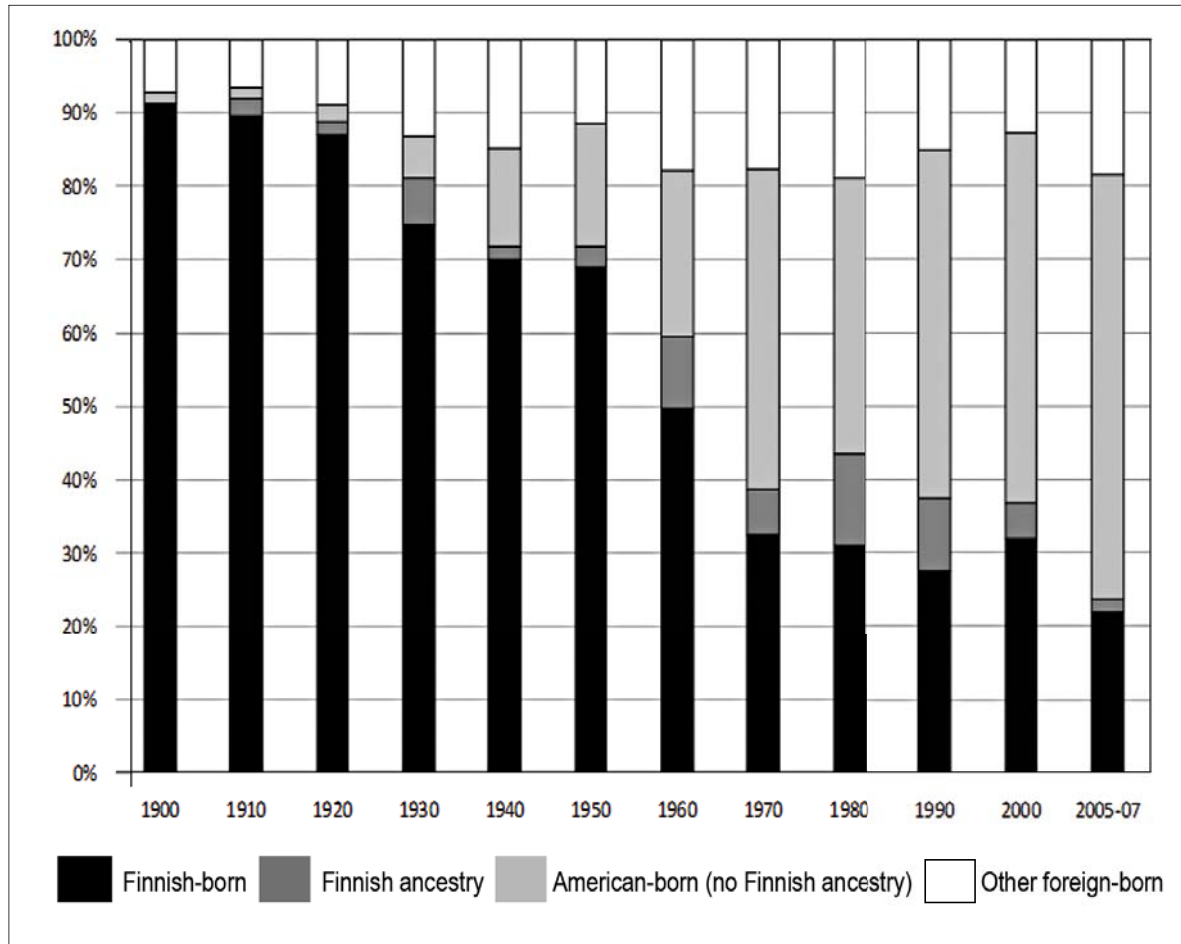


Figure 3. Birthplace or ancestry of spouses of Finnish-born women in the U.S., 1900–2007 (%)⁷

Thus, the 1960s represents a key time period in the transformation of marriage patterns of Finns in the U.S.: international marriages have become very common in this small migrant population. In addition, international marriages of Finns have become “feminized:” since 1970, Finnish women have been married to a non-Finn more often than Finnish men.

McCaa, Esteve, and Cortina (2006: 361) have pointed out how an interruption in the flow of migrants can have a deep impact on marriage patterns of a migrant population. Indeed, U.S. immigration law played a decisive role in changing international migration patterns of Finns, which in turn affected their marriage

patterns. Scholars of intermarriages have pointed out that according to “the logic of numbers,” small ethnic groups are more likely to marry out, simply because there are not enough co-ethnics to marry (Jasso & Rosenzweig 1990: 176; Penny & Khoo 1996: 16; Kalmijn 1998: 402). After the immigration restrictions of the 1920s, the estimated number of Finnish-born in the U.S. has constantly decreased from about 150,000 in 1920 to about 65,000 in 1960 and 20,000 in 2005–2008 (Ruggles et al. 2010). Thus, the chances that two Finns would meet and marry in the U.S. grew smaller over the course of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, scholars have also suggested that the likelihood of intermarriage is amplified when the small numerical representation is combined with unbalanced sex ratios (e.g. Cretser & Leon 1982: 7). Due to men’s more frequent repatriation and higher mortality rate compared to women (by 1960, more than 40 percent of the Finnish-born women in the U.S., aged 18 or older, were widowed), the estimated proportion of women among the Finnish-born increased steadily from about 30 percent female in 1900 to 60 percent female in 2005–2008 (Ruggles et al. 2010). In addition, a majority of Finns who have arrived in the U.S. in the past few decades have been women (U.S. Department of Labor, INS 1945–1977; U.S. Department of Justice 1978–2001; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics 2002–2009). While the male predominance in Finnish communities in the early twentieth century did not increase the intermarriage rate of Finnish men, it is possible that the growing proportion of women among Finns in the U.S. may have contributed to the growing proportion of women who were married to a non-Finn.

With few newcomers arriving from Finland, and the number of Finnish-born persons decreasing, ethnic communities of Finns in the U.S. slowly dissolved. As a result, it became more difficult for Finnish migrants to find spouses of the same nationality in the U.S. Thus, group size not only affects the availability of potential partners from within a group but it also influences the structure and cohesion of the group itself and, consequently, the opportunities to meet other group members in social settings (Penny & Khoo 1996: 16). The active social life in early twentieth century Finnish communities offered plenty of opportunities to meet suitable partners. By the mid-twentieth century, as the Great Depression and World War II diminished migration to the U.S. even further, most Finnish-American communities and organizations had disappeared (Korkiasaari 1989: 117).

Starting in the 1950s, Finnish migration patterns to the U.S. began to change, again mainly due to changes in U.S. immigration law. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act established a four-tier preference system under which migrants with special skills and abilities and relatives of U.S. citizens and resident aliens received preferential migration status. In addition, in the midst of the Cold War in the 1950s, the U.S. commenced active recruitment of international (especially European) students and scientists in order to compete with the Soviet Union in

technological development. In the Cold War climate, educational exchange became an integral component of U.S. foreign policy and “an important instrument to project favorable images of the United States symbolized by its abundance of material wealth, consumer culture, technological know-how, individual freedom, and political democracy” (Bu 1999: 394).

To attract more international students to the country, the 1952 Act expanded the legal definition of students to include all international students, and thousands of new schools and technical institutions were added to the list of schools that qualified for international student admissions. The impact of the recruitment policies and the change in the law was profound: the number of non-immigrant student admissions to the U.S. nearly quadrupled from 1940 to 1950 and again almost tripled from 1950 to 1960. By 2009, almost one million (952,000) admissions were recorded.⁸

The educational exchanges between Finland and the U.S. were facilitated already in 1949 by the so-called “Finnish Exchange Act,” which provided fellowships for American and Finnish academics. The act had its roots in a loan Finland received from the U.S. after World War I, the payments of which Finland met regularly despite the depression and World War II. In 1949, in recognition of Finland’s commitment, the U.S. Congress redirected the loan payments to the educational exchange program called ASLA, *Amerikan Suomen Lainan Apurahat* (America’s Loan Grants to Finland). The Fulbright program in Finland originates from the ASLA program; Finland joined the program in 1952 (Miesmaa 1952: 43; Siikala 1976: 195–196; the Fulbright Center). The number of students admitted from Finland to the U.S. remained minute until World War II; in most years, only 5–10 Finnish students were admitted under the nonquota system. The legislation of 1949 facilitated the arrival of Finnish academics to the U.S. and the number of students from Finland increased accordingly (U.S. Department of Labor, INS 1940–1977; Siikala 1976: 96).

The 1952 law initiated changes in Finnish migration patterns, but it is the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act that more profoundly transformed Finnish migration to the U.S., and marriage patterns of Finns as a result. Records of the INS reveal that the proportion of Finns who were granted LPR status because of their marriage to a U.S. citizen increased dramatically in the late 1960s and 1970s (from 11 percent in 1961 to 34 percent in the 1971 and 44 percent in 1981). Thus, international marriage seems increasingly to have provided the rationale for Finns to migrate to the U.S. However, when looking at the actual *numbers* of Finnish migrants who were granted permanent residency as a spouse of a U.S. citizen, the increase turns out to be rather small. The main reason behind the dramatic increase in the *proportion* of spouses of U.S. citizens among all admitted migrants is that other types of migration from Finland to the U.S. dropped by more than half between 1968 and 1969 (from 706 to 327 persons). At the same

time, the number of admitted spouses remained approximately the same (U.S. Department of Labor, INS 1946–1977; U.S. Department of Justice 1978–2001; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics 2002–2009).

Why did this drop in the number of Finns (other than spouses) occur between 1968 and 1969? The timing of course suggests that the drop is related to the passing of the 1965 law, which abolished the discriminatory national origin quotas and established family reunification as the primary route to migration to the U.S. For the first time, immediate relatives of U.S. citizens and LPRs were placed above migrants with special job skills in the “migration hierarchy” (Ueda 1994: 44–45; Kivisto 2003: 4). INS records reveal that the majority of Finnish migrants were admitted in the “non-preference” category before the 1965 Act was fully enforced in 1968 (i.e. did not enter the country as preferred migrants with special skills or as family members). If any visa numbers remained unused within a country quota, migrants who did not qualify for any of the preference categories were able to migrate through the non-preference category. The records do not provide more detailed information about Finns who arrived through the non-preference system, but it is likely that many who arrived in this category were unskilled labor migrants, who were excluded in the preference system. When the “last vestiges of the national origins system” were eliminated on July 1, 1968, and immigrant visas became available on a hemispheric basis, the non-preference category gradually disappeared, as all immigration slots were absorbed by the preference groups. As a result, legal unskilled labor migration to the U.S. effectively ended with the 1965 act (U.S. Department of Labor, INS 1968: 4; 1980: 4). The result of the 1965 law for migrants from Finland (and other Nordic countries) was that migration was cut down by more than 50 percent between 1968 and 1969.

The impact of the law becomes apparent when we compare Finnish migration to the U.S. to the overall out-migration from Finland in the post-war period. The fact that there was very little unskilled labor migration to the U.S. after 1965 is mainly an effect of the fact that the U.S. doors were largely closed to unskilled laborers. In Finland of the 1960s and early 1970s, there were still economic factors that pushed people, mainly unskilled workers, to emigrate: structural changes in the Finnish economy created wide unemployment. This time, however, labor migrants flowed elsewhere: to neighbouring Sweden, whose economy was booming and unskilled labor was needed in industrial and service sectors. Additionally, after 1954, citizens of the Nordic countries were exempted from the requirement of a passport when moving from one Nordic country to another. As a result, about 450,000 Finns (almost 10 percent of the whole population) moved to Sweden during the post-World War II period (Korkiasaari 1989: 78–79).

In contrast, as unskilled labourers were largely barred from entering the U.S., Finnish migration to the country was increasingly composed of students and other non-immigrants, workers in professional or managerial positions, and of spouses

of U.S. citizens. For example, INS records reveal that the proportion of Finnish migrants in managerial, executive, and professional positions (among those who reported an occupation) constantly grew in the post-war era: from 22 percent in 1960 to 39 percent in 1971, 56 percent in 1982, and finally 77 percent in the most recent year (2009).⁹ Simultaneously, there has been a significant change in the educational attainment of the Finnish-born population in the U.S. While from 1940 to 1970 more than half of the Finnish-born had completed only grade school, the proportion of those with college education increased remarkably between 1980 and 2007. In 1980, about 28 percent of Finns had completed some college education. By 2005–2007, already more than three-quarters of the Finnish-born had college education, the largest group (46%) with four or more years of college (Ruggles et al. 2010).

Furthermore, the number of temporary non-immigrants (who entered the country outside the immigration restrictions for a specific purpose on a temporary basis, including students, visitors for pleasure and business, temporary workers and trainees, exchange visitors, and so on¹⁰) multiplied after the 1965 Act (Kivisto 2003: 5). The impact of the Act was immediate: the total number of non-immigrant admissions more than doubled between 1965 and 1970, from about 2.1 million to 4.4 million. Similarly, non-immigrant admissions from Finland to the U.S. increased quickly in the post-World War II era: the number grew by almost 200 percent in every decade from 1960 to 1990.¹¹ Student migration from Finland grew as well: it tripled between 1960 and 1970 and between 1970 and 1980, and again doubled between 1981 and 1990. After that, the number of student admissions from Finland has stabilized at approximately a thousand a year. In sum, the increase in the percent of intermarried Finns coincided with the growth in the number of professionals, students, and other temporary visitors arriving from Finland.

My research suggests that these new forms of mobility may lead to romantic relationships and subsequent migration for marriage. Many Americans and Finns met each other and ended up getting married in the U.S. during this time period because of escalating international mobility of students, professionals, and young people looking for experiences through travel. If not the initial reason for migration, international marriage was often the reason why a temporary stay evolved into a permanent one, transforming a person, through the adjustment of her or his visa status, into an immigrant in official records. My research highlights specifically the importance of student migration in the increase of international marriages. As early as 1963, Barnett (1963: 105) connected the increasing number of marriages across ethnic boundaries to the internationalization of the student body in U.S. universities and colleges. He noted that “the intermingling of young adults of different nationalities and races at the high school and college levels is widely expected to be reflected over the long run in an increased rate of intermarriage”.

To this day, unfortunately, migration researchers have failed to seriously examine how student migrations often lead to other forms of international mobility, such as marriage migration (see however Lee & Piper 2003: 124). This is despite the fact that migration of students pursuing higher education is an integral component of the global mobility of the highly skilled, and the numbers of international students are rapidly growing.¹²

During the time period when the number of student admissions has multiplied in the U.S., college-educated U.S. born have married out at an increasing rate: the percent of U.S.-born who are married to a foreign-born person and who have completed at least one year of college has grown from about 6 percent in 1960 and 1970 to about 10 percent in 2005–2007. Regardless of education, the increase in the proportion of U.S.-born married to foreign-born was driven by the actions of younger Americans (ages 18–35): the percent intermarried in this age group tripled between 1970 and 2005–2007 from 4 percent to 12 percent. In the same time period, the proportion of older Americans (aged 35 or older) married to foreign-born increased only by 1 percentage point (from 7 to 8 percent) (Ruggles et al. 2010).

It seems plausible that the arrival of younger Finns, often engaged in educational exchange programs, increased the percent of Finns marrying outside their ethnic group. In 1970, for example, 75 percent of Finnish-born in the U.S. aged 18–44 were married to a non-Finn; the corresponding percentage for the older Finns (aged 45 or older) was 64. Furthermore, among all Nordic-born migrants to the U.S., college-educated individuals are married to a non-Nordic person more often than those with no college education. For example, in 1980, almost 80 percent of Nordic-born female college graduates were married to a non-Nordic-born man; the same percentage for those with no college education was 55 percent (Ruggles et al. 2010). Thus, college education seems to predict a higher likelihood to be married outside the ethnic group, and a growing proportion of Finns in the U.S. are well-educated.

Indeed, many scholars have found that migrants who are well-educated are more likely than those with lower educational attainment to marry outside their nationality group. Kalmijn (1998: 413) argues that this is because highly educated persons have more opportunities to meet members of other nationalities in colleges, universities, and high-status occupations. Additionally, students in U.S. colleges can be assumed to have good English skills – a factor that also facilitates meeting members of other nationality or ethnic groups.

I noted above how the language barrier was one of the reasons why Finns married within their ethnic group in the early twentieth century U.S. By the 1960s and 1970s, language skills of Finnish migrants had improved considerably; especially after English became the first foreign language taught in Finnish schools in 1972 (before that, it was German). Indeed, language skills of the women whom I

interviewed for this study in 2004 were considerably better than those of earlier migrants. Some of the older interviewees noted that they were not fluent in English at the time of migration. For instance, a woman who left Finland in 1950 at the age of 19 explains that the only things she was able to say in English were “I love you, yes, no, and a song called *On a Slow Boat to China*.” Most recently arrived women, by contrast, were completely comfortable with communicating in English. The language barrier that prevented earlier migrants from courting women and men of other nationalities broke down over the course of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, Kalmijn (1998: 413) notes that attending an institution of higher education may decrease the possibility that a person stays in an ethnic enclave, thus increasing the likelihood of intermarriage. As Finnish communities in the U.S. dissolved during the mid-century years, Finns who have arrived in the U.S. in the past few decades have no longer been able to stay within the ethnic enclave, even if they had wanted to do so. However, it seems that many recent migrants, including the Finnish-born women that I interviewed, were rarely interested in the activities of existing Finnish-American organizations. Some of the older interviewees, who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s, were still able to get some support from the old Finn halls, co-ops, and churches. A woman who arrived in the 1950s recalled that during her first years in the U.S., she participated almost exclusively in activities organized by Finnish Americans in her new hometown of Duluth, Minnesota – and she ended up marrying a Finnish-American man. However, many recent migrants felt that their understandings of what it meant to be “Finnish” did not correspond with “Finnishness” represented in the remaining Finnish-American organizations, and therefore they rarely became active participants in these organizations. These kinds of tensions are not limited to Finnish Americans; new migrants from Europe are often uncomfortable with European-American culture; cultural and class differences between new migrants and European Americans discourage the formation of a coherent or unified identity (Gabaccia 2007: 421–422, 425). One interviewee, for example, stated: “That old-country culture is an ideal of what their forefathers had. They don’t necessarily even want to hear that in Finland we don’t anymore dance in rhythm of the Finnish zither around birch trees wearing birch bark shoes and national costumes.” The women whom I interviewed in the U.S. formed informal networks amongst themselves, but their other reference groups consisted of people of different nationalities – thus making it easier to meet people from other countries.

The data available do not, unfortunately, allow me to posit a direct causation between the increasing student mobility and growing intermarriage rates. However, it seems safe to assume that romantic relationships often form as a result of international student mobility: student migrants are young, often unattached individuals, and they come into contact with others of different nationalities at a time when they are likely to find and form lasting bonds. Sometimes migrants

move primarily because of marriage, other times – as in the case of many student migrants – “marriage is an unforeseen outcome of moving to a new location” (Willis & Yeoh 2003: 101). The U.S. (together with the U.K., Sweden, and Germany) has been for decades the most popular destination of Finnish students. Interestingly enough, these countries also number among the top five nations of origin of foreign husbands of Finnish women in Finland. What is more, Finnish women seem to be more eager than Finnish men to study abroad: in the 1970s and again in the 2000s, approximately three-quarters of Finnish students abroad were women (Koikkalainen 2009: 27; Liiten 2010).

In my qualitative sources – the interviews and the questionnaires of Finnish women in the U.S. – it was very commonplace to find that the way couples met was related to their international mobility as students. For example, out of the 130 questionnaires filled out by married Finnish women in the U.S., almost 60 percent (75 women) had met their future spouse in the context of international mobility. An additional 27 women also stated that they moved to the U.S. because of marriage to an American, but it was not clear how the couple had met.¹³ The largest category among the 75 women was those who met their future husband while studying in the U.S. (22 women). Interestingly, in one case, many years passed between the time when the woman was studying in the U.S. and her marriage to the man she met during that exchange year. The couple lost contact for years, reconnected through letters, and in 1991, 11 years after her exchange year, the woman moved Minnesota to be with the man. In some cases, the woman had been in the U.S. many times for shorter periods of time. For example, a Finnish woman living in Arizona came to the U.S. first as a high-school exchange student in 1994–1995, again as an au pair in 1997–1998, and finally more permanently in 1999. Her last move was motivated by a variety of reasons: a job offer, friendships formed in the U.S., love of American culture and the English language – and because she was in love with an American man. The couple got married in 2000. The woman says that she “dreamed of staying in the U.S., but did not foresee that it would happen through marriage to an American.”

A few women (9) initially arrived in the U.S. as an au pair or nanny. Au pairs can be granted the same J-1 visa as exchange students; interestingly, this form of domestic labor has thus come to be understood as migration for educational or international experiences rather than as a form of labor migration. One Finnish woman who filled out the questionnaire, for example, came to the U.S. as an au pair in a family of two Finnish MDs in 1970. She fell in love with an American man of Peruvian descent a couple of months before her return to Finland. She did go back to Finland, but stayed only for a few weeks, as she was accepted to study in a U.S. college. Thus, she returned to the U.S. as a college student, but what brought her specifically to the U.S. was the man she had met during her first stay there as an au pair. The couple married in 1973.

As pointed out above, the 1965 law increased not only student migration to the U.S. but also other forms of temporary migration of non-immigrants. The number of Finns arriving to the U.S. as temporary visitors for pleasure grew quickly in the 1970s and 1980s, a result of not only the immigration law but also prospering of the Finnish economy in the late 1970s and especially during the economic boom of the 1980s. More Finns had money to travel abroad, and it shows in numbers: while only 9,000 Finns came to the U.S. as temporary visitors for pleasure in 1970, the number was over 30,000 in 1981 (more than 300 percent increase). By the end of the 1980s, the number had gone up to 60,000 entries. My qualitative sources reveal that even these kinds of temporary visits sometimes resulted in marriages: eleven women who filled out the questionnaire came to the U.S. just to travel or visit their friends or relatives, and stayed because of marriage. For example, one woman's trip to the U.S. in 1989 was a high-school graduation gift from her parents. Once her vacation period ended, she stayed in the country as an au pair, met her future husband, and married in 1992. Another woman, who arrived in the U.S. in 1958, initially came to the country to "see the world" and "the sun setting on the Western shore" of the U.S. However, "a Yankee boy promised me everything except the moon," and she stayed in the U.S. Yet another woman initially came to the U.S. to visit her relatives. On the second day of her vacation, her aunt and future mother-in-law organized a blind date with an American man – her future husband. The woman returned to Finland after the vacation, but the man followed soon after. They spent 6 months together in Finland, and moved to the U.S. as a couple in 1998.

Interestingly, I also had a number of cases (13) in which the Finnish woman had married a Mormon man and lived in Utah. Two of these women went to visit their sisters who were already married to Mormon men in the U.S., and got married as well. A few women had joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Finland and came to study at the Brigham Young University (BYU), owned by the Church. One woman, who had joined the Mormon Church in 1966, moved to Utah in 1970 to study at the BYU. She writes that she moved to Utah to meet young people of the same religion, and with hopes of finding a life partner. She said: "I don't think that I would have found a spouse in Finland because I wanted a husband who professes the same religion, and in the Finnish Mormon Church there were not many young men."

Additionally, two women had met their future husbands in Finland, where the men were doing missionary work. These women converted to Mormonism, married, and moved to the U.S. While in most cases a Finnish woman moved to the U.S. to study, travel, or work, and met her future spouse during that stay, there were also cases where the couple met in Finland. Of the 75 Finnish women analyzed above, six met their American husband in Finland, where the man was studying or working, or as in one case, staying with his family. Furthermore, many

couples who participated in this study migrated multiples times in their lives. For example, one of the Finnish women I interviewed first migrated to Hawaii to study in 1988. She met her American husband while studying in Hawaii. In 2002, the couple moved to Minnesota with their two children because the husband found a job there. Minnesota also seemed to them like a better environment to raise their children than Hawaii. Finally in 2008, the couple decided to move to Finland so that the children would learn more about Finland and the Finnish language. Their story – and many other life stories I collected – challenge the traditional idea of migration as a unidirectional movement from one place to another initiated by a single motive – either for work or for family. Migration research typically depicts migrants either as overseas workers *or* as marriage migrants (Piper & Roces 2003: 1–4). My research shows that in the case of contemporary Finnish migrants, like the women who participated in this study, multiple motives and multidirectional movements are often involved.

4. Conclusion

In the early twentieth century U.S., the cultural preferences of Finnish migrants, group cohesion, norms regarding gender and marriage, residential concentration of Finns, and social distance between the migrant and native-born populations all contributed to the predominance of in-marriage in Finnish communities. In contrast, the majority of Finnish migrants today have married outside their ethnic group, partly because Finnish communities in the U.S. have dispersed. However, the main reason for the increasing number of international marriages among Finns in the U.S. can be found in the escalating mobility of travelers, students, and workers. In the post-1965 period, workers were often professionals or, as was the case with many Finnish women in the U.S., young people employed as domestic help, such as au pairs. Immigration law plays a decisive role in this type of international mobility, as it restricts unskilled labor migration while providing opportunities for the mobility of students and other non-immigrants, professionals, and spouses of citizens.

Cottrell (1973: 739) notes that international marriage is often building upon “an already established international life style rather than the initiator of involvement with other cultures”. In many cases that I studied, Cottrell’s argument seems fitting. For example, 12 Finnish women who filled out the questionnaire had traveled extensively and lived in other countries before marrying an American and living in the U.S. One woman married to a Mormon man in Utah had lived in the Netherlands, Zaire (the present Democratic Republic of the Congo), Malaysia, and Saudi-Arabia before migrating to the U.S. She moved to Utah “for adventure and to get away from [her] ex-husband” (who was Dutch). Another Finnish woman

had lived all her life in different countries in Asia (Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia) because of her father's job with the UN. She met her American husband in Manila in 1989. In 1994 they moved to Bangkok, Thailand, and finally in 1999 to New Jersey, where they were planning to stay when she filled out the questionnaire in 2002. Thus, many had experienced multiple migrations in their lives for different reasons – highlighting how poorly the traditional unidirectional migration model often fits with migrants' lived realities.

My research underscores how the rising international mobility of privileged people facilitates the formation of personal relationships that transcend national borders. The international marriages that I have studied are inextricably tied to “the globalizing educational systems and labor markets, that is with rising international mobility of students and employees” (Lee & Piper 2003: 122). When considering the increasing international mobility of Finns, it is hardly surprising that some of them find their future spouse abroad.

Notes

- ¹ *“Sanottiin, ettei Amerikkaan niin rumaa tyttöä tullutkaan, etteikö tämä olisi pian naimisiin päässyt.”*
- ² *“En myöskään välittänyt vahvasti maalatuista ja kalliisti puetuista paratiisilinnuista, jotka halveksivat suomalaisia ja olivat mieltyneitä jenkkeihin.”*
- ³ *“Sywä huokaus nousewi rinnastaan, ain katsoessaan joka kerta, kun leikkiwä lapsonen helmassaan, on wierasta – ‘airis’ – wertä.”*
- ⁴ *See also Väänänen-Jensen 1994: 174.*
- ⁵ *“Olisihan täällä noita Amerikan hoikkakylkisiä vaikka paljonkin, mutta meillä on niinkuin ennen Mooseksella hidas puhe ja kankea kieli, ettemme niitäkään uskalla avuksemme huutaa.”*
- ⁶ *In addition to the decennial U.S. census data, I have utilized data from the annual American Community Survey (from the years 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008) (Ruggles et al. 2010).*
- ⁷ *In 1900–1970, the category “Finnish ancestry” includes men who had at least one parent born in Finland. From 1980, the category includes those whose self-reported ancestry or ethnic origin is Finnish.*
- ⁸ *Student admissions include the number of events (i.e., entries into the U.S.), not the number of persons entering the U.S. A student may enter the country more than once a year, and each entry produces a separate admission record.*
- ⁹ *However, throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the percent of those who did not report any occupation has been high, varying between 48% and 65%. These figures include those who were not working outside home (students, retirees, homemakers, and unemployed) and whose occupation was unknown or was left unreported.*

- ¹⁰ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services define “non-immigrants” as aliens who seek “temporary entry to the United States for a specific purpose. (...) The nonimmigrant classifications include: foreign government officials, visitors for business and for pleasure, aliens in transit through the United States, treaty traders and investors, students, international representatives, temporary workers and trainees, representatives of foreign information media, exchange visitors, fiancé(e)s of U.S. citizens, intracompany transferees, NATO officials, religious workers, and some others” (U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2009).
- ¹¹ While in 1960 only 5,400 Finns entered the country as non-immigrants, in 2009 the number had climbed up to 144,000.
- ¹² According to data released by the Institute of International Education, 2.7 million students were pursuing higher education outside their home country in 2006 – a 54% increase from 1999 (Institute of International Education 2007: 2, 30).
- ¹³ The remaining 28 cases included 8 women who moved as a child with their family; 8 who could be classified as “traditional migrants” moving to the U.S. permanently for mainly economic reasons; 10 who moved together with their Finnish spouse (usually for work or studies).

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(Photo: www.sxc.hu)

Chapter 6

Finns in Silicon Valley: motivations and identities in relation to place

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Abstract

This chapter explores the personal motivations and identities of Finnish professionals who have moved to Silicon Valley for their work. The departure question is, how are motivations and identities tied to locations in the age of globalization when it has been suggested that particularly more privileged people are detached from places. I will consider this specifically from the viewpoint of Finns in the context of innovation activity. The empirical research focuses on Finnish entrepreneurs, academics and public agents in Silicon Valley whose work is related to innovation.

The approach is qualitative and ethnographic with in-depth interviews as main data. The analysis shows that the relationship between motivations/identities and geographical locations is two-way: On one hand, specific places can be seen as opportunities of realization for personal and professional goals that could not be reached in the home country. On the other hand, changing places awakens new identities, such as the pioneer or the mediator. The professionals contrast themselves to both Finns in general (to the stereotype of the average Finn) and to non-Finns in Silicon Valley. The three main categories of people the interviewees talk about are therefore: 1) Finns in general (in Finland), 2) Finns in Silicon Valley (themselves) and 3) non-Finns (“the locals”) in Silicon Valley. These groups are seen as different in their degree of sociability, openness, adventurousness and risk-taking. All of these characteristics are seen by the professionals as being the

lowest among Finns in Finland and the highest among non-Finns in Silicon Valley: the informants place Finns in Silicon Valley (themselves) somewhere in between.

