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Participation, Integration, and Recognition: Changing Pathways to Immigrant Incorporation



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PARTICIPATION, INTEGRATION, AND RECOGNITION:

Changing Pathways to Immigrant Incorporation

Edited by

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Institute of Migration

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“From Hanko to New York” – A Part of “From Hanko to the New World” -series
by Karoliina Veijo

In this work one can find three layers of photos:

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- People on the Circle Line cruise watching the Statue of Liberty in New York (photo: Karoliina Veijo, 2009)
- Hanko skyline over the sea in (photo: Karoliina Veijo, 2013)

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Introduction

■ Johanna Leinonen

Integration is a recurrent topic in public debates on immigration and multiculturalism in Finland and elsewhere in Europe. On the one hand, immigrants often appear in public discussions as “objects” of integration policies as carried out by the state or municipalities. These discussions are controlled by authorities, law makers, and state-level and municipal actors working within the integration system; how immigrants themselves view the process is less often brought to the fore. Finnish integration policies typically distinguish between the public and private sphere, so that immigrants are expected to become full members of the former (in particular, the labor market), while given the right to maintain their “own culture” in the latter. At the same time, immigrants – often discussed as a homogeneous group – are continuously criticized precisely for not adopting the “ways” of the receiving culture. In these discussions, immigrants can be depicted as active, but in a negative light: as unwilling to integrate and thus choosing to remain unintegrated at the margins of society. Overall, the term integration is used rather loosely in public discussions, without a clear definition of what exactly happens when an immigrant integrates to the receiving society. In what areas of life is integration expected to take place and at what speed? What is the desired outcome of integration, both for immigrants and for members of the receiving society? How is this outcome measured and best achieved?

The conference “Participation, Integration, and Recognition: Changing Pathways to Immigrant Incorporation”, held at the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland on May 19-20, 2014, invited scholars to an interdisciplinary discussion about different ways of understanding immigrant integration, both historically and in contemporary society. The conference was organized by the Institute of Migration together with the Department of European and World History, the Network for Research on Multiculturalism and Societal Interaction, and the John Morton Center for North American Studies of the University of Turku. In addi-

tion, the Academy of Finland project “Contexts of Diaspora Citizenship – Transnational Networks, Social Participation and Social Identification of Somalis in Finland and in the U.S.” (University of Eastern Finland and Mikkeli University of Applied Sciences) participated in the conference organizing. The conference featured four keynote speakers, Dr. Peter Kivisto (Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, USA), Dr. Tuuli Anna Mähönen (University of Helsinki, Finland), Dr. Teemu Ryymin (University of Bergen, Norway), and Dr. Mari Vaattovaara (University of Helsinki, Finland). This publication includes a selection of papers presented during the two conference days. Together, they bring forward the complexity of the process of integration in different historical and societal contexts and at different levels of analysis. In addition, the interdisciplinary group of authors utilizes a multitude of methods and sources in their analyses, from statistical analysis to interviews and archival and literary research.

The chapters highlight the need to take into account both the context of departure and arrival when examining the process of immigrant integration (see Kivisto in this publication). While factors such as the attitude climate towards immigration certainly influences the way immigrants are received and thus their prospects for successful integration (Söderling and Kiiveri), scholars often ignore the importance of pre-migration experiences and expectations in the integration process, as Mähönen, for example, points out. In a similar vein, expectations and ideas of state/municipal actors in the integration system regarding immigrants’ cultures of origin influence the way they approach their work with immigrants, as Gustafsson shows. Thus, while integration discussions tend to focus on the successes and failures of immigrants in the receiving society, immigrants’ pre-migration background and experiences affect their integration process, as well as the way members of the receiving society receive and view them.

While Finland’s revised Integration Act (2010) includes a new emphasis on families and communities that immigrants are part of, in practice integration policies tend to focus on individual immigrants. At the same time, as Kivisto notes, scholars often evaluate the process of integration at a group level, examining the outcomes of the integration process by, for example, using measures such as intermarriage rate or labor market participation. While these kinds of studies are needed, it is also important to examine integration as a process, and take into account not only the group level but also the way individual immigrants experience this process. Personal interviews, journals, memoirs, literary works, and letters are important sources for examining integration “from the bottom up”, and several authors in this publication analyze these types of sources and thus provide more intimate views on integration (Bonetti, Christensen, Kivisto, Nikkola, Torpstén). The chapters also reveal how integration is experienced differently depending on factors such as an individual’s legal status (Christensen) and generation (Christensen, Kushnir, Nikkola). Finally, intergroup relations play a

crucial role in the integration process. Relations between immigrants and members of the receiving community are examined in this publication by Kananen and Sotkasiira and Mähönen. Kalinitchev, on the other hand, brings forward relations between different immigrant communities both in the immigration destination as well as transnationally.

Integration can also occur at different speeds in different areas of life (such as in the workplace and school) and, furthermore, its outcomes can be studied at different levels of analysis from the individual immigrant's life to broader societal contexts. This publication includes chapters that consider, for example, integration within families, as different generations negotiate their identities, in schools, and in leisure time activities (Kushnir, Nikkola). Integration thus often changes dynamics within families and communities and between generations, but it has also broader societal consequences. As Juntunen's and Elo's chapter brings out, unsuccessful integration can, in the worst case, lead to irregular behavior that can be harmful for the individual immigrant, the community he or she is part of (in particular when considering the stigmatizing tendencies of public debates), and for the society at large.

As Ryymin importantly points out in his chapter, there is no single pathway to successful immigrant integration. Immigrants – just like anyone else – have multiple roles in their lives (for example, as family members, workers, students, and political actors), engage in activities in different social fields, and form social relations in these fields. In each of these fields, different factors, such as policies, laws, and norms, can create obstacles or opportunities for immigrants' activities and, consequently, for their integration process. As scholars examine these multiple pathways to immigrant integration, it is important to keep in mind the power relationships embedded in the integration process. As for example Christensen shows in this publication, integration and participation do not always mean recognition as full members of society. Ideally, integration is a two-way process which results in changes in both immigrant communities and the receiving society. As Mähönen aptly puts it in her chapter, without a possibility to participate as full members of society and without recognition by members of the receiving society, there can be no real integration.

I

**DYNAMICS OF
IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION**

Pluralism and the dynamics of contemporary integration

■ Peter Kivisto

Abstract

In contexts of complex diversity and competing integration paradigms, there is a need to develop conceptual tools for comprehending the experiences of migrants. This paper seeks to contribute to that task in an admittedly schematic way. It does so first by seeking to illustrate the theoretical utility of the concept of ambivalence, and secondly by outlining the idea of a cosmopolitan canopy in further clarifying the significance of multicultural integration.

Introduction

Into what do immigrants become integrated or incorporated when they move from the poor nations of the South and East to the wealthy nations of the North and West? How is this accomplished? Migration scholars have tended to speak rather casually, often without specifying exactly what they mean, about integration into the societal mainstream. This has led to considerable commentary on various conceptual modes of integration – ranging across a spectrum from assimilation to multiculturalism, which to large extent means from greater or lesser degrees of the erosion or preservation of diversity. To cite one example, Michel Wieviorka (2014) has recently offered what he calls a “critique of integration,” which amounts to a detailed articulation of many of the issues at hand from both a policy perspective and as a tool of social scientific analysis without offering a resolution of those issues (or, for that matter, a genuine understanding of multiculturalism).

To speak about the mainstream is to employ a metaphor. At one level, it can be presumed to refer to the middle class, which in receiving societies is both

large and heterogeneous. For some it can refer to a location in the economic hierarchy that places the newcomers in an advantageous position regarding such things as school achievement, upward mobility in the job market, and so forth. It can also refer, at the cultural level, to embracing the core values of the societal center. In terms of religion, individuals are often depicted as becoming integrated if their religious affiliations are congruent with a majority of citizens in the receiving society, which can mean being members of various Christian denominations or, particularly in most of the countries of Western Europe, if they are deemed to be appropriately secular. What this implies is that integration can be seen as occurring in one sphere without necessarily occurring at another. Take the example of the Muslim physician who provides his family with an upper middle class standard of living and sends his children to elite universities, but at the same time seeks to insure that his children agree to arranged marriages while disputing the Western idea of the differentiation of the religious and political spheres. Such a person can be described as fitting into the mainstream in the economic sphere, but remaining outside the mainstream at the cultural level (with its premium on individualism, including individual choice in such matters as mate selection) and religion (with the Western understanding of the separation of church and state).

But, as scholars such as Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) have made clear, the situation is more complex insofar as integration can occur outside of the mainstream, a process they describe as “segmented assimilation.” They identify three integration trajectories, two in addition to the above-noted move into the mainstream. One other possibility occurs when integration entails downward mobility into the underclass, where options for upward mobility are thwarted and the problems associated with poverty take hold. The role models for those drawn into this trajectory derive not from the mainstream but from an oppositional counterculture. The third trajectory involves remaining in the ethnic enclave where immigrants find both employment opportunities and a social support network that assists in adjusting to the new homeland. Whether or not the ethnic enclave provides opportunities for upward mobility and later entry into the mainstream is a contested issue in the literature (see for example, Portes & Jensen 1989 and Nee & Sanders 2001).

More recently, Ewa Morawska (2014) has suggested yet another paradigm, one entailing an integration trajectory in which plural identities prevail among individuals who have embraced what can be called a cosmopolitan mentalité. While Morawska refers to this as cosmopolitan integration, it might equally well be described as pluralist integration. One of the characteristic features of this mode of integration is that individuals find themselves at home in a range of different social settings, exhibiting a capacity to move fluidly between different social worlds.

While there may be more types of integration – or at least subtypes of these types – by merely specifying these four, it is clear that integration is a complex phenomenon that invariably takes a variety of forms. In no small part, one could expect this because of the fact that there is considerable diversity among immigrant populations. In the first place, it is necessary to distinguish immigrants from refugees, those who move to better their lives versus those who move to save their lives. While these categories are, indeed, ideal types, and the situations of many amount to a mixing of bettering and saving, the salient point is that immigrants are a diverse lot in part because of the differing motives that propelled them to move beyond an international border. Beyond this, immigrants differ along a continuum from high to low levels of available financial capital. Likewise, there is a continuum regarding both social capital and human capital. The former speaks to the utility of networks for assisting in the integration process, while the latter addresses the potential for socioeconomic upward mobility independent of immediately available financial resources. Race constitutes a particularly salient factor, with those who are racially similar to the dominant race of the receiving country generally possessing an enhanced capacity for integration compared to those who are racially dissimilar. A similar pattern prevails with religious affiliation.

Yet another factor contributing to diversity is the legal status of the migrant. While this is often framed in terms of a legal/illegal binary, in fact, as Cecilia Menjivar (2006) has convincingly illustrated, it is more appropriate to view legal status on a continuum, with “liminal legality” characterizing the situation of many immigrants. Immigrant groups tend to differ depending on the proximity to the homeland. While contemporary communications technologies makes global contacts with those left behind more common, distance still matters, and those immigrants who can make trips to the country of origin with relative ease (e.g., Mexican immigrants in the United States) are in a better position to establish and maintain transnational links (Kivisto & Faist 2010, 127–159). Finally, language is an issue, with those immigrants possessing the greatest level of competence with the dominant language of the receiving society being in a more favorable position compared to those lacking such competence.

Layered onto both the different types of integration and the various manifestations of immigrant diversity is the fact that in most contemporary receiving nations, the immigrant populations have been aptly characterized by Steven Vertovec (2007) as super-diverse. What he meant by super-diversity is that contemporary immigration in most Western nations tends to be spread over many different sending nations, with no one place of origin constituting a majority or even a substantial plurality of the overall immigrant population. Using the United Kingdom as an example, Ireland represents the major source country, but Irish immigrants accounted for less than 13% of the total in 2012. The 25 largest im-

migrant groups, taken as a whole, account for 66.7% of the total of foreign nationals. The United States is somewhat different from the UK insofar as the Mexican population is distinctly large. Nevertheless, it constituted less than 30% of the foreign national population. In 2012, the 10 largest immigrant groups constituted 57.7% of the total number of foreign nationals. Despite their unique features, both countries can be defined as super-diverse. So can Finland, where Russians and residents of other places in the former Soviet Union – excluding Estonians – represent the largest group at 21.3% of the immigrant population in Finland in 2013. In second place are Estonians. The nine largest immigrants groups in Finland in 2013 constituted 61.1% of the total foreign-born population.

Given these facets of diversity, it is tempting to conclude that the situation is so complex that trying to find common threads in the process of integration is impossible. In fact, this has led some scholars to conclude that the task at hand is to “complicate” our understanding of integration. This is a mistake because our task is to find ways to interpret, to make sense of the phenomena we seek to understand – which inevitably leads to *simplifying*, not complicating. To do so, calls for a recognition of the reality of complexity. However, it also calls for reducing complexity by searching for generalizable processes that can be applicable in a range of empirical settings. Here I will attempt to sketch out a piece of the puzzle, focusing on the migrants and not on either the society they left (the “there”) or on the society they have entered (the “here”). That being said, this piece needs to be located within the larger contexts of the departure and contexts of arrival. In other words, we need to locate it in terms of the culture, economy, and polity, along with the civil society, and networks of family, friends, and neighbors in both the country of origin and the country of settlement.

A phenomenological approach to the migrant experience

In assessing the immigrant experience, particularly when seeking to determine whether or not immigrants have been successfully integrated into the receiving society, measures are typically used that are taken to capture outcomes – upward social mobility, educational attainment, homeownership, residential integration, participation in receiving society institutions, and intermarriage. While this is valuable, it is not always appreciated that such a research agenda fails to get at the actual process of integrating. Moreover, this body of research concentrates on the group level, emphasizing comparisons of group outcomes rather than individual outcomes (Deaux 2006, 131). Compounding the problem, when individual actors are taken into account, it is often from approaches influenced by rational choice theory, where the emphasis has been on the rational, calculating actions of migrants, ignoring the emotional side of the equation – and such things as the dreams, hopes, and fears of migrants.

I am writing as a sociologist, though I think that my assessment pertains not only to my discipline, but also to the other social sciences. There are, however, places where emotions are taken seriously. One need only look at the large body of fiction about the immigrant experience past and present, memoirs, and films to appreciate the significance of the emotional dimension to the process of immigrant integration.

In attempting to advance our general understanding of this complex process, Vanja LaVecchia-Mikkola and I have attempted in two recent articles to make use of the idea of ambivalence (Kivisto & LaVecchia-Mikkola 2013 and forthcoming). The concept is rooted in psychoanalytic theory, first developed by Eugen Bleuler in 1910 who treated it as containing three components related to acting, thinking, and feeling (summarized later in Bleuler 1924). Freud shortly thereafter picked up on the concept, emphasizing its importance in the emotional realm (see Freud 1943 for an overview of his views). Ambivalence has been reworked many times in the various currents of subsequent psychoanalytic theory. It has, however, to large extent been missing from sociological theorizing, despite the fact that two of the most prominent sociologists of the second half of the past century promoted the concept. Robert Merton (1976) did so by attempting to ground ambivalence in a sociological model that was not embedded in the psychoanalytic tradition, but rather centered on roles and role conflict. In contrast, Neil Smelser (1998), not only a sociologist, but also a trained psychoanalyst, has sought to give ambivalence a social psychological grounding, one that remains indebted to the psychoanalytic tradition as it is translated into a viable sociological construct. In his rendering, it refers to an affective state in which an individual simultaneously experiences the “existence of both attraction and repulsion, of love and hate” (Smelser 1998, 5), which can be directed to another person or group of persons or a physical or symbolic object.

Both Merton (1976) and Smelser (1998) mentioned in passing that the migration experience constitutes a paradigmatic example of where ambivalence is likely to be found. One of the more poignant descriptions in the recent sociological literature that reinforces their view can be found in the work of Abdelmalek Sayad (2004, 58), who studied Algerian immigrants in France. Without actually using the term ambivalence, he characterized his subjects as “torn” between Algeria and France – between the sending and receiving country – and as harboring both positive and negative emotions about both places, without knowing quite how to reconcile these contradictory emotions. This readily generalizable account of one immigrant group in one receiving nation points to something distinctive about the migrant experience, which is that it makes possible the existence of a dual ambivalence for the objects in question are both the place of origin – the “there” – and the place of settlement – the “here.”

If ambivalence is a typical – though not necessarily universal – response to immigration, the question becomes: what are its implications for the prospects of a positive incorporation into the receiving nation. Does ambivalence persist over time, perhaps throughout the lifetime of the immigrant, or is it resolved? What do these possibilities suggest regarding the process of immigrant adjustment and inclusion? To begin to get at the process question, it strikes me that tracing Smelser's (1998) approach has potential in stimulating a productive research agenda. He offers a typology of potential responses to ambivalence, borrowing from Albert O. Hirschman's influential book, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (1970). Smelser defines exit as a response in which the individual represses one side of the polarity, in this case the attraction side, while wholeheartedly embracing the other side – repulsion. In contrast, loyalty is the polar opposite: attraction wins out at the expense of repulsion. Finally, with voice, neither side of the polarity is repressed or “overcome,” but rather a balance between the two sides of the polarity is achieved, an achievement that tends not to be a once and forever “solution,” but rather constitutes an ongoing achievement.

An empirical case study

The case study used to illustrate the salience of ambivalence as a concept in understanding the process of integration derives from 48 in-depth interviews of Iraqi migrants in two European cities – Helsinki and Rome – conducted by Vanja LaVecchia-Mikkola. Half of the interviewees resided in each of these cities, and half was composed of Kurds while the other half was made up of Arabs. This was a snowball sample, one in which men were overrepresented since there were 12 women represented (thus, 25%). The population was highly educated, with all interviewees over the age of 35 possessing a university degree. All were Muslims, though most were non-practicing. Ages ranged between 20 and 70, with the vast majority being over 40. As with any case study, one can question how representative this particular sample is of migrants worldwide. Iraqis constitute a very small group, one that is composed primarily though not entirely, of refugees rather than labor migrants. Nonetheless, the findings would appear to be generalizable to other groups.

In the first article, we focused on ambivalence toward the homeland (Kivisto & LaVecchia-Mikkola 2013). Interviewees were given considerable latitude to discuss what they thought was most important, and the fact that the format was open-ended resulted in considerable variation in responses. We discovered that in these interviews the focus was sometimes on the past, sometimes primarily on the present, and in some cases on both past and present. When discussing the nation's past, interviewees frequently stressed that the Iraqi nation was the

product of one of the cradles of civilization. On the other hand, discussions of Iraq's present and recent past emphasized the horrors of a brutal dictatorship under Saddam Hussein and the subsequent unfolding of a bloody war that toppled his regime but in its wake left a wounded society characterized by chaos and violence. When the focus was on peoples' own experiences throughout their respective lives, memories of childhood were often framed in positive terms. Often, the innocence of childhood seemed to color their recollections, resulting in nostalgic recollections of the smells and sounds of neighborhoods, the joy of family gatherings, and the exuberance of games played among friends. In contrast, the coming of age shifted the accounts to political repression, a growing sense of anger and despair, often coupled with defiant acts of resistance and a desire to escape.