1. Introduction

This chapter explores how personal motivations and identities are tied to a place in the lives of Finnish, globally mobile professionals. The issue is relevant, because prominent social theorizations have suggested that places have largely lost their meaning in the global era (Bauman 1998: 18; Giddens 1990; Beck 2000; Castells 2000). In particular, more privileged people are believed to be detached from locations, because of their access to virtual spaces and freedom to move geographically (Appadurai 1996: 9–10; Castells 2004: 11; Bauman 2007: 75). Based on abstract theorizations, it is tempting to see the global professional as someone whose real home is the virtual world and for whom it no longer matters where they physically are. More popular accounts have enhanced this image by characterizing the global world as “flat” (Friedman 2005) and declaring the “death of distance” (Cairncross 1997).

Yet a growing body of empirical literature on the experiences of geographically mobile, skilled professionals implies that despite virtual connectedness, localities and distances between them continue to matter in many ways (see, e.g. Smith & Favell 2006; Favell 2008; Recchi & Favell 2009; Aneesh 2006; Beaverstock 2002; 2005; Conradson & Latham 2005; 2007; Nowicka 2007). Some authors have explicitly rejected the idea that places lose their meaning in the global world. For instance, Florida (2002; 2005; 2008) emphasizes that choosing where to live and work is one of the most important decisions for highly skilled individuals.

In this chapter, I will focus on a particular case, Finns who have moved to Silicon Valley¹ for their work. Silicon Valley is a curious case for investigating the meaning of place today. It is still one of the most important locations for innovation and entrepreneurship. Highly skilled professionals and entrepreneurs continue to move there to access the best knowledge and markets. Yet, as Brown and Duguid (2002) have pointed out, it is the very place where the technologies that are supposed to diminish the importance of place were created. It is therefore the location where the dynamics of place and distance become emphasized. Furthermore, Finns moving to Silicon Valley represent an interesting case of West-West mobility, from one successful, yet different innovation environment to another.

The study was qualitative and ethnographic in nature, based on in-depth interviews with 50 Finnish professionals who had worked in the Silicon Valley innovation ecosystem since the year 2000. The interviews were conducted in Silicon Valley and Helsinki between 2006 and 2008. All of the informants worked in the field of information and communication technologies. Their professions included

entrepreneurs, employees in firms, academic researchers, public officials, venture capitalists and other experts. Of the 50 interviewees 6 were women and 44 were men. The vast majority of the informants had a university degree (Master's or a Ph.D.) in engineering or a related area; other educational backgrounds included degrees in economics, management, computer science and physics. More than half of the informants went to Silicon Valley with their spouses, and many of them had children. About half of the informants had lived abroad (either in the US or elsewhere) at some point before moving to Silicon Valley.

In the main part of the following, I will depict the empirical findings on motivations, expectations and identities the Finns had in relation to both their home country and the destination, Silicon Valley. I will then reflect on the findings considering the "death of distance" perspective. The chapter concludes with a summary of the identities of the Silicon Valley Finns compared with other relevant groups that emerged in the interviews: Finns in Finland and non-Finns in Silicon Valley.

2. Motivations

2.1 *The decision to go*

Why might today's professionals want to move to another country? The motivations for highly-skilled professionals' relocation found in previous empirical studies are varied, and personal and professional reasons are often intertwined (Bozkurt 2006; Nowicka 2007; Conradson & Latham 2005). The main reason is often related to studies or work but more personal considerations matter too. Nowicka (2007) has noted a "mixture of career development and personal preference", which was also found in the case of Finns examined here. Nowicka further found that in the case of the skilled professionals in her study, one important motive was "curiosity about new places, people and cultures". She notes that mobility and relocation are about taking opportunities. In a similar vein, the desire to see the world, experience cultures and places one would otherwise not visit have been found to be among the reasons for highly skilled mobility (Bozkurt 2006). Sometimes the expectations can be very high and the highly skilled mobile experience disappointments in the destination (Aneesh 2006).

My findings shed further light on the motivations of the professionals to relocate. In particular, I found that while the work-related reasons seem to be easier to articulate, the personal reasons are strong and closely intertwined with professional ones. Practically all informants had an "official", work-related reason to move to Silicon Valley: for example, their employer sent them, they had to go and

set up their firm's office, their small firm was bought by a Silicon Valley company, or they needed to go for academic research. This was typically mentioned first. But the informants had choice in the matter and they had personal motivations for going. Sometimes personal motivation came first, and the "official" reason only after.

► *CK: What was the official reason for your going, and was there any discussion about it [in the company]?*

Informant A1: No. I wanted to develop myself and found a way to do it, and the company of course benefited from it afterwards.

Some informants state that they actively sought the opportunity to be relocated abroad. They had mentioned their readiness to go to their boss and colleagues, or had taken the initiative by seeking academic collaboration at a U.S. university. Some, who were employees in a company, participated in creating new forms of collaboration in Silicon Valley, and in the process also created a job for themselves. Some had visited Silicon Valley before and wanted to try and live there. This finding is similar to what Beaverstock (2005) reported in the case of financial professionals who relocated from London to New York City: for most of them, it was a match between a personal preference to be placed in New York City and the organization's wish to assign them there. Thus a situation very similar to that of many of my interviewees who had expressed their availability and eagerness to be relocated abroad and a suitable opportunity became available at the company.

Amongst those who took the personal initiative to relocate, the common denominator is a strong desire to go abroad. Yet their personal motivations seem to have two different and curiously opposite origins. Some wanted to go to Silicon Valley, *because they had lived abroad before*, and wanted to go again. They had already experienced what it was like and what the rewards and positive aspects of going to another place to live are. They missed living abroad and/or wanted more similar experiences. The other group of people wanted to go for the opposite reason: *because they had never lived abroad before*. Many mentioned that they had always desired the experience of living outside Finland but had never done it; some felt it was a now or never situation.

► *Informant B19: I had long planned [to go abroad] during my studies, but then there were things keeping me in Finland and I never left. And later I regretted that a little, but then at some point the desire to go to the world and specifically to the USA became strong enough for me not to have to think about what to do anymore.*

► *Informant B26: ... it felt like, "hey, let's go now, when will we [the family] go if not now?"*

Perhaps those who had already lived abroad had the *confidence* to go: those who had not had the *curiosity* to go – in any case, both had the desire to go. In general, both confidence and curiosity seem to characterize globally mobile professionals. All of the informants certainly had some degree of drive, or a spirit of survival. This is in line with the pioneer metaphor described below: it seems to apply widely to the informants, even though not all explicitly use the term. This is also similar to what Recchi and Favell's (2009) found in their research on mobile Europeans, who often wish to experience something outside the typical life of their place of origin and thus move to another country.

It seems that wherever an informant took the initiative that is they actively made it clear and sought the opportunity to be relocated to Silicon Valley or abroad in general, that their wishes were met rather effortlessly by their employers. This may suggest that in general not many Finns want to be relocated. In the official rhetoric in Finland the need to be international or global is explicitly recognized. Many public actors and, in particular, funding agencies explicitly promote global collaboration and researcher and entrepreneur mobility (e.g. Tekes, Academy of Finland, and also many large private funding organizations). This makes one wonder if such an explicit recognition is necessary because there are still not enough Finns who actually want to relocate.

The timing of relocation is important, and the desire to go depends on what stage the professional is at in his/her career and studies: these informants were usually either at the early or middle stages of their careers. It is important to note that in Finland, in highly skilled technical professions it is more common than not to already have a "real", even a full time, job during undergraduate studies: engineers and others in similar fields quite typically finish their Master's or Ph.D. degrees while working full time.

► *Informant B42: I had just got my Ph.D. in engineering and I was looking for, or at that point it was good to start looking for, firstly, a position abroad and secondly, in a place with a good reputation. And we [the company] had contacts here and that way a suitable job was found. So it kind of fell into place like that.*

Besides career stage, family situation obviously matters too. Some younger informants, who moved abroad by themselves, said that they wanted to have this experience before starting a family, when it was still easy to leave. But many also moved with a spouse and small children. Often in these cases the dream was a shared one: both spouses wanted the adventure and welcomed the opportunity

when it arose. Still, my impression is that in general, it is rather the opposite for professionals with families or spouses: even if the individual wants to go or is offered the opportunity, they have to decline because of the spouse's work situation or the children's schools. It is common that the spouse does not want to relocate or that it is difficult to find an interesting position for both working spouses.

Some informants contrast themselves with their Finnish friends or colleagues in Finland, who have not lived or worked abroad. The willingness to take risks, which is often mentioned in the interviews to be exceptionally low in Finland, seems to be one of the defining factors here: according to the informants, Finns in general (those who stay home) are averse to taking risks and appreciate stability in both their personal lives and careers. From this perspective, moving to Silicon Valley (or any far away place) is simply too risky a step and requires too much effort or too many changes.

The personal motivations to go to Silicon Valley are closely related with business reasons: it is often not easy to try to separate the two. The "official" reasons are often mentioned first, but it becomes clear over the course of the interview that a deeply personal aspect to going also exists. This is in a way obvious, and yet it has received surprisingly little attention in the existing literature on professional, elite migration. The existing research often focuses on the economic, professional reasons and aspects of geographical mobility – and even where the personal motivations are documented, the reasons for leaving are often seen as mainly professional. Important exceptions to this are Conradson and Latham's (2005; 2007) studies on global mobility as self-realization and Favell and Recchi's (2011) research on highly skilled European mobility, where it was found that economic or professional reasons are often less important for relocation than more personal ones, such as seeking new experiences or a romantic relationship with someone of different nationality. Furthermore, Florida (e.g. 2005; 2008) has also explicitly discussed how choice of location is a wholesome decision based on values such as diversity and quality of life for today's creative class (including not just those commonly considered as "creative", such as artists and writers, but also highly skilled people in general, such as engineers, lawyers and doctors).

Thus I would argue that it is important to separate activity (what the professionals go to the new location to do) from motivations (why the person truly wanted to go). The obvious activity is different from the actual motivations, which are clearly broader, more complex and personal. So, the underlying motivation may be, for example, the fulfillment of a long held dream or personal development, even if the activity is establishing a firm's satellite office in the new location. Personal reasons are varied, and often implicit. They are not as easily articulated as the "official" reasons. The personal motivations include aspects such as developing oneself as a person, seeking adventure, seeking experiences and learning how to survive in a new place and in another language, and broadening one's horizons

(see also Conradson & Latham 2005; 2007; Nowicka 2007; Bozkurt 2006). Many professionals also seek challenges: some mention this, implying that the Finnish environment was not stimulating enough.

There are some place-specific reasons for relocating as well; both are related to how the home country of Finland is experienced, and to the expected characteristics of the destination location. The willingness to escape from the Finnish climate is often mentioned. Climate often refers to both the long, dark winters and a certain mental or cultural climate. Even if the weather is not the primary motivation, it is certainly an additional one. The mental climate is perhaps more important: some had begun to feel the atmosphere as too restrictive or discouraging. In the following quote, the informant states that the “ceiling started to feel low”, which implies a feeling of claustrophobia or even suffocation.

► *Informant B36: ... Like, you had been about 25 years pretty much in the same city and the same country. And you hadn't really had the chance to live anywhere else. So I was rather fed up, rather ready to go already. Finland is, after all, such a small place and the ceiling started to feel a little low. And when the opportunity came, I was like, I didn't even have to think about whether to go or not.*

Personal reasons are not therefore always clearly separable from work-related or business reasons for moving. Among the business or work reasons given are, for example, collaboration or the aim of starting a research collaboration; establishing a firm's office in Silicon Valley in order to enter the U.S. market and be closer to customers (in particular in the case of business-to-business firms); carrying out doctoral or post-doctoral or senior research (visiting researcher or sabbatical); and in the case of employers in public offices such as Tekes, Finpro, or VTT (Technical Research Centre of Finland), sometimes explicitly to act as a facilitator or connector of networks between Finland and Silicon Valley innovators and businesses.

But even if there is a position to be filled or a clearly business-related reason to go, the question of who will ultimately fill that position is also a matter for personal interests and aspirations. None of the informants seems to have left reluctantly, against his or her wishes, or, for example, without consulting spouses or family members. Many explicitly say that the desire to go was both personal and professional: personal in the sense that it was the right time to go, the desire was strong, or there was some more specific wish for personal development or to expand horizons.

► *Informant B42: Two reasons, one is professional, creating contacts here in the USA, that is, after all, pretty important. That is not achievable just like that from Finland. And then to see what it's like here in a more famous place.*

It seems that when there is a wish to live abroad, it is not so much a matter of going to a specific place: as long as they satisfy certain criteria, a number of places would be acceptable. Again, this does not mean that *any* place will do: the specific location is not crucial as long as it is one on a shortlist of places. This “list” is usually more or less implicit – no one actually mentioned having made lists of all their relevant choices, but implied that there was a group of possible locations. The exact places on the list depended on the person in question and, particularly, on his/her field. The shortlists were specific to each professional. In any event, it seems that the lists were not typically very long. Intuitively, it seems to be a given where these places are. So, for a certain kind of a professional and a specific field there are a handful of places in the world that are relevant and attractive, and everyone seems to instinctively know where they are.

This is clearly contradictory to the idea of the world being flat; conversely, it is in line with Sassen’s (1991) observations on global cities. Certain locations are on the map for these professionals while many others – indeed, most places in the world – are completely irrelevant and thus ignored. Florida (2008) also emphasizes that what makes a city or a location attractive cannot be defined in absolute or objective terms, but is highly dependent on a person’s overall situation (age, profession, career stage, hobbies, family situation, even sexual orientation). So, what the globe looks like is highly dependent on perspective (both that of the individual and the physical/geographical) – this is, again, self-evident yet surprisingly often ignored.

In addition to the specific criteria related to the individual’s situation and business-related reasons, there are some general reasons such as language and weather which also matter. Language continues to be a factor: global professionals simply want to go to places whose languages they speak or at least feel they can or wish to learn better. In this sense, many Finns mention that language was not an issue when going to Silicon Valley, because in general educated Finns are used to operating in English. On the other hand, many mention being surprised that they were not actually as fluent as they had thought, as managing both everyday life and work in English was much harder than expected. Thus, many said that after the initial surprise it actually took them a while to really become fluent and confident in English. Language, as common an element it might be in everyday experience, is not typically mentioned as an issue in the previous studies on global professionals.

2.2 Expectations for Silicon Valley

Aneesh (2006) reported in his study of Indian skilled migrants that those who relocated to the U.S., had very high and perhaps unrealistic expectations, fuelled

by the images that the recruiting companies provided of the U.S. In the case of Finns in Silicon Valley, there were also typically many positive expectations but no significant disappointments were reported. It is not always easy to remember or later articulate what the expectations of the place and the relocation were. Yet motivations and expectations are obviously linked, and many who specifically wanted to go to Silicon Valley had a more or less clear idea of what they thought life would be like there and what they wanted to get and learn from their stay.

► *Informant B24: I knew I was going to meet a number of interesting and brilliant people who work like crazy.*

Those who had traveled in Silicon Valley for work, or who had already participated in collaborations there were well aware of its reputation as a place where the work ethic is tremendously high. They therefore knew to expect a lot of hard work and were prepared for it. The positive side is the area's dynamism: there is hard work to be expected, but in return one gets to work among the best and the brightest in the field. Indeed, many informants say that they wanted to experience the dynamic atmosphere that Silicon Valley is famous for. Even those who had traveled there extensively mention this reason, as visiting was not enough to understand what really goes on in the area. They wanted to see what it would be like to live and work in a "famous", almost mythical place, and how it was different from Finland.

The fact that Silicon Valley is in California, a place often associated with sun, palm trees, warm weather and leisure, also evoked some positive and not purely work-related expectations.

► *Informant B19: It seemed that there are lots of stimuli here. And there was a kind of maybe glamour too. Like, California, wow! Like Boston, well, that may not sound so cool, but California sounds nice.*

Yet this image is also explicitly rejected, and some strongly pointed out that even though California sounded great, the purpose of going there was very serious.

► *Informant A11: I'm not sure if I knew what to expect much. But well, first by definition I wanted somehow to understand how that place [Silicon Valley] works. And I didn't go with the idea of having fun there, I had a rather serious mental orientation towards it. And I was probably fascinated by the idea that you get to see how these trendy companies like Google and others, how they communicate with the media and the local [media], when you are yourself close [to them].*

Despite having some ideas, most informants stated that they did not know exactly what to expect, or indeed consciously tried to go with an open mind. Getting a deeper understanding of the place, and having a learning experience, were often the only expectations articulated. One informant explicitly said that one of the main purposes for going to Silicon Valley in the first place is to *expect the unexpected*, to give a chance to all those things that cannot be defined or anticipated beforehand. This informant had lived in Silicon Valley himself, and had later created important forms of collaboration between local universities and his Finnish organization. He was now sending several Finnish professionals to Silicon Valley in the framework of this program, and emphasized how important it was, firstly to go there, and secondly, to go there for a sufficiently long period of time.

► *Informant A4: ... it is better that they are there a little longer and have time to settle and on the other hand build the network. And learn something that we **didn't** send them for. So that there would be unexpected added value. We expect the unexpected, in a way.*

Thus, one advantage of being located in a place is that you learn and experience things you did not expect. From a distance, you can access what you know you are looking for, but when living in the locality, you can access what you did not know you needed. From this perspective, it is wise to expect the unexpected: this director who sends younger professionals to Silicon Valley for longer periods holds the view that gaining access to more subtle, tacit knowledge and to people who hold it, is a time-consuming process.

Finally, while most professionals had mainly positive expectations, some had not initially sought to go to Silicon Valley, and had not been interested in living in the USA: they were offered the chance to go there. They stated that before making the decision to go, they had been prejudiced against “Americans” and had doubts about whether or not they would like it there. Yet they quickly found out from friends or colleagues that the Silicon Valley/San Francisco area is not the “average America” they had thought, and thus accepted the offer to go.

As mentioned, disappointments have been reported in some studies of skilled migration (Aneesh 2006). Among the Finns, no one mentioned having experienced great disappointments, but some had met with some initial surprises. Some informants were surprised that “it wasn’t that different” work-wise. The people were not perhaps as brilliant or dynamic as expected, and there were disappointing office politics at larger companies that were not experienced positively. Conversely, others said that moving to Silicon Valley was initially a humbling experience: if one had, for example, worked for a highly reputable organization in Finland, it was surprising to learn that in Silicon Valley, the same employer did not enjoy the same status.

To conclude, those expectations that are mentioned in the interviews are more often work-related than personal. When the informants were directly asked about their reasons for moving to Silicon Valley, and on the other hand about their expectations of the place, they talked about work. Yet personal motivations also became very clear: when the decision to go was described or discussed further, and sometimes in the context of other topics. Similarly, expectations related to work are perhaps easier to articulate: they are the most “obvious” ones and were probably also much discussed with employers or collaborators before leaving. However, personal motivations and expectations play important roles too, and examining them helps us obtain a deeper understanding of the aspects that matter in the decision to change locations.

3. Identities

Let us next move on from motivations to personal identities. This section discusses the identities of the professionals specifically from the viewpoint of place, both of their home country and of the new location, Silicon Valley. The aim is to illustrate the specific ways in which identity can still be tied to places in the global era.

3.1 Atypical Finns?

► *Informant B22: Hmm... my life is a little like. I'm like a perch that swims upstream in the stream of life. I usually do things others don't do. I don't know if it is insanity or ambitiousness or what.*

Many global professionals talk about themselves as atypical or different in one way or another. Some present themselves as different in general, as in the quote above. Often being different is not explicitly discussed, but implied when the interviewees talk about their experience of moving to Silicon Valley and working there, emphasizing, for instance, that they have done various different things in their life and have been exceptionally active. Some mention in passing the people they grew up with, or their old friends back in Finland, and implicitly contrast their own lives with theirs, constructing an image of “those who stayed and I who left”. Thus they are not quite like the people they grew up with or went to school with, people who have steady, relatively predictable lives and work paths in Finland. This aspect has also been mentioned in some previous empirical studies, in which the interviewees have mentioned friends back home who do not easily understand some aspects of their mobile lives (e.g. Nowicka 2007; Favell 2008).

One particular self-presentation that emerged in the interviews was that of the *atypical Finn*. According to the popular stereotype, which seems to be well-known among both non-Finns and Finns alike, the typical Finn is shy, quiet, reserved, serious, and timid. Small talk does not come easily or naturally: it can indeed be a serious challenge. Finns are used to – and known for – getting straight to the point and avoiding talking just for the sake of making conversation. Finns are also known for their lack of facial expression, of not smiling excessively, or not being particularly lively, sociable or open, unless they know the other person well.

Contrasting themselves with this stereotype, some of the informants made a spontaneous joke, saying that they had always been too talkative for Finland, and so they had to leave. From this perspective, going to Silicon Valley meant going to a place where others would be more like them. These informants also made it appear that it was easy for them to be sociable and build networks in Silicon Valley; at the same time they said that this was a common problem for many Finns. This is certainly in line with my own observations: many of the interviewees were exceptionally confident and talkative Finns, giving elaborate answers to my open questions. They were not all similar, but they did seem to differ from the typical Finn. It is hard to say whether this is more because they have lived in Silicon Valley, or because they were already like this before leaving Finland. But perhaps this is not the most relevant question: what is interesting is their self-presentation as different, and in particular as different from other Finns.

Another way of presenting oneself as an atypical Finn is by talking about being adventurous and entrepreneurial. Finns are known for being hard-working, reliable and honest but not entrepreneurial in the sense of thriving on money and success. In fact, even if the cultural environment may slowly be changing in this respect, actively and openly pursuing wealth and success is still largely frowned upon in Finnish culture, in which humble hard work, egalitarianism and modesty are greatly valued. Furthermore, Finland continues to be a very homogeneous country with respect to both income levels and ethnic diversity (immigration to Finland is among the lowest in the EU countries, see e.g. Eurostat 2008). Thus, being different or standing out in one way or another is not typically considered a positive thing in Finland. And being entrepreneurial by definition means assertiveness, and a willingness to do things differently to how they are normally done.

The same informant quoted at the beginning of this section (B22), who says s/he has always done things others won't, describes his/her decision to go to Silicon Valley by comparing it to playing in the Finnish Ice Hockey League. According to the informant, if you play in the Finnish Hockey League, you are already quite successful, and most are happy with that. But if you really reach high and get the chance to go and play in the North-American National Hockey League (NHL), which is the best and most competitive in the world, then why not go? This means

reaching high and dreaming big – and this informant, along with many others, says that in order to do that, one needs to go to Silicon Valley.

Being entrepreneurial also involves the ability and willingness to take risks. It has been documented in international comparisons that Finns are particularly risk averse (see, e.g. Hyrsky & Tuunanen 1999). When describing the differences between the Finnish and Silicon Valley innovation systems and work climates, the informants typically mention risk-taking as one of the most important. It seems that in risk-taking, these two locations are almost at opposite poles. Silicon Valley is a famously entrepreneurial environment, where risk-taking is an essential part of innovation and entrepreneurship. In contrast, in Finland risk-taking is generally not encouraged as much, and failure is considered to be a dramatic event. It is common to think that a person only has one chance, and if s/he fails, s/he is labeled as a failure, that is as unreliable and incapable of doing business. Many of the Finns in Silicon Valley describe themselves as more willing to take risks than is typical in Finland.

► *Informant B26: My inclination towards risky things is considerably higher than other Finns' on average. But it is unfair to say only this, because in the same breath I have to add that those people who **came here** at all are also atypical Finns, because they represent a small... I guess both of us [refers to me, the interviewer and him/herself] and all the other Finns here represent the more adventurous part of Finns.*

This informant notes that s/he is clearly more willing to take risks than the average Finn, but hastens to add that Finns who live in Silicon Valley are by definition unusual, not typical, because by leaving Finland they show their adventurousness. Yet the same informant continues by observing that unlike him/her, most of the Finns who are in Silicon Valley nevertheless came through their work, often through internal transfer at a multinational company. The informant says that in this way the employer takes care of many of the practical things, and continues to note that even if these professionals change jobs while in Silicon Valley, it is usually between one company and another. The informant concludes that these professionals “don’t make any jumps outside their safety net” and that a particular challenge for the Finnish mentality is to take full responsibility for one’s own life.

The Finnish tendency to focus on the feared possibility of failure is also highlighted by the same informant’s subsequent comment about what it is like to try out new ideas or try to develop new business ventures in Finland.

► *Informant B26: In Finland, when you tell your best friends that I have this idea, they very sincerely tell you, for your own best interest, ten reasons why it might fail. Just in the name of your interest they say, ‘have you thought that someone else*

might have done it already?’ or ‘have you thought that this might be difficult to sell?’ and so forth.

3.2 Pioneers

► *Informant B22: I didn't have anything here, I practically left with a backpack and a flight ticket, without a single friend, or an acquaintance or business contacts here. So my network was completely built from scratch over the past three years --*

If one thinks about the ideas of the collapse of distance and the world as one place, self-presentation as a pioneer or lonely soldier is one of the most counterintuitive storylines found in the data. When describing their move to Silicon Valley, some informants characterized themselves as pioneers or something similar, telling the story of how they left Finland alone and went out into the unknown, with practically no or very few material belongings, and how they arrived in California with only a backpack, or a suitcase. This story emphasizes the romantic nature of the relocation, as embarking on a new, exciting, but largely unknown endeavor.

► *Informant A3: I went to establish [The Firm's] office in Silicon Valley. [The Firm] didn't have any operations there then. We had the financing then and I went there a bit like a lonely soldier. We landed the last week of May in 1998.²*

The following quote further highlights the romantic nature of relocation, characterizing the pioneer as someone going with just enough food to get by and something to protect themselves with (a machine gun, no less!) and describing Silicon Valley as a “wilderness”.

► *Informant A1: It was a little like pioneering work, you put crispbread and a machine gun in your backpack and go there to see what it's all about. I like it of course. To go to a thicket like that, it's really fun.*

The metaphor of the adventurous, bold pioneer deserves further attention, because this narrative does not fit neatly with the image of the world as one place. It hints at a past era, in which pioneers were individuals who went to genuinely unknown places, and explored truly novel territory in a concrete sense. If the world has become one place and distance is dead, how can there be pioneers? What are we to make of the fact that the professionals use this metaphor when describing a move to Silicon Valley, which can hardly be justified as new, unexplored territory?

It is also worth noting that this metaphor is used here in the context of relocating from one Western developed economy to another. It is not a question of moving

from a distant, less economically developed location to one that is more developed, or from a developed location to a less developed one – both scenarios in which the new location could understandably be seen as relatively unexplored. Silicon Valley is not unexplored; it is still, despite the emergence of many other dynamic locations, generally considered to be the most important place for cutting-edge technological know-how, innovation and entrepreneurship. Much of the relevant industry information comes from there, and many of the most important firms and actors are based there. Furthermore, despite using this metaphor, most of the informants actually knew someone in Silicon Valley before their move, and many had traveled there extensively and had some collaboration with people there before their actual relocation.

Perhaps the informants see themselves as pioneers because for their specific firm/organization Silicon Valley was largely uncharted territory. They were the first from their organization to establish a presence there. Moreover, they had to restart their life in a way: find a home, rent an office, get a phone number and a car, a local social security number, etc. It is common to mention that “I only had a suitcase”. This initial lack of material possessions emphasizes the pioneering nature of the move, the building of everything from scratch.

Still, as noted, almost everyone interviewed knew someone before they went, and all had some local connection in Silicon Valley, either a Finn or another local person. Some had hired a consulting firm (often a Finnish one located in Silicon Valley) to help with relocating. Perhaps, then, pioneering refers to the distance, the unknown, the work ahead in building new local connections, creating collaborations, finding customers and financiers. Considering these aspects, talking about pioneering is not that surprising. As Massey (2005: 4) has noted, even with global connectedness, we imagine and experience space as something to be “crossed and conquered... an expense we travel across” and continue to tell stories as voyages of discovery.

Yet in the data there is also a contrasting story to the pioneer narrative: that everything was ready. Those informants who relocated to Silicon Valley while working for a multinational company in particular tell this story. Typically, multinational firms provide relocation services that help with all the practical aspects of the move, finding housing, paperwork and bureaucracy, getting a phone number and offering local cultural training on how to operate in the Silicon Valley business culture. Nevertheless, this narrative, although possibly not as exciting, also highlights distance: moving one’s home to another location and starting work in an environment different in many ways to that at home continues to be a significant change that requires adjustment and support on many levels.

Also, even with all the assistance provided by the employer as well as lack of apparent cultural differences or language barriers, highly skilled professionals often were surprised to encounter some difficulties nevertheless, for example,

in getting certain local documents or credit cards in the U.S. without prior credit history (for similar findings, see Beaverstock 2005).

3.3 Mediators: being in-between

► *Informant B16: So basically my role has been, I've tried to work as a mediator between different cultures. And I mean also in the professional sense, trying to understand journalistic culture, understand the world of research, understand the academic world, understand the PR world, the perspective of businesses. And also the perspective of public policy and that profession and how all these different professions can be in interaction...*

After arriving in Silicon Valley, the informants typically found themselves in the role of mediator between colleagues, collaborators or customers in Silicon Valley and Finland. Living – or having lived – in Silicon Valley, and having an intimate knowledge of the culture and ways of operating there seems to place them naturally in this position. A mediator has a deep understanding of both localities (Saxenian 2006). Usually s/he is someone who has met all the people involved in a collaborative or other type of project, and knows them personally. S/he thus knows the most fruitful ways to interact with them. The mediator has access to both localities and to the people in both localities. As noted in earlier studies (Beaverstock 2005), also from the employer's perspective the very purpose might be to send employees to another country to acquire the cultural and other skills to act as mediators besides transferring specific skills and knowledge.

There is also a downside to being a mediator, that of being in between two places and business cultures. While being a mediator is positive, being in between highlights the personally demanding, sometimes lonely and even draining aspects of being located in one place whilst coming from another, and working in one place whilst collaborating with people in a distant location. The informants describe situations in which, despite the common language, English, they very concretely have to “translate” to colleagues in Finland what potential customers or collaborators in Silicon Valley want – and the other way around. This is not always easy; it may be difficult to convince the people located in Finland why a specific course of action is desirable or necessary from the perspective of those operating in Silicon Valley. For instance, according to the informants' accounts, the pace of doing business, working and innovating is faster in Silicon Valley, and there are challenges to be faced in “activating” the people in Finland to keep up.

Sometimes the in between person even faces suspicion from the parties involved: even if officially a part of one of the groups, s/he is not a full member of either. For instance, some informants mention that after having lived in Silicon

Valley and having become skilled in operating in that environment, they return to Finland or collaborate with Finns in Finland, and receive comments such as “you have become like an American”, which in this context is ambiguous, implying that the Finn has become “the other”, more like a stranger, and thus not as trustworthy or worth listening to as a “normal” Finn – although they are still considered to be more trustworthy than a true “foreigner”. As mentioned earlier, being “different”, for instance, more talkative or self-confident, is not always considered a positive thing in Finland.