Using the Hirschman/Smelser typology, we were able to locate respondents as exhibiting exit, loyalty, or voice. Those refugees who manifested exit as a response to their ambivalence toward the homeland typically did so by refusing to claim a sense of nostalgia for the past. Rather, they wrote off the entirety of their experience in Iraq and their bottom-line assessment of the nation as a whole was that it was a disaster. In effect, they asked, "Why should I embrace a country that treated me so badly and that treats so many other fellow Iraqis equally badly?" These individuals had turned a corner, emotionally speaking as well as in terms of articulating their future goals, by rejecting Iraq. In contrast, those who responded to ambivalence by exhibiting loyalty appeared to be overwhelmed by feelings of homesickness, loss, and a persistent longing to return. While these individuals were cognizant of the difficulties of moving back to Iraq in the short term, they dream of a time when peace and prosperity will eventually prevail, making that possible. Finally, those who exhibited voice had learned to live with rather than resolve ambivalence. They did so by concluding that they did not expect to make a permanent move back to Iraq now or in the future. In no small part, this was because they had succeeded in creating a new and successful life in the receiving nation. Their careers and families were now rooted in the immediate "here" rather than the increasingly remote "there." That being said, they did not articulate a wholesale repudiation of Iraq, but rather expressed a desire to maintain ties with families and friends left behind and an interest in seeing Iraq emerge from its many difficulties. Indeed, many in this group indicated their intentions to visit Iraq in the future.

In our follow-up article, we turned to the emotional and identity work involved in creating a sense of home in Helsinki and Rome (Kivisto & LaVecchia-Mikkola forthcoming). Although the focus of this paper was slightly different from the previous one, we nevertheless were in a position to deploy the exit/loyalty/voice typology to the receiving country side of the migrant's dual ambivalence. What was clear from our findings was that in this instance, the exit

option did not contain many people who found the negative aspects of life in Europe to be the dominant feature of their experience. Rather, for a small number noted in the previous paper who expressed a profound homesickness, the pull of the homeland rather than hatred of Europe was the driving emotional factor. At the same time, while some of the respondents could be placed into the loyalty category, their presence there was not due to a total repression of repulsion and an uncritical embrace of the receiving society. Rather, positive feelings toward that society tended to be predominant, but somewhat tempered. None of these interviewees could be described as starry-eyed about the new homeland. In this regard, they were not far from those who expressed voice. This third group appreciated the positive features of Western Europe's liberal democracies, which included security, civility, peacefulness, and a respect for the rule of law. However, these individuals also pointed to negative features, which tended to differ depending on whether they were talking about Finland or Italy. As would be expected from individuals exhibiting this particular response to ambivalence, they were cognizant of the good, the bad, and the ugly in Finland and Italy. In the Finnish case, the welfare state was generally viewed positively, though a few people thought it tried to do too much for migrants and that as a result some members of the Iraqi community became too dependent on it. At the same time, several individuals pointed to what they perceived to be a cultural gulf between Finns and Iraqis, and they thought that the ethnic understanding of Finnish national identity posed a challenge to feeling at home there. The reverse was the situation described in Italy, where the state was routinely disparaged as inefficient and corrupt, but where it was quite easy to develop an affinity with ordinary Italians.

Far from attempting to offer a definitive account of the integration process with the concept of ambivalence, this line of research has simply sought to indicate that there is a process that occurs when migrants simultaneously attempt to make sense of their connections to here and there. This is a process that unfolds over time, indeed often over the course of an immigrant's lifetime. Making sense of that process entails an attentiveness to the identity and emotional work that is required to reconfigure a sense of belonging. The process is a complicated one insofar as the emotional responses of immigrants to both their land of birth and their new homeland are generally, though not necessarily universally, characterized by ambivalence. Exist, loyalty, and voice constitute three ideal-typical responses to ambivalence, indicating that one can expect within any particular immigrant group, and certainly across groups, variations in integration outcomes. Given this reality, is it possible to pursue policies that are more likely to result in successful integration outcomes, while minimizing the factors contributing to failures of integration? To address this critical topic, it is necessary to broaden the framework from solely focusing on the immigrants, as we have done here,

and locating them in terms of the other actors involved in the migration drama and in the larger issues related to the politics of home (Duyvendak 2011). Central to that politics is the struggle over multiculturalism as a mode of incorporation that seeks to facilitate immigrant voice.

Cosmopolitan canopy

Modern societies are highly differentiated and culturally pluralistic. The cultural pluralism is such that some, like Horace Kallen (1924) who made popular the term nearly a century ago, ponder whether there can even be a national culture that serves as a universal umbrella under which various particularistic cultures (based on such factors as religion, ethnicity, region, and ideology) can find a *modus vivendi* for living among people who embrace other cultures. Does such a culture exist? Is such a culture necessary? If it is, and it is weak, does it constitute a problem in terms of achieving societal solidarity? This is a large question, and one beyond the scope of this paper, but it certainly underpins the pressure in Western liberal democracies both in the past and today concerning integration programs designed to re-socialize newcomers into the values and ways of life of the receiving society.

Roger Waldinger (2015), in *The Cross-Border Connection: Immigrants, Emigrants, and Their Homelands* uses the American case to make quite clear that the state throughout history has been intent on determining who gets in and who does not, and for those who are permitted in, the state has engaged in a political re-socialization project designed to erode ties to the country of origin, replacing them with ties to the receiving society – the goal being an identification with the nation writ large. At the same time, and here I think Waldinger underplays this fact, immigrants respond to this project in varied ways, with a range of available repertoires and with differing levels of support from sectors of the receiving society.

There are two questions at hand here: (1) given the fact that the cultural field of a large and complex nation is pluralistic, what does this mean about the range of cultural options available to today's immigrants?; and (2) how ought we to consider the coexistence in such a nation of countervailing inclusionary and exclusionary social forces? Together, these two questions can serve to frame a sociological understanding about the prospects for multiculturalism to be/become/remain a significant mode of incorporation in the United States (and elsewhere). In this regard, I think that Elijah Anderson's (2011) concept of the "cosmopolitan canopy" can be adapted and recast in a productive way. As an urban ethnographer, Anderson's interest rivets on, in his terms, "pluralistic spaces where people engage one another in a spirit of civility, or even comity and goodwill." In Anderson's first footnote, he disavows any influence deriving from Peter Berger's (1967) concept of the "sacred canopy."

In contrast, I would suggest that what I have in mind would parallel Berger's concept. Just as he thought that a canopy was a way of conceiving of symbolic universes (overarching societal meaning systems) and subuniverses that provide individuals with "plausibility structures" concerning the sacred-profane binary, so a cosmopolitan canopy can be conceived as a plausibility structure concerning the inclusion-exclusion binary that affirms a normative decision to embrace and valorize difference. Under a cosmopolitan canopy, relations across group boundaries are characterized by efforts aimed at mutual recognition and respect. There is no universal cosmopolitan canopy, but rather in the world's liberal democracies, there are numerous sub-universes. Thus, a church committed to forging a multiracial identity would be a clear example of an institutionally circumscribed cosmopolitan canopy. More often one would find an institutional structure, such as a university, in which an articulated commitment to diversity is confronted by some within the institution who reject or are indifferent to the commitment. And, of course, there are places in the society that are decidedly hostile to multiculturalism as well as places where most people neither endorse or repudiate multiculturalism.

The point is that what I long ago called a "multicultural sensibility" (not necessarily rooted in policies, but grounded in culture) is a phenomenon that exists, but is not everywhere (Kivisto 2002). Sociologists would do well to focus on existing cosmopolitan canopies, looking at them for what they are, which is usually somewhere between being a haven in a heartless world and a vanguard movement. Such inquiry will advance our understanding of multiculturalism as a potential but not inevitable integration trajectory.

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Predicting immigrant integration: Common denominators and individual trajectories

Tuuli Anna Mähönen ■

Abstract

In this paper, the most pertinent pre- and post-migration factors for immigrant adaptation are discussed based on the key findings of the longitudinal INPRES and LADA projects conducted among ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland. Adaptation will be approached from psychological as well as from social psychological angles. More specifically, the paper will take a closer look at whether and how individual characteristics and anticipated intergroup relations in the pre-migration stage affect migrants' post-migration experiences and integration over the course of migration. It is argued that in order to understand the complexities of the adaptation and integration of immigrants, the viewpoints of acculturation psychology, traditionally focusing on individual strategies and well-being, need to be combined with those of social psychology of intergroup relations.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on social psychological determinants of immigrant integration and summarizes the work conducted this far in two research projects in the Unit of Social Psychology, University of Helsinki. This work was initiated in 2008 by Professor Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti in the INPRES project (i.e., *Intervening at the pre-migration stage: Providing tools for promoting integration and adaptation*), which was the first three-wave longitudinal study analysing the adaptation of remigrants from Russia to Finland starting from the pre-migration stage. Continuing the INPRES project with another follow-up survey and further qualitative analyses, the ongoing LADA project (i.e., *The longitudinal analysis of diaspora*

migration from Russia to Finland) aims to identify the most pertinent pre- and post-migration factors involved in the long-term adaptation of these migrants. The baseline data collected in the pre-migration stage consisted of potential Ingrian-Finnish remigrants living in the Republic of Karelia and in the surrounding areas of St. Petersburg. After that, we conducted three follow-up surveys in Finland, with the last wave of quantitative data collected in the autumn of 2012. Most of the empirical examples given in this chapter represent the quantitative part of the joint INPRES and LADA research program, but I will also refer to the results obtained this far in the qualitative part of the project. While not being an extensive summary of all studies conducted in these projects and internationally, this chapter gives an overlook on the key predictors of psychological and social psychological adaptation of immigrants.

The group of immigrants studied in the INPRES and LADA projects has been a specific group of voluntary migrants from Russia to Finland, namely Ingrian-Finnish remigrants. Ingrian-Finns are the descendants of Finns emigrated from Finland to Russia between the 17th and the beginning of the 20th century. In 1617, Sweden annexed Ingria from Russia and wanted to replace the Orthodox population of the area with Lutheran Finns. Later, this area became a part of Russia. In the year 1990, Russian nationals of Finnish descent and their family members gained the right to apply for repatriate status and to remigrate to Finland. Especially during the following decade, the political opening and collapse of the Soviet Union brought a large wave of migration from Russia to Finland. As the years went by, the criteria for the right to remigrate became tighter, and the final decision to close the remigration application queue came in 2010. At that point around 30 000 people of Finnish descent had moved to Finland mainly from Russia and Estonia, and a few thousand migrants are still expected to move to Finland before the final deadline in 2016.

To be exact, not all people of Finnish origin living in Russia are Ingrian-Finns, but in Finland the term Ingrian-Finnish is generally applied to refer to all former Soviet citizens of Finnish descent. Thus, in our studies, all immigrants moving to Finland with a repatriate status are referred to as Ingrian-Finns. Also, even though the migrants' Finnish roots date back generations, in the Finnish context this group is generally referred to as remigrants ("paluumuuttajat"). However, in the broader research literature, also terms "ethnic migrant" or "diaspora migrant" would apply to this group.

To describe the intergroup context studied, it should be noted that there is a historical legacy of intergroup antagonism between Finns and Russians, dating back to World War II and even earlier. Mostly because of their relative monolingualism in Russian language, Ingrian-Finns suffer from prejudice and discrimination much like other Russian speaking groups in Finland. As an example of the attitudinal climate in Finland, an EU survey from 2009 found that

every fourth Russian living in Finland had faced discrimination during the past year (EU-MIDIS 2009). More recently, a field experiment from 2012 showed that Russian-named job seekers had to send twice as many applications as the Finnish-named in order to receive an invitation to a job interview (Larja et al. 2012). Thus, due to their membership in a culturally similar but still stigmatized group, Ingrian-Finnish remigrants serve as an interesting and important case for research on the acculturation and adaptation of voluntary immigrants to Finland.

Acculturation and adaptation

The traditional definition of acculturation refers to changes in individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures (Graves 1967). In the core of research on acculturation are the predictors of post-migration adaptation. To date, most social and acculturation psychological research on the adaptation and integration of immigrants has focused on the post-migration stage only. To sum up previous research with the help of the so-called ABC model of acculturation, research has been done on *affective* (the predictors of psychological well-being during the acculturation process), *behavioural* (changes in language use and cultural behaviours) and *cognitive* adaptation (changes in identities, attitudes and values). Another way of approaching immigrant adaptation is to focus on *psychological* and *social psychological* adaptation. Psychological adaptation refers to different proxies of psychological well-being, such as satisfaction with life, lack of stress symptoms and emotional balance. Social psychological adaptation, in turn, refers to a sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group and the larger society, and entails positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups, willingness to engage in intergroup contact and a positive stance toward cultural diversity, in general (for discussion, see Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2012a).

Regardless of the type of adaptation studied, it should be kept in mind that people start preparing for migration long before they actually cross national borders. According to the research evidence gained this far, migrants' pre-migration attitudes and expectations can considerably affect their later adaptational outcomes, especially in the early post-migration stage. Utilizing the baseline survey data of the INPRES project, Anu Yijälä (2012) studied in her PhD thesis the stage in which potential remigrants from Russia were getting prepared to migrate to Finland. Her key findings indicated, first, that they regarded both maintenance of their Russian cultural heritage and contacts with majority Finns as important when thinking about their future in Finland. Second, Yijälä's study showed that remigrants' pre-acculturative stress largely depended on their expectations of post-migration adaptation. These expectations were developed through pre-migration contact with Finns and through knowledge about Finland. Third, Yijälä studied potential migrants' perceived ability to acquire culturally appropriate

skills needed for successful integration in Finland (see Ward & Kennedy 1999). This anticipated socio-cultural adaptation was related to migrants' familiarity with the country of immigration, valuing of change and independent thinking, and with perceived congruence between one's own values and the perceived values of majority Finns. Thus, in sum, these pre-migration studies showed the reciprocal nature of immigrant integration. Already before crossing national borders, potential migrants take into account the characteristics of their future hosts and the anticipated state of intergroup relations in the new homeland, and align their acculturation orientations and expectations accordingly.

Related to these expectations, the pre-post migration studies by Tartakovsky (2007, 2012) in Russia and Israel have showed that particularly in the case of ethnic remigrants, their pre-migration expectations are typically quite rosy and are often met with a disappointment after migration. A key reason for this is related to the negative treatment received from the national majority and perceived difficulties in becoming a full member of the society. Thus, in the INPRES and LADA projects we have argued that in order to understand the complexities of immigrant adaptation and integration, the viewpoints of acculturation psychology need to be combined with those of social psychology of intergroup relations. That way, the focus on individual strategies and psychological well-being can be enlarged to encompass also more social and societal determinants of immigrant integration.

In the following sections, the key pre- and post-migration factors for immigrant adaptation are discussed based on our longitudinal research findings. Adaptation will be approached from psychological as well as from social psychological angles.

Psychological and social psychological adaptation

In acculturation psychological research literature, migration to another country is typically seen as a major and often stressful event (e.g. Berry 2006; but see also Rudmin 2009). Thus, what do we know about changes in psychological well-being during the acculturation process? And how do migrants' acculturation expectations, experiences and their match or mismatch affect the level of later well-being?

Previous research examining the effects of migration on well-being has provided conflicting results. While some studies have found high levels of psychological adjustment, others have reported poor adaptation outcomes, such as elevated stress and depression (e.g., Berry 2006; Rudmin 2009). One explanation for the conflicting results could be found from problems in research designs (for discussion, see Lönnqvist et al. 2015). For example, differences related to socio-economic status and previous access to health services often make it difficult

to compare the well-being of migrants and national majority group members. Optimally, a longitudinal research design is used, in which migrants' post-migration well-being is compared with their pre-migration well-being.

In a recent study, we assessed psychological well-being through self-esteem and satisfaction with one's life at all four time points of our research project (Lönnqvist et al. 2015). While life satisfaction increased over the course of the acculturation process, we found a decrease in self-esteem. These findings are consistent with other research results suggesting that migration experiences may be differently associated with different types of well-being (e.g., Lucas et al. 1996). It is important to note that while self-esteem is more inner-focused evaluation of one's worthiness, life satisfaction is also based on outer-focused evaluations of one's life situation. Indeed, it seems that while self-esteem is affected by a perception of how well one is doing to cope with different challenges posed by migration, life satisfaction reflects the level of happiness with one's overall life situation. In other words, the answer to the question of whether migration is a blessing or a curse seems to depend on the way we approach psychological well-being. Moreover, we found that it is not only factors related to the objective, material life situation (such as socio-economic status) but also factors such as perceived discrimination, stress and difficulties adapting that affected migrants' level of well-being (see also Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2012a).

In another study, we took a closer look to the social and economic predictors of migrants' well-being (Mähönen et al. 2013). More specifically, we took part in the discussion stressing the importance of expectations and their fulfilment for satisfaction with life. What, then, are the key reasons immigrants migrate? A division has typically been made between expectations related to work and economic welfare, and expectations related to family and social relations (see, e.g., Black et al. 1992). Thus, we examined how the fulfilment of premigration expectations in social and economic domains affects immigrants' general mood and satisfaction with life after migration. In the economic domain, immigrants' expectations and experiences related to occupational position, working conditions and economic situation did not affect well-being after migration. However, in the social domain, the more expectations related to family relations, friendships and free time were exceeded by actual experiences, the higher was the well-being of the remigrants studied. These results underline the importance of creating positive but realistic expectations for immigrants. Our findings also stress the need for policies that would facilitate not only economic but also social adaptation of immigrants. In political debates on immigration, the psychological and social aspect of integration is often overshadowed by the more tangible sides of immigration (e.g. whether immigrants are a resource or a burden to the society). However, the value of getting socially and societally active new members to the society cannot be overemphasized.

Next, we will move from the individual level to the level of intergroup relations and take a closer look to their reciprocity. As mentioned above, migrants' identification and attitudinal patterns belong to the most studied proxies of so-called social psychological adaptation. In two studies focusing on two time points (i.e. before and just after migration), we examined perceived discrimination and outgroup rejection and possibilities for becoming acknowledged as a full member of society as the predictors of national identification and attitudes towards host nationals (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2012a; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2012b). Experiences of negative treatment were associated with lower level of identification with and with more negative attitudes towards majority Finns. Perceived possibilities to be regarded as "one of the Finns" were, in turn, associated with higher national identification with the Finnish society. Another study utilizing a longer time span corroborated our findings about these negative ramifications of ethnic discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2012b).

As a more positive note, attitudes towards multiculturalism and cultural maintenance seem to be more robust, i.e. unaffected by changes in perceived ethnic discrimination. In another study (Mähönen et al. 2014), we found that attitudes towards multiculturalism and maintaining one's cultural heritage from Russia were rather positive over the ca. four-year time-span studied. Importantly, the stability and robustness of attitudes toward multiculturalism and cultural maintenance does not mean that they would be less relevant for research on intergroup relations and immigrant integration. Quite the contrary: a positive stance toward cultural diversity can protect the society against the polarization of intergroup relations. In a multicultural society which recognizes different cultures and treats them equally, there is more room for fostering each group's cultural heritage.

Toward an inclusive intergroup context

What can be done, then, to support mutual respect, harmonious intergroup relations and social cohesion in a culturally diverse society? Based on the results obtained in our research program this far at least three points should be highlighted.

First of all, there is a need to eliminate ethnic discrimination, which clearly leads to poor adaptation outcomes, both psychologically and socially (e.g., Schmitt et al. 2014). An abundance of studies have showed also the association between perceived discrimination and separation attitudes (Tartakovsky 2012), negative attitudes towards host nationals and dis-identification from them (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009, 2012b). The added value of our studies to previous research literature has been in showing how already the *anticipation* of being treated negatively and unfairly affects the way intergroup relations are actually

perceived, which in turn is reflected in various adaptation outcomes (see also Tartakovsky 2012). Especially in the current era of global communication, information travels much faster than people, and if increasing migration flows and harmonious intergroup relations are desired, Finland cannot afford a reputation of being a prejudiced and discriminatory society.