4. Local place and distance in the self-presentation of global professionals

Let us consider further the above discussion of the self-presentation and identity of the global professionals in relation to the meaning of local place and distance. Why is looking at these individuals – their self-presentation as atypical Finns or pioneers, and descriptions of being in the position of mediator – important for understanding the meaning of place and distance globally? What can we learn about the meaning of local place and distance by looking at these professionals?

First, the finding that Finns spontaneously present themselves as atypical with reference to their national stereotype implies that where you come from still matters a great deal for personal identity. Although no one has explicitly said that national culture and identity do not matter, they are conspicuous by their absence from discussions of the meaning of local place and distance. Identities based on national culture and/or local place need to be integrated into theories and conceptualizations concerning global interaction. However, it seems that old understandings of identity cannot be imported as they stand, and more work is needed to capture what exactly the role of the home country or location is in the global world. In short, it is clear that it has a role, but it is also clear that there are fundamental changes that have presumably altered it from what it was in the era of the nation state.

Second, by talking about themselves as pioneers, the global professionals emphasize the remoteness and unknown aspects of distant places. Distant places are in many ways virtually accessible today (through local news, information) and by travel. Via the Internet there is also clearly more connectedness between distant places than ever before. However, they are not by any means fully accessible: this is highlighted in the metaphor of the pioneer, who is someone who goes to conquer new, unknown places.

The metaphor of the pioneer draws attention to what is *not* accessible from a distance. Despite all the local information one can access on the Internet while

physically far away, and all the possibilities of interacting with people in other localities, there are significant amounts of relevant knowledge that cannot be obtained in these manners. Without actually going to Silicon Valley, one can certainly imagine and have a rather accurate idea of what it is like there, but will still be surprised by many things on arrival. Interestingly, even informants who had visited Silicon Valley before their relocation, or who had meetings at firms there and had met potential customers and collaborators, used the metaphor of a pioneer when talking about their relocation. This reminds us that one cannot really know a place before living or spending a fair amount of time there, and that many aspects of a locality remain distant even to those who visit.

Perhaps, then, the most important insight to be drawn here is that despite all the access to virtual communication and the global connectedness between places, some things have remained the same. The metaphor of the pioneer is still accurate in describing some essential aspects of the relocation of Finnish professionals to Silicon Valley, in particular when they go there to establish the first office of a firm, or go in search of collaboration or partnership opportunities which they have not had there before. Although Silicon Valley has become more accessible from a distance with virtual communication and travel, distance still matters and it is still a significant event both personally and at the level of the firm to move there from Finland. Indeed, on a more personal level many of the informants describe moving to Silicon Valley as a “big thing”, even when they also said at other times that it was not a difficult decision.

Finally, the feeling of being in between described by the professionals further shows how real distance is and how different the localities under consideration are; there is distance both culturally and geographically. The position of mediator highlights how important physical presence is to avoid misunderstandings and capture more subtle messages, to understand in greater detail how things work locally. If locality or distance did not matter, mediators or “translators” between local cultures would not be needed.

Being a mediator or ‘in between’ can also be a fruitful position: these global professionals can act as connecting ties between Silicon Valley and Finland, much in the way Saxenian’s (2006) New Argonauts did when they returned to develop business and innovation activities in their home countries while at the same time maintaining business ties in Silicon Valley. These are people intimately familiar with both locations and their ways of operating. They are connecting ties between two localities, and have access to both; thus many local actors in Finland or Silicon Valley may be dependent on their in-depth knowledge for crossing the distance in business culture.

4.1 Identities of Finns in Silicon Valley

In the interviews, three categories of people, defined in relation to place, can be distinguished: Finns in general (or stereotypical Finns), Finns in Silicon Valley and non-Finns in Silicon Valley.

When the informants talk about Finns in general, the popular stereotype is strong. Finns are shy, timid, secretive in their innovation process, bad at marketing and networking. They are also honest, reliable, and have a good reputation, which helps when house-hunting in Silicon Valley. The technological skills and knowledge of Finnish engineers are of a high level, although some say that it is not as high as Finns themselves like to think, whereas other informants say that their skills are just as high as those educated at top U.S. universities: the Finns have “nothing to be ashamed of” (this exact phrase was used more than once, and perhaps says something else about the Finnish mentality). Yet even if skills levels are generally high, problems emerge when it comes to marketing and networking; aspects that are crucial in obtaining venture capital and building a commercial success.

The portrait of the informants themselves is partly different from the Finnish stereotype. Many informants distance themselves from the typical Finn in at least some respects. The most common differences are talkativeness or openness and risk-taking. Some say they were always “too talkative for Finland” and clearly less socially introverted than the average Finn. Others say that they are typical Finns in that they are relatively shy and timid (at least in the context of Silicon Valley), but atypical in that their willingness to take risks is clearly higher than the average.

Many informants also mentioned that they value personal initiative and responsibility more than is generally found in the Finnish welfare society. They talk about the sense of community and the voluntary community activities they experienced in Finland: paradoxically, a weaker public welfare system seems to bring people together more than a strong one. They mention the isolation that sometimes follows in Finland, where the rule is that everyone should mind their own business and not meddle in the private affairs of others. If someone is in trouble, responsibility lies with the public services or immediate family, not with neighbors or the community.

Finally, the Silicon Valley Finns also contrast themselves with other professionals in Silicon Valley, or the “natives”, although these would be challenging to define, since most of the people there come from somewhere else, either in the US or the world. From the Finnish perspective, Silicon Valley people (or Americans in general) sometimes seem superficial and overly confident: again, the popular stereotype emerges. The “Americans” are confident and fluent speakers, and often exaggerate or make much bigger promises than what they can actually deliver. This sometimes bothers the Finns, who are very literal: one means exactly what one says. It takes time to learn how to “read” the Americans and understand what

can actually be expected from them. On one hand, the Silicon Valley Finns criticize the average Finns for being timid, awkward and inarticulate, on the other hand they criticize the Americans for being superficial and sometimes unreliable. They themselves are located somewhere in between, adapting to both cultures and caught in the middle. Where this is the case, it can be frustrating to juggle between the two cultures, trying to get both parties on the same wavelength.

The Silicon Valley Finns also greatly appreciate some characteristics of the 'locals', namely their sociability and openness. Even if many of the Finns regard themselves as relatively shy compared to people in general in Silicon Valley, they enjoy the local atmosphere and the fact that it is so easy to get to know people there. Thus, even if they themselves do not take the initiative and talk to strangers as often as the locals, they like it when they do. They also appreciate the dynamism and fast-paced nature of the locals, and while some mention that while this pace can be exhausting, it is also energizing, and one gets sucked into it.

One of the things the Finns appreciate most – and many interviewees mentioned this explicitly and on their own initiative – is the encouraging atmosphere in Silicon Valley. From the Finnish perspective, there is a lack of envy and jealousy: if someone succeeds, it is taken as a positive inspiration, not as something taken away from others. Many Finns mention how liberating it is when people in Silicon Valley say “good for you!” and mean it. This does not often happen in Finland, where envy is part of the negative national stereotype. The Finnish mentality is seen as something where one does not wish success for one’s neighbor to avoid looking less successful in comparison.

The following Figure 1 portrays the categorizations made by the informants. It attempts to illustrate how the degree of sociability, adventurousness, and risk-taking increases when one “moves away” from Finns in Finland towards Finns in Silicon Valley and finally Silicon Valley in general, with the highest degrees of sociability, adventurousness and risk-taking.

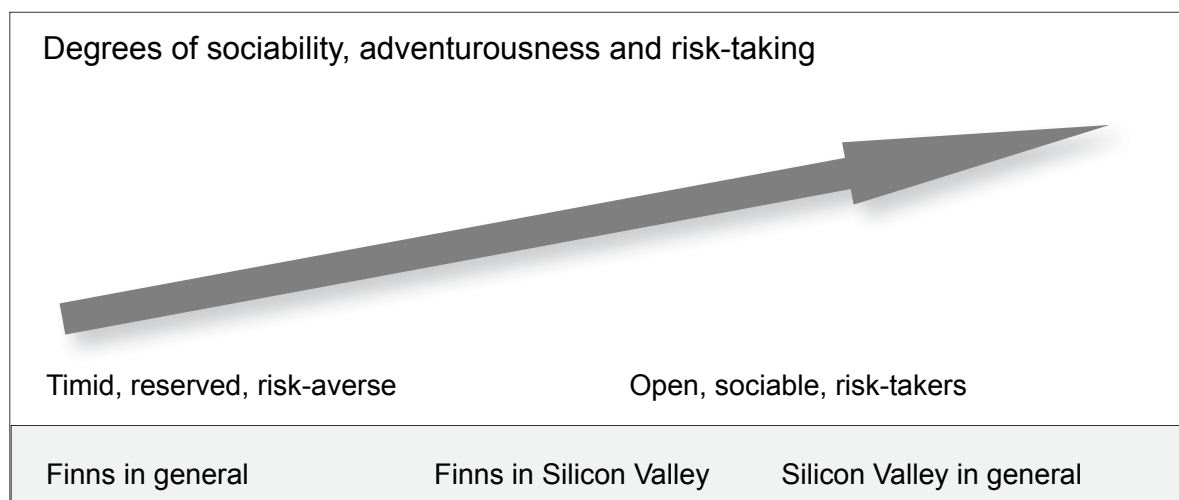


Figure 1. Sociability, adventurousness and risk-taking

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this chapter was to explore how personal motivations and identities are tied to a place with Finns living in Silicon Valley. I found that for these skilled professionals place represents opportunities for new experiences and self-development, challenging oneself and breaking free from the familiar. The work-related motivations to move to another location are closely intertwined with personal motivations and it is not easy to tell which ones dominate. The relationship between place and identity is dynamic: places can represent opportunities for self-development and when changing locations, new identities emerge. The identities found here were the atypical (Finn), the pioneer and the mediator. Furthermore, the informants talked about themselves as people who do not tend to make very long-term plans.

Besides confirming some earlier empirical findings on motivations to relocate, such as Conradson and Latham's (2005) research on global mobility as self-realization and the desire to see and experience new locations and cultures (Bozkurt 2006; Nowicka 2007; Conradson & Latham 2005), this research advances the existing understanding in several ways. First, the present findings further stress the role of personal aspirations and motivations in the decision to relocate and indicate that it is useful to analytically separate the apparent activity and official reason to move from the individual motivations that are often much deeper and related to personal preferences and desires. Secondly, the research discovered particular kinds of identities related to locations – specifically, the identities of being different/atypical and a pioneer – that have not been explicitly documented thus far. Finally, this study highlights the dynamic, two-way relationship between personal expectations (what locations represent) and the new identities geographical mobility evokes (what moving and being in a new location does on a personal level). It thus both confirms the usefulness and contributes to Conradson and Latham's (2007) idea of the affective possibilities of places. The new identities would not emerge without the mobility, the actual move to another place, but the image or possibilities a location represents is crucial in the mobility to happen in the first place.

These findings put the “death of distance” idea to test: the personal experiences of those who move are not grasped by this idea. Distance is in many ways a reality, even with increased connectedness between places. We have seen that identities are still related to locations, both the home country and the new destination. No matter how connected places are, the physical distances and characteristics tied to localities are essential to both the everyday experiences and the personal identities of the global professionals.

Finally, the study highlights what is particular to the case of Finns: the characteristics of the home country and what happens when someone from this background meets the Silicon Valley cultural environment. The study shows that for some highly skilled Finns, the atmosphere in Finland may feel too limited, homogeneous and offer too little encouragement professionally and personally. On one hand, there are challenges to being a Finn in the competitive Silicon Valley: for example, mastering the nuances of the English language or sociability and openness in interaction. On the other hand, there were many experienced advantages to being a Finn: their reputation as hard working and reliable is helpful for getting new opportunities for collaboration as well as for some practical matters, such as finding housing. In general, the informants expressed pride in their Finnish background, but also, as globally mobile Finns, presented some degree of what could be seen as healthy criticism towards the more restrictive aspects of the culture and ways of working of their home country.

Notes

- ¹ *Silicon Valley is not a location with specific, official boundaries; it typically refers to the southern part of the San Francisco Bay Area in Northern California known as Santa Clara Valley. There are several towns or cities in this area, for example Palo Alto, Santa Clara, Mountain View, and San Jose (see, for example Saxenian 1994). Brown and Duguid (2002) define Silicon Valley as the "ill-defined area that stretches from north of San Francisco to south of San Jose, California." They further note that "[S]ilicon Valley is still, if not the absolute center, then one of the most significant nodes in the 'wired', the 'digital', the 'networked', or most simply the 'new' economy – a concentration of inspired ideas, astounding wealth, and the means to turn the former into the latter." For the purposes of the present research, the rigid geographical delimitation of the area was not considered useful. The idea was to study Finns who work in the most important high technology region in the world. Thus, in addition to Santa Clara Valley, in this study Silicon Valley refers also to the wider San Francisco Bay Area, including the City of San Francisco.*

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(Photo: www.sxc.hu)

Chapter 7

Encountering difference. Nordic privileged migrants in Indian mega-cities

Nicol Foulkes

Abstract

The Nordic region is famed for its high standards of welfare and public service, labour market flexibility, education, freedom, trust and not least happiness. From a global perspective, in many ways the region occupies a somewhat elite status at the top of the global social ladder, in spite of the challenges they face in coping with diversity. In stark contrast, India, even with the exponential growth in its economy in recent years, is still home to some of the most poverty stricken regions of the world, with over 90% of the active labour force in unorganized work and without any social protection. The major cities have poor yet improving infrastructure, which, coupled with stark cultural, religious and ideological differences, challenge Nordic privileged migrants' conceptions of time, space and human interaction.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate how Nordic privileged migrants encounter and navigate the social system in the Indian mega-cities Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai. The analysis takes into consideration how Nordic shared values like trust and equality are negotiated in locations where there are stark cultural and environmental differences, investigating how these negotiations affect their daily life and ultimately their freedom, as well as how the outcomes differ among them. The paper is based on the qualitative analysis of 29 interviews and questionnaire data collected from knowledge workers and their partners from Northern Europe, eight of whom were from Finland and eight from Denmark, who have moved to India because of either their own or their partner's job. The findings indicate that while the Nordic privileged migrants encounter similar challenges in Indian

mega-cities, there are both similarities and dissimilarities in the way navigate and negotiate those challenges, possibly as a result of the combination of having shared Nordic values, and possessing different levels of human (economic and cultural), social, and erotic capital (Hakim 2010).

1. Introduction

► *"[Bangalore] is completely chaotic as they have been building the city from nothing to 8-9 million people in less than 10 years. They do it the other way round than we would. I mean, we would start in Denmark with making the roads and the infra-structure, electricity, sewers, everything and then you [would] build your house. Here they do it completely the other way round. They just create so much extra work for themselves and I am trying to figure out why they do it. Why they think it's a good idea to do everything without thinking about the next step (...) I don't think they think about efficiency in the same way as we do. So the mentality and the way of seeing things is totally different."* (Beth (DK), Bangalore)

Moving home is said to be one of the most stressful experiences we put ourselves through. Migrating to a new country with entirely different cultural surroundings and norms is therefore undoubtedly a challenge, particularly if that country is in a different phase of the so-called "modernisation" than in one's home country. This is precisely the case when individuals relocate from the Nordic region to India as the above quote by the accompanying partner of a Danish secondee exemplifies. In 2010, India was cited as the second most challenging destination for secondees (employees sent abroad by their company on a temporary assignment) after China, and was revealed to be the location that presented the greatest assignment difficulties for program managers.¹ There are admittedly numerous places in the world that could be considered challenging to live and work in for Nordic secondees as a result of their already privileged status in Europe and the "West"; the increase in the numbers of Nordic migrants to one of the *most challenging* destinations in the world, India, is therefore more than worthy of attention.²

1.1 Everyday encounters: the Nordic region vs. India

Everyday encounters in the Nordic cities are drastically different (for Nordic citizens) to those in India as a result of the stark contrasts in histories, culture, infra-structure, demographics, geography and climate to name just a few aspects. Famed for their commitment to social democracy, high standards of welfare and

public service, labour market flexibility, education and not least happiness, small, relatively homogenous Nordic populations enjoy clean, highly-organized societies and function in their daily lives with high levels of safety and trust. From a global perspective, in many ways the region occupies a somewhat elite status at the top of the global social ladder, in spite of the challenges they face in dealing with diversity. As homogenous social systems, they are perceived as functioning so well that the phrase “The Nordic Model” has become common parlance in Western academic, political and public discourse, and the model is frequently hailed as the success story in the history of the welfare state. Migrants originating from the Nordic countries, whether they be short-term or long-term, highly-skilled or low-skilled, accompanying partners or workers may hence be considered more privileged than their “equals” who originate from other industrialized developed countries. Everyday encounters in an Indian city differ greatly depending on which of India’s “worlds” an individual functions in, whether they be a transient migrant or a permanent resident. The complexity of that diversity is unfathomable which makes them unique sites for migration research, but also presents a major challenge when attempting to portray the struggles facing migrants in a single book chapter.

In popular media, we are showered with images of glossy malls, opulent business districts, beautiful nature, rich culture, mouth-watering cuisine, and slogans such as *Made in India*, *India Shining*, and *Incredible India* – the new branding of modern India, and a reflection that large segments of Indian society and economy are moving onward and upward at a fast pace (Brosius 2010: 1-2). This example of one of India’s “worlds” is undoubtedly appealing to more affluent mobile workers as it reflects a lifestyle that is luxurious and rich in so many ways yet, to some extent, it also bears some semblance to their normal way of life in their home country. The reality is, however, that at the beginning of the 21st century this opulence exists in only very small pockets of the country, and does not reflect the realities of daily life in urban social systems in India. Even with the exponential growth in its economy in recent years and status as an *emerging* or growth economy rather than a *developing* country, the country is still home to some of the most poverty stricken regions of the world, and over 90% of the active labour force is in unorganized work, without any social protection.³ The major cities have poor yet improving infrastructure and population density is extremely high, both of which have strong repercussions for the way in which residents go about their everyday life: traffic is dense causing heavy air pollution, a greater risk of being involved in an accident, and necessitates a reconsideration of time-use.⁴ The existence of such a contrasting other “world” within the same country is not found to the same extreme in the Nordic region, and being confronted with just these two worlds on a daily basis may be a challenge in itself.

In addition to these environmental differences, the cultural differences migrants face are strong. Research has shown that the severity of culture shock is related to the cultural distance between the home and the host country (Zeitlin 1996, cited in Hofstede 2001: 426). In the case of India and the Nordic region, the cultural distance is wide: during the migration period, egalitarian Nordic attitudes have to be negotiated within a strongly hierarchically organized society which may have repercussions for, among other things, work relations and inter-gender interactions, and may also indirectly contribute to the high levels of corruption that are deeply rooted in both private and public spheres⁵. Religion and the strong traditions associated with it are also omnipresent in Indian society in stark contrast to Nordic society which is largely secularized in spite of high church membership. These and many other social differences, understood in this chapter as cultural and environmental differences, challenge Nordic migrants' conceptions of time, space and basic human interaction.

1.2 Research questions, aims and structure of the chapter

The main aim of this chapter is to bring to light the nature of the challenges facing Nordic privileged migrants when they move to India in conjunction with a temporary work assignment. I highlight the aspects of life in the mega-cities Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore that confront the values of trust and egalitarianism, values which are so central to everyday life in Nordic welfare states. In addition, I address the challenges faced by temporary migrants surrounding the use of and relationship to time – an aspect of everyday life that is of both cultural and logistical importance in the Nordic context.

The descriptions in the empirical section do not attempt to prove direct causal relationships or make rigid generalizations about the behaviour and attitudes of Nordic migrants. It rather focuses on how shared Nordic norms, egalitarianism, trust and time-use, are negotiated in both similar and different ways when confronting *similar* situations. In doing so, I underscore just how divergently individuals with similar cultural and socio-economic backgrounds navigate social difference, possibly as a consequence of varying levels of human, social and erotic capital intersecting with those shared cultural norms.⁶ The study is hence guided by the following research questions: *How do Nordic privileged migrants encounter the social system in India and what impact does this have on their daily life? How are Nordic socio-cultural values and norms negotiated when navigating the social differences they are confronted with? How do these outcomes differ among them?*

The structure of the chapter is as follows: in section two I give an outline of my methodological framework. In section three, the notion of privilege is discussed in relation to values and different forms of capital. Here, I also give a brief review

of the literature on privileged migration that pertains to dealing with difference. In section four, I address the major challenges faced by the Nordic migrants who I interviewed in Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai. In the final section I briefly discuss some implications of the findings.

2. Methodological framework

A diverse cross-section of interviewees (29 in total – see Table 1) were located by emailing with embassies and employer organizations, contacting social and professional networking groups in India (face-to-face), and the snowball method. I also created a website for my project, independent of my institutional affiliations, which prospective participants could refer to rather than spending valuable time emailing different pieces of information. In preparation for the interviews,

Table 1. Profiles of 29 interviewees

Location	Nationality	Country of usual residence
Bangalore (20)	Danish (8)	Denmark (4)
Delhi (6)	Finnish (8)	Finland (6)
Mumbai (2)	German (3)	Germany (3)
Mangalore (1)	British (6)	UK (6)
		Dutch (4)
		Netherlands (3)
		India (2)
		USA (2)
		Other (3)

Work activity in India	Gender	Primary reason for being in India
In paid employment (14)	Male (11)	Accompanying partner of seconded worker (11)
In unpaid employment (4)	Female (18)	Accompanying partner of locally hired worker (1)
Self-employed (4)		Accompanying partner of governmental worker/diplomat (2)
Not employed (7)		Seconded from European multinational enterprise (11)
		Limited contract with an international organization (2)
		Entrepreneur with Indian spouse (2)

NOTE: numbers in brackets indicate the total number of interviewees

the vast majority of the informants completed an online pre-interview questionnaire which provided me with basic socio-demographic information about the respondent, as well as informing me about some of the challenges and successes they were facing during their stay.⁷

The in-depth semi-structured interviews were essentially guided by key questions in three categories: 1) welfare and wellbeing, 2) social and working life, 3) attitudes, values and identity. They were conducted in 2009 during three separate one-month field visits in a location of the respondent's choice, in Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore and Mangalore. During the field trips I also attended several, both formal and informal expatriate network meetings and social events where I communicated with numerous secondees, residents and nationals from Europe, Asia and the Americas. All communication with the informants has been in English.

Of the Danish respondents, four were usually resident in Denmark, two in India, one in the US and one in Belgium; and there were two women and six men. Of the Finnish respondents, six were usually resident in Finland and two in the UK; seven women and one man. The Danish respondents were present in all categories of "primary reason for being in India" except for accompanying partner of locally hired worker, while the Finnish respondents were all either *accompanying their partner who was a seconded worker*, or were the seconded worker themselves. Both nationalities were represented in all of the categories of "work activity in India" and they were interviewed in all four locations.⁸ Due to the comparatively smaller numbers of Nordic secondees in India, less detail is presented about respondents' profiles in order to protect their privacy.

The findings are part of on-going doctoral research into the effects of temporary migration from Northern Europe to India on both workers' and accompanying partners' social citizenship. In the empirical section, I have chosen to relay encounters from a selection of Nordic migrants whose experiences relay most explicitly the range of reactions and responses to the social differences faced during secondment.

3. Privilege at the intersection of values and capital

In understanding privilege and oppression Johnson (2001: 86) writes: *"As long as we participate in social systems, we don't get to choose whether to be involved in the consequences they produce. We're involved simply through the fact that we are here. As such, we can only choose how to be involved, whether to be just part of the problem or also part of the solution. That's where our power lies, and also our responsibility."* For Johnson, privilege is born out of the way in which people participate in a given social system; in any given social system there are people who participate in it, but the people are not the system and the system is not the

people. Therefore, in order to understand what happens in the system we need to look at *how* the people participate in it, and at the conditions in the system itself. In addition, according to this logic, what may be considered a privilege in one social system may not necessarily be considered a privilege in another, and furthermore the conditions in the new social system may not be sufficient to allow that privilege to exist to the same extent, if at all.

Individuals inherently draw on their past experiences and the assets and resources they possess when operating in social systems. This stock of resources, commonly referred to as *capital*, has been subdivided into categories most notably by Pierre Bourdieu. Recognizing and acknowledging the pre-existence of and continual development of different forms of capital in individuals is useful in understanding the ways in which Nordic migrants respond or react to social difference, and allows the study of privileged migration to move beyond monetary privilege, which may itself also vary in impact according to location and time.

In his theoretical exploration of class and stratification, Bourdieu distinguished between economic, cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1986). In the 2000s Hakim added a fourth asset to the discussion on the different forms of capital, namely *erotic capital*, which is defined as “*a combination of aesthetic, visual, physical, social and sexual attractiveness to other members of (...) society and especially to members of the opposite sex, in all social contexts.*” (Hakim 2010: 501). In line with Hakim, *human capital* is understood as the combination of economic and cultural capital; this constitutes the sum of resources and assets that can be used to produce financial gains (e.g. money or land), educational qualifications, training and work experience and information resources, as well as assets that are socially valued such as knowledge of art, literature or music. *Social capital* is understood as the sum of resources accrued from access to a network of relationships or membership in a group (ibid).

As well as utilizing and accruing different forms of capital during the migration period, Nordic citizens are recognized as sharing common values such as equality, trust, proximity to power, inclusion, flexibility, respect for nature, the protestant work ethic and aesthetics (NORDEN 2005), and may be assumed to behave according to these post-modern and post-materialistic values (Inglehart 2000) in the host social system, in spite of experiencing a diminished sense of security while on secondment in India. While it is unknown what effect the globally privileged status of the Nordic countries has on the migrant’s stock of the different forms of capital, it must be acknowledged that the quality, quantity and usage of that *stock* may vary greatly, as may the strength and extent of the aforementioned “shared” values, arguably as a direct consequence of globalization – Nordic societies are much more diverse now than they have ever been⁹ and advances in communication and inexpensive travel mean that citizens worldwide are in general more exposed to and impacted by different ways of behaving and living.

3.1 Societal participation and handling difference

The societal participation of privileged migrants has been studied by scholars in the field of business studies and human resource management in the context of “expatriate” adjustment (Farh et al. 2010; Okpara & Kabongo 2011) and failure (Hung-Wen 2007), as well as on the adjustment of “spouses” (Black & Stephens 1989; Ali et al. 2003; Andreason 2008). There has been a strong focus on support networks, as companies seek to find ways to ensure that postings abroad are ultimately “successful” for business rather than the individual. As a consequence, little attention has been given to the impact on the lives of the migrants (as opposed to employees) of the social system in the destination country itself. Farh et al. (2010) developed a theoretical *five stage model of expatriate tie formation* that considers the unique cultural challenges and informational and emotional needs of expatriates in an exploration of how expatriates form “adjustment facilitating support ties” (support networks) when they find themselves in culturally unfamiliar contexts (Farh et al. 2010: 434). The first stage in the process is concerned with expatriates’ *motivation* to seek support; according to their model, this motivation is strengthened when expatriates experience informational and social uncertainty (ibid: 437)¹⁰.

Encountering difference outside of one’s home country where systems, structures, institutions, and cultures are unfamiliar creates social uncertainty and often insecurity; furthermore, the inability to adapt to the host country’s culture is frequently cited as a reason for so-called “expatriate failure” (Okpara & Kabongo 2011: 22), leading multinational corporations to invest in cross-cultural training for secondees and their partners and to address the situation of the accompanying partner or spouse. This chapter is concerned with the first stage in Farh et al.’s model of expatriate tie formation in so far as it addresses how privileged migrants – both workers and accompanying partners – confront these new situations as individuals; it does not analyse the mechanisms they use, such as becoming members of social networks or partaking in company-initiated cross-cultural training, to assist them in dealing with the social differences. Furthermore, by focusing on new encounters with both environmental (e.g. infra-structure and pollution) and cultural (e.g. approach to hierarchy and gender) differences in realizing the concept of social uncertainty, it draws attention to aspects of social difference that are in flux, rather than simply focusing on more deeply embedded and hence more static cultural differences.

In the field of anthropology there is a growing literature on privileged migration. Encountering difference is a central theme in the majority of works that have thus far addressed the existence of *boundaries* in the lives of middle-class and highly-skilled migrants (e.g. Fechter 2007; Croucher 2009), the peculiarities of privileged migration in *post-colonial contexts* (e.g. Latvala 2009; Korpela 2006;

2010; Fechter 2010), and in research on *race, ethnicity* and *identity* (e.g. Fechter 2005; Kurotani 2007; Young 2009; Leonard 2010; Hindman 2007; 2009). Anne-Meike Fechter (2007), in her study of Western expatriates in Indonesia, differentiates between three groups whose interaction with Indonesian society varies according to their grouping. Fechter's findings suggest that each group possesses different levels of economic capital which directly influence the form and stock of cultural capital they accumulate and utilise, which in turn results in divergent attitudes and approaches to the differences they encounter in the "new" social system in Indonesia. While successfully and explicitly detailing the significance of economic and cultural capital on West-East expatriation, a disadvantage of Fechter's analysis (as she recognizes herself) is the grouping the expatriates as "Western" and thereby negating or neglecting the value differences that exist between individuals that originate from a diverse array of different cultures.¹¹

Turning the focus from humanity to society, scholars in the social sciences have also addressed the existence of *institutional* boundaries (Smith & Favell 2006) that impact highly-skilled mobility; however, the majority of social research on the highly-skilled centres less on the differences encountered during societal participation in the destination country, which has been central to the study of labour migrants and diasporas¹², and more on knowledge circulation, waste and reproduction (see Saara Koikkalainen's chapter in this edition). Similar to the anthropological preference for "studying down" (Nader 1972 cited in Fechter 2007: 18), Western social scientists can also be accused of paying insufficient attention to how more affluent or well-positioned citizens operate in a given social system, failing to focus enough empirical research on how coming from or being in a position of privilege affects one's societal participation.

One of the few studies that explicitly analyses the link between migrants' privileged status and the destination country attributes privilege solely to the migrants' socio-economic position in their home country: anthropologist Angela Torresen (2007) compares the experience of *middle-class* Brazilian long-term "voluntary" migrants (i.e. they have migrated of their own accord) in Lisbon, Portugal and London, UK. She finds that destination directly affects the experience of privilege for these migrants with the colonial ties between Brazil and Portugal playing a major role. Similar to Torresen (2007), this study brings to light how everyday encounters in the destination country diminish or accentuate migrants' position of privilege. It differs however in so far as only one destination or host country is considered, there is no significant colonial history¹³, and the privilege being explored also encompasses Nordic values and norms that are far removed from Indian cultural norms. In addition the migrants are temporary, they may be labelled as highly-skilled or highly-educated¹⁴, and they have moved with the security of a job with the sending company or organization which adds a further dimension to their status of privilege. They are therefore, unlike Torresen's research subjects,

secured an economic status of privilege upon arrival in the destination country and do not have to seek it.