Second, it should be kept in mind that it is not enough to focus on the battle against discrimination. Namely, the lack of discrimination does not equal positive intergroup relations. Our most recent, still unpublished study took a look on the simultaneous longitudinal effects of remigrants' positive and negative intergroup contact experiences on attitudes towards the national majority and other immigrant groups living in Finland (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press). The results attested especially the power of positive contact as a predictor of positive outgroup attitudes toward different outgroups. Indeed, besides focusing on the reduction of perceived intergroup threats and discrimination, there is at least as strong a reason to focus on the promotion of positive intergroup encounters and gains resulting from it. Pleasant intergroup experiences between majority members and immigrants can help people see the value of cultural diversity and intercultural interaction. Moreover, our study showed that these positive effects can also spill over to positive attitudes towards other immigrant groups. Thus, the power of majority to influence the prevailing intergroup relations in the society cannot be overstated, as experiences of treatment received from the majority can also affect inter-minority relations.

The third point requiring further discussion is the definition of a common national identity. As the results of our studies (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012b; Varjonen et al. 2013) and of others as well (e.g. Verkuyten & Reijerse 2008) have showed, the permeability of group boundaries is a key factor predicting feelings of national belongingness. Without downplaying the role of ethnic minority group members in negotiations over the meaning and content of national identity, we must yet again admit the power of majority group members to impose their definitions over others. Research within the field of mainstream social psychology has brought forward the need to think of new, more inclusive ways to feel attached to a common national ingroup. Especially in European nation states, national identities are typically defined in a way that being "national" overlaps with being "ethnically one of the majority group members". This, of course, makes it hard for people representing other ethnic backgrounds to claim a membership in the national ingroup. For this, a sense of psychological citizenship (Sindic, 2011) should be promoted, meaning that the smallest common denominator of "we-ness" would be commitment to a common civic but not necessarily ethnic identity.

Besides this viewpoint of quantitative, mainstream research, a qualitative perspective – namely that of discursive psychology – can expand our under-

standing of these identity negotiations. One published and one submitted study of ours have put light on the issue of who can be regarded as a Finn, and on what grounds. First, Sirkku Varjonen and colleagues (2013) examined how Ingrian-Finnish remigrants construct their identities before and after their migration to Finland. They found that in the pre-migration stage, the Finnish self-label was the label that was used most often. However, speaking for the post-migration disillusionment mentioned before, the same participants rarely referred to themselves as Finnish after migrating to Finland, and claimed that despite their Finnish ancestry, Ingrian-Finnish migrants couldn't be considered as Finnish in Finland.

Is it then really so difficult to be considered as one of the Finns, even for people with Finnish ancestry? In another, still unpublished study of ours we looked at how characteristics of Finnishness were used at the institutional, community and interpersonal levels of text and talk (Mähönen et al., in press). More specifically, we utilized discourse analysis of Finnish politicians' speeches, editorials of an Ingrian-Finnish newspaper and focus group data gathered among Ingrian-Finnish remigrants. Our results showed that when Finnishness is defined in terms of language or ancestry, it may include also Ingrian-Finns. However, these same markers can also be used to exclude. Namely, the boundaries of Finnishness can be set so tightly that they include only those Ingrian-Finns who equal Finnish nationals in their linguistic and cultural skills.

As our results have exemplified, and as is highlighted in discursive approaches to identities in general, identity is a construct that can be strategically used for different purposes (e.g., Benwell & Stokoe 2006). Although communities and individuals are to some extent free to define their own identities, they are also subject to identities ascribed to them. This brings us back to the question of power that is not equally divided between national majority and immigrant groups when identities and group boundaries are negotiated. Importantly, the setting of boundaries between us and them is not a question of mere social construction, but a question of social construction with concrete repercussions. Indeed, constructions of identity can have very political and far-reaching consequences for countries, nations as well as individuals. Even in the case of ethnic (re)migrants with exceptionally positive acculturation expectations and high levels of initial pre-migration identification with the future home country, positive outgroup attitudes and a sense of belonging to the society cannot be expected, if their keenness is met with rejection.

Moving back to more causally oriented paradigm to understand the consequences of rejection, exclusion of immigrants from membership in a common national group is very likely to backfire in the form of antagonism, separatism as well as political inactivity. Feelings of belongingness to a larger society are needed for feelings of agency and willingness to actively participate in construc-

tive political action (e.g., Simon & Grabow 2010). Importantly, migrants' politicization driven by dual identification with both the ethnic ingroup and the host society may even inhibit radicalization, at least as long as the society is responsive to minority group members' needs. As put nicely by Bernd Simon and Olga Grabow (2010, 734), "*migrants' dual identification is an offer society cannot afford to refuse*". Indeed, when following current debates on immigration it makes one wonder, whether even the toughest immigration critics would be ready to pay the price of sticking to traditional, ethnically laden definitions of national identities. Namely, when looking at research evidence, the positive consequences of recognition and inclusion are clearly greater than what national majorities could achieve with an over-protective and defensive stance towards cultural changes resulting from immigration. I stop here, and end with the key words of this conference proceedings: without both *recognition* and *participation*, there cannot be real *integration*.

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Integration and incorporation: Challenges and perspectives in minority history writing

■ Teemu Ryymin

Abstract

This article argues that the dominant narrative patterns in recent Norwegian Sámi and Kven historiography are not necessarily fruitful in grasping the ways these minorities have historically participated in processes of political integration, or how they have become participants in multiple social fields. The pathways to incorporation framework, inspired by recent social anthropology of migration, is presented as an alternative approach to minority history.

Introduction

Political integration ideally means that migrants, members of a national minority or indigenous peoples are on one hand granted political rights to participate in the political and democratic processes in the localities they live in, and on the other hand, that they can make use of these rights and participate in such processes. (Takle 2014.) This may again be understood as one pathway to incorporation, that is, a way for migrants, minorities or indigenous peoples to become participants in a society. To what extent do histories of ethnic minorities enhance our understanding of how minorities and majorities adjust to each other in different ways through processes of integration, and how minorities and migrants become participants in social fields through creation of social, economic, political and other relations, that is, their incorporation?

The extent to which history helps us to grasp political integration and incorporation, if it has taken place at all, and the constraints to these processes, varies depending on which histories we talk about. Historians will point out that

in some places, at certain times, the segregation of communities through willed policies, or more or less brutal assimilation of a minority into a majority, are more relevant characteristics of the structuring of majority-minority relations. However, labels such as integration, segregation, assimilation and incorporation do more than describe the past. They form differing perspectives from which the history of a particular minority or migrants can be grasped, and thus give differing clues for possible future development trajectories. Not least, they imply varying understandings of historical migrant or minority agency: While terms “integration”, “segregation” and “assimilation” tend to direct the analytical attention towards, for instance, state minority policy, “incorporation” focuses the analysis more on the migrants or minorities themselves.

My point of departure is the historiography of the Northern Norwegian Sámi and Kven minorities from the 1970s up to 2010s. I will first discuss to what extent the historical narratives of the Sámi and the Kvens written in this period help us grasp integration and incorporation of migrants and minorities as a historical phenomenon, and function as orienting devices when we deal with present-day migrant integration and incorporation. Historical narratives tell us how a present situation has come to be, and through framing the pathways to the present in certain ways, they also give clues about what can be done about the present situation. Through placing the present in a longer historical perspective, historical narratives thus give orienting knowledge: what is understood as possible and desirable to do in the present, depends on where one is in the historical process and how its earlier stages are conceived (Aronsson 2004, 42; Wiklund 2010; Rösen 2004). Indeed, such narratives are a way of establishing what *kind* of historical processes the present is a part of – is it the outcome of a process of assimilation, for instance, or of increasing integration and incorporation? Different answers to such questions about the past point to differing futures. Secondly, I will sketch an alternative way of doing minority history that I think might be useful for us today.

Histories of the Sami and the Kven, 1970s–2010s

A recent historical analysis of Norwegian historical writing on the Sámi and the Kvens from the 1970s to 2010 (Ryymin & Nyssönen 2013) highlighted some strong tendencies regarding the literatures’ main functions and narrative patterns, that is, common ways that historians and others writing in the field have structured and given perspective to the histories of these minorities in the corpus of texts (cf. Heiret, Ryymin & Skålevåg 2013, 25–26). Three main narrative patterns, the emergence of which roughly corresponds with a specific decade, were identified: firstly, narratives of visualization from the 1970s; secondly, narratives of assimilation from the 1980s, and thirdly, narratives of agency from the late 1990s.

In the 1970s, the decade when the history of these minorities was established as a field for academic history, the main function of the histories of the minorities, particularly the Kvens, was that of making them visible. In general such *narratives of visibilization* demonstrate the past of certain groups of people or categories, in a positive manner. The visibility narratives of the Kvens dealt with the migration of Kvens, or Finns as they were then commonly referred to, to Northern Norway in the 18th and 19th centuries, and with demographical questions – both topics in vogue among the new social historians of the 1970s. Quite literally, such narratives showed the traces of the Kvens in the past: through registration, mapping and explanation of the migration process, based on censuses, tax and parish records and literature, the stories told about the arduous path of these migrants from Northern Sweden and Finland to their pioneering deed as farmers and fishermen at the shores of the Arctic Ocean. One important part of the works sharing this narrative pattern consisted of finding out who the Kvens were, down to the level of identifying individual families in certain parishes as Kvens. Another was to demonstrate their positive contribution to the agriculture and other economic activities in Northern Norway. This *making visible* and *re-valuing*, often explicitly formed as counter-narratives against previous, less appreciative histories, was a shared narrative function in many of the new social historical sub-disciplines emerging in the 1970s, such as labour history and women's history. (Ryymin & Nyysönen 2013, 210–213.)