4. Empirical findings

► *"This has been a very good experience as a whole. If today [were] the day when I would be selecting should I go or should I not go, I would be definitely going and I would be definitely recommending to any person in a similar situation, "Go ahead do it." But on the other hand, it's not ... it's not always easy; easy, easy ride or easy road. Lots of problems that need to be solved and personal involvement in the issues like getting the internet working all the time [...] practical things."*

The above statement, by a Finnish secondee in his thirties on secondment for the first time with his partner, was echoed in the responses from the vast majority of the informants regardless of nationality, gender or working status, and whether they were first time secondees or so-called career expatriates. Another Danish respondent who had travelled to more than 100 countries worldwide, and had lived for temporary periods (6 months to 4 years) in over 10 different countries globally, described India as the *"without a doubt the most challenging place he has ever lived; even worse than war zones!"* During the same interview, he commented that in spite of these challenges, he feels *"just as good in Delhi as in any other place in the world."* It is, hence, not the intention of the ensuing analysis to portray what may read as *negative* experiences as informants' overriding general feeling about their stay in India, rather the analysis aims to identify the areas which proved to be *most challenging* for Nordic privileged migrants to negotiate their own values in and reflect the similarities and dissimilarities in the way new encounters were navigated.

The data presented in the following section addresses the main aspects of everyday life in India that had a strong impact on the Nordic temporary migrants interviewed in Delhi, Bangalore and Mumbai. Due to space limitations, I have chosen solely to discuss the encounters that the Nordic respondents were confronted with which required the negotiation of trust and hierarchy, and those which required a reconsideration of time-use.

4.1 Honesty as the best policy?

The saying *"Honesty is the best policy"*, frequently used in English speaking countries, ought nowadays be extended to include: *"... depending on whom you are*

communicating with and which cultural context you are in".¹⁵ In Nordic welfare states, there has been a long tradition of high levels of trust both vertically (in institutions) and horizontally (among citizens), and these forms of trust are thought to be central to the functioning and success of an inclusive society (Taylor-Gooby 2008). The high levels of trust witnessed in the region have been found to be strongly connected to the homogeneity of the populations, Protestant religious traditions, wealth and income equality, and good government (Delhey & Newton 2005). However, in India, Nordic migrants are confronted with a society that has a heterogeneous population, religious plurality (with Hinduism dominating),¹⁶ extreme income inequality, and the country has at times since independence experienced unstable governments. The social system is entirely different, and the results on Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index 2010 are possibly a convenient reflection of this: on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (highly clean), the Nordic countries rank between 8.5 and 9.3; India ranks 3.3.

The lack of trust between Indians may be partially attributed to the legacy of the caste system. With a history of over 2000 years, it is one of the world's longest standing social hierarchies. The system was borne out of the Hindu religion, and was previously justified by the doctrine, karma – the belief that an individual's place in life is determined by the deeds one fulfils in a previous lifetime. As such, one is born into a caste and remains in that caste until death, which over time has translated into being born into a profession and remaining in that profession until death. Another defining aspect of the system was the strictly adhered to physical segregation of different castes in public and private spaces (Guha 2007: 605–621); officially abolished in the 1960s, it remains remarkably present and visible in contemporary Indian society. Hence, in India, honesty has for thousands of years *not* been the "best" policy; honesty could in previous decades, centuries and millennia have had severe consequences. Subservience and obedience and to those higher up in a social hierarchy have, in contrast, been long-standing social norms, yet they are norms that the country is in the process of attempting to change which is a process that takes time. It is also a change that is difficult to make in a world where disparities in wealth within and across countries and continents are getting wider.

Negotiating trust and hierarchy

Trust was a major issue for the wellbeing of several of the Nordic respondents, notably more so than for respondents of other nationalities. Hanna, a single Finnish woman and in her forties, had been in India for about 8 months when we met in Bangalore. She was based in Chennai working for a Finnish organization and had been seconded before with the same company to another European country. Hanna spent much of her time traveling and living between Chennai, Bangalore

and Delhi. She had read books on India written by British, Finnish and Indian authors which she says she did out of respect rather than arriving in India ignorant. She still reads contemporary Indian writing and feels that it really helps her *“get into the Indian mindset and understand the drastic [social and cultural] change”*.

Hanna mentions the flat and democratic nature of Finnish businesses and she feels that in India she takes on a more of a supervisory role than in Finland, needing to control and check what employees are doing throughout a project rather than simply giving guidelines and leaving the staff to get on with the work as she would in Finland. This view was echoed by many of the interviewed secondees who had managerial responsibilities (personal or professional) regardless of nationality or gender, however for some it was presented as blatant lying, for others it was talked about as culture difference. Hanna explains that it is not enough to simply ask how everything is as: *“They do what we regard [as] lying just to get out of a situation. They slip some kind of white lies or explanations, which I find surprising. The same thing applies to my driver [...] I say [to him]: What you are doing right now, I consider it lying. Don’t do it to me!”* Hanna had been told by other foreigners that drivers do this because *“they do not want to displease you, the boss.”* In spite of being well-informed through various literature about Indian culture and its peculiarities, Hanna states emphatically that she finds this behaviour very irritating and explains that she would much rather people ask than guess or lie.

A Danish respondent, Michael who was in his forties and in India with his wife and two children, had an alternative point of view and saw this miscommunication as an issue of arrogance on the Danish side. Michael explains that it took a lot of work, but after 4–5 months of regular half-hour morning meetings with the staff every day, he has managed to create a working environment where all the staff speak freely and honestly together and work more as a team rather than as individuals as they had done before, *“One of the things I have learnt here is that they don’t want to disappoint you. And so if they don’t want to disappoint you, they won’t tell you the problem. They will indicate and if you learn to read the signs, then you can see.”* He goes on to give an example of a conversation between an employee in India and a development manager in Denmark. Michael was present with the member of staff in India:

► *“I could see the face, I could see the signs. What he (the Indian employee) told was “Yes we have some issue going here and errr we have something we need to investigate but I think we can do it.” That was kind of the wording he used. The development manager, what he heard – I talked to him afterwards – was “Yes, they have some issues but they can solve [them] so there’s no problem.” And he didn’t do anything. Now, the Indian task manager, what he was actually saying was “I have huge problems, I cannot solve this. Help me.” And that message never went through. So that is sort of a cultural [peculiarity] that really showed me what is a very*

large part of the problem here because the Danish development manager [who] is a very intelligent guy [...] wants to do a good job. [But he] never heard the message."

After that telephone meeting, Michael took the decision to be in on all of the future telephone meetings and act as a "cultural translator" and in the end the Indian employee learned to be able to say *"It is impossible for us we have real problems here"* without fear of repercussion as may have happened in a purely Indian organization.

In work situations, the Nordic migrants, along with the British and Dutch respondents who talked about this issue, seemed to be able to employ their managerial and professional skills when dealing with the Indian "yes" culture. However in the private sphere, there was more difficulty, particularly with casual labourers who, I was informed by both male and female respondents, were also less responsive to and "honest" with women: Saara, a Finnish woman in her thirties on her second posting with her husband and three children were in the Middle East prior to taking the assignment in India. At the time of interviewing the family had been in India for two years and was preparing to move on to the next assignment in another country in the Middle East, primarily upon Saara's request to be relocated there again. I had been told that she was not very happy in India and preferred their life in the previous posting. There were several reasons for this, yet one of the key issues was trust: *"After the first six months here I realized that nothing works here. I hate that. And you can't trust people here."* Saara went on to talk about a situation at their previous home in India which was located in another gated community not far from the one they lived in now outside of central Bangalore called *Prestige Ozone*. They had had a problem with the electricity and called someone in to take a look at it:

► *"And because I was by myself they told me "Oh maam, there's nothing wrong here. Everything is fine". So then I needed to call my husband to come here and help me because somehow the Indians they trust men [...] In Iran I did not have these kinds of problems. In Ozone we had many times the same problems with electricity or water or whatever. And always "Mmmmm there's no problem, and shaking the head. So that was difficult. And also when somebody is coming to fix your house or something you have to follow them so that they don't take anything."*

Saara's frustrations were strongly expressed and accentuated by her mimicking the Indian accent and body language. The issue of trust for her far outweighed the issue of gender discrimination. When she spoke about gender issues, her comments were quite off the cuff and she remarked that it is the same situation in the Middle East and it is *"not a big deal"*. For Saara, living in a place where things "work" and you can "trust" what people are telling you is the "truth" is far more

important, and that she found in the Middle East. There, the rules of society were very clear and the highly restrictive way of life for women was not a problem for her, as those were the rules and everybody stuck to them. She does however say later on in the interview, that after completing a cultural awareness course one year into her stay in Bangalore, she could better understand Indian people's behavior. Moreover, while Saara had expressed apprehension about the interview due to her lack of confidence about speaking English, there was no suggestion during the interview that her communication with Indian workmen may have suffered as a result of her own language issues.

There were also positive reactions to the "yes" culture from some participants in informal situations. Greta, a Finnish respondent in her twenties living in Delhi with her husband accepted the "untruths" as part of Indian culture: *"If you are trying to ask for directions people would rather give you the wrong directions as opposed to telling you that they don't know. But then, we've kind of seen that before so ... I think it is an Asian culture ..."* Greta and her partner had traveled before around South East Asia and felt there were several strong similarities culturally between India and the places they had visited. Having been exposed to *this* aspect of Indian culture previously seemed to assist her in confronting this social difference; however, an aspect of Indian culture that Greta did struggle with was that of servitude. When they first moved to India, she flatly refused the offer of having domestic help. She and her husband lived in an apartment on an embassy compound and Greta felt that there was no need to have a cleaner as they had always cleaned their home themselves in London when they were both working fulltime. She was also uncomfortable about having a stranger in their private and personal space:

► *"But then, everyone kept on saying about the huge amount of dust around and it's true! Every day you get like a layer of dust. I don't know where it comes from. So I resisted it for four months ... you know, I wiped it every day [laughs] ... and then we were like, "Well, ok, let's get a cleaner." It was a huge kind-of-like step. It was really difficult actually. And also their attitude to you, like I get called madam and I really dislike it, and my husband they call sir [...]. It's the whole hierarchical relationship that's really difficult for us. But I think you have to accept it because no matter what I say, no matter what I do, I can't get her to say my name, Greta."*

Ultimately, the act of taking on a cleaner or other domestic workers and drivers is to give people more time to pursue another activity. In India, this is common practice for privileged migrants and middle-class Indians alike; however, this act is yet to become common practice in the Nordic region, therefore Nordic migrants find themselves in a new situation: in the first instance there is a new power dynamic whereby private individuals become employers and have to negotiate

wages, working (and sometimes living) arrangements, and a new relationship that is perceived strongly by both the employee and employer as hierarchical in nature; and secondly, in the case of cleaners and cooks, the home becomes a site of work and a certain level of trust must be found.

Encounters with corruption

► *“The company is quite strict about [this]: you are not allowed to pay your way. But as I said, that’s fine for some Finnish clerk sitting in Finland doing laws that are perfectly fine in Finland. Come over here [laughs]!” Kristoffer (DK), Bangalore*

Corruption is a widely recognized as being a major issue that Kristoffer, a Danish national working for a Finnish multinational enterprise, believes is preventing India from fulfilling its economic potential and being a major threat to any other nation financially because *“there is nothing that works”*. Kristoffer has spent more than twenty years outside of Denmark with his wife. The depth of the corruption in India is the main aspect of work and life in India that has surprised him. He relays several corrupt scenarios that he has witnessed ranging from a pet dog being able to enter India without being quarantined, to applications for visas moving through the system rapidly, which he suggests most likely involved bribery. Kristoffer also relays a story of what happens if one does not go along with the corruption: the scenario involved a major incident of an employee at a European company’s offices in India. The company he spoke of did not cooperate with the authorities as they were expected to and the result was that there was negative publicity for that company in the press and media. *“When you get in contact with the official authorities, they look at you as a way of extracting money. So, whatever they are upset about has to do with how much they can get out of it, [I think] personally.”* Kristoffer expresses clearly that while he disagrees with this way of running a country, he does not judge it too much or get upset about it, and he confesses that the fact that they are only temporarily in India (2 – 3 years) may be why. Other aspects of life in India affected him more negatively, for example being constantly asked for money by beggars whenever he is sightseeing.

On the other hand, there were respondents for whom the corruption and disorganization in administrative offices was a major problem that caused quite some stress and anxiety. For example Leena, a Finnish mother-of-two accompanying her partner in Bangalore, is thankful that she has not had to deal with the authorities too much, but when she has had to, it has been quite stressful:

► *“I’ve been [to the foreign registry office] twice. It is just [sighs] it’s a very frustrating thing. They don’t have any databases, they don’t have any computers, they*

have nothing. It is just big piles of paper and it is just a waste of time. I don't see the point of going there. Waiting in the line when there is no line [...] as opposed to Finland where you can more or less do everything on your computer or the internet. Or if you have to go somewhere there is a number system – the board with the number and you just sit and wait for your turn and everything is very automatic and you are treated the same. Everybody is treated the same.”

One story or another about the visits to the foreign registry office was relayed to me by almost every foreign national who was in India for a longer period that I met during my field visits. The vast majority were identical to Leena's case, where there is the imagination that people are treated equally in Nordic and other Northern European countries. Other stories relayed involved the use of “a broker”. The extent of the corruption is so deep in India that a market has been created for brokers who “assist” foreign nationals in dealing with the authorities. In short, the broker is paid a fee and they take care of all of the administration foreign nationals have to be involved in such as renewing visas and registering upon arrival in India. In this manner, the foreign national is spared the half a day it takes to *try* to get a piece of paperwork sorted out; they are also free from dirtying their own hands with bribing, and free from being reprimanded for participating in corruption. Michael uses an agency to help his family with administration. The agency always send him the same person who told them that when they are at the offices, always just reply “yes” to officials and smile; he takes care of the rest. He explains: *“We have had some fun with it; [we joke] “Never drop your papers in that office because then the money will fall out!”[laughs]. But we get a bill, so our company in Denmark are fine with the situation and we have official bills for all our expenses and so no problem is made. Of course we are supporting a system which we shouldn't support, but on the other hand we would probably not be here if we didn't play by the rules from time to time.”*

Leena talks about her husband who had been trying to get an Indian driving licence. He had spent many hours at the public office on several occasions. Once he waited for several hours and then could not get it because they had run out of paper; another time they would not accept his own photograph, so he had to go back again for them to take their own photo of him. She concludes the story with, *“The whole driver's licence thing was just ... horrible. You just pay. It's just plain corruption. You just pay to a broker and he gets it fixed. You don't need to show you are able to drive. Nothing. They just ask you a few questions and that's it. It is so vague. It depends on who you are talking to and who you are, the company behind you. Our company is very small so we don't have any like real power.”* Leena mentions some friends who are with a very large multinational enterprise for whom *“everything seems to be very smooth”*. It is unclear from the data whether the smoothness is due to the larger company simply being so big that they are not expected to succumb

to corruption, or whether it is due to the company being so big that the bribes are paid with ease. With over 90% of the workforce in unorganized labour, the boundaries between corruption and service provision can be blurred.

Things have also been very smooth for Anna, a self-employed Finnish woman working in the fashion industry and accompanying her partner who worked for a Finnish multinational enterprise. She spoke of the positive aspects of being female and doing business in India, openly expressing that she used her femininity and charm, her erotic capital, to get things done. She would bring cakes to her suppliers and made sure to ask about their wellbeing. She fostered good relations with the people she had to do business with, a key strategy in Indian business culture, and thus far had not had to use monetary bribes. Anna was also one of the few female respondents who explicitly stated that she did not want to compromise on her appearance and dress differently simply because she was in India, even if it meant that she stood out.

During my fieldwork I only encountered one person who flatly refused to partake in the corrupt practices that occur on a daily basis in India. At a professional networking meeting that I attended in India in 2009, a Danish man in his fifties spoke about the processes he was going through in starting up his own business. At one point he made a bold statement that corruption was something he would have absolutely nothing to do with. It was my impression that he expected others to agree with him or at least support him, but instead silence fell around the table. People glanced at one another or down at the table and then conversation picked up again as if nothing had happened. To speak about corruption so openly at this particular professional meeting appeared to be somewhat taboo.

4.2 No time like the present

One of the most striking aspects of life in an Indian mega-city expressed by the Nordic respondents was the impact of the population density and “Indian mindset” on the use of time. The Nordic countries are recognized for adhering to schedules in both private and professional circumstances, their punctuality, and their efficiency, that is, their ability and aim to not waste time. There is less spontaneity and predictability is valued. While this aspect of Nordic business culture may be easier to adjust to in a work environment as the productive advantages of the approach are self-evident, the rigidity that also exists in the private sphere may be more difficult to understand and adapt to as, in other cultures, this level of organization of one’s private life may be experienced as uncomfortable, unnatural or even stressful. For several of the employed interviewees, Nordic and non-Nordic, implementing more efficient strategies and solutions was a major

goal of their assignment. Once out of the office however, they faced an entirely different situation.

The approach to time in India is quite different, partly due to challenges with infrastructure and demographics and partly due to culture. Strong adherence to clock-time is virtually impossible to achieve in a mega-city in India due to the density and unpredictability of the volumes and flow of traffic – a consideration that is rarely made in the Nordic countries where public transportation is quite reliable and punctual, and there is only an increase in the volume of traffic during rush hours on very few particular main roads in the larger cities. The population of the entire Nordic region, which spans a total area of 3,429,000 sq km (more than half of the total surface area of Europe), is a mere 26 million – this is only approximately 6 million more than the 2011 census count of the population of India's largest *city*, Mumbai which spans a mere 619 sq km.¹⁷

The concept of time in Indian philosophy differs from the Western notion in so far as it is considered static rather than dynamic and cyclical rather than linear. The extent to which these notions of time are adhered to among the diverse population of contemporary Indians themselves is debatable and not within the scope of this chapter to discuss. Among Western circles in India there is an understanding, which seemed to be learned by word-of-mouth rather than a study of Indian literature, that there is a different relationship to time among Indians; rather than linking stark socio-economic differences and contrasting values-sets to the different approach to time-use, it is often expressed as inefficiency and laziness on the side of “Indians”, a myth that frequently arises in research on postcolonial encounters (see Fechter 2010 for further discussion). One Finnish respondent did nevertheless comment, when discussing the challenges of daily life, that although India is “*dirty and a mess*” that she has learned to love it and “... *maybe people here have got the right idea, that nothing is permanent so why should you put so much effort into it.*”

The negotiation of time at work

In working life, again both Nordic and non-Nordic respondents spoke about their co-workers working hours. Although none of them expressed that they had talked about this with the employees themselves, my respondents “knew” that Indians often worked long hours because the conditions in the office were more favourable than the conditions in their own home, and because in an Indian-run organization working longer hours implied that one was working *harder*. The Nordic interviewees differed to the non-Nordic interviewees in so far as many adhered to quite strict eight-hour working days, many starting later and finishing later in order to avoid the worst of the traffic. The result was that they indeed had longer working days, but that was chiefly due to the increase in travelling

time. It was only the Nordic respondents travelling entirely alone or working for international organizations who spent more hours at the workplace.

Several participants, both Nordic and non-Nordic, relayed stories about how religious practices and traditions influenced work processes. In the workplace, there was some surprise and curiosity about employees calling in to say they would not be coming into work because there was, for example, a certain planetary alignment which meant they needed to stay home and pray. Nordic respondents did not seem to have serious concerns about this drastic difference in what was portrayed as *culture difference*, while most other non-Nordic interviewees tended to express more disapproval and described the behaviour more in terms of *lack of work ethic*. Freda, from Denmark, even commented that her own religious practices “*would probably seem absurd to another person, so it is fine.*”

Differences in religious practice also have time-effects for everyday life as it means that, unbeknown to a Western privileged migrant who is uninformed about Indian religious or cultural practices, shops and vendors may “suddenly” be closed, which, as one privileged migrant put it, “*is really frustrating if you have spent two hours in traffic to get there.*”

The negotiation of time at home

Interactions with domestic workers also proved to be time-consuming for a variety of reasons. At my very first Overseas Women’s Club (OWC)¹⁸ meeting in Bangalore, I listened to a declaration that I would hear on several occasions while undertaking fieldwork, and one that is commonplace in “expatriate” environments. A group of Western-looking women were speaking about the time-consuming task of getting the “maid” to clean properly. There were three aspects to the issue: one being language; the second being the inability of the staff to use the cleaning equipment and products properly; and the third being their ability to recognize where and what needed cleaning. Even though many of the women participated in volunteer or charity work with the poorer sections of Indian society, there was a striking lack of discussion, understanding or patience for the difficulties encountered by their domestic staff, many of whom may live in meagre accommodation and for whom cleaning products and equipment are an expense they quite probably cannot afford, and possibly have no need for. English-speaking, experienced domestic staff were highly valued and sought after: all of the respondents who had English-speaking staff paid them a higher rate than the staff they had had before who had little or no command of the language.

Another Danish interviewee who had nine members of staff in his household spoke of the challenges he and his wife faced with “managing” a team of staff from different castes and a member of one caste would not do the work of another (if that person was sick or simply needed a helping hand). His wife was not engaged

in any other kind of work activity and he remarked that managing the staff and the house was a full-time job in itself. Peculiarly so, several other migrants with far fewer domestic staff expressed the same sentiment to the same degree of surprise.

Choosing where to live in the city was another aspect of everyday life which had severe time consequences. Some migrants chose to live in gated communities or recommended districts outside of the city centre upon suggestion from their companies, because they were “safer” particularly for the children or because they were nearer to the workplace. This meant segregation, particularly for accompanying partners, from “ordinary” society¹⁹ and visits to the city centre were few and far between made in some cases only out of necessity, in others to get out of the luxurious “*prison*” as one informant put it. In spite of living in accommodation in gated communities in more central areas that are also home to wealthier Indian and other foreign residents, the majority of interviewees and foreigners I encountered complained about the time it takes to get from one place to another in all three cities. There were two exceptions, both of whom were usually resident in the greater London area. For them, the commuting time to work in London was longer than that in India.

5. Discussion

The aims of this chapter were to give an insight into how Nordic privileged migrants encounter the social system of India mega-cities, and bring to light the variety of ways these encounters impact upon their daily life. Furthermore, in taking the concepts of trust and egalitarianism which are central features of Nordic society, I aimed to give examples of how Nordic socio-cultural values and norms are negotiated when confronted with social difference and to reflect on how these encounters varied among them. The reflections upon time-use highlighted a possible unacknowledged additional privilege that Nordic migrants are privy to when residing in the Nordic region.

The social system in which Nordic privileged migrants operate in Indian megacities is in many ways the polar opposite to that which they originate from; however as displayed in the previous section, the migrants have accumulated (prior to arrival) and utilise (upon arrival) different forms and levels of capital which have both positive and negative impacts on the ways that they navigate the social differences encountered. These divergent stocks and forms of capital intersect with shared values and region specific cultural norms, yet it remains a challenging task to establish direct causal relationships for the outcomes that are produced without also taking into account the impact of being at different stages in the life course, and the effect individual personal traits or group status (Malloy & Ristikari 2011) may have.

The encounters with social differences were generally perceived as new experiences that the Nordic migrants learned from. Furthermore, the negotiation of their own position and values, as well as the emotions felt during and after the encounters, led to two equal and opposite reactions, strongly expressed by several respondents. The first was verbalized intense, extreme anger, and the second, a sense of increased interest, awareness and tolerance. As Beth explained it,

► *“It’s frustrating and it’s also fascinating. When you are on top of things it is fascinating; when you are in the middle of it and your things get lost because there have been too many workers in the house at the same time, then it is very frustrating. In their attempt to repair the roof, they remove the grouting and then leave for a week because it is raining too much and they don’t cover up then it is really difficult to find it fascinating; then it is more frustrating. So I think it is a mixture [...] And it depends on the mood as well – how much you are on top of things, how much you are able to handle things [...] They make me sometimes a worse person than I want to be because when they turn off my electricity without telling me, it is really difficult to be nice. It is a strange feeling as well that other people do this to you. They make you react in ways you’ve never reacted before. So it is a test as well I think.”*

While Beth explains this mix of emotion as something that “they” (Indians) *make her* have; others expressed it as the *situations* that evoke these emotions rather than the people. One male Nordic respondent explained that he does not go sightseeing anymore because being in a position of being a white male tourist he is bothered too much by people selling things and he resents having to pay the higher price as he also pays taxes in India. Hence it is both the encounters with the people and the structure of the social system that pose challenges for the Nordic migrants, and they in turn deal with the situations differently according to, among other things, their own past experiences, i.e. their stock of social, cultural and erotic capital, and values.

Notes

¹ 120 small, medium and large organizations with headquarters located in the US (55%) in Europe, the Middle East and Africa (43%) and in Asia-Pacific (2%) were surveyed. (Brookfield Global Relocation Services 2010)

² Although there exists no official statistics on the number of Nordic secondees in India, the Confederation of Danish Industries reports that there are over 100 Danish firms now located in India and the number continues to rise (see <http://www.omii.dk/omii-english/references-and-cases/articles/danish-companies-are-recruiting-in-india-to->

an-increasing-extent.html). According to the Finnish broadsheet *Helsingin Sanomat*, at the end of 2009 approximately 85 Finnish companies were already in India and a larger wave is yet to take place (see <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/More+Finnish+companies+attracted+by+India/1135257596522>)

- ³ *The National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector define unorganized workers as consisting of “those working in the unorganized enterprises or households, excluding regular workers with social security benefits, and the workers in the formal sector without any employment/ social security benefits provided by the employers” and ““The unorganized sector consists of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or households engaged in the sale and production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers”.* (NCEUS 2009: 12)
- ⁴ *Peak private vehicular density reached 170 vehicles per lane kilometre in 2010 (MGI 2010: 55)*
- ⁵ *In 2010, on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) and 10 (highly clean), India scores 3.3, Denmark score 9.3 and Finland 9.2. For further results see http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results*
- ⁶ *The majority of all interviewees were in the age bracket 30 – 49; two were in the 50 – 59 bracket; and all are educated to tertiary level with either vocational or academic qualifications.*
- ⁷ *A total of over 40 individuals completed the questionnaire, however only the responses from interviewees are referred to in this chapter.*
- ⁸ *The data collected from the Nordic respondent in Mangalore is excluded from this analysis due to Mangalore not being classified as or posing the same challenges as a megacity.*
- ⁹ *According to the Nordic Statistical Yearbook 2010 there is an increasing number of foreign citizens in the Nordic countries, the majority of whom are non-Nordic; that is, the majority of immigration to the individual countries is from outside of the Nordic region, with the exception of Greenland and the Faroe Islands (NORDEN 2010)*
- ¹⁰ *Stage 2 is concerned with approaching support providers; stage 3 with the ability and willingness of the approached actor to provide support; stage 4 with the absorptive capacity of the expatriate to translate the support and enhance adjustment; and stage 5 with the experience of enhanced adjustment and the adding of the actor to the expatriate’s support network (Farh et al. 2010: 437).*
- ¹¹ *Fechter describes the informants in her study as mostly white “European and American”, with the exception of some British Asians (Fechter 2007: 7).*
- ¹² *See for example Raghuram et al. (2008) for writings on the Indian diaspora.*
- ¹³ *Between the early 17th century and the mid-19th century Denmark had small colonies in India which were eventually taken by or handed over to the British. See Keskinen et al. (2009) for a collection of works on postcolonialism in the Nordic region.*
- ¹⁴ *All respondents have tertiary education (either vocational or academic)*
- ¹⁵ *The Danish version of this saying translates to “You get farthest with the truth” (Du kommer længst med sandhed) and the Finnish version translates to “Honesty inherits the country” (Rehellisyys maan perii).*

- ¹⁶ According to the CIA World Factbook, approximately 80% of the population are Hindu, 13% are Muslim, 2.3% Christian, 1.9% Sikh, 1.8% other and 0.1% undisclosed (see <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>)
- ¹⁷ In 2007 India accounted for 17% of the total world population compared to 18% in the entire OECD region (OECD Factbook 2010 accessed online at <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/factbook-2010-en/01/01/01/index.html?contentType=&itemId=/content/chapter/factbook-2010-3-en&containerItemId=/content/serial/18147364&accessItemIds=&mimeType=text/html>)
- ¹⁸ The OWC had at the time of interviewing a membership of over 800 people. For more information about the OWC, visit www.owcbangalore.org.
- ¹⁹ The gated communities I visited on the outskirts of Bangalore resembled American upper-middle class housing estates with only one or two entrances/exits. The entrances were manned with security guards, and the compounds had perfect roads, artificially green grass, palm tree lined streets and uniformly designed housing. They were self-contained with shops and sports facilities. This is in stark contrast to gated communities in what is now becoming central Bangalore, which are simply more affluent residential parts of the city that have been sectioned off with gates. Some houses have private security guards. See Brosius 2010 for a more detailed description of these types of housing areas in Indian cities.

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Main road scene with pedestrians, traffic and cow relaxing on sidewalk. (Photo: N. Foulkes)

Chapter 8

Contemporary emigration on the family level: Finnish expatriate families

Anu Warinowski

Abstract

Finnish contemporary emigration mainly consists of highly educated people and it is often temporary in nature. These “new” labour-based migrants are called expatriates and they form the target group for this chapter. An expatriate family is a family with children, which has moved abroad because of a parent’s global work. Migration affects both internal and external family life. This article focuses on the family perspective of contemporary Finnish emigration, on the expatriation transition. The study is mainly founded on two research fields, family and expatriate research. A twofold approach is also used in the analysis of expatriate families: the emphasis is both on the expatriate family resources and on the problems encountered during the stay abroad. In the course of the study, a basic characterization of Finnish expatriate families abroad is made.

The data of the study were gathered in 2008 by an online questionnaire completed by parents (N=202), who had repatriated to Finland. Parents’ contact information was received through 399 school units in eight major Finnish cities: Espoo, Tampere, Vantaa, Turku, Oulu, Lahti, Kuopio, and Jyväskylä.

One of the key findings of the study was that social support within the family itself was the prime resource for expatriate families living abroad. In this context, the concept of “family bubble” can be used. Friends, especially other Finnish expatriates, were found to be the most salient source of external social support for expatriate families. In particular, the social support that Finnish expatriates offered was important to expatriate families. Also the concept of “expatriate bubble” is

justifiable. I argue that expatriate families were in a way living in a “double bubble” in the expatriation context, with the “family bubble” being the major space. According to the results, Finnish expatriate families are defined as work-related, middle-class, and mobile systems. In migration research, expatriate families and other “new” migrant groups should be included in the research focus alongside “old” migrant groups. The family level approach is needed to supplement the macro-level view of many migration studies.