Narratives written from this point of view emphasised mainly who the minorities were, rather than discussing their incorporation in different social fields in their local societies. Questions of whether and how the immigrants integrated into the new society, or the relationship between them and the Norwegian state, did not loom large, as it was seen as more important to investigate the how's and why's of the migration process. This emphasis is understandable given the state of the near silence of the Kvens in older and the contemporary Norwegian historiography of the 1970s (cf. Niemi 1995, 339). To the extent that different paths to migrant incorporation were discussed, the emphasis on the Kvens' positive contribution to the development of the local societies in Northern Norway was central, but as mentioned, this took more a character of rehabilitation rather than a discussion of integration or incorporation.

In the following decade, the 1980s, a new narrative pattern – that of narratives of assimilation – emerged in the historiography of the Sámi and the Kvens. From the 1980s, historians became more occupied with the state-minority relationship, emphasising the asymmetrical power relation between them. A main topic in this narrative pattern was state policies on education, church, security and other areas, which oppressed the Sámi and the Kvens from the 1850s as ethnic groups, aiming at cultural assimilation: the minorities were to change their language and culture, and to become Norwegians. In a somewhat different

variety of assimilation narratives, the assimilatory function of general modernization processes in Northern Norway was emphasised. Both varieties of assimilation narratives tended to render the Sámi and the Kvens marginalised, passive and powerless, placing them firmly in a subject position as victims (Ryymin & Nyssönen 2013, 213–229).

This is somewhat paradoxical, as the intent of the historians was now chiefly not only to make minorities visible in the past, but also to create justice through exposing historical wrongdoings and to mobilize to ethno-political action among the Sámi and the Kvens, in short, to contribute to their ethnic emancipation. The function of history as a orienting tool for the present was clearly articulated by some historians and others writing the history of the Northern minorities at this time. The point was to facilitate Sámi or Kven ethnic organization, to heighten the Sámi consciousness of their own cultural background and identity, and to strengthen their political rights vis-à-vis the state.

Such narratives, based on ethnic categorisation, took assimilation as the point of departure: it was expected to have created a reaction along ethnic lines among its victims. The natural response of the minorities to assimilation policies was expected to be ethno-political mobilisation; for the post-war period of Sámi history, preferably in the form of the ultimately successful strategy of indigenous peoples. The non-appearance or failure of such mobilisation in the past, or other paths taken by Sámi and the Kvens, ethno-politically or otherwise, were on the other hand seen as problems to be explained, nearly as expressions of a “false consciousness.” In other words, ethnic incorporation was understood as the proper or natural course of action for the Sámi and the Kvens.

In this narrative pattern, events and processes in the past that could have been utilised in a wider historical discussion of incorporation were mainly understood as expressions of forced assimilation, which was seen as nearly total, pervading both local and national policy and the self-understanding of the minorities. For instance, the explanation of why minorities learned Norwegian, or excelled in school, was to be found in the loss of respect for and the denial of the minorities’ own identity, caused ultimately by the Norwegianisation policy. This goes for many past events, such as the definition in 1862 of Sámi and Finnish languages as “natural second languages” in schools, and the existence of teacher education in both languages. These were seen as proof of the ultimate assimilatory goals of the state, rather than signs of a bilingual or trilingual historical situation. The lack of assimilatory measures in local policies, for instance in the town of Vadsø in Finnmark in the early 20th century, the outright tolerance of bilingual education here, the participation of Sámi and Kvens in local politics and municipal affairs, the economic and occupational strategies of Kven shopkeepers and others, were in this narrative pattern ultimately taken as signs of the strength of the assimilation policy, and its inevitable consequences – denial

of identity and loss of personal integrity. Nyysönen and I have argued that an implicit model of explanation formed as an “ethnic imperative” may be found in many texts sharing this narrative pattern: Sámi and Kvens should have acted as Sámi and Kvens in the past, out of their “objective interests” as members of these categories (Ryymin & Nyysönen 2013, 229). Such an ethnic imperative is problematic for many reasons. Not only does it tend to make historical analysis ahistorical, but it also does not recognise as valid other strategies of action or pathways to incorporation than the one by ethnic mobilization.

Another central aspect of the assimilation narratives is that they tended to pay rather little attention to minority agency, in other fields than ethnic political mobilisation. Minority agency was mainly seen as *reactive*, caused by external pressure, that is, assimilation. From the 1990s, yet another or narrative pattern has emerged, addressing precisely this – that of *agency narratives*. Histories sharing this narrative pattern deal primarily with how certain ethnic groups have acted in the past on a number of fields, whether in order to resist assimilation and to organise themselves on an ethnic basis, or their attempts of integration, change of language and so on. They differ from narratives of assimilation in that minorities are conceived of as active, rather than passive or merely reactive historical actors. They also differ from narratives of both visibilization and assimilation by their interest in how ethnic categories have been constructed, shaped, changed and developed over time. Rather than to place individuals or families in objectively existing ethnic categories, to study the production of such categories came to the forefront. (Ryymin & Nyysönen 2013, 229–232.) One might see this as a shift from seeing ethnicity as an explanation to something that has to be explained.

It must be emphasised that none of these narrative patterns replaced the previously established ones in a clear-cut manner. They were not totally hegemonic; rather, new ways of conceptualising and grasping aspects of the Kven and Sámi pasts have been established alongside each other, making the history of minorities a continuously more diverse field. Some common traits cutting across different narrative patterns may nevertheless be identified. One such trait is the “ethnic imperative”, in the sense of taking the ethnicity of people in the past as a given, as the natural unit of social life and social organisation. Visibility narratives made this ethnicity – or more precisely, ethnic categories – manifestly present in the past, while assimilation narratives tended to reify them into basic, ontological categories that defined the “objective interests” of their members, in a manner similar to Marxian class analysis. Such a presupposition of an a priori defined ethnicity of historical actors is common in many migration and minority history studies that focus on how migrants and minorities organize their lives around ethnic identities (cf. Çağlar & Glick Schiller 2011, 11).

Even though this was problematized in many agency narratives through their interest in the often contested creation and use of ethnic categories and

diacritical signs, also such narratives have a tendency to address one ethnic category – or its production – at the time, as if Kvens, Sámi or other discrete groups populated the past primarily alone, sometimes in conflict, sometimes in peaceful coexistence. Even though most historians have acknowledged the relational quality of identities, ethnic and otherwise, and many investigations about minority policy or ethno-political mobilization deal with the relation between majorities and minorities, we still often focus mainly on one category in our studies. This has probably to do with both the political functions of academic history writing, and academic specialisation – after all, we are primarily historians of the Kvens, or the Sámi, or the Jews, and so on, even if we are interested in studying how such categories emerged.

If we may tentatively regard the way we have written the history of the Sámi and the Kvens in the last four decades as an indicator of more general approaches to the writing of minority history, it stands in my opinion to reason that such history writing does not necessarily function adequately as an orienting device regarding questions of minority and migrant incorporation today. This is not because the history of these or other minorities is irrelevant for present day issues. On the contrary, I think that minority history in some respects has an orienting potential also today. Rather, the reason is that the stories we have written have centred on other issues than incorporation, be it making visible, creating new tools to enhance minorities' political efforts of recognition, or investigating how these groups have come into being in the past.

This does not of course mean that the works written by historians in the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s on Kven or Sámi history were somehow inherently flawed. On the contrary, most of the texts analysed were original and of high scholarly quality. Some, such as *Den finske fare. Sikkerhetsproblemer og minoritetspolitikk i nord 1860–1940* (Eriksen & Niemi 1981) have also had a tremendous impact on our understanding of Norwegian minority policies, the minority-majority relations as well as identity building among the Sámi and the Kvens. However, I think this illustrates that the stories of the past we tell are themselves historical products, and the questions we ask and the perspectives we grasp the path with, in short, the narrative patterns that shape both our texts and our understanding of the past, are in themselves historical. As the world changes, new questions arise, necessitating new historical narratives.

Pathways to incorporation: An alternative framework for minority history?

How, then, could minority history be written in a way that would make it even more relevant for present issues of migrant and minority incorporation? Recent social anthropology of migration might present an alternative framework for the writing of minority history, as it seems to have a potential to function more ad-

equately as an interpretative tool in our attempts to deal with migrant and minority incorporation and also potentially to utilize the potential of minority history in efforts to understand more recent migration. Many minority historians have long drawn upon social anthropology for useful analytical tools, such as the Barthian notion of ethnic identities and boundaries (Barth 1969) and its subsequent refinements, not least evident in the agency narratives discussed earlier. The pathways to migrant incorporation-framework, developed and formulated amongst others by Nina Glick Schiller, Ayşe Çağlar, and others, might present another useful analytical framework also for writing of minority history (e.g. Glick Schiller, Nieswand, Schlee, Darieva, Yalcin-Heckmann & Fosztó 2004; Glick Schiller, Çağlar & Guldbrandsen 2006; Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011a and 2011b).

Scholars utilizing the pathways to migrant incorporation-framework ask how migrants, as individuals or in organised groups form, build or maintain social relations with others through multiple relationships, be they professional, political, religious, economic, or ethnic, in order to participate in different social fields (e.g. Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011b, 190; Glick Schiller 2008, 10). Migrants, and needless to say, everybody else, work, produce and consume, raise families and take care of them, create and reproduce social institutions and so on, and have done so historically. Through these activities they form social relations, that is to say, are incorporated in different ways in various fields. In specific places and at specific times, such activities might have been constrained or furthered by specific public policies, laws and norms related to citizenship, economic structures, political and social tensions and other factors, forming different opportunity structures (Çağlar & Glick Schiller 2011, 10) – structures that also may have been formed by migrant and minority agency. Of crucial importance in this perspective is the plurality of pathways to such incorporation. The framework maintains that in order to study migrant incorporation, we must assume that no *single* mode or pathway of migrant incorporation exists: rather, they are multiple and may be simultaneous, local and global (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011b, 191; Glick Schiller, Çağlar & Guldbrandsen 2006, 614).