1. Finnish expatriate families as contemporary migrants

The number of internationally mobile employees has increased worldwide due to globalization. There are different forms of global work. Many of these employees move with their families. An expatriate family is defined as a family with children, which has moved abroad because of a parent's, that is to say an expatriate's, global work. These expatriates and their families form the target group for this chapter. Basically, these families face two global transitions: expatriation and repatriation. Transition involves a movement between two points. A transitional process involves transformation or alteration and a process of inner-reorientation. (Kralik et al. 2006: 324.) This chapter focuses on the family perspective of expatriation transition: moving and living abroad. Fechter (2007: 35) suggests that expatriates' lives are fundamentally structured by boundaries. They actively construct, maintain, and negotiate these boundaries, which are primarily those of race, nationality, class, and gender. Fechter also argues that, rather than flows, boundaries and spaces that are created through those boundaries are the relevant concept in the context of expatriates. (ibid. 35, 37.) In this chapter, boundaries are described from three different perspectives: boundaries of the research fields, boundaries of the expatriate family, and theoretical boundaries of migration.

A multidisciplinary approach drawing from several research fields is used in this chapter. Major research fields are migration, expatriate, and family research, with emphasis on the latter two. Expatriate research has mainly focused on business professionals on global work assignments. The goal of expatriate research has mainly been to give support to the expatriate on the work assignment, to get maximum benefit from the assignment for the company (e.g. Oksanen 2006). The viewpoint of the expatriate family is typically missing from this body of research. This chapter focuses on the expatriate family and especially on the perspectives of the spouse and children. In family research, families can be seen as systems, which are connected with other systems, like work. In critical family research, the perspective is to view expatriate families not as passive targets in the globalization process, but as active family systems (cf. Forsberg 2003). In the context of the expatriation transition, the family reconstructs the family itself and its networks.

As an introduction to Finnish expatriate families, a migration study approach is briefly discussed here. Other chapters of this book throw more light on contemporary migration and emigration in the Finnish context. The majority of migration studies have focused on non-privileged migrants. In migration discourses, there is a group which is often overlooked: that of privileged mobile professionals, such as corporate expatriates (Fechter 2007; Favell et al. 2007). According to Kurotani (2007: 15), transnationally mobile corporate families situate somewhere between "sojourning" and "migrating": they challenge easy categorizations. Conventionally, migration has been defined as moving from one country to another, and is permanent in nature (e.g. Söderling 2003). According to this view, expatriates are not included in the category of migrants. Recently, contemporary migration has become diverse, complex, and temporary in its nature. The concept of migration has been supplemented by concepts like transmigrants and transnationalism since the 1990s (Glick Schiller et al. 1992).

Expatriates relate to migration in two ways. Firstly, expatriates connect with both dimensions of migration, namely, emigration and immigration. They are emigrants in the expatriation context, but also immigrants in the repatriation context. Contemporary emigration in the Finnish context is often, at least at the beginning, temporary in nature and has mainly attracted highly educated people (e.g. Korkiasaari 2003; Korkiasaari & Söderling 2003; 2007). In common with the "old" type of emigration, contemporary emigration is labor-based. Expatriates can be seen as "new" labor-based emigrants.

Secondly, members of the expatriate family represent, on one hand, labor migration and, on the other hand, family migration, with the breadwinner being connected to labor migration, while the spouse and children are connected more to family migration. Family migration research has formerly focused very narrowly on the trailing wife effect. Research on family migration suggests two aspects. Firstly, family migration is extremely complicated and moves beyond any conceptualisation that is brought to bear with individual migration. Secondly, many aspects of individual migration should be more appropriately conceived of as family migration. (Cooke 2008: 262.) For the members of the expatriate family, there can be different reasons for emigrating. For the expatriate, the reason to move abroad can be linked to individualistic considerations, while for the spouse the reason can be connected with familialism (cf. Duque 2009).

The aim of this article is to bring a family perspective to the discussion on contemporary emigration. The study has a twofold research approach: focus on the "new" approach, based on positive concepts (the resources) and the "old" approach, based on more negative concepts (the problems). By using this twofold approach, it is possible to get as wide a view of Finnish expatriate families as possible. This article thus asks what kinds of resources and problems do Finnish

expatriate families have while they are abroad. On the grounds of the research results, Finnish expatriate families abroad are defined.

The structure of the article is as follows: first, I present a short literature review to show the theoretical framework of this study. After that, I explain how this research was conducted. Then, I present the main results of the analysis of expatriate family resources and problems. Finally, based on the results of the study, I discuss some basic characteristics of Finnish expatriate families.

2. Expatriate and family study approaches to expatriate families

2.1 Expatriate study approach to expatriate families

Expatriate research has been mostly produced in the field of business economics and international human resource management (IHRM). In this research context, expatriates are typically defined in the context of a global work assignment. This definition excludes people who have independently arranged their global work. The executive sojourn literature has been concerned with identifying the determinants of successful expatriate performance on an assignment (e.g. Ward et al. 2001: 190), mostly concerning selection issues and adjustment challenges (e.g. Riusala & Suutari 2000: 81). Sojourner adjustment can be said to consist of two fundamental types of adjustment: psychological adjustment and sociocultural adaptation. Psychological adjustment is associated with psychological well-being and emotional satisfaction. Sociocultural adaptation is related to the ability to “fit in” and negotiate aspects of the host environment. (Ward & Kennedy 1993: 132; Ward et al. 1998: 279.)

Typically, the expatriate employee is male and he takes his entire family abroad. According to Shah and Lund (2007), 86 percent of expatriates are accompanied abroad by their spouses and/or children. It has been argued that the expatriate’s family faces more demands than single expatriates in expatriation (Haslberger & Brewster 2008; Caligiuri, Hyland & Joshi 1998). Expatriate research has also shown that spousal dissatisfaction is one of the most common reasons for interrupting the assignment. In spite of these two findings, the significance of family concerns is commonly underestimated. At best, the preparation before overseas relocation for the expatriate family is haphazard. (Ward et al. 2001: 22, 185.) Suutari and Brewster (2001) studied the preparation practices offered to the Finnish expatriates, and they found that practices targeted to the family were provided by only a few companies but were seen as necessary by almost every expatriate.

Littrell et al. (2006) argue in their analysis of 25 years of cross-cultural training that very few advances have been made in the field of preparation training.

Contemporary expatriate research has been broadening its perspectives and now also deals with female expatriates, dual-career families, and not only global assignments but also self-initiated foreign assignments (Bonache et al. 2001: 8; Ward et al. 2001: 22). In this article, expatriates include not only business expatriates, but also researchers, missionary professionals, and diplomats. Moreover, the expatriate him/herself is not the only actor in the process of expatriation, but all the members of the family are equally influenced, as is also the family unit. My emphasis is on the spouse and children, whose perspectives I address in the following.

The trailing spouse or trailing wife is the term that refers to the (female) spouse, who typically stays at home while living abroad. Ordinarily, expatriate research on the influence of accompanying spouses has emphasized their negative impact on the business expatriate (Lauring & Selmer 2010: 59, 68). Lauring and Selmer (2010) found in their ethnographic study that the spouses' influence could also be positive. Accompanying partners were active in trying to support their husbands by using social strategies and also by trying to influence company decisions that affected their family. According to Copeland's and Norell's (2002) study, social support is also important for accompanying spouses. Especially the importance of friends emerged in their study, but the nationality of the people in friendship networks seemed not to be important. The metaphor of an "expatriate bubble" is used in this context of social support (e.g. Fechter 2007).

Oksanen (2006) studied Finnish female expatriate spouses living in Singapore. She did her research in sociology which has been the field, alongside economics, in which expatriates have been in focus. Oksanen used the term "expatriate housewives" to represent these women. One of the main results of her thesis was that being a Finnish female spouse abroad without work of one's own can be especially difficult, because in the Finnish culture the housewife tradition is nearly unknown. The study by Hyvönen (2009) is also worth mentioning. As a part of her thesis, she studied Finnish women living in Estonia, many of whom were expatriate spouses. According to her study, migration had an impact on the strategies of motherhood, family dynamics, and gender equality.

One of the few studies concerning Finnish expatriate families is Duque's (2009) study in medicine on expatriates' mental health in Brazil. Her focus was on the expatriates, but she also presented some results concerning their spouses and children. She found that the spouses' situation was markedly different from the situation of the expatriates themselves, as moving abroad changed the spouses' roles because many of them opted-out from working life. Another study examining Finnish expatriates is Riusala's and Suutari's (2000) study, where 89 percent of expatriates had their spouse with them while living abroad all over the world.

Research on the children of Finnish expatriate families is missing across the board. In Riusala's and Suutari's (2000) study, the only information about children was a comment that children-related issues formed the third major area of difficulty faced by expatriate spouses. Also more generally, there has been a lack of interest in the field of expatriate research to study children of expatriate families (Shah & Lund 2007: 95). Almost the only viewpoint concerning children in expatriate research is to view children as future business expatriates (see Lam & Selmer 2004; Selmer & Lam 2004). However, outside expatriate studies there have been studies on children of expatriate families, but using different terminology. Common concepts in research have been the American-based concepts, Third Culture Kids (TCKs) and Global Nomads, and in Japan Kaigai/kikoku-shijo. I highlight the concept of *children of expatriate families* to emphasize their connections with the expatriate's work. Moreover, the concept of children of expatriate families incorporates these children into expatriate research. Above all, the concept I use explicitly connects the child with her/his family.

2.2 Family study approach to expatriate families

According to the family systems theory, families are interdependent, interactive, and reactive to change. The family is seen as a unit and a system. The family system consists of subsystems, dyads, which are contexts for children's socialization. These subsystems are the parent-child, the marital, and the sibling subsystems. (e.g. Parke 2004.) While living abroad, the most fundamental change in family life often occurs in the family relations, particularly in the couple relationship (Kurotani 2007: 24).

Changes outside the family, like transitions, reflect on the family itself. For the members of the expatriate family, the family system is the only permanent, but not a static, system. The findings of Shah's and Lund's (2007: 99) study indicate that the adjustment experiences of the expatriate children have considerable impact on the adjustment of the entire family. Research exploring the whole family's adjustment is lacking (e.g. Shah & Lund 2007). Haslberger and Brewster (2008) recently made an attempt to develop a model of expatriate family adjustment, which integrates both family and expatriate studies.

In this study, expatriate families are seen as active systems that are connected with other systems such as society, work, and school in the expatriation transition. The metaphor of a "family bubble" has been used to describe the expatriate family system (Schaetti & Ramsey 1999). According to Fechter (2007) expatriates create and inhabit particular spaces during their time abroad which can be expressed in the metaphor of a "bubble". Expatriate spaces can be seen as externally bounded and internally divided. In a bubble, there is a clear division between the inside

and the outside. At the same time, the boundaries of a bubble are permeable, and this is an integral aspect of expatriates' spaces. (ibid. 33–42.)

The family system is connected to other systems, such as those related to work. In expatriate families, the work-family connection is emphasized, because working abroad blurs the boundary between family and work more than working on the domestic front (Caligiuri et al. 1998; Haslberger & Brewster 2008). Current theories assert that emotions spill over between the two systems or that the disappointment experienced in one system may influence individuals to participate in fulfilling activities in the other. For the first time in expatriate research, Caligiuri, Hyland, Joshi and Bross (1998) used family systems theory in analyzing the spill-over between the family and work of expatriate employees.

Based on the family system approach, McCubbin et al. (2001) define resiliency as the positive behavioral patterns and functional competence that individuals and the family unit demonstrate under stressful or adverse circumstances, such as expatriation. Resiliency is linked to the concepts of family strengths and strong families. According to McCubbin et al. (2001), a resiliency resource is a characteristic, trait, or competency of the individual, family, or community that facilitates adaptation. Respectively, there are three potential sources of resources: personal resources, family system resources, and social support (ibid.).

Besides systems theory, the concept of family resources is interconnected with the sociological concept of capital. From the point of view of sociology, different kinds of capital, for example, social and cultural, have been focused on for several decades. Different forms of capital are intertwined and can not be separated out (e.g. Ball 2003: 109). Especially in the context of the middle class, to which expatriate families can be said to belong, the concept of capital has been used as a focal concept. For Ball (2003: 175–176), class is not a membership of a category or possession of certain forms of capital; it is the activation of resources and identities in specific locations for particular ends. For the middle class, “hot knowledge” based on informal interpersonal information surpasses “cold knowledge”, formal information (ibid, 100). Concerning family resources, a distinction has been made between external and internal family resources, for example, within Finnish family research (Tähtinen et al. 2004). In this context, external resources include material resources, socioeconomic status, family structure and size, and also residential environment and housing conditions. Internal resources include family history, family members' personality and identity, interactional processes, and parenthood. (ibid.)

Family resources form a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the situation of an expatriate family. Even so, there is very little research on the resources of expatriate families (Haslberger & Brewster 2008: 335). One of the few studies is Kurotani's (2007). She argues that the mobility practices of families of highly mobile transnational professionals are often wide-ranging and flexible. According

to her, these families utilize special material resources and privileges. In this study, the concept of family resources has two theoretical approaches, those of McCubbin et al. (2001) and Tähtinen et al. (2004). Expatriate family resources are explicated in this study as individual family members' personal resources, family external and internal resources, and social support from outside the expatriate family.

3. Data on Finnish expatriate families

Examining the resources and problems of Finnish expatriate families is a part of a larger study, which focuses on the child of the expatriate family. In this context a child means an individual, who is attending a school providing basic education (grades 1–9, aged 7–16) at the data gathering moment. The target group of this study was Finnish expatriate families with children which had returned to Finland after their period of living abroad. Thus, the study was an ex-post-facto research. Because this study was conducted retrospectively after repatriation, this may have some negative effects on the accuracy of expatriates' memory. In addition, it may also create a more static view of the expatriation process than other research methods, such as multi-sited ethnography, might have done.

The data for this chapter were gathered in 2008 by an online questionnaire which was completed by parents who had repatriated to a major city in Finland. Parents' contact information was received through 399 school units in eight cities. These Finnish cities were Espoo, Tampere, Vantaa, Turku, Oulu, Lahti, Kuopio, and Jyväskylä. The response rate of this study was calculated in two phases: the response rate of the schools was 78 percent, and the response rate of the questionnaires was 73 percent.

The online survey questionnaire data consist of the answers of 202 families (N=202). In most cases (72 percent of families, n=145), it was the mother who answered the questions. Half of the expatriate families (50%, n=101) reported that the child of the family was attending school in the city of Espoo. The next most common cities were Oulu (12%, n=24), Tampere (10%, n=21), and Turku (10%, n=19). Half of the families (n=99) had lived in a European country. Every fourth family (22%, n=44) had lived in North America and every fifth family (20%, n=39) in Asia. Only a few families had lived in Australia (4%, n=8), South America (3%, n=6), and Africa (2%, n=4).

The major occupational group was business expatriates (63%, n=141), followed by researchers (14%, n=31). Most of the expatriates (69%, n=139) were on a global work assignment while working abroad. Eight out of ten families (81%, n=162) reported that the reason for moving abroad was the work of the father, thus the family had a male expatriate. One out of ten families had a female expatriate (10%, n=20), and the same share was found for families with two expatriates in

the family (10%, n=19). Concerning the time that families had lived abroad, more than half of the families (58%, n=116) had lived abroad for more than two years, which more than one third (37%, n=74) had lived abroad for over three years.

The questionnaire data consist of answers covering 333 children of expatriate families. Most of the children of these families (78%, n=258) were attending school abroad. Half of them (49%, n=128) were in a local school, and 37 percent (n=97) in an international school. Five percent (n=12) of the children were attending a Finnish school (basic education) abroad, and three percent (n=8) in a "European school". The most common school language was English (72%, n=183).

The survey questionnaire was designed to cover different kinds of resources available to the family. Some of the questions about resources, mainly concerning external family resources, were designed specifically for this questionnaire, but for the most part tested instruments were applied. The following instruments were used in this study as modified, Finnish versions in order to investigate family resources:

- FIRM: Family Inventory of Resources for Management (McCubbin, Co-meau & Harkins 1981)
- F-COPES: Family Crisis Oriented Personal Scales (McCubbin, Olson & Larsen 1981)
- CRPR: Child-Rearing Practices Report (Roberts et al. 1984).

The first two instruments, FIRM and F-COPES, were connected with the The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment, and Adaptation, which formed the theoretical framework of this study. Two of the instruments, FIRM and CRPR, concentrated on internal family resources, while F-COPES concentrated on social support from outside the family.

Besides family resources, it is important to examine what kinds of problems expatriate families face. By combining the "old" problem-focused perspective with the "new" resource-oriented perspective, wider perspectives on expatriate families can be captured. Very few research findings are available concerning problems of expatriate families. Because of this, the Scale for Refugee Families' Adjustment Problems (Nicassio & Pate 1984) was used to measure the adjustment problems of expatriate families. Unfortunately, this adjustment scale focused on refugees rather than expatriates and it was quite old.

The data were analysed statistically using the SPSS data analysis package. The main statistical characteristics from the viewpoint of this article were frequencies (n) and percentage values (%), means (M) and standard deviations (SD), factor analysis, and a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA).

Concerning further limitations in this study, I used extensive concepts, like resources, which meant that the survey questionnaire was rather long. Moreover, a critical attitude must be taken towards dichotomous concepts like "Finnish"

versus “foreign” (see, e.g. Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004: 1012). In this context, the definition of “Finnish” is that one or both parents were born in Finland. No account has been taken in this study, of what kind of cultural identity these families have, that is, whether the family defines itself as a Finnish family or not. The major limitation of these data is the lack of children’s voice in it. This limitation is being corrected by my other research data, which consist of interviews with children of Finnish expatriate families.

4. Resources and problems of expatriate families in expatriation

This section will report the main findings from the research questions of this chapter. First, I focus on the findings concerning expatriate family resources and after that, to supplement the view, I present the findings on adjustment problems faced by the Finnish expatriate families while living abroad.

4.1 Resources of the Finnish expatriate families

Empirically, the focus of expatriate family resources was on two levels: those of the family and the community. The resources examined here were divided into family external and internal resources, and social support from outside the expatriate family.

The *external resources* of the families were wide and strong. These families were mostly (90%, n=181) traditional nuclear families. Parents were highly educated and skilled migrants: 85 percent of fathers (n=166) and 68 percent of mothers (n=137) had an academic degree. Exceptionally in the Finnish context, fathers had a significantly higher ($p<.001$) educational level than mothers according to the t-test analysis. In this result, the central role of the expatriate’s, usually the father’s, work becomes visible. The income level of these families after repatriation was high compared to the average income level in Finland. Over half of the families (59%, n=117) used housekeeping services while living abroad.

In regard to *family internal resources* and time consumption, most expatriate families were in a dynamic process. Changes in the roles of the parents were reflected in the family dynamics. In Finland, most expatriate families had been (and at the research moment they were) two-breadwinner-households, but abroad the situation had been different. In about 67 percent of the expatriate families (n=135) one parent had stayed at home, while living abroad. Mostly this was the mother of the family, but there were also some fathers (n=11) at home, while the female expatriate of the family was working. In most families, mother and child having time together described the family life while living abroad. The

role of the expatriate's work was essential in the families, not only related to time consumption, but also in a larger context. The change in parents' working roles had its effects on internal family system relations, at both dyadic and systemic levels. Already without this extra stress, expatriation is a stressful situation for the whole family, and especially for the parents' dyad, for their couple relationship (see Kurotani 2007). In this study, parents regarded a stable couple relationship as the most important issue contributing to a successful expatriation and repatriation. Parents regarded the social support in their own family to be the most valuable source of support. The mean of the usefulness of their own family as a source of social support while living abroad was 4.64 on a five-point scale (5 being the most useful). Family internal resources, including family cohesion, were so central in the expatriate family system that the expatriate family can be said to have lived in a "family bubble".

In regard to *social support*, friends were the most important source outside the family. Especially the social support that other expatriates, particularly Finnish expatriates, offered was important to expatriate families. In this respect, the findings were congruent with Oksanen's (2006) and Hyvönen's (2009) findings. Also in this study, the concept of the "expatriate bubble" can be used. These expatriate networks are informal types of social support and they can refer to the middle-class character of these families (cf. Ball 2003). In the expatriation context, also formal social support, the expatriates' work and the child's school, were regarded as important supportive communities abroad.

A summary of the main findings concerning family resources is depicted in Figure 1. It highlights the fact that social support within the family itself, i.e. family internal resources, was the prime resource for Finnish expatriate families living abroad. On this account, the concept of the "family bubble" can be used. The most common time-related issue abroad was mother and child having time together, which was typically connected with mothers being at home in the expatriation context. Concerning external resources, Finnish expatriate families have ample resources. Families were highly-educated and their income level was high. In this respect, there is a distinction between expatriate families and other migrant families. Of social support from outside the expatriate family, friends were the most important source. The role of peer expatriates was important, and therefore the concept of "expatriate bubble" is justifiable. In the expatriation context, these families were living in a "double bubble". However, the support inside the family was more useful than the support the members of the family received from their friends ($t(199)=-5.91, p<.001$). Thus, I summarize that the "family bubble" was the major "space" for the members of expatriate families.

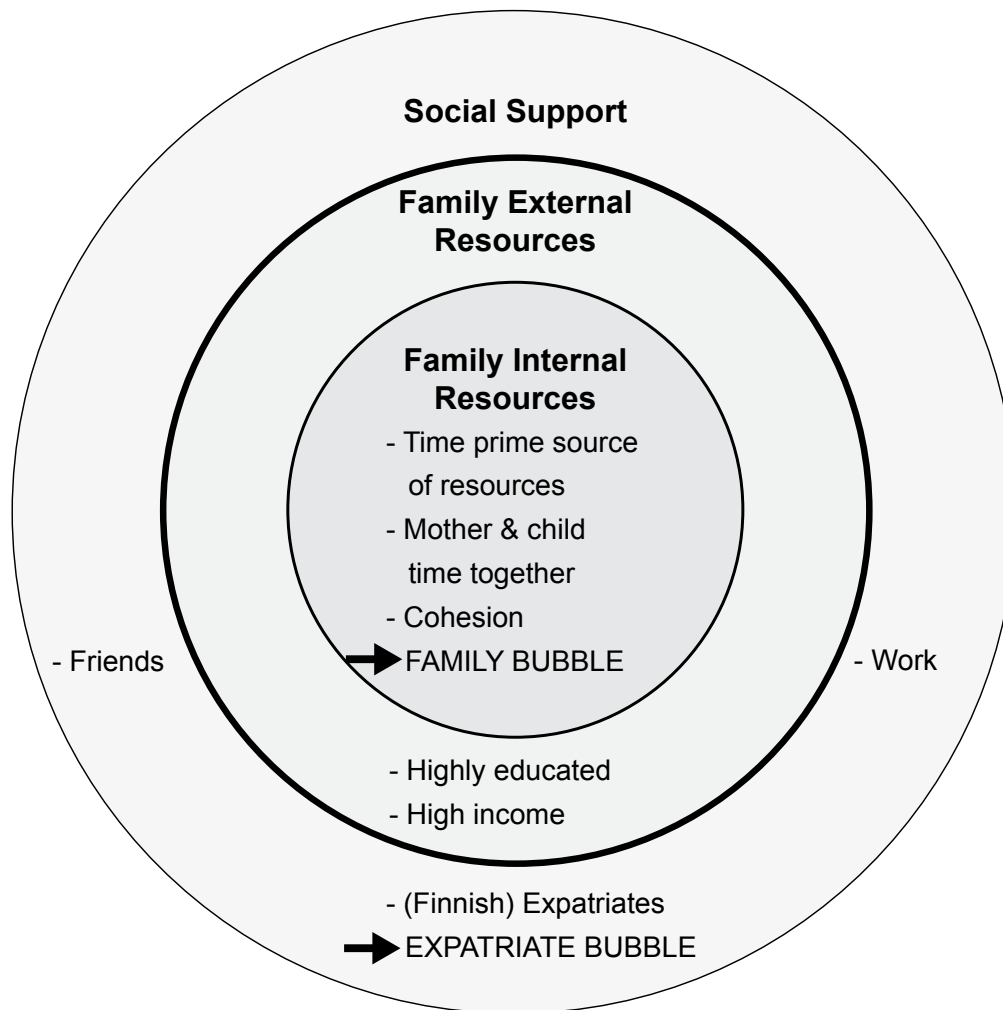


Figure 1. Summary of Finnish expatriate family resources in expatriation

4.2 Adjustment problems of Finnish expatriate families in expatriation

Family resources play an important role in how the family copes abroad, as described in the previous section. Focusing also on adjustment problems alongside the family resources, helps in seeing the “big picture” of how these families experienced their time abroad. The adjustment problems that the Finnish expatriate families encountered were studied using Nicassio’s and Pate’s (1984) adjustment scale. The general view of adjustment problems was that expatriate families had some, but not serious problems (mean 1.92, standard deviation .52 on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1=“no problems” to 5=“large problems”). On average, the greatest problems in expatriation were language proficiency, homesickness, work-related problems, and problems related to the local culture (Figure 2)

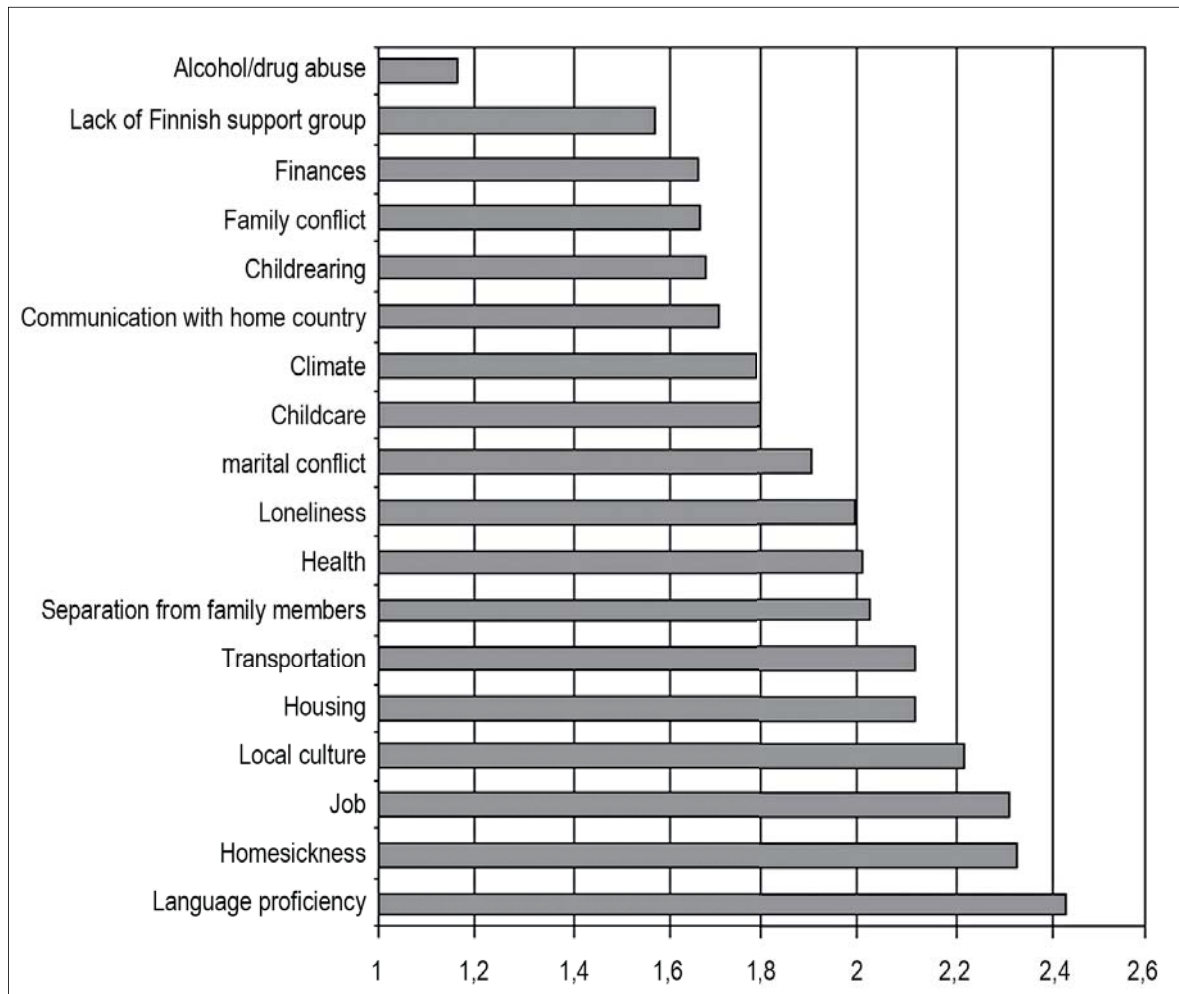


Figure 2. Adjustment problems of Finnish expatriate families in expatriation (n=198/199; scale 1–5: 1="no problems", 5="large problems")

Comparing these results with Nicassio's and Pate's results (1984), problems related to language proficiency, homesickness, and work were also the most common problems in the refugee study. However, the problems that refugees experienced were greater than the problems of expatriate families throughout the results. There were two main differences between these two studies: in Nicassio's and Pate's study, financial problems and communication problems with the home country were common, but not in this study. Concerning financial problems, there is a major difference between the socioeconomic situations of these two immigrant groups, refugees and expatriates. As already mentioned, the income level of expatriates was high in the Finnish context. Regarding communication problems with the home country, the world in 2008, thanks to the Internet and mobile phones, is radically different from the situation in the beginning of the 1980s.

Dividing the responses by continents, families living in Africa (M 2.44, SD.29), Asia (M 2.10, SD .58), and South America (M 2.06, SD .46) had the greatest prob-

lems. Respectively, families living in Australia (M 1.64, SD .38) and North America (M 1.71, SD .48) had the smallest problems. Viewing the continents in four categories (Asia, Europe, North America, other continents), the one-way analysis of variance was used to compare the means of these four categories. For two-group comparisons, a post hoc test (Bonferroni) was used. The continent on which expatriate families lived abroad, had a significant difference in the following items:

- climate (F=13.19, df=3, p<.000)
- local culture (F=5.46, df=3, p=.001)
- language proficiency (F=4.75, df=3, p=.003)
- transportation (F=4.70, df=3, p=.003).

This finding that it was not in Europe, where Finnish, and thereby European, families experienced the easiest adjustment process seems at first slightly surprising. Several issues may be related to this finding. In Europe, there were both families on a global assignment and self-initiated families. Thus, the form of global work can not explain these problems. First, in spite of the European Union, Europe is neither an entity nor a region that has only one, “European” culture. For the general public in Finland, Anglo-American culture can be more familiar than cultures in Central Europe. Secondly, the finding that adjustment was easier in Australia and North America can interface with those societies. These countries, Australia, the United States, and Canada, have an extensive history of immigration, which can facilitate the immigrant’s adjustment. Thirdly, Finnish expatriates and their spouses are in general English proficient, but Finnish expatriate families are not very often proficient in languages other than English, and in Europe, English proficiency is not usually enough.

In items of adjustment problems, factor analysis was used to extract factors (Table 1). Three factors were discovered and denominated: factors for psychological adjustment (F1), sociocultural adaptation (F2), and internal family problems (F3). The two dimensions of adjustment discriminated by Ward and Kennedy (1993), the psychological and the sociocultural, were revealed from the data.

In Factor 1, homesickness and loneliness had the strongest loadings on the factor. It is worth noticing that childrearing was connected with psychological adjustment. In Factor 2, it can be seen that the expatriate’s job was associated with sociocultural adaptation. In Factor 3, the conclusion can be drawn that alcohol problems were connected with marital and family conflict, but not with psychological or sociocultural adaptation. Also the intersection of marital and family conflicts became visible. This result is accordant with the family systems theory, where the dyadic level, e.g. the marital relationship, is connected with the system level.

Comparing the results of expatriate family resources and problems, there were several issues that had similar findings in both perspectives of this study.

Table 1. Results of factor analysis concerning adjustment problems of expatriate families in expatriation context

Variable	F1 Psychological adjustment	F2 Sociocultural adaptation	F3 Internal family problems	Communality
Homesickness	.82	.21	-.08	.73
Loneliness	.78	.23	.10	.68
Lack of Finnish support group	.77	.11	.16	.63
Separation from family members	.68	.09	.14	.49
Childrearing	.62	.19	.25	.48
Local culture	.23	.75	.00	.61
Language proficiency	.24	.70	-.22	.60
Transportation	.20	.65	.26	.52
Climate	.10	.63	.22	.46
Job	.04	.61	.04	.38
Housing	.11	.56	.21	.37
Alcohol/drug abuse	-.05	.02	.74	.56
Marital conflict	.35	.23	.72	.68
Family conflict	.43	.18	.67	.66
Eigenvalue % of Variance	4.84 34.60	1.63 11.60	1.37 9.80	
Cronbach's Alpha	.83	.76	.70	

Moreover, both views (the problem and the resource view) provided some special information. Through the problem view, the concepts of language proficiency and homesickness were found to be essential problems in expatriation. And through the resource view, for example the importance of the family system itself was elicited. I argue that both views, the resource- and the problem-centered, are needed in order to obtain a general view of the Finnish expatriate family situation in expatriation.

5. Defining Finnish expatriate families

The structure of this final concluding section is as follows: it begins with the two-fold research results. Based on these results, some features of Finnish expatriate families are presented. Finally, I conclude with some implications of this research, as well as some suggestions for further research.

5.1 Finnish expatriate families

Finnish expatriate families are diverse, but the families that took part in the survey had some characteristics in common. According to the results and the preceding themes, Finnish expatriate families are defined as middle-class, work-related, and mobile systems or “bubbles” in the expatriation context. The following overlapping features were found in most of the families:

- the middle-class features of the families
- the centrality of the expatriate’s work
- the systemic structure of the families.

Concerning the middle-class features of these families, it was not only external family resources, but also social support, through which the middle-class backgrounds of expatriate families were expressed. Assessing external family resources, Finnish expatriate families did have ample resources and these resources could also be called family strengths; thereby, expatriate families could be called as strong families. The informal social support offered by peer expatriates was important. Belonging to the middle class distinguishes these highly skilled expatriate families from “typical” migrant families like refugees (see, e.g. Martikainen 2009). Scott (2006) argues that skilled migration has become a “normal” middle-class activity. Moreover, according to Scott, international mobility is becoming a central component in the reproduction of middle-class identity; skilled migrants accumulate different kinds of “mobility” capital in the process. I argue that expatriates need, construct and use transnational social capital in the expatriation context, and that this kind of a capital is what is demanded on the contemporary global labor market.

The centrality of the expatriate’s work is evident. Work-relatedness is even found at the definitional level: expatriate families are defined through the expatriate person in the family, which is, through his/her work. Both internal family resources and social support reflect on this work-related nature of the expatriate family. The emphasis on the expatriate’s, mostly the father’s, work is reflected in the role of the father in the expatriate family.

An expatriate family is a system. This family system is connected to other systems, like work, which can spill over to the levels of the family and the individual child. The internal systemic nature of expatriate families was revealed through internal family resources and, more specifically, through dyadic relationships in the family. Changes in the external resources of the family system are reflected in the internal resources. Expatriate families are mobile in two ways. Externally and concretely, the family changes its residence in the global transition of expatriation, and internally, expatriation has its effects on the family system dynamics. One can say that the “global mobile” characterizes expatriate families. The cohesion of expatriate families emerged as a key concept in the family system. Expatriate

families create and inhabit peculiar spaces during their time abroad, which can be expressed in the metaphor of the “family bubble”. This bubble is externally bounded and internally divided into dyads. The expatriate family is an entity. In the “family bubble”, there is a clear division between the inside and the outside. At the same time, the boundaries of a bubble are permeable. For example work system can penetrate to the family. In the “bubble”, features such as boundedness, seclusion from the outside, and an artificial atmosphere inside are combined. (cf. Fechter 2007.)

5.2 Implications and further research topics

Finally, I discuss further research topics, as well as practical and research-related implications. This discussion is divided into the three research fields of this chapter: the migration, the expatriate, and the family study approach. The strict boundaries of these three research fields were crossed in this chapter. Expatriate families are theoretically situated in a space bounded by migration, expatriate, and family research.

Concerning migration research, expatriate families and other middle-class and temporary migrants should be included more in the research focus inside the boundaries of migration research. As the migration patterns change, the migration research should also change its focus. Similarities and differences between these “new” migrant groups and the “old” migrant groups could be brought out. In terms of migration research, what makes this research group especially interesting, is that in the context of expatriate families, typically two types of migration, labor and family migration, can be seen. According to Cooke (2008: 262), family migration has the potential to greatly improve our understanding of family dynamics, life-course events, family well-being, gender differences, and migration research. Migration research should embrace the family as a central component of migration (ibid.). Especially the family level approach is needed to supplement the traditional macro-level view of many migration studies.

Expatriate research should take into account the whole expatriate family, not just the expatriate. Also companies sending expatriate employees abroad should remember to focus also on family members, not only on the expatriate employee, when they offer social support. Because of the spill-over effect that work can have on the family, work, for one, should also be responsible for the family. There are many family-related issues, like the parents’ couple relationship, that need to be covered within expatriate research. Many expatriate families move abroad more than once so it would be important to investigate these “serial movers” and compare the first and later moves of the family. Further research is also needed to obtain findings about the actual effects of the support measures.

In family research, the diversity of family construction, such as the construction of families in a transnational context, needs to be studied. Expatriate families should be researched more thoroughly using family theories in order to get a wide perspective of the family processes that are elicited by the expatriation process. Also the diversity of expatriate families needs to be focused on in research. By comparing female versus male expatriates, similar and different effects on the family dynamics would be revealed. Family research must go beyond nuclear heterosexual expatriate families to capture the reality of diverse expatriate families; it has to go beyond traditional families to postmodern families.

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(Photo: www.sxc.hu)

Chapter 9

Alcoholic expatriate Finns' life and destiny in Sweden and Australia

Leena Vuorinen

Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of the life courses of Finnish male alcoholics who have immigrated to Australia and Sweden. Firstly, the life course of migrant Finnish men who have experienced alcohol abuse will be described from childhood to the present. Their future plans and expectations will also be discussed. Secondly similarities and differences between the life stories of the Finnish men living in Australia and Sweden will be described.

The qualitative data consists of interviews of nineteen men, twelve in Sweden and seven in Australia. A life historic narrative interview method has been used. The narratives were analyzed as representations of life courses (i.e. what had actually happened) and as reflections of interviewees on their own life history. This chapter discusses the preliminary findings. Topics examined include the first time alcohol was consumed, the impact of migration to the interviewees' drinking patterns and quitting alcohol use.

The life courses of the Finnish men with alcohol abuse both in Australia and Sweden are quite similar. The men were born in rural parts of Finland and they migrated from Finland mainly in the 1960s or 1970s. The drinking patterns were adopted already in Finland and the extensive alcohol consumption continued in the new country of residence. However, also some differences were discovered. For example, the types of alcohol beverages that were consumed varied depending on the country of residence. Also the drinking habits among Finnish men in Australia had changed more towards Australian alcohol culture.

1. Introduction

According to a well known joke there are only three types of Finnish emigrants; ex-alcoholics, alcoholics and future alcoholics. The joke suggests that every single emigrated Finn has some kind of alcohol problem including over consumption of alcohol. It also suggests that the reason for heavy drinking habits is caused by the migration experience. In fictional literature Finnish emigrants are also sometimes described as an ethnic group that consumes alcohol extensively, and are especially fond of spirits and beer (e.g. Alikoski 2006). The image is partially proven by scientific studies regarding the connections between a migration background and problems with alcohol. For example, Hjern and Allebeck (2004) compared first- and second-generation immigrants with the Swedish majority population in terms of hospital admissions for alcohol-related disorders. They found that patterns of alcohol abuse in the country of origin are strong determinants of alcohol-related disorders among first-generation immigrants. Immigrants from Finland had the highest risk of alcohol-related disorders which was explained by attitudes and drinking patterns related to Finnish drinking culture. Even though alcohol problems among emigrated Finns seem to be quite prominent, alcohol related themes are under researched within Finnish migration studies, especially from the perspective of social sciences. In recent years alcohol related topics have been part of wider research frames (Kuosmanen 2001), but alcohol problems have not been the main focus of research.

This research focuses on Finnish men, migration and alcoholism. The idea of studying Finnish men's serious alcohol problems arose when I lived in Sweden and walked every day through a market square where drunken men sat on benches and chatted together. When passing by, I often heard Finnish language being spoken. I had also heard stories about how the whole market square had been full of drunken Finnish men only a few years earlier. I became interested in the life stories of Finnish men who consumed huge amounts of alcohol. I had also an opportunity to interview Finnish men who had emigrated to Australia. As a result the research project was extended to cover Finnish males with alcohol abuse in both Australia and Sweden adding an important comparative aspect to this research.

Men, men's social problems and men's social exclusion in a cultural context are current research issues (Hearn et al. 2002a). These topics have been approached for example by comparing masculinity and men in different societal, cultural and social environments (Hearn et al. 2002b; 2002c) and by analysing men who have emigrated from different societies to one society (Molina 2000; Järvinen 2003). There has also been some research into the connection between alcohol consumption and migration (e.g. Room 2005; Hjern & Allebeck 2004). My research provides a new insight into these research topics because the re-

search set up differs from the studies mentioned above. The goal of my research is to examine male alcoholics who have emigrated from the same cultural, social, historical and societal background to dissimilar societies. The current study will increase understanding of the development of alcohol abuse from a life course perspective and the perspective of cultural fit at a micro level.

This chapter focuses on two themes of the study. The first aim is to give an overview of life courses of Finnish men with serious alcohol abuse who have migrated to Sweden or to Australia. Their life course is described from early childhood to the time of the interview. Furthermore the interviewees' expectations for their future are discussed. The aim is to study especially the impact of the migration experience in a person's drinking behaviour. Room (2005) argues that a person is willing to give up heavy drinking during certain life events. For example, his study shows that many men change their drinking behaviour when they have their first child and become fathers. Room, however, pointed out that the same life event can lead to worse alcohol abuse among other men. In this research migration is understood as a significant life event which can affect a person's drinking habits and change it. This chapter focuses on the connection between the migration experience and heavy drinking habits.

The second aim of the chapter is to compare the life courses of Finnish men in Australia with Finnish men in Sweden in relation to alcohol abuse. Differences and similarities between life courses of Finnish males with alcohol abuse in Australia and in Sweden will be discussed briefly at the end of the chapter.

2. Life historical narrative interviews

The qualitative data of the research consists of nineteen interviews; twelve Finnish men living in Sweden and seven living in Australia. The selection criteria for the interviews were male gender, age of over 50 years, current or previous massive alcohol consumption and migration to Australia or to Sweden. Persons who consumed both alcohol and narcotics were not interviewed. The interviewed men were born in Finland, mostly in rural, remote areas in Lapland, Ostrobothnia and Eastern Finland. Most of the interviewees emigrated in early adulthood from Finland in the 1960s or 1970s, although a few of the interviewees emigrated either already in the late 1950s or only in the early 1980s. Therefore they represent what can be called old migration rather than new forms of migration from Finland. All of the interviewees have lived in their current homeland for at least 20 years.

The other selection criteria, in addition to alcohol consumption, were briefly noted at the beginning of the interviews. Only the interviewee's drinking habits and alcohol consumption were addressed in the interviews. When asked about alcohol problems, some men denied having such problems:

► *I don't have any alcohol problems, or actually I have. So long I have wine in this cask. I don't have any problems, but when it is empty then my problems start. And then it is a serious problem for me! (Australia, aged 58)*

Also men who had quit drinking or who were trying to do so were interviewed. In this study deciding to give up alcohol altogether, in other words becoming a teetotaler, is understood as one life stage of an alcoholic person's life course. Attitudes towards the teetotal varied a lot. Some men mentioned they would never like to finish consuming alcohol, but most of the interviewees expressed their interest to quit heavy alcohol use some day. Those who had already finished alcohol consumption had been without a drop of alcohol from a few months to several years.

Finding men to be interviewed was a challenge due to the sensitive nature of the research topic. I have openly talked about the research proposal and asked members of the Finnish communities in both Sweden and Australia to put me in touch with men with heavy drinking habits. The research project was mostly supported by community members who provided me with names, but sometimes there was unwillingness to identify a person with an alcohol problem. I also contacted various organisations that work for and with alcoholic people e.g. voluntary workers, council's service providers and other charity organisations, such as the Finnish Lutheran Church, in both countries. This was a successful way to reach interviewees in Sweden but did not work as well in Australia. With the support of people who know the Finnish communities well and members of the communities in these two countries I was able to find nineteen men who were willing to participate in the project. The number of interviewees is adequate for qualitative research of this type.

Interviews were held at the men's private homes, in cafes, parks and other public places depending on the interviewees' preference. However, a quiet and peaceful setting was provided so that the interviewee felt safe and relaxed to speak openly about his life. At the beginning of the meeting the interviewee was asked to tell his life story from the very beginning to the present moment. After the interviewee had finished a few questions related to themes such as the first experience of drinking alcohol, family relationships and migration experience were asked if the topics had not been covered yet.

A life historic and narrative interview method was used. The aim of the method was not to limit, guide or lead the interviewee to answer according to the researcher's expectations or wishes. At the beginning of the meeting the interviewer asked the interviewee to tell his life story. The request gave space for the interviewee to tell about his life the way he wanted and to tell about events important to him. This also let him choose not to tell about events he did not want to share. The interviewee did not feel pressure to talk about topics he did not want to, but he had an opportunity to reminisce about the key events of his

life and talk freely without interruptions (Hyvärinen & Löyttyniemi 2005.) The interviewer quite often leads the discussion to the direction he or she wants to, thus missing hidden, but important topics and issues. The life historic narrative method provides freedom for the interviewee to tell his life as he remembers and understands it. The interviewee is seen as a person who knows most about the subject and knows it best (Ruusuvuori & Tiittula 2005:10).

The gathered data consists of nineteen life stories. A life story is understood "*as the currently available autobiography reflecting present interpretations of self, others, and relationships and events, which both explains the past and guides future action and intent*" (Cohler & Hostetler 2003). It is important to note that all life historic narratives or life stories are told from one point in time and one place. The narrative changes constantly because all life events and experiences in the past and in the present change our interpretations of our lives. Constructing, reconstructing and explaining one's own life is an ongoing process throughout the life span.

The life historic narrative interview method is challenging and demanding for the interviewee. First of all, it challenges the interviewee's skills and ability to produce a meaningful and coherent life historic narrative. Even though the task was demanding the interviewees were happy to tell their life stories freely. The interviewee's first reaction to the request to tell his life history varied from stating that it will only take ten minutes to worrying if the interviewer had enough time because telling the life story will take at least three to four hours. Regardless of the interviewee's first response to the request the interviews lasted between 45 and 75 minutes. A couple of times the interviewee requested the interviewer to ask questions he was able to answer. If the interviewee was struggling to tell a narrative, questions were asked to support him. He was guided by simple questions such as "Could you please first tell me about your childhood" and "Tell me more about that time you made a decision to quit drinking".

The life historic narrative method is often divided to four distinct approaches; holistic-content, categorical-content, holistic-form and categorical-form. The holistic-content approach concentrates on salient themes in the life story as a whole. The second approach, categorical-content, focuses on content of the life story and the goal is to identify codes for it. The main focus of the holistic-form approach is the structure of the life course rather than content of the life course. The categorical-form is close to a discourse analysis focusing on the structure of the narrative and it is used mainly by linguistics. This research represents the first approach type, holistic-content. The goal of the study is to describe and explain each man's life course as a whole (Cohler & Hostetler 2003: 560).

Finally it is important to underline the restrictions of this research. First of all, it does not provide data or information about the whole Finnish migrant population in these two countries and the research results cannot be applied to the wider Finnish community in either country. This data does not give any suggestions as

to how remarkable a phenomenon alcohol abuse is among Finnish immigrants, for example. This chapter does not claim to represent the whole phenomenon, but rather to give an insight into the interviewees' life courses and their personal experiences of drinking and alcohol abuse.

As the interviewed men had been contacted by various different ways in both countries, it is to be presumed that the sample is selective. For example, in Australia the interviewees were found mostly with the help and support of members of the Finnish community. In contrast, in Sweden the service providers played a more important role in finding men to be interviewed. This means that the interviewees are at least somewhat included in the community and the surrounding society. It is possible that there are isolated Finnish male alcoholics in both countries to whom these results are not applicable.

3. Life course of Finnish male alcoholic abroad

The life course is a key concept of this study. Mayer (2004) defines the life course as

the sequence of activities or states and events in various life domains spanning from birth to death.

The life course is not only an individual's life history; it also expresses the social structure. The life course is a part and a product of a societal and historical multilevel process. An individual can act and behave on the basis of prior experiences, opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstance (Mayer 2004; Elder 2003). Understanding the life course is important when describing and explaining historical, social and cultural factors which shape and construct an individual's life. The concept of life course is a useful tool in explaining the short- and long-range causes and consequences of a life history (Settersten 2006).

While academic discussion around the life course, its use as a scientific research tool and its limits, advantages and disadvantages is vital, this article does not aim to participate in the discussion, but to use life course as a tool to explain and describe the life narratives told by the interviewed men.

One of the most interesting findings of this research is that life courses of the interviewed men living in Australia and Sweden had many similar features. Especially the periods of life they had lived in Finland resemble each other. Most of the interviewees were born and brought up in the Finnish country side in the Northern and Eastern parts of Finland. Their parents were farmers or workers with many children. Their childhood is mostly described as having been hard, simple and poor. One man describes his childhood as follows:

► *It was a big family, altogether 12 children. My home was a farm, we had cows. Sometimes Dad had to work outside the home. Our life was so poor. I didn't get new clothes or anything. I've got those ones from my older brothers.—Sometimes Dad was drunk. He was violent against Mum, never to us children. However my childhood was good. Older children took care of younger ones. I felt secure. (Sweden, aged 61)*

Poverty of their childhood families often caused the interviewees to have to start working very young. Most of them finished schooling at the age of 14 or 15 and started working full time. For a young boy it meant trying to keep up with adult men's pace at work. It also led to poor education. Mainly the men had learnt their working skills by attending industrial training. Only one interviewee had a higher level (i.e. tertiary) education.

Even though life settings in their childhood limited the interviewees' opportunities to be properly educated, and forced them into paid employment at a young age, they describe their childhood and early youth as a good life stage. Parents were remembered as loving and caring. None of the interviewees claimed his alcohol problems to have been caused by poor childhood or parenthood. Some came from families where either one or both parents had abused alcohol, but yet the interviewees did not mention this fact as a reason for their own alcohol problems.

3.1 First time to drink alcohol

One of the interviewing topics was the first alcohol drinking experience. The interviewed men were able to easily recall their first alcohol trial in detail. All of them excluding two interviewees were under 18 years of age when they first drank alcohol. They received the alcohol, most either beer or strong homemade or self brewed alcohol, by various different ways; stealing it from their parents' liquor cabinets, asking an older person to provide it, or from friends. They remember being drunk during the first encounter with alcohol. One man described his first time as follows:

► *I remember my first time. I was then 13 years old. I worked as a ploughboy at a farm. The farmer's sons had brewed strong homemade brew and I knew where they kept those bottles. So I took one in secret. Of course because I had to do same work as adult men I thought men's drinks belong to me as well. I drank a little bit and continued working and again I had a nip and so on. I got drunk and finally passed out. The farmer found me and after that he gave me a cup of homemade brew every Saturday afternoon when I got my salary. He tried to teach me how to use alcohol moderately. (Australia, aged 76)*

When asking for reasons for the first drink they mentioned role models who used alcohol, identifying themselves as adult men, as the above citation demonstrates, and social pressure. The first time has either occurred alone or with friends of similar age. Especially those who had an older man as a role model for drinking drunk alone as young boys. However, soon drinking became socially connected behaviour. The heavy drinking habits were adopted from a very early stage of using alcohol. At the beginning the interviewees drank alcohol once or twice a month, but gradually they used alcohol every weekend.

3.2 Emigration

Almost all of the interviewees emigrated in the 1960s and the 1970s when a large number of Finnish people emigrated, mainly to Sweden, but also to Australia and North America. They can be seen as representatives of “old migration” from Finland. The push and pull factors of migration were the same as to many other Finnish people. The main reasons for a migration were unemployment and poor financial situation in Finland, seeking a better future in a new country and seeking adventure. In some cases an emigrated friend or relative encouraged the interviewees to make the decision to migrate. No one mentioned any alcohol related reasons for their migration. Only one interviewee mentioned hoping to quit heavy drinking due to change in environment.

In a new country most of the men found work in construction, mining or manufacturing that was physically hard, often dirty and monotonous. There was a lot of Finnish speaking staff in work places which helped settling down in a new environment and a new culture. Relatively soon after their arrival to the new country the interviewees found company which consumed massive amounts of alcohol, mostly from among their work mates. At that point heavy drinking habits were explained by heavy and dirty work. The motto was: “Hard work required hard ways of having fun”.

Everyday life consisted mostly of hard work and drinking in leisure time. At the beginning of the working career alcohol was used only during weekends. Gradually, the men started to visit pubs for drinks after work, which often meant having a hangover on the following morning. Getting to work was not possible without a beer or a drink and a vicious circle started. The increased alcohol consumption made it difficult to reach satisfying appearance as a worker. Being drunk at the work place was not acceptable which often led to resigning or being given notice which again led to financial difficulties. The consequences were disastrous; the men lost their homes, close relationships were broken and problems with self esteem and self confidence developed. The first priority in the men’s lives seemed to be having access to alcohol. The stories they told about this period in their

lives were distressing. Many of the interviewees reported living in rubbish bins, in cardboard boxes or under bridges. Sometimes they found shelter in a friend's house. They suffered from hunger and poverty. At this stage the only answer they had in their mind to the problems encountered was alcohol: the spin had started.

Migration is assumed to have a significant impact to the migrant's alcohol consumption habits. Migration can be a starting point for alcohol abuse, or at least it can increase alcohol consumption. According to the gathered data the heavy drinking habits have not resulted from the migration. The interviewees adopted their drinking habits already in Finland before moving to Sweden and Australia. On the other hand, after migration their consumption of alcohol increased. It is difficult to point out the impact of migration to the increased consumption; the interviewees could have had similar problems with alcohol also had they stayed in Finland.

3.3 Social relations

Heavy drinking affected the men's social relations. Relationships with their relatives in Finland were poor and contacts were rare. The men reported having contact with their relatives and family members occasionally by phone or mail. They visited only for special occasions such as their parents' funerals. The main reason for not visiting their families was the expensiveness of travelling to another country. Mostly their parents lived in Finland.

Most of the interviewees were single men who might have had de facto relationships which often lasted for only short periods. The men were happy about not having a family or children as they argued that thus they are the only one suffering from their own alcohol abuse. They pointed out that family life and family members would have suffered from their heavy drinking. Only a few men had children: some had kept in touch with their children, but some had lost contact with them.

When heavy drinking dominated the men's lives there was no need for other social relationships outside those related to drinking. So the men's social relationships narrowed to only those friends with whom they used to drink with. Drinking alcohol is strongly related to social companionship and socialising and also the interviewees described drinking as a social activity. Even those men who had started drinking alone turned to drinking with friends. The interviewees described the companionship among alcoholics as one based on sharing. Especially sharing alcohol was common. Also other kinds of support and goods were shared including money and places used for housing. Furthermore one rule related to this culture of the sharing was that you have friends as long as you have something to share with your friends. When the resources were consumed, the friends disappeared.

3.4 To drink or not to drink

One of the interviewing topics was quitting drinking. Even though extensive drinking may have had many negative consequences to a person's life and the person may have had suffered from alcoholism, it does not always mean that quitting drinking is considered as an option. Those men unwilling to quit drinking stated that they enjoyed their life style and drinking was seen as a nice way to spend leisure time. However, majority of the interviewees had tried quitting drinking. Seven men had successfully been without alcohol for a few years.

The ways for quitting drinking that are evident in this data can be categorized into three types. Firstly a serious life event e.g. a death of a close person or a felony has affected their life. This life event has come unexpected and the reality has suddenly dawned on the person in question. Secondly the person has found himself at a dead end, realizing that he has two options; to die if extensive alcohol consumption is continued or to quit drinking alcohol if he wants to survive. The third way to quit drinking is called a silent decision. These men have simply made up their mind to finish heavy drinking. They did not have any significant life event or any other special reasons to quit. They just wanted to have a life without alcohol. For these men quitting drinking seemed to be quite easy. All men regardless of the way of quitting drinking affirmed that the decision to quit has to be done by oneself; "It has to come from your own mind. No one else can force or persuade you to make a decision that holds" was often mentioned by the interviewees.

The men described quitting drinking as a long and difficult process. Most men found the process a lonely and long way of battle. First of all quitting drinking means a decrease in one's social relationships. Drinking habits had meant social connections and a social network, but after deciding to quit drinking the men were unable to socialize with their old friends with whom they used to drink. They were worried that resisting alcohol would be too hard for them. Many of the interviewees also reported that other men teased them or lured them into having a drink. The following man has tried to quit drinking during the last few years. After staying inside his home and watching other men drinking beer outside in the park he could not resist the temptation. He describes his battle to quit drinking like this:

► *I was a long time without alcohol and then suddenly, I don't know what happened, but it started again. I just had a feeling I have to get good and drunk. I said to myself "Don't do that. It's so stupid". It was like two sides of me were fighting inside me. You can see that bench there. I saw few fellows drinking together there. I was alone here inside and I opened my window and asked someone of them to bring me a bottle from a bottle shop. And of course they were ready to help me. So it started again. (Sweden, aged 58)*

However, the desire to quit drinking and have a new lifestyle without alcohol is so strong that he still keeps trying.

For many men having a religious experience and becoming a practising Christian was a way to quit drinking. In this data joining a religious community providing support and understanding to alcoholics was one of the most common ways to find a new social network. Especially if there are ex-alcoholics in the community who are willing to support and encourage an alcoholic trying to quit drinking, keeping the decision seems to be easier. Also Alcoholics Anonymous has provided a few interviewees with the necessary support and encouragement throughout the quitting process.

3.5 Future plans

The future plans and attitudes towards future life were also discussed during the interviews. Those men who had been successful in quitting drinking had made plans for their life. Even though the men considered that their life was wasted during those years of alcohol abuse, they believed that their life still had special meaning. Most of them wanted to do voluntary work supporting other alcoholics. One of the interviewed men, who had been without a drink for some years, had the following plans:

- ▶ *Now I am a teetotaller. I had a dream to have a driving licence so I went to the driving school. Now I have a driving licence and I bought a small car to myself. I think I could provide lifts to those other guys who don't dare to go to meetings alone. I'd like to go along with them. We have a sort of meetings where we give food bags to lonely men. We also tell about gospel to them. (Sweden, aged 62)*

Most future plans were like this man's plan; doing voluntary work for other alcoholics' well-being and providing encouragement and supporting them in quitting drinking. This kind of volunteering was seen as something that gives a meaning to one's life. In this line of thinking misfortune and failure in life earlier were interpreted as a part of meaning of life; without the previous experiences they would be unable to work as volunteers for other alcoholics. In this way the life period with heavy alcohol abuse gains significance and a special meaning.

The men seldom dreamed about a close relationship or marital life. They stated that it was almost impossible for anyone to rely on them and trust them because of their past as alcoholics. Even having been a teetotaller for many years they still had an identity of an alcoholic. They expressed it by saying "Once an alcoholic, always an alcoholic". However, a few of the men had found partners.

They were amazed about their partner's ability to rely on them and to accept them and their past.

Those men who still continued to drink heavily took life one day at a time. They had not made any plans for their life nor did they have any dreams or hopes for the future. Events that took place in their life were accepted as they came.

3.6 Australia vs. Sweden

Even though the main aspects of the life courses among Finnish men in Australia and Sweden have similarities there are still significant differences between these two groups. The first difference between Australian Finns and Swedish Finns are their drinking habits. In Australia the interviewees consumed mostly wines, especially red wine, whereas the men in Sweden consumed spirits and other strong alcohol beverages. In both countries also beer was widely consumed. The difference between consumed alcohol beverages among the examined two groups was explained by the prices of the different types of alcohol and the availability of different types of alcohol beverages. Wines are considerably cheaper than spirits in Australia, but in Sweden the price difference is not so remarkable. One of the interviewees living in Australia pointed out that *"wines are so cheap here in Australia that no one can drink himself to bankruptcy"*. Instead in Sweden the pricing of alcohol products did not guide the interviewees' drinking preferences, but the amount of alcohol in the drink was the main selection criteria.

Furthermore, in Australia the interviewed men reported to drink constantly. According to their own life stories they seemed to be slightly drunk all the time. The interviewed men living in Sweden described their drinking habits as periodical. Some of them even had long periods without any alcohol at all, but then they also had periods with extremely extensive drinking binges and consumption of strong spirits.