In the context of the narrative patterns in the Norwegian historiography of the Sámi and the Kvens discussed earlier, it is pertinent to emphasise how critical the pathways to incorporation perspective is of *methodological nationalism*. Among other things, this term may mean the tendency prevalent in both history and social sciences to take for granted that nation states or national populations are natural units of social and political life. Moreover, in migration studies it denotes a “tendency to deploy a homogenised concept of culture based on national historical narratives of differentiation in the framing of research problems and strategies”, according to social anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar (2011a, 65; cf. also Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002). They identify the “ethnic lens” as a corollary of methodological nationalism in migration studies,

which I see as similar to the “ethnic imperative” commented above. According to Glick Schiller and Çağlar, the “ethnic lens” denote the assumption by migration scholars – and here we may add historians – that “migrants from a particular nation-state or region constitute an ethnic group *before* their identity, actions, social relations, and beliefs are studied” (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011a, 65). Thus, one specific identification, subjectivity, or basis of social interaction, namely the ethnic one, is regarded by default as more fundamental than all possible others varieties, such as class, gender, age, occupational identity and so on. This, according to them, makes it difficult or indeed impossible to assess the possibly multiple identities, practices and social ties among migrants.

It might be added that the ethnic imperative or lens also often carries with it a normative dimension that historians more or less explicitly evaluate the historical actors through. This normativity can for example be visible when other pathways to incorporation or forms of identity, such as participation in and identification with the social democratic political movements in the first part of the twentieth century, is seen as a deviation from the assumedly normal – that is, the ethno-political – pathway and/or ethnic identity.

By distancing itself from such an the ethnic lens, or the ethnic imperative which undoubtedly is present in minority historical writing, the pathways to incorporation framework allows us to view migrants and minorities, in the past as well as in the present, as residents and actors within specific social spaces, rather than aggregated ethnic communities somehow pre-existing in the past. It allows us to see migrants and minorities as active participants in the daily processes of reproduction of individuals, families and societies, rather than just marginalised victims of modernisation and/or assimilatory minority policies; and it exhorts us to keep open the possibility of multiple ways that minorities and migrants have been woven into different social fields and have created their own pathways to incorporation. This does not imply claiming that the assimilation policies of the past did not exist, or a devaluation of the tremendous consequences of rapid societal development on identities and life conditions among minorities (and everyone else). Rather, these issues are simply not made into the only issues of interest, but seen as factors among others shaping the opportunity structures creating constraints or furthering certain pathways to incorporation. Moreover, whether or not migrants and minorities have pursued an ethnic pathway to incorporation, for instance through ethno-political organisation, becomes in this perspective an empirical question, not an a priori assumption or a category-given issue. Ethnic incorporation is one among multiple possible pathways of migrant incorporation, not one we must prioritize as the historically correct one.

However, despite the analytical potential of the pathways to incorporation framework, it also has its challenges. One is how to identify the relevant individuals in the historical material in such a way that they are not a priori forced into

ethnic categories that are assumed to determine their agency. Another is the choice of fruitful analytical sites. The social anthropology of migration literature where this framework has been developed has particularly emphasised cities as sites of investigation (e.g. Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2011a & 2011b). This is pertinent because the research questions derived from this framework necessitate methodologically *localised* empirical investigations of how migrants or minorities, individually or in groups, have established social ties in the labour market, through marriage, religious participation, political activity, ethnic organization – or through yet other means in other fields; and how such activity has developed over time, from generation to generation or over longer periods. However, I cannot see why such studies couldn't in principle be done in rural settings, if the relevant source material exists. At least in a Norwegian context, a wealth of material – from censuses, parish records, industrial employment records, to materials produced in the municipal educational, social and welfare systems, as well as in political organs – exist that might be exploited in historical investigations of how migrants and minorities have established social relations on many fields. Localised historical studies of a city, town, village or rural region are needed in order to identify how migrants and minorities of different kinds have tried to forge social relations on different fields, the historically shifting opportunity structures, and the eventual outcomes of such processes. For writing of minority history, such investigations present also a possibility of transcending the single-ethnic category-orientation present in many works on minority history.

Such historical studies of migrant and minority incorporation in specific areas – cities, towns or rural regions – should also be comparative, both diachronically and synchronically. It would be very interesting to see if migrant incorporation in, say, the city of Bergen and the region of Eastern Finnmark in the 19th century, was very different, or if similar pathways and constraints can be identified. Through localised comparative studies we might identify migrants and minorities of different origins and belongings; study their shifting identifications and subjectivities, their historically different pathways to incorporation and the prevailing opportunity structures, and possibly learn something of relevance also for the present day discussions of migrant integration and incorporation. Transnational comparisons can be aided by pioneering historical studies deploying a similar framework, such as Anne J. Kershen's study of Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields 1660–2000 (Kershen 2005) and Michael G. Esch's (2012) recent study of Eastern European migrants in Paris between 1880 and 1940. Others are about to be published, such as Garbi Schmidts study of Nørrebro area of Copenhagen, and Christoph Leiskas (2013) study of Jewish integration and anti-Semitism in Gothenburg and Copenhagen, 1850 to 1914. The existing historical research on minorities and migrants is of course also highly relevant and useful in such an endeavour. Works sharing the visibility

narrative pattern give a wealth of information on the migration process; assimilation narratives have discussed in detail one central constraint to migrant and minority incorporation in the 19th and 20th centuries, namely state minority policies; and some aspects of minority agency in the past has been investigated in more recent histories. Still, a lot remains to be done, not least an effort to shed the ethnic imperative and to cross the ethnic category borders found also in minority historiography.

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**INTEGRATION
IN DIASPORAS**

“They’re here and we’re going to have to do the best we can”: Integration of Somali immigrants in Lieksa and Fort Morgan

■ Marko Kananen and Tiina Sotkasiira

Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of the possibilities and obstacles that Somali immigrants face while striving for full and equal membership in two very different societies, the United States and Finland. While the majority of the research on immigrant integration focuses on urban cities, this paper makes a conscious effort to understand the unique challenges and opportunities that immigration brings to small towns in rural areas. More specifically, it examines the experiences of Fort Morgan in Colorado and Lieksa in Eastern Finland. Through the use of multifaceted data ranging from interviews and observations to media coverage, this paper examines the opportunities and challenges that the arrival of Somalis has created for these rural towns and it compares the reactions of the local actors. Finally, we ask what Fort Morgan and Lieksa, as well as other rural towns, could learn from each other in terms of welcoming new residents.

Introduction and contextualization

Somalis in Finland and in the United States

The comparison between the United States and Finland is based on the notion that diaspora citizenship takes different forms in different political, cultural and juridical contexts. Membership in a society is simply not taken or negotiated; rather, it is also allowed or denied in many formal and informal practices. That is why a comparative analysis focusing on immigrants’ possibilities in two societies that differ significantly in terms of their migration history and integration policies can help to build an understanding of how the laws, policies and prac-

tices of hosting societies influence the life-courses and living conditions of their immigrant populations.

Finland and the United States have very different experiences with immigration. The United States has historically been the prime destination of immigrants from all over the world and the population of the “land of immigrants” is thus highly heterogeneous. Finland, in turn, has historically lost more than a million people as emigrants and only become a country of net immigration as recently as thirty years ago (Martikainen, Saari & Korkiasaari 2013). Although the Finnish authorities are at times overwhelmed with this development, there are political efforts to try to manage the new situation. In the US, in comparison, the integration of immigrants has historically been carried out by members of the local community rather than by state or federal authorities (Fix 2007).

Although Finland and the US have very different immigrant histories, their experience with Somali immigration is equally long. The arrival of Somali immigrants to both of these places started in 1990 following the civil war in Somalia. Currently, almost 15,000 Somalis live in Finland, which makes them the third largest group of foreign origin after Russians (70,899) and Estonians (36,036) (Statistics Finland 2012). Somalis are also the largest group of African origin and the largest Muslim community. Despite of their long-term presence in Finland, the integration of Somalis has not succeeded as anticipated. Somalis are overrepresented in the unemployment statistics and their level of education and language skills are seen as insufficient (Tiilikainen, Ismail & Tuusa 2013, 52–53, 63). Furthermore, out of all the immigrant groups in Finland, Somalis are the most common targets for racist crimes and discrimination (Niemi & Sahramäki 2012; Lehti et al. 2014; Paananen & Pohjanpää 2003).

In the United States, the resettlement of Somalis has turned out to be one of the largest refugee resettlement programs in the country’s history. With more than one hundred thousand refugees resettled by 2012, Somalis form the largest African refugee population in the U.S. Lack of formal qualifications and limited English language skills have resulted in unemployment, economic difficulties and dependence on public assistance for many Somalis. As a result, more than half of all Somali families in the United States live below the poverty line (Abdi 2012; Yusuf 2012).

Secondary migration to rural areas

In the U.S., the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) prioritises urban, high density resettlement locations. When considering a location, it takes into account the number of refugees in the area, the availability of employment opportunities, affordable housing and public and private services as well as the likelihood of refugees becoming self-sufficient and free from long-term dependence on public assistance. In addition to resettling refugees mostly in urban locations,

the current resettlement policy also discourages secondary migration. If a refugee decides to move to a different location within their first eight months of resettlement, they lose their federal refugee assistance (Ott 2011).

Following these guidelines, Somali refugees have been settled in urban cities such as Minneapolis, New York, Columbus and San Diego (Marks 2014; Singer & Wilson 2007). However, although the current policy discourages moving from initial resettlement locations, immigrants and refugees have increasingly started to relocate to non-traditional states and cities. This development also holds true in the case of Somalis. Although urban cities still attract the largest amount of secondary migration, several small towns in rural areas have witnessed a rapid and often unexpected increase in their Somali population (Schandy and Fennelly 2006; Schaid and Grossman 2007).