Services for alcoholics differ considerably between the two countries. The service structure is divided in Australia where services are provided mostly by non-profit organisations. It is first of all up to a consumer if he is willing to use these services. Unlike in Australia service provision in Sweden is effective and easily available. In this data the men living in Sweden had been clients of rehabilitation services for longer periods than their counterparts in Australia. The men in Sweden reported spending even half a year in rehabilitation centres while Australian Finnish men reported stays of only few weeks' in similar facilities. However, in both countries men did not report any success stories of effectiveness of the provided services; none of the interviewed men managed to quit heavy drinking thanks to rehabilitation.

In terms of working under the influence of alcohol the interviewees reported employers being more tolerant in Australia. None of the seven men living in that country had been given notice even though the employer had been aware of the person's alcohol abuse. In the long run some of the employees had drawn a conclusion from their capability to work under the circumstances and had consequently resigned. However, resigning from one job has not meant long-term unemployment as the employment situation in Australia has been good, especially within the construction industry. To avoid getting a bad reputation the interviewed men living in Australia had changed their housing and work places often. Most of them had lived in various places in Australia. In contrast, the interviewed men's careers in Sweden had suffered a lot from their extensive alcohol consumption. Employers have had a zero-tolerance policy against employees working under the influence of alcohol. Sometimes the men were given notice, but sometimes the employers advised the men to seek detoxification.

Simpura (2001) argued that drinking patterns and habits are strongly rooted in the person's ethnicity and they cannot be easily changed. Data of the current study suggests that drinking patterns do change according to the circumstances. The interviewed men had adapted their drinking habits to suit the conditions of alcohol policies in their current country of residence. It is easy to continue with drinking patterns adopted in Finland when living in Sweden because the countries have similar alcohol policies. In Australia, however, the interviewees' drinking habits changed significantly in terms of the types of alcohol beverages consumed and the ways of consuming alcohol.

4. Conclusion

The study gives important insight into the life courses of Finnish male alcoholics abroad. In this chapter the preliminary findings were discussed. The study shows that migration itself does not have an impact in starting heavy drinking, even though it is a major life event. Alcohol consumption may increase, but migration is not an explanation or a reason for the over consumption of alcohol. The drinking habits have been adopted already at a young age and they seem to have remained relatively consistent regardless of the migration. It has to be noted, however, that as the aim of the study was to study the lives of Finnish migrants with problems with alcohol, it is possible that those who had quit drinking after moving abroad were not included in the sample. Regardless of the effect of the migration experience, drinking habits are subject to changes in the new environment. The data gathered in Australia especially shows that new drinking habits are easily adopted in the new environment.

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Chapter 10

Finnish linguistic and cultural identity in multicultural Australia

Tiina Lammervo

Abstract

People of Finnish origin have been relocating to Australia ever since early colonial times. The largest immigrant groups arrived during the passage assistance schemes between the late 1950s and 1960s, when Finns were among the groups recruited by the Australian government. The number of Finland-born people has not exceeded 10,500 while the latest Australian census recorded 7,946 Finland-born people. The numbers are declining as new migration is minimal.

Finnish migrants who arrived during the above mentioned peak years entered Australia before the introduction of the multiculturalism policy. Assimilation pressures would have been considerable. However, among these Australian Finns Finnish language and culture appear very well preserved. Attitudes towards language and culture maintenance are positive overall. In the context of multicultural Australia Finnish language and culture, as sentimentally valuable as they may be to the first migrant generation, have very little market value for the following generations.

More recent migration to Australia from Finland is increasingly temporary in nature. People relocate for international study, working holiday or fixed term work contracts. The migration experience is very different when one embarks on it knowing it will be temporary and during the residence one has access to Finland and the rest of the world in real time via communication technology. Relative ease of world travel also helps to diminish the feeling of distance and alienation from family and friends. Interestingly, while the migration experience, circumstances

and environments of these two migrant vintages are very different, some elements of Finnish culture maintenance can be very similar.

1. Introduction

Finns were among the first Europeans to arrive in Australia, but research on the history of Finnish migration to Australia and the life of Finns there started only in the 1970s with the research of Olavi Koivukangas. After Herman Dietrich Spöring, who sailed with Captain James Cook in 1770, Finns from all walks of life have chosen Australia as their new home. In the early years their numbers were small. One reason for this was that around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries North America was a more attractive destination. Only in the 1950s and 1960s, when assisted passages from the Australian government became available for Finns, did more substantial numbers of migrants arrive. Individual peak years for Finnish migration to Australia were 1958 and 1968. In the years around each of these peaks about 5,000 Finns arrived in Australia (Koivukangas 1998).

According to the 2001 census there were 8,258 first generation Finns in Australia. The total number of people claiming Finnish ancestry was 18,106. In the same census 6,229 people indicated that they spoke Finnish at home. Five years later (Census 2006) the respective figures were 20,988 people claiming ancestry, 7,946 people were Finland born, and 5,877 claimed to speak Finnish at home (ABS 2006). The numbers of new Finnish migrants are very low. In the period 1980–2001 only 2,929 people migrated from Finland to Australia. Of the 200,100 people who left Finland in that period over 116,000 relocated to another Nordic country, and nearly 55,000 people to other European countries (Korki-asaari 2003). However, the numbers of Finns migrating to Australia have slightly increased in the last twenty odd years. In 1987 only 108 Finns were recorded as having migrated to Australia, while in 2010 the figure was 220. The annual figure has varied between 69 (in 1992) and 241 (in 2004) in the twenty-four year period (Statistics Finland 2009). Recent figures of permanent additions to Australian population (i.e. permanent residency) show that in the last three financial years (July 2008–June 2011) a total of 114, 132 and 119 Finns per year were granted permanent residency. It should be noted though that each year more than half of those getting permanent residency were already in Australia (with some temporary visa) and only a smaller number actually arrived with permanent residency.

This chapter will first discuss multicultural Australia as a backdrop for the Finnish migrant experience. Most of the chapter will be dedicated to discussing the language and culture maintenance of the migrant vintage that left Finland in the late 1950s and 1960s, as they are the group best studied at the moment. The

material on recent Finnish migration to Australia is more tentative in nature, but will nevertheless highlight some of the main differences in the migrant experience.

2. Multicultural Australia

Australia's Census statistics paint a picture of a multicultural and multilingual nation. The 2006 statistics list as the largest groups according to country of birth people born in England (857,000), New Zealand (389,500), China (206,600), Italy (199,100), Vietnam (160,000) and India (147,100) (ABS 2006). The UK and New Zealand have for a long time continued to be the largest source countries. However, when looking at settler arrivals by source country New Zealand has held the top spot in the 21st century while the United Kingdom has been surpassed by China and some years also by India (DIAC 2011). In the long term census statistics Vietnamese are a strongly growing group. However, figures for settler arrivals indicate that the community had a growth burst which has now settled into an arrival rate around 3,000 settler arrivals per year.

In the light of statistics Australia is very multilingual. Almost four hundred languages are recorded as languages spoken at home. About a hundred and seventy of these are Aboriginal languages (ABS 2006). According to the census, 21.5% of the population speaks a language other than English at home. The biggest community languages are Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, Mandarin and Vietnamese, numbers of speakers ranging from about 317,000 to just under 200,000. How a language gets to be recorded as a language used at home depends on many variables and its correlation with numbers of community members, times of arrival or generations is not straight forward. Thus Greek, an old well established migrant community and language must have significant intergenerational language maintenance considering that new arrivals are not as many as in earlier years, compared to Mandarin and Vietnamese speakers whose communities continue to be revitalized by substantial new migration.

These statistics give some background to the claim that Finns in Australia continue to be a minority within a minority. Although clearly multicultural, Australia continues to be viewed and views itself as English speaking. The dominance of English is absolute. Mainstream attitudes to immigration, diversity and multiculturalism have undergone a great change in the decades since the introduction of multiculturalism policy. Ang et al. (2002) found mainstream attitudes to be largely positive and particular among younger members of society. Younger Australians of culturally diverse backgrounds have a dedicated stake in how multiculturalism attitudes and practice develop (Ang et al. 2006). Overall multiculturalism is seen as a positive, and at its best as an opportunity to learn from other cultures, however, many Australians from culturally diverse backgrounds still feel an in-

complete acceptance by mainstream society. Racism is an everyday experience as is discrimination because of a foreign accent (Ang et al. 2006).

3. Peak years of Finnish Australian migration

Clearly it is not reasonable to generalise over any population and say that all or even most Finns who have migrated to Australia experience migration the same way, apply same strategies or grow similarly as a result. However, since Finnish migration had those distinct peak years of migration (1958 and 1968) of larger numbers of people with similar socioeconomic backgrounds (Koivukangas 1975) it is possible to talk about a section of the Australian Finnish population that is to some extent typical. My dissertation on first generation language and culture contact, attitudes and identity (Lammervo 2007) tapped onto this group of migrants and hence the results used as the basis for the following discussion are considered to be representative of what can be considered typical. Migrants of the late 1950s and 1960s migrated as a family unit, had relatively low level of education and typically little or only some English skills. They entered Australia before the multiculturalism policy had been introduced and were thus faced with great assimilation pressures.

3.1 Finnish language maintenance and bilingualism in English

After several decades of life in Australia first generation migrants typically had very good Finnish skills both when evaluated by themselves and informally by the researcher. It is likely that Australian Finns evaluated their skills as a comparison to Finland Finnish, but it is also possible that they see it as a variety of its own. Australian Finnish is not in any formal way recognised as a language variety, but its speakers typically realise that communicating with Finland Finns requires switching to a different code, a different variety of Finnish and that the Finnish spoken in Australia (*Fineska*, *Fingliska* "Finglish") is influenced by English. Speaker attitudes towards this mixed variety were neutral overall, although typically it is accepted. The dominant type of language contact phenomena (i.e. ways in which English influence is present in Finnish speech) is English material that is assimilated into Finnish, both phonologically and morphologically e.g. *tinksit* for things. For first generation speakers this comes naturally as they have full command of Finnish morphology (case system and verb conjugation) and are able to assimilate foreign material. Data from conversations with second and third generation Australian Finns shows a clear difference in what types of language contact are typical (Lammervo 2009). If second and third generation Australian Finns are able

to have a conversation in Finnish they would insert English into Finnish as a code switch or code mix without assimilating it to Finnish phonology or morphology.

First generation informants expressed positive attitudes towards Finnish and maintaining it in Australia. Their reasons for maintaining Finnish are concrete and practical. After all, the purpose of any language is to communicate. The ability to communicate with a certain group of people in a certain language also contributes to maintaining the culture and identity connected with the language and the group. The first generation may not be that concerned about the probability of losing their own Finnish skills, in fact hardly any reported making a conscious effort to maintain their Finnish and most list continuing to communicate in Finnish in the private domain as the most important way of maintaining Finnish in Australia. Language maintenance effort and concern is mainly to do with intergenerational transfer, i.e. passing the language on to the next generation.

One would think then that a positive attitude towards language maintenance would transfer into behaviour to ensure intergenerational language maintenance and second generation language acquisition. This is not necessarily the case. As is often the case in attitude studies, also this project found that attitudes and behaviour did not correlate in the way expected. People are perfectly capable of expressing a positive attitude toward language maintenance and when an actual effort is required, for instance committing to Finnish School meetings, the effort is not made. Life gets in the way, and in the migrant context there are a lot of challenges that take up one's time and energy. Parents say that it is important for their children to know Finnish to be able to communicate with friends and relatives. In the typical situation second generation Australian Finns have learnt Finnish from their mother when Finnish has been used in the home (i.e. both parents are Finnish speaking). As a result spoken skills are the only ones they have. Discussions hardly ever extend to the realization that reading and writing a language, also the first language, has to be studied and learnt. As the opportunities of formal training in Finnish are very limited in Australia the responsibility lies with the families and the community.

First generation migrants' English skills on the other hand are self-evaluated as moderate. The correlations of English skills, education, and age on arrival confirm that formal language studies facilitate learning and the younger the person in that situation is the better the results. This correlation is not surprising. A more surprising result was that the self-evaluated English skills were as high as moderate. This does not support the traditional stereotype of Finns in Australia having problems to learn English. At least it is an indication of the informants' positive attitude that their skills are good enough for them to manage. To completely blend in with the Australian society English skills would have to be fluent. While even native speakers of English speak it with different accents, it is still the non-English accent that stands out and often raises comments. If entry to the circle of

Australian English speakers is near impossible to gain, one might as well settle for moderate skills and direct energy to other areas in life. Looking at the situation of this vintage of first generation Australian Finns they appear to be making the most of both worlds. They are maintaining their Finnish skills in the private domains of life and are able to communicate in English in the public domain.

3.2 Culture maintenance and identity

Culture, identity and language are hard to disentangle; they are partly overlapping and partly separate (e.g. Kim 2002; Vaughn & Hogg 2002). Definitions of each vary greatly and there are different views on how stable these factors are. If we take culture to be a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms and symbols that are passed on from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community, as defined by Ting-Toomey (1999: 10), we can discuss both the physical displays of culture, often at the centre of culture maintenance studies, and the deeper levels which are more difficult to identify or measure.

A central issue in culture maintenance is contact with the country and culture of origin. Migrants who left Finland a long time ago, for instance, in the materially deprived years after WWII, have often lost track of the popular culture, politics and other events of the homeland. Even if they had at the emergence of communication technology acquired the necessary skills to access Finland electronically in real time, they would find it hard to relate information about contemporary Finland to the Finland they remember and left. This experience is different to present day migrants.

Traditional ways of maintaining Finnish culture have been visits to Finland, visitors from Finland, or better yet, new immigrants from Finland, but as stated at the start of this chapter, the migration statistics do not tell a story of revitalisation of Finnish from Finland, nor is it reasonable to expect that in the future. At a community level Australian Finns have created their own culture, which of course is Finnish but not in a way that would ever have existed in Finland. It has preserved elements which in Finland have become outdated and on the other hand it has adopted elements from the many cultures of Australia. Australian Finns have been active in founding clubs and associations, also Finnish language press has a long history which *Suomi News* (1926–) continues to this day. The church has been important as for so many other immigrant groups. For many Australian Finns the chance to meet with other Finns is seen as a more important reason to participate than the actual religious content. Community activities, the summer festival, mother's day celebrations etc. are a community effort organised through the associations and churches.

Two typical and visible, concrete expressions of culture are food and home decoration. As a cultural symbol food has been compared to language. There is a system to its preparation, presentation and consuming which allow for creation of social, national and ethnic communion (Kolbe 2005: 120). Food, eating, serving and drinking are culturally specific and also communication tools. Food is also important in a nationalism sense: flavours familiar from childhood feel safe and relate to original homeland. Most people transported from their place of origin want to recreate the tastes they are used to. Particularly important food is in relation to traditions to do with celebrations and festivals. It is not uncommon for first generation Australian Finns to display Finnish artefacts and memorabilia in their homes. The period when the migrant left Finland would also have influenced the kind of craft skills they had and possibly maintained in Australia. Research of culture maintenance in the second and third generations suggests that further generations have carried on with some of the home decoration traditions, but the items may carry a different meaning for them, perhaps to do with a particular person or event rather than sense of belonging (Lammervo 2009). A traditional wall hanging (*e.g. ryijy, raanu, poppana*) which for the first generation represented Finland and Finnish traditions can for a granddaughter be a treasured memory of her grandmother (whom even the monolingual English speaking grandchildren very often call *mummu*) (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Punatulkut (Bullfinches) poppana-wall hanging in a Finn's home in Far North Queensland. (Photo: T. Lammervo)

The behaviour classed here as culture maintenance can also be called the behavioural component of ethnic identity (Abrams et al. 2003). The study among first generation Australian Finns investigated identity within the concepts of self-identification, sense of belonging, attitude to one's group and ethnic involvement (Phinney 1990). National origins are a part of a person's master identity (Tracy 2002) so Finland born migrants by default would be considered to an extent Finnish. The majority of informants in the first generation study could also legally call themselves Australian since they were Australian citizens. However, it is common for them to identify as Finnish Australians, according to the bicultural labelling pattern adopted by many migrant groups in Australia. The relative weight of each national identity forms a continuum from Finnish to Finnish Australian and Australian. The question is whether a first generation migrant starts to identify as Australian and in contrast, whether their children and grandchildren continue to identify as Finnish.

Overall the first generation expressed a positive attitude towards Finnish ethnic identity maintenance which in the questionnaire study (Lammervo 2007) is interpreted as indication of sense of belonging. In relation to this concept there was a gender difference. Men were mostly indifferent, while women indicated a positive attitude consistent with the finding among American Finns that women are more likely to report "feeling ethnic" (Palo Stoller & Haapanen 2001: 150). Attitudes towards one's ethnic group in Finland and in Australia were positive and the majority of the informants actively sought the company of other Finns.

Ethnic involvement is the most widely used indicator of ethnic identity (Phinney 1990) and language is a cultural practice associated most widely with ethnic identity. Among first generation Australian Finns overall attitudes towards Finnish language being a core value of Finnish identity were positive. Again there is a difference between genders: women holding more positive attitudes than men. Interestingly also Finnish regional dialects were considered important. Dialect features in the informants' speech can serve as an expression of a regional identity. Similarly elements typical for the Australian variety of Finnish can express Australian Finnish identity or expatriate identity.

The language of friendship is mainly Finnish. First generation Finns mainly have Finnish friends and language choice when communicating with them is dominantly Finnish. It has been suggested that Finns outside Finland in general take time to make friends with non-Finns and that the language barrier is one reason for this (Koivukangas 1975). However, in light of cultural differences and identity, it could also be argued that friendship with Finns allows one not only to communicate in the first and stronger language but also to assume that the friend shares the cultural framework and understands what the speaker means on more than just the linguistic level.

First generation migrants of the peak years of Finnish migration to Australia took active part in association and church activities. Women express a more positive attitude than men towards maintaining ethnic identity. Women talk about culture maintenance within the context of home and the family, while the men who talk about this focus on community activities or trips to Finland. It appears that women are more likely to act in a way which explicitly embodies their ethnicity than men, at least in the context of families. This is relevant also to the language maintenance issue and commonly accepted role of mothers as carriers and passers on of language and culture.

First generation Australian Finns of the late 1950s and 1960s have considered it important to maintain their cultural identity. Continuing social and cultural practices in the new environment comes naturally to a migrant. Customs and routines do not change overnight, but adapting the familiar to the new continues over varied periods of time. In the new environment materials for creating the cultural environment of the first culture can be difficult, but people can be surprisingly resourceful. It appears that among Finns the Finnish ways, traditions and cultural symbols are maintained through decades. There is no one explanation for this, but a factor to consider is the period of migration. At the time multicultural identities were not widely recognised or common. Globalization or internationalization were not the trend yet. These migrants were not likely to have identified themselves as “citizens of the world” to the extent people today might do. Case studies of recent migration are discussed below.

4. Recent Finnish migration to Australia

Based on the statistics of Finnish migration to Australia, reports from the community and general changes in the ever globalising world and mobility, it appears that Finnish linguistic and ethnic identity in Australia, as in other destinations has come to a turning point. Larger scale studies on recent Finnish migration to Australia are not available at the time of writing, but results of case studies from a research project focusing on bicultural identity are used as the basis of this discussion (Lammervo, forthcoming). Here recent migration refers to arrivals in the 21st century.

At the community level the change in the demographic is evident in the numbers of participants and the need to change activities to accommodate further migrant generations and the few new arrivals from Finland. The further generations do not need or seek the ethnic community as much as their parents and grandparents did. Often they do not have Finnish skills and identify as much or more with mainstream Australian culture and language. In fact, it can be argued that second and third generation migrants are not migrants. Having been born in

Australia they are Australians with ethnic heritage which the compound bicultural identities can be used to reflect.

More recent arrivals live in an entirely different world compared to the peak year migrants and consequently their expectations and experiences are very different. They have had formal training in English and overall have a higher level of education. In fact, looking at the statistics of the education level of Finnish citizens who migrated to Australia in the period 2000-2009 the percentage of people who had tertiary education (as opposed to secondary education or lower) is as high as 41% per year, the median percentage for the ten year period being 37.5% (Statistics Finland 2011). The education level of those moving to Australia does reflect the education level of Finnish migrants over all, but also the immigration policy of Australia which focuses on skilled migration.

Very often Finns migrating to Australia are people who have travelled abroad before moving to Australia, and although they cannot escape the experiences of culture shock (Oberg 1960) and acculturative stress (Berry et al. 1987), the move has less of a final feel than a move to the antipode in the 1950s. The strategy to ease acculturative shock by spending time with likeminded people (e.g. from same cultural background) is modified into finding a small number of individuals and socialising with other expatriates, rather than relying solely on the Finnish community. English skills allow freedom to choose which newspapers to read or church services to attend and work and social networks with non-Finns can lead to less interest in ethnic community activities. While the English skills of these migrants are sufficient to succeed in the work and public domains and even in the social domain, it cannot be denied that a foreign accent continues to be noticed and remarked on by Anglo-Australians and the speaker categorised into the ever growing group of people in Australia who speak English with a foreign accent. It is no wonder then that expatriates functioning in their second language in a new environment find it easier to communicate with other English as a second language speakers rather than trying to blend in with the mainstream which continues to use accent as a gate keeping mechanism.

4.1 *Maintaining Finnishness*

While there are clear differences between the earlier and the most recent Finnish migrants in relation to background factors and behaviour regarding community level activities, there are also similarities in what Finnish identity means and how it is expressed. Food continues to be an important cultural practice. While the everyday diet of Finland Finns and new Finnish migrants is more diverse than ever before, it is common to prepare or go to the trouble of finding and buying Finnish foods for special occasions, celebrations and festivities. Karelian pies, rye

bread and cinnamon buns continue to be favourites. Christmas in particular is a time for traditional foods, although Christmas at the height of Australian summer, can lead to some modifications and limit the number of hot cooked foods.

Having decorative items and memorabilia of Finnish origin in the home is still common. The items are different though, which would be expected if only as a sign of the times and fashion trends. Rather than displaying self made traditional handicrafts, it is more typical to decorate with design items, typically glassware (Aalto vases, Iittala tea light holders etc.) or use Marimekko fabrics in curtains, cushions and table cloths. While these are modern, trendy and also globally known to a select audience, a fellow Finn immediately recognises them and their significance as symbols of our ethnic identity (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Marimekko and Iittala in daily use in Brisbane. (Photo: T. Lammervo)

Migrants of the 21st century have had access to reasonably priced and reliable telephone connections and the increasing and developing access to the internet. Traditional letter writing has become extinct and contact in real time with friends and relatives is affordable and accessible. Naturally as options increase so do demands, and now that communication technology and world travel have allowed us to overcome the obstacle of distance, we find having to accommodate

the time differences of several hours a struggle, or loose patience with broadband connections that in our culture of instant gratification fail to deliver information with the speed we expect. Many use video calls via the internet to keep in touch with friends and family around the world. It appears that these media work best to continue with relationships that have been established in person and when used to communicate while temporarily apart. Communicating across vast distances, particularly when the last face to face meeting fades further into the past, creates challenges and changes the nature of communication. You are inevitably limited in topics and the conversation is not as intimate as it has been face to face with the same person because you no longer are intimately familiar with the person's routines and surroundings nor are they with yours. Commenting on the day's events is meaningless to the other who does not share the same context. However, since modern day migration often is temporary in nature whether for work contracts, studies or working holidays, this communication method is very helpful in dealing with the overseas experience, acculturative stress, integration and language and culture maintenance efforts.

Access to electronic media is also significant in increasing exposure to the ethnic language. While this is important to the first migrant generation it is the children of the migrants who can benefit significantly from the increased input of their first language. This input can come from chatting on a video call with Finnish grandparents. In fact, when children grow up bilingual in a home where only one parent speaks Finnish, this online exposure goes a long way in strengthening the Finnish language home domain. Whilst the more educational aspects of interactive media are increasingly being used in language classrooms, there is also a need to explore the entertainment aspects of such media as these will be more attractive to their users (Pauwels 2005).

Earlier migrants spent weeks travelling to reach Australia. Although many had left Finland with the tentative plan of staying a couple years (required by the assisted passage schemes), many ended up staying for twenty or more years before returning for the first time. Regular visits for holidays are a fairly recent phenomenon. However, for the 21st century migrants Finland, Europe or any place else in the world is reasonably within reach and moving is often not considered to be permanent. Options are kept open about where to live next; return to Finland, Europe, or continue on to somewhere else. These trends are not new in migration research, nor are they exclusive to Finns in Australia, but within the context of Finnish migration to Australia the difference between earlier vintages and current migration is salient and will affect the future of Finnish language and culture as part of multicultural Australia.

5. Conclusion

It is difficult and maybe unnecessary to define whether it is the Finnish identity that compels Australian Finns to continue using Finnish, or does Finnish as the first language give them their Finnish identity. Earlier migrant vintage data suggests that Finnish is seen as a core value, the connection between Finnish language, culture and identity is strong. Whether one maintains cultural elements and behaviours that have become archaic in Finland or stays in real time contact with Finland (effectively living in two cultures) should not be given more or less value as culture maintenance. Preserving culture that is important for own identity is just as Finnish as keeping up with the way things are done in Finland at present.

Although ethnic identification has been shown to endure many more generations than competence in relevant language or culture (Phinney 2003), “doing culture” and making use of the language skills are connected to the identification (Lammervo 2009). The earlier migrant vintages maintained Finnish language, culture and identity and integrated to varying degrees with Australian mainstream. This process is about becoming monocultural after leaving behind another monocultural identity. Current types of global mobility are a context for bicultural identities to develop. Bicultural people participate, to an extent at least, in life in two cultures on a regular basis. They know how to adapt their behaviour, attitudes and language to the cultural environment they are in. They combine elements of their cultures into a synthesis. While some features such as attitudes, beliefs, values, tastes and behaviours come clearly from one or the other culture some may not belong exclusively to either but are a synthesis of both (Grosjean 1993).

What about the future of Finnish language and culture in Australia? I have earlier suggested that Australia is generating more interest among young Finns through international study and working holiday opportunities. Looking at Australian figures, however, Finns barely figure in these statistics with 358 working holiday makers in Australia in June 2011 and 308 student visa holders in June 2010 (2011 figures for Finland are not available due to change in reporting style which places Finns in the category ‘other’) (DIAC 2010, 2011). Compared to other nationalities, again, Finns are a very small group. On the other hand, if settler arrivals from Finland barely reach the 200 mark annually, almost 700 Finns temporarily residing in Australia are a substantial addition to the community, even if they are there only temporarily.

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Chapter 11

Organizing a transnational advocacy network. A glance into the Finnish Expatriate Parliament and its member associations

Sanna-Mari Vierimaa

Abstract

The aim of this chapter is to investigate Finnish emigrant politics through the lens of the active member associations of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP) using data from a questionnaire survey, observations, interviews with staff of the Finland Society, and the associations' web pages. The chapter addresses the main features of the member associations and the significance of the FEP in their everyday activities. Influencing, lobbying, collaboration, and information exchange were reported as the most significant functions of the FEP. Its member associations in 37 countries bring their concerns and issues as initiatives to the FEP forum located in Helsinki. Once resolutions are discussed and either accepted or rejected in the full sessions, the Finland Society is committed to act on behalf of the FEP. The associations thus form a transnational advocacy network, which resembles the "boomerang" pattern of influence. I argue that the nature of these Finnish associations' organizing process abroad has changed dramatically due to becoming increasingly transnational through the FEP, to the extent that the significance of their place, in terms of physical location, has decreased.

1. Introduction

Globalization has facilitated changes in emigrant organizing processes. Migrant associations operate between the country of origin and the country of settlement

with a new approach. They do not only facilitate integration and maintain links with their countries of origin, but some apolitical¹ associations have taken special interest in influencing policy changes. Similarly to social movement organizations, migrant associations have also begun to build transnational advocacy networks through special forums that promote the interests of migrants. The focus of this paper, the Finnish Expatriate Parliament (Ulkosuomalaisparlamentti) was founded in 1997 by just such a network. The paper aims to explore the transnational organizing process of Finnish emigrants and to shed light on what kinds of organizations are actively involved in the work of the FEP.

Migration researchers such as Korkiasaari (1992) argue that the nature of organizational activity among Finnish emigrants depends on two basic factors: place, i.e. the location where large numbers of Finns reside, and time, i.e. the period in which the activity takes place. Korkiasaari distinguishes four distinct vibrant periods of migration over the past 100 years: 1) to the United States from the 1900s to the 1930s, 2) to Canada from the 1920s to the 1970s, 3) to Australia from the 1960s to the 1970s, and 4) to Sweden from the 1960s to the 1980s. The organizing process of Finns abroad has only been to some extent systematically studied in Sweden in the 1980s (Jaakkola 1983). However, it is clear that globalization and the establishment of the FEP have facilitated changes in the organizing process of emigrant Finns. While the member associations of the FEP offer for instance recreational activities for their members in the host society, the associations also engage in transnational political practices through the FEP, forming a “boomerang” pattern typical of transnational advocacy networks (Keck & Sikkink 1998). Hence, I argue that the nature of the emigrant Finns’ organizing process has changed due to becoming increasingly transnational through the FEP, to the extent that the significance of place, i.e. physical location, is diminishing.

This chapter investigates Finnish emigrant politics through the lens of active member associations in the Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP). It is based on a survey (n=56) collected during a full session of the FEP, observations made at FEP sessions, interviews with staff of the Finland Society, websites of the associations, and from previous literature. A brief two-page questionnaire was distributed to the representatives of 182 organizations, which participated in the full session on May 24th and 25th 2010 in Helsinki. The research questions addressed polity regimes, the main features of the member associations, and the significance of the FEP. Due to space limitations, this paper concentrates only on the migrant organizing process through the FEP and does not examine differences due to polity regimes. This chapter therefore addresses the main features of the member associations of the FEP and the significance of the FEP in the functioning of these associations.

I begin by defining transnational migrant associations and explaining the transnational advocacy network in the context of emigrant politics. I then briefly describe the Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP) and its function. Next, data and

findings including general features of the member associations and collaboration with international and local partners are presented. Finally, the function of the FEP is related to Keck and Sikkink's (1998) theory of transnational advocacy networks (TANs), and conclusions are drawn.

2. Transnational migrant associations in the context of emigrant politics

In this study the unit of analysis is a voluntary migrant association, which is briefly defined as a voluntary grouping with a common, non-profit interest (Sills 1968; Salamon et al. 1999) whose members consciously define themselves as members of an ethnic group (Jenkins 1988; Schrover & Vermeulen 2005). Migrant associations reflect the complex and dynamic developments that take place within immigrant communities (Schrover & Vermeulen 2005) and offer fields of belonging, interaction, and communication (Allen 1969; Brettell 2005; Vermeulen 2006). Associations are also potential sites and resources for political activity outside of formal political institutions (Clemens 2006).

By politics and political practices I refer to Palonen's (2003) further formulation of Max Weber's conceptualizations of politics. Weber asserts that power consisting of 'shares' and their distribution is a necessary condition for acting politically, so that, in principle, every political agent holds some power. Furthermore, power is a 'chance concept' expressing a possibility, occasion, or opportunity to do something (ibid. 173). Hence, politics is something unpredictable in terms of its results.

Palonen (2003) also distinguishes four aspects of politics, from which I have chosen politicking and politicization for a brief exploration. Politicization refers to the act of naming something as political and opens a specified horizon of chances with respect to this share of power (ibid. 182). Politicization thus detects the political potential of certain existing changes, shifts, or processes (ibid. 182). In turn, politicking consists of performances in the struggle for power relying on already existing power shares and their distributions (ibid. 175).

The activities of migrants who engage economically, socially and politically in their country of origin via transnational networks are called 'emigrant politics', which is part of the larger context of 'transnational political practices' (Østergaard-Nielsen 2006: 762).² By transnational, I refer to a process that involves a significant proportion of migrants whose cross-border activities gain certain stability and resilience over time (Portes, Haller & Landolt 1999; Vertovec 2009). In this context they are member associations of the FEP, which are close to the core of the transnational phenomenon where the rise of a new class of immigrants, eco-

conomic entrepreneurs or political activists who conduct cross-border activities on a regular basis are found (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003: 1213). The member associations engage in transnational political activism. It can be a mode of organizing that is structured by states and state policies, but it can also be a counter hegemonic strategy of non-state actors (Goldring 2007). Hence it challenges or even supports certain power structures, but inherently it is based on a conflict of interests (Piper & Uhlin 2004).

Migrants' transnational activities challenge deeply held notions about citizenship, democracy, and identity (Khagram & Levitt 2008). Suspicions about the growing number of post-national forms of identifications have sometimes lead people and even researchers to draw conclusions of migrants' weakening sense of attachment to the nation-state (Inglehart 1997; Cohen 1997). However, many of these arguments are overstated. Multiple attachments to local and global allegiances do not change migrants' views towards the nation-state compared to other citizens (Clark 2009). Furthermore, migrants most involved in transnational activities tend to have been resident for longer in the host society, and tend to be better educated and more likely to become involved also in local politics than those who are not engaged transnationally (DeSipio et al. 2003; Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003). Participation in migrant associations demonstrates migrants' greater political trust and confidence, which leads to more frequent voting behaviour (Fennema & Tillie 1999; Brettell 2005; Vermeulen 2006; Vogel 2008). Hence, it is rather unlikely that a migrant association engaging in transnational political practices would have a segregating effect on its members in the host community.

Østergaard-Nielsen (2006) recognizes that more research on migrants' transnational political networks is necessary to understand the complex set of internal and external factors which contribute to political mobilization and its success. Her suggestion is to compare migrant networks, for instance, to Keck and Sikkink's (1998: 12–13) transnational advocacy networks (TANs), which evoke an image of a "boomerang" describing local organizations that bypass their state and directly search out international allies in an attempt to bring pressure on their states from outside. Although TANs are usually populated by organizations concerned with human rights, the environment and women's rights, they are not alternatives to social movements or international non-governmental organizations, but they can contain these in a loose way (Tarrow 2001). These networks, which are bound by shared values and dense information exchange, highlight information-, symbolic-, leverage- and accountability politics as tactics and strategies in order to 1) obtain information from many sources that would not otherwise be available and use them to alert the press and policymakers; 2) publicize issues and build networks; and 3) bring about policy changes (Keck & Sikkink 1998).

There is no debate about whether the member associations of the FEP are transnational, but it is questionable whether they form an advocacy network

similar to issue (such as environmental and human rights) based networks. In order to find out, I explore the types and features of the member associations and test Keck and Sikkink's (1998) transnational advocacy network theory on the information received in the surveys from the member associations and the documents published by the FEP. Before I do this, I shall introduce the Finnish Expatriate Parliament in little more detail.

3. The Finnish Expatriate Parliament

Most democratic countries have some form of institution representing their emigrants. There is often at least one central non-governmental association or an interest group (e.g. the Finland Society [Suomi-Seura], Swedes World Wide or Españolas en el Mondo) serving and organizing emigrants in all countries. In the European context, these expatriate³ interest groups/organizations can further be a part of the non-governmental association *The Europeans Throughout the World* (ETTW), which promotes international cooperation between 'associations of nationals residing abroad' striving to eventually establish an organized European diaspora. The group brings resolutions and recommendations to the attention of European authorities via its member associations.

Apart from voluntary organizations, also national governments take an interest in emigrant organizing and politics. In some countries expatriate communities remain an important part of their country of origin's electorate (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003). Greece, for example, has a permanent Parliamentary Committee for Expatriate Greeks, which represents members of all political parties and has its own annual budget (Helms 2004). Other countries such as Mexico even consolidate state policies toward emigrants in order to co-opt them into supporting the state's neoliberal policies (Smith & Bakker 2008: 6). In most cases, emigrants are seen as resources for their countries of origin.

In Finland, it has been the task of the Finland Society to provide advice and expertise to Finns living abroad, moving abroad or returning to Finland since 1927. As an interest group it has worked closely with the Advising Committee on Ethnic Relations⁴, which began to show increased interest in Finnish emigrants' visions for the future at the end of the 1980s recognising the need for a cooperative forum that would compile Finnish emigrants' views and concerns. The Finland Society, for its part, sought closer involvement in advocacy work. Finally, in 1997 the Finnish Expatriate Parliament was founded by 130 Finnish associations abroad. The permanent secretariat of the FEP was granted to the Finland Society, and more power was accorded to the FEP's member associations. This arrangement appealed to the government and the Finland Society subsequently received a small subsidy, thus tying it closer to the state agencies (Seppinen 2002).

The Finnish Expatriate Parliament emerges as a perfect reflection of a typical Finnish corporate polity regime pattern. It encourages all forms of collective organization in an orderly fashion as the main channel for political incorporation (see e.g. Siisiäinen 2002; Alapuro 2005; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001). For instance, the FEP membership is granted to Finnish organizations abroad and not to individuals. Depending on the size of the association, it can send from one to three representatives⁵ to the full parliamentary sessions held every second or third year in Helsinki. There is no charge for becoming a member of the FEP, nor are there any financial advantages to joining. In between full sessions, the work of the FEP is carried out and directed by the Speakers' Council⁶. The Chairman of the Finland Society⁷ acts as Speaker for the Council and for the FEP. (Finnish Expatriate Parliament 2011)

The FEP acts as a channel through which decisions are transmitted to the Finnish government and other public authorities. In practice, the FEP member organizations bring forward initiatives to the FEP's secretary who in turn prepares them for the committees of the full session. In the 2010 session, 9 committees were formed around the issues of citizenship, culture, youth, education and training, politics and government, senior citizens, social issues, by-laws and economy, and information. They draw up a report on each referred bill, which includes a draft resolution. These resolutions are then taken to the Parliament's full session where they either are accepted or rejected by consensus or by voting. (Finnish Expatriate Parliament 2011)

The Finland Society is committed to act on behalf of the FEP by approaching Finnish officials or officials of other countries and ensuring that the public is informed about the decisions that have been made. The FEP has worked on a variety of issues ranging from dual citizenship to postal voting abroad, taxation and support for Finnish language schools.⁸ Today, the FEP has about 500 member associations in 37 countries. (Finnish Expatriate Parliament 2011)

4. Data and analysis

A brief two-page survey was distributed to the representatives of 182 member organizations at the Finnish Expatriate Parliament's full session on May 24th and 25th 2010 in Helsinki, and also later emailed to association representatives whose email addresses were available. The survey, which the participants found in their binders, contained both structured and open-ended questions. The questions addressed the significance of the FEP and the public atmosphere of the host society towards migrant associations⁹. They also queried the associations on basic information such as their local and international collaboration partners, number of members, gender distribution, and year of establishment and of joining the FEP.

The response rate was 31% ($n = 56$), which while prompting caution with regard to making generalizations based on the results, nevertheless offers a glimpse into the world of the FEP member associations. For this paper I have also used the Finland Society's registry of associations, my observations, the associations' web pages and previous literature to supplement the survey data. I begin by introducing the basic features emerging from the data.

4.1 General features of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament's member associations

Migrants generally create organizations that reflect the types of organizations that they are accustomed to in their countries of origin. In Finland, two thirds of new associations are cultural, sports and other hobby associations concerned with self-development or self-realization (Siisiäinen 2009). Recreation and social clubs similarly account for the majority of member associations of the FEP. The same is also evident from the Finland Society's registry of all Finnish associations abroad. Most of these associations consist of Finnish societies in different countries that function in a variety of ways, for example, organizing Finnish cultural celebrations. Although social and recreational clubs abroad seem to pursue a collective mission of preserving Finnish heritage and language, they are, as are those within Finland, important in shaping and creating a sense of identity.

The types¹⁰ and functions of the associations reflect the needs of emigrant Finns in the countries of settlement, namely maintaining Finnish heritage and language. Migrant organizations in culture, recreation, religion and education, along with the media, all have a common orientation toward raising 'national' sentiments (Breton 2005: 178). The lack of associations in the social services, environmental, and development and housing sectors (except nursing homes) is also demonstrated in the Finland Society's registry of all Finnish associations abroad. The nonexistence of associations dealing with people in need of food, shelter, clothing, or medical attention indicates that Finnish migrants are economically secure. This, however, has not always been the case. There are records of associations providing food and shelter to Finnish immigrants as well as associations raising money for Finns in Finland during wartime (see e.g. Björklund & Koivukangas 2008; Lindström 1988).

Churches represent the oldest type of Finnish association abroad¹¹. In the study sample, the Seamen's Mission (*Hampurin merimieskirkko*) in Hamburg, Germany, was established in 1901. While many cooperatives, temperance and trade associations existed for only short periods in countries such as Canada and the USA, churches have been highly resilient, in many cases surviving for more than a century. These congregations have been through numerous transitions,

often to the extent of losing their ethnic roots in the process of adaptation and assimilation (Glad 2003). Associations inhabit a world that is in constant flux, and a very few manage to escape the normal fate of a limited lifespan (Rossteutcher, Medina & Selle 2007: 220). Religious organizations, however, have the largest pool of members (see Table 1), which is often found to correlate with the long lifespan of associations (ibid.).

Table 1. General features of the member associations of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament

Association type	N	Year of establishment (oldest and youngest association)	Average number of members	Women %	Men %	50-years old and younger %	Older than 50-years old %
Culture, Arts and Media	6	1977–1997	923	40	60	22	78
Recreation and Social Clubs	24	1952–2009	287	65	35	24	76
Finnish Language Schools	9	1977–2005	51	56	44	94	6
Nursing Home Associations	2	1975–1980	810	70	30	20	80
Civic and Advocacy Organizations	8	1971–2000	61	56	44	31	69
Political Organizations	1	1998	294	50	50	5	95
Religion	4	1901–1994	1900	65	35	42	58
Business and Professional Associations	2	1975–1999	90	26	74	15	85

The youngest associations are found among the recreation and social club category. In this study sample, the most recently (2009) established association is Finns of Hua Hin (*Hua Hinin seudun suomalaiset yhdistys*) in Thailand, which aims to assist, guide and educate Finns residing in the area of Hua Hin about living in Thailand and to enhance members' enjoyment in Thailand. At 200 members, the Finns of Hua Hin association has already reached almost an average FEP association size in the category of recreation and social clubs. In this sample, language schools and civic and advocacy organizations have a much smaller membership base, averaging from 51 to 61 members per association.

Associational membership seems to appeal especially to older people, which is also evident in Finland where people over 50 years of age participate more actively in associations than younger people (Sanaksenaho 2006: 70). Abroad, the youngest membership is found in language schools and the oldest in political, business and professional organizations. Finnish nursing homes abroad are non-profit organizations usually not only providing housing and care for the elderly, but also fostering cultural and educational activities that bridge the generations. Finnish American Home Association in California, for example, offers Finnish cultural summer camps for children. Hence, younger people are also encouraged to become members.

The overall gender distribution slightly favours women, with the total average at around 54%. This is reflected in the 2009 table (Statistics Finland 2010) on Finnish emigration from Finland, which shows that in 2009 a total of 8,114 people emigrated from Finland, of which women accounted for 54% (4,365 persons) and men 46% (3,749 persons). The same table indicates that women form the majority membership in most continents except Asia and South America.

It is also important to recognize that age also plays a significant role in gender distribution. Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2008: 104) discuss that among all Finns abroad, gender distribution changes at around the age of 35. Women make up the majority of emigrants younger than 35 years of age, while men make up a slight majority in the above 35 age group. As the majority of members in Finnish associations abroad, with the exception of language schools, appear to be over 50 years of age, it is possible to draw the conclusion that women participate more in advocacy work than men.

Gender division among different types of associations can reveal society's perception of gender roles at a given time, particularly if membership of some organizations is restricted exclusively to men or women (Selle 1997: 82). The study data indicates that religious associations, rest home associations and social and recreational clubs are dominated by women, while business, professional and cultural organizations in command of media, communications and historical societies are dominated by men.¹² By way of comparison, within Finland, where women's overall associational membership rate is as high as that of men, religious organizations and social and hobby-based clubs, as well as cultural associations are dominated by women (Sanaksenaho 2006: 59). A large number of female-dominated organizations may serve as an indication of more general gender segregation in the voluntary sector, even though religious and temperance associations have historically played an important role in the local community and have influenced both local and national culture and politics (Selle 1997).

Migrant women are often regarded as "the transmitters and reproducers of ethnic and national ideologies", but they may also abandon home traditions quickly if they are not considered as adequate strategies for survival (Schrover &

Vermeulen 2005: 827). This is demonstrated in Jones-Correa's (1998) research on Latin American immigrants in New York City. He argues that men and women experience very different kinds of political socialization processes often due to occupational downward mobility upon immigration, with men remaining involved in first generation migrant associations while women, favouring change, often take on the role of intermediaries between the immigrant community and the surrounding society. The presence of the large number of women in the member associations of the FEP is noteworthy. However, this study provided insufficient data to be able to draw adequate conclusions on this. It nevertheless raises the question for future research of whether the female-dominated FEP associations are concerned more with their communities of settlement, and whether the male-dominated associations are concerned more with emphasizing ties with Finland?

4.2 Networking and collaboration

The last survey question investigated each organization's collaboration rate (currently, previously or not at all) and collaboration partners with other institutions locally and internationally¹³. Because of the link with the Finnish Expatriate Parliament, it was assumed that all of the respondents would report having international connections with other associations (the Finland Society/FEP) and thus also that many associations would cooperate with the state (Finland). This was, however, not the case. Connections with local government agencies were 20% higher than with government agencies in Finland.¹⁴ The highest involvement with local/national (87–100%) and international (87–100%) government was reported by the civic, advocacy and political organizations (see Table 2).

Table 2. Proportion of associations currently collaborating or previously collaborated with various partners locally or internationally (% averages)

Partner	Locally %	Internationally %
City/municipality & state	64	60
Other associations	80	60
Churches	63	29
Corporations	60	24
Media	64	25
Schools	56	29
Other (incl. e.g. artists, EU programs, museums)	21	13

Shared ethnic identity is the most common link between local associations: Finns collaborate with other Finns. Only about 15 percent of associations reported that they also belong to widespread international networks crossing ethnic boundaries such as *Partner aller Nationen*, *Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity*, *Crossborder Tornedalen* or cooperate with other migrant organizations located in the same area. Previous research argues that associations tend to establish links with their own kind mostly according to the type of activity (Zmerli & Newton 2007: 168). Nevertheless, the current study sample presents evidence of cross-cutting connections (e.g. recreation and social clubs collaborating with churches). At least half of the associations are involved in an extensive local network made up of government agencies, other associations, churches, corporations, the media and schools (Table 2). A similar cross-cutting network is also observable in Finland, although there is lesser collaboration with other associations (40% compared to 80%) and corporations (47% compared to 60%), but slightly more with local government officials (70% compared to 64%) (Luomala & Pyykkönen 2002: 138–146). One explanation for this could be that associations abroad may be more dependent on each other than associations within Finland.

Group resources, especially money, membership size, and status in the community, are seen as crucial for networking (Hallenstvedt et al. 1976; Zmerli & Newton 2007). Locally and internationally, the most extensive networks are found in advocacy and politics, while the least integrated association type belongs to the business and professional category. According to the study data, membership size alone does not indicate any causality as to whether an association is collaborating extensively. The civic and advocacy organizations and business and professional associations all had small membership bases. In terms of gender, it is remarkable that 74% of members in the business and professional associations were men. Hence, the claim that male-dominated organizations would be the most integrated into extensive organizational networks while female-dominated associations would be the least integrated (Selle 1997) does not apply in this case.

Although the Finnish Expatriate Parliament's member associations are transnational, maintaining links with Finland and even indirectly with other countries, they still have more collaboration with institutions of the settlement country. This finding supports previous research in the assertion that the people most involved in transnational activities are those that have been resident in the host society for a long time (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003), as they are well integrated and have extensive knowledge of the local customs and political culture of the host society.

5. The function of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament: a transnational advocacy network?

Now that the actors in the transnational network are a little more familiar, I shall turn to explore the activity of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament. I assess the most common tactics and strategies used by advocacy networks to determine whether the function of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament's network resembles Keck and Sikkink's (1998) transnational advocacy network.

5.1 Tactics and strategies of transnational advocacy networks

The most recognizable characteristic of transnational advocacy networks is the practice of information politics, which involves the procurement of information from multiple sources and, often, the subsequent use of this information to alert the press and policymakers (Keck & Sikkink 1998). The member associations of the FEP gather information between Parliament's sessions and share and process it during the full session. Although it is mostly the Finland Society's task to inform the press and, especially, policy makers about the resolutions of the FEP, member associations also publicize and educate expatriate Finns about the decisions of the FEP in the host societies. Hence, the survey indicated that membership brought some (welcomed) obligations to 77% of the associations.

Over half of the respondents believed that leverage politics, i.e. pressuring and persuading powerful actors, is the FEP's most significant function. Its associations have also chosen to participate in this activity. In the year 2000 they campaigned with a petition of 25,700 signatures to the Constitutional Law Committee of the Parliament of Finland in order to initiate a new citizenship law. The campaign was successful, and three years later the law allowed Finnish citizens abroad to acquire foreign citizenship without losing their Finnish citizenship, and Finns who had lost their Finnish citizenship were able to re-acquire it in a similar manner to the children of Finnish citizens. (Finland Society 2007)¹⁵

Nevertheless, transnational advocacy networks use more diverse tactics than the FEP. Symbolic and accountability politics are more often used to target actors who value the good opinion of others. Keck and Sikkink (1998) assert that, for transnational advocacy networks, the use of symbolic interpretations to convince governments or international organizations to take action and the use of material or moral leverage to portray issues in terms of money or goods while 'mobilizing shame' are useful. If this fails to work, the network can always use to expose information and the distance between discourse and practice, i.e. engage in accountability politics. The FEP could also use it due to *the Government Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns 2006-2011* issued by the Ministry of Labour.¹⁶

The “boomerang” pattern is recognized as emerging in transnational advocacy networks’ attempts to pressure their “primary violators” (Keck & Sikkink 1998: 12–13). Advocacy networks seek to voice the demands, claims, or rights of the less powerful and, therefore, are most visible in situations in which those making claims are too weak politically for their voices to be heard (Keck & Sikkink 1998: 221). Here, finding the most favourable arenas in which to fight their battles is of utmost importance. It is this carrying of the issue outside of the ‘offending state’ which ultimately causes the “boomerang” pattern to emerge.

The Finnish Expatriate Parliament’s member associations also follow this “boomerang” pattern. As, in many cases, these migrant associations carry little clout within the host country, it is more effective for them to tackle issues from the outside. Moreover, as the majority of issues raised concerns emigrant Finns and their families, they need to be first discussed in Finland in order to be able to address the Finnish governmental authorities. Hence, unlike advocacy networks, the member associations of the FEP do not need to seek a platform, because one already exists in Helsinki. In this way, the member associations are comparable to domestic political actors that bypass the host state by taking the matter to the Finnish Expatriate Parliament in Helsinki. Following on from this, I will next describe a slightly different kind of “boomerang” pattern, which is emerging from the network of migrant associations.

5.2 The “boomerang” pattern in the work of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament

In the initiative process which begins between the full sessions of the FEP, members address key concerns by drawing up proposals to the secretary of the FEP who, in turn, consults experts and prepares the proposals to be submitted as initiatives to the FEP committees. This is a powerful politicization process, as the act of naming key concerns as political issues opens up a horizon of ‘chances’ for action (Palonen 2003). For the 2010 session, for instance, the Stockholm Finnish Society (*Finska Föreningen i Stockholm*) and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in Köln (*Finnische Gemeinde Köln*) both submitted an initiative to the Citizenship Committee for a separate electoral district for expatriate Finns. The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bremen (*Finnische Gemeinde Bremen*), on the other hand, put forward an initiative to the standing Cultural Committee demanding expatriate Finnish artists to also be covered by state grants. The Senior Committee in turn received an initiative from the Australasian Federation of Finnish Societies and Clubs Inc. (*Australasian suomalaisten liitto*) demanding support for Finnish seniors’ homes around the world. These examples show that the FEP associations are acting beyond the confines of their core activity, and are

addressing diverse issues that serve the wider Finnish emigrant community and its interests as a whole.

The Committee for Political and Official Issues receives most initiatives that require the Finland Society to approach the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or to directly address governments abroad. For the 2010 session, for instance, the Finns of Alanya Association (*Alanyan suomalaiset -yhdistys*) proposed that the price of residence permits for Finns in Turkey should be equivalent to that of other European citizens. In Sweden, Finland Center (*Finska Centret*) and Club 2000 called on the Finnish Government to act quickly on behalf of the situation and position of the Finnish language in Sweden. Furthermore, they also suggested that the Council of Europe should demand more detailed monitoring of the situation of the Finnish language in Sweden.

Once the issues have been named and the best options explored, it is next the turn of politicking, i.e. “performances in the struggle for power” (Palonen 2003: 175). The FEP full session commences with committee meetings in which each initiative is discussed and draft resolutions are drawn up. Here, the associations with the most allies will be the most successful in gaining an affirmative draft resolution for their initiative (if a representative is present). Nevertheless, draft resolutions are either accepted or rejected in the Parliament’s full session by consensus or by voting. The associations with over 1,000 members hold the largest power shares in the session, as they can send three representatives, equalling three votes, to the session.

If the committee’s draft resolution is accepted, the Finland Society is committed to act on behalf of the FEP. In the 2010 session, the Finns of Alanya Association’s initiative calling for a change in unjust pricing of residential permits for Finns in Turkey was accepted. The resolution proposes that the Finnish Ministry of the Interior and the Finnish immigration authorities start negotiations with the Turkish immigration authorities and that the consular officials at the Finnish embassy in Ankara take measures to include the uniform treatment of citizens of EU member states in the context of residence permit fees in the agenda of the EU consul meeting in Turkey (Finnish Expatriate Parliament 2010). This resolution, along with other propositions, was submitted to the Finnish Prime Minister Mari Kiviniemi, who has sent them to the ministries for comments. Once the ministries have reviewed the resolutions, their comments are sent back to the Finland Society where they are discussed and the necessary steps for further action are planned together with the Speakers’ Council. As always in politics, the outcome is unpredictable. The Finland Society has nevertheless been influential, for example, in improving Finnish emigrants’ status in Sweden, integrating Finnish language schools in the national school system of Switzerland, and implementing an old age pension scheme for Finnish emigrants in Australia.

The “boomerang” pattern of activity is thus established via the FEP. Furthermore, the “boomerang” can also circle through the European Commission if deemed necessary. The Finland Society is a member¹⁷ of the Brussels based non-governmental organization *The Europeans Throughout the World (ETTW)*, which urges European national governments and the institutions of the European Union to give political and practical recognition and support to all European expatriates (Europeans Throughout the World 2010).

In order to be able to effectively lobby and negotiate with foreign government officials, the Finnish Expatriate Parliament works closely with Finnish diplomats and with Finnish emigrants in positions of influence (such as politicians and lawyers) in the settlement countries. These often attend the FEP’s regional meetings and full sessions and are available to assist the goals of the FEP. Furthermore, the full sessions also host high profile speakers such as the President of Finland (both Tarja Halonen and Martti Ahtisaari have attended) and the Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the last session, for instance, the current Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb discussed with the associations’ representatives regarding the issuing of passports abroad, and frowned upon the idea of an emigrants’ own electoral district, which was raised in the general discussion. In this way, the FEP also functions as a forum for state representatives in their attempts to influence the associations not to advocate issues that may be against the interests of the state¹⁸. Van Deth (1997: 5) calls this an aspect of the two-way flow of communication and influence. It provides space for intermediary organizations and interest groups not only to articulate the wishes and demands of citizens, but it also allows for political elites to provide a channel to contact citizens and associations (ibid.).

Although the Finnish governmental elite rejects the idea of an electoral district for its emigrants, it continues to be hotly debated by the representatives of the member associations. The issue has been on the table since the constitutive session in 1997, and has been brought up for debate in every session since. While many associations support the idea of a separate electoral district, the majority remains doubtful. Because the FEP is politically independent, a separate expatriate constituency could weaken its influence because issues in Finland that affect expatriate Finns could become subject to party political realities and electoral terms (Finnish Expatriate Parliament 2010).

6. Conclusion

This chapter suggests that Finnish associations abroad are transnational and that their organizing process is not fixed in one place. The associations’ collaboration networks indicate that the boundaries between the international and local arenas are significantly blurring. The FEP has become a common platform for a variety of

associations to introduce and discuss Finnish emigrants' concerns that it is almost 'taken for granted' by its members in a way that 40% of the survey respondents omitted to mention their involvement in the FEP. In its 13 years of existence, the FEP has become a stable and respected network to which new associations continuously join. An advocacy network engaged in transnational political practices has, hence, been created.

Keck and Sikkink's (1998) list of transnational advocacy organizations does not include migrants' social clubs, language schools or other cultural organizations. It contains: 1) international and domestic nongovernmental research and advocacy organizations; 2) local social movements; 3) foundations; 4) the media; 5) churches, trade unions, consumer organizations; 6) parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations; and 7) parts of the executive/or parliamentary branches of governments (*ibid.* 9–8). Perhaps migrant associations' unique way of organizing should also be taken into account. The FEP and transnational advocacy networks both follow the "boomerang" pattern of activity, but the advocacy networks' tactics and strategies for bringing pressure against "primary violators" mostly differ from those used by the FEP.

This brief insight into the member associations of the FEP shows that association type plays an important role in determining differences in transnational action. Political and advocacy oriented associations have the densest collaboration networks, and business and professional associations have the least integrated networks. Some associations forge numerous connections locally and internationally, while other associations are content with one or two collaboration organizations. Gender distribution also plays a significant role, with women appearing to be more active in advocacy work than men.

The member associations of the FEP have adopted a firm position between the individual and the state. The political action of the member associations can also be sustained, because as members of the FEP they have the opportunity to act as intermediary organizations on a continuous basis. The fact that the FEP's social and recreational member associations have begun serving as intermediary advocacy associations is also in direct contrast with the situation in Finland, where the newest associations are less likely to participate in advocacy work (Siisiäinen 2002). However, as Siisiäinen (2009: 105) concludes in his general analysis of voluntary organizing in Finland, "voluntary associations are exceptionally important for the Finnish way of advancing interests and organizing collective identities". The same applies to the member associations of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament.

Notes

- ¹ By 'apolitical' I mean associations that do not define themselves as political such as social clubs.
- ² Østergaard-Nielsen (2006: 762) defines transnational political practices as "various forms of direct cross-border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees, as well as their indirect participation via the political institutions of the host country or international organizations".
- ³ The term expatriate is used broadly in reference to all emigrants.
- ⁴ In Finnish "Etnisten suhteiden neuvottelukunta (ETNO)", which is attached to the government departments.
- ⁵ Representatives do not need Finnish citizenship to participate.
- ⁶ The Speakers' Council convenes in Helsinki twice a year. It is divided into eight regional divisions.
- ⁷ Pertti Paasio was FEP Chairman from 1998 to May 2010. The current Chair is Mr. Ville Itälä.
- ⁸ Some of the Finnish language schools also offer Swedish classes for the children of the Swedish-speaking Finns.
- ⁹ This is, however, not covered in this paper due to space restrictions.
- ¹⁰ Member associations are typified according to the International Classification of Non-Profit Organizations (ICNPO) (Salamon & Anheier 1996; Salamon et al. 1999). A couple of changes needed to be made because the ICNPO groups all migrant associations that "promote the interests of, or provide services to, members belonging to the specific ethnic heritage" bluntly to the category of Civic and Advocacy Organizations (Salamon & Anheier 1996: 17). Hence, in this study it consists only of advocacy groups, civil rights associations and civic associations. Finnish language schools are found in the category of Education.
- ¹¹ In many countries churches function as associations.
- ¹² Selle (1997: 82) argues that if two-thirds of members are female it is a sign of a female-dominated organization.
- ¹³ In the survey, 'local' is understood as the local and national conditions in the settlement country, while 'international' means collaboration outside the settlement country including, but not limited to, Finland.
- ¹⁴ The sample also shows that some associations did not only collaborate with Finland and local governments, but also with the neighbouring countries. An Austrian association, for example, reported cooperating with Finnish and German government officials. Swedish associations maintained connections with Finland, Estonia, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. However, one disadvantage of the survey method was the high rate of incomplete responses. Although all respondents marked their collaboration with different institutions (on the scale of 1-3), only 46% of respondents named their collaboration partners. It is therefore uncertain whether these respondents were referring to connections with government officials or just with international networks with other associations. Due to the missing content and sometimes confusing survey responses, a case

study approach is recommended for future studies.

- ¹⁵ *The application procedure however ended on June 2, 2008. The FEP still advocates a continuation of the application procedure. The citizenship law has been under the review of the Ministry of Interior since October 2008. (Finnish Expatriate Parliament 2011)*
- ¹⁶ *The Government Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns 2006-2011 emphasizes six topics: 1) preserving Finnish identity; 2) improving legal rights of expatriate Finns; 3) supporting social security and public health care of expatriate Finns; 4) recognizing expatriate Finns as a resource in business life; 5) supporting the prerequisites of expatriate Finns' return migration; and 6) supporting research on Finnish migration and expatriation (Ministry of Labour 2006).*
- ¹⁷ *The Finland Society became a member of the Europeans Throughout the World (ETTW) in 1985, a year after its establishment.*
- ¹⁸ *Also, the position of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Justice has been from the beginning negative towards the idea of a separate electoral district.*

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Conga Se Menne band playing traditional Finnish melodies with tropical Reggae/Latin rhythms in FinnFest 2011, San Diego, USA. (Photo: E. Heikkilä)

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