In Finland, the pattern of secondary migration has been slightly different. Originally, newly arrived Somali immigrants were settled in different municipalities across the country, including also small and rural towns such as Kontiolahti in Eastern Finland. But as time goes by, Somali immigrants tend to move away from rural settings to more urban areas. As a result of this secondary migration, Somali settlement is nowadays heavily concentrated in specific areas in Finland (Ahlgren-Leinvuo 2005). Approximately 70% of all Somalis reside in the southern part of the country, in the capital region surrounding Helsinki (City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2014; Statistics Finland 2014). The other relatively sizeable Somali community can be found in the Turku region, in the southwestern corner of Finland (City of Turku 2014; Statistics Finland 2014).

Despite the slightly different approaches to resettlement, the results have been quite similar in both Finland and the US — the vast majority of Somali immigrants reside in urban, high-density locations. This paper, however, presents two cases that run counter to this general trend. Fort Morgan in the state of Colorado and Lieksa in Eastern Finland have both received a sudden and unexpected influx of Somali immigrants during the past couple of years. This chapter will examine and compare how these two rural towns have reacted to this secondary migration and how the integration of Somali immigrants has progressed. More precisely, we will ask the following questions:

- What kinds of opportunities and challenges have the arrival of Somalis created for these rural towns?
- How have local actors reacted to these challenges and opportunities?
- What can we learn by comparing the experiences from Fort Morgan and Lieksa?

In addition to offering insights on how two rural communities in two very different societies have attempted to manage the new situation, Lieksa and Fort

Morgan were selected as the targets of this study partly also because of the very different image attached to them in the media. Lieksa has been presented in the media mostly through difficulties and problems related to immigrant integration. Fort Morgan, in turn, has been depicted as the success story of Somali integration. For example, in February 2014 the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) published a piece about Fort Morgan that was titled “Somali newcomers have settled admirably in a small prairie town in the U.S.” (Sulasma 2014). Many other global broadcasters, including BBC and Al-Jazeera, have published similar stories about the successful integration taking place in Fort Morgan. In this article, we highlight the differences between and similarities in Somali integration in these two locations and critically discuss the perception of integration as it is depicted in the media and public discourses.

To answer these questions, we analysed media materials that relate to the position of Somalis in Fort Morgan and Lieksa. Because our aim was to capture both the local voices as well as broader discourses about immigration, we analysed media materials with a diverse readership. In Finland, our focus was on local (Lieksan lehti), regional (Karjalainen) and national (Helsingin Sanomat) newspapers as well as publications by YLE between the years 2009 and 2014. In the US, we concentrated on one local (Fort Morgan Times) and one regional newspaper (the Denver Post) and their coverage of Somali immigration between the years 2010 and 2014. In addition, we went through articles published by large international publishers, such as Al-Jazeera. In our content analysis of the media materials, we first looked at the tone of the article (positive vs. problem-oriented), and second, we categorised the content according to four broad themes: problems, solutions, remaining challenges and perceptions of integration. In Lieksa, we also conducted interviews with active members of the Somali community and individuals who are either professionally or voluntarily involved with the integration of immigrants. We interviewed 10 Somalis and 11 officials and representatives of non-governmental organisations during spring and summer of 2014. We analysed the interviews by asking how the interviewees relate to the issue of Somali settlement in Lieksa (positive vs. problem-oriented), what kinds of problems they associate with immigrant integration, how they explain them causally and what kinds of recommendations they make regarding these problems.

Introducing and comparing Lieksa and Fort Morgan

Lieksa is best known for its beautiful nature and rugged scenery, particularly the National Park of Koli and the Rapids of Ruunaa. During the last couple of decades, the town of 12,303 inhabitants has been struggling with high unemployment and dramatic depopulation. In less than thirty years, the population of Lieksa has declined by more than 6,000. As a result, Lieksa also faces the chal-

lenges of an aging population, as approximately one-third of its inhabitants are 65 years or older (Statistics Finland 2014).

Historically, Lieksa has not been a significant destination for immigrant settlement. For a long time, the proportion of people of foreign origin remained under 1%. But during the past couple of years, Lieksa has gained publicity through the unexpected arrival of Somali immigrants. The number of Somali residents began to increase in 2009, and five years later there were already around 240 Somalis in Lieksa. This number is significant considering the fact that the total number of residents with Somali background in the region of North Karelia in 2012 was 443. The Somali population in Lieksa is expected to keep growing due to family reunifications (Finnish Immigration Service 2013; City of Lieksa 2012; Statistics Finland 2014).

One of the main reasons for the spontaneous migration of refugees to Lieksa has been affordable housing. The newcomers have been settled in empty apartment buildings that used to be vacant for years. Their arrival has thus improved the economic situation of Lieksa's rental houses. The new demography of Lieksa has also created a need to employ more people to work in schools, day-care centres and health care and social services. The new residents thus create new economic activity in Lieksa, while simultaneously the municipality struggles to make ends meet. Consequently, in the media fingers are pointed at immigration (City of Lieksa 2012; Lehtiniemi 2014).

Fort Morgan in Colorado is located 80 miles northeast of Denver. The town of 12,000 inhabitants has a long history of immigration, as various communities, including Italians, Norwegians, English people and Germans, have settled in Fort Morgan to farm the land. Since 1930, the primary immigrant groups coming to Fort Morgan have been of Hispanic background. They currently make up more than 30% of the county's population. Immigration to Fort Morgan is therefore not new, but recently it has gone through a major change as large numbers of Somali immigrants have moved to this predominantly white and Hispanic town (Weintraub 2011).

The first Somalis arrived in 2005, and approximately 1,200 Somalis now live in Fort Morgan. It is estimated that more than 90% of them are secondary migrants who moved from their initial urban resettlement locations, with only a small percentage of refugees having been directly resettled in the area as part of a family unification program (Marks 2014). Most of the Somali immigrants are drawn to Fort Morgan by the relatively high-paying entry-level jobs for unskilled labour at Cargill Meat Solutions (Gorski 2011).

Arrival of Somalis causes a stir

The sudden influx of Somali immigrants did not go unnoticed in Lieksa and Fort Morgan. Different cultural habits, skin colour and religious affiliation caused confusion among local residents. For example, in Fort Morgan the local police

started to receive complaints about Somali men loitering and littering, haggling over prices at grocery stores and holding up checkout lines (Bryson 2013; Weintraub 2011; Gorski 2011). The interviews conducted in Lieksa confirm similar incidents: people say that they were distracted, for example, by Somalis talking loudly in public places.

In Fort Morgan, anti-immigration sentiments escalated in a petition that blamed the government for giving refugees financial support and portrayed Somali refugees as lazy freeloaders who refuse to learn English and talk rudely on cell phones. Roughly 630 people signed the 2009 petition (Gorski 2011). Somalis have also been targets of vandalism. For example, their cars have been damaged and spray painted with slanders. In 2011, windows of apartment buildings with Somali residents were shot out with a BB gun (Bryson 2013).

In Lieksa, the biases against newcomers were reflected in the number of racist crimes committed. The rate peaked dramatically in 2010 when about half of all racist crimes in the region of North Karelia were committed in Lieksa (Niemi & Sahramäki 2012). Probably the most serious incident between the newcomers and local people occurred in 2011, when a Somali man was stabbed and a local resident suffered cuts (Helsingin Sanomat 2011). Over the years, physical violence against immigrants in Lieksa has diminished, but discursive violence, i.e. fear-based discourses of othering and pathologisation of immigrants, has remained.

Both in Fort Morgan and in Lieksa the anti-immigrant sentiments follow a similar pattern. In addition to symbolic threats to national identity and traditional ways of being, economic threats are an important source of negative attitudes toward immigrants (see also Fennelly 2005). Especially in Lieksa, where the unemployment rate is above the national average, the economic costs and consequences of immigration have been at the centre of the debate. There has been, for example, a common claim that the money used for supporting immigration services is taken from the funds used for general services. Although immigrants are entitled to the same benefits as everyone else, wild rumours about the measures taken to support the integration process have been circulating on the internet and in coffee-table conversations.

Local responses

Both in Fort Morgan and in Lieksa the secondary migration of Somali immigrants came as a surprise. Although city officials in Fort Morgan were not prepared for the sudden influx of newcomers, they had at least some previous experience with immigrant integration due to the historic population of Hispanic immigrants. The city of Fort Morgan had, for example, established services for adult basic education and English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. More impor-

tantly, the city officials had acknowledged that there is a divide between the immigrant communities and local residents, and they had applied for and received a grant from the Colorado Trust to support immigrant integration through the OneMorgan County (OMC) project. Therefore, even before the arrival of Somalis Fort Morgan had been striving to create strategies for integration (Marks 2014).

The OMC project has proven to be crucially important for the integration of Somali immigrants. Since its inception in 2005, the OMC project has served as a hub, running and coordinating practically all the integration efforts in Fort Morgan. As part of the project, English and civics lessons are organised and meetings, concerts and festivals are held at which newcomers and old-timers can get to know one another. The project also offers guidance for people unfamiliar with US bureaucracy (Abu-Ghazaleh 2009; Bryson 2013; Barker 2013).

In Fort Morgan, the police department has also played an important role in integrating the Somali immigrants. The police have actively built connections with the Somali community and tried to break through the mistrust of law enforcement. The police department in Fort Morgan has employed a proactive community policing approach, in which problems are prevented through communication and information-sharing (Bryson 2013; Gorski 2011).

Also Cargill, the biggest employer of Somali immigrants, is involved in the integration process. The company organises classes through a workplace-education programme, where students learn English, math and computer skills as well as practical skills, such as tax preparation. The head of the programme, Shirley Penn, said her goal is to one day produce a plant manager. So far, not a single Somali has risen to the level of management, even though Somalis make up one-fourth of the workforce. (Gorski 2011)

The local school district has also tried to accommodate the academic, cultural and religious needs of the newly arrived students. The school district has, for example, started a “newcomer’s center” with accelerated English courses and extra support for struggling middle and high school students. The local high school, in turn, has enabled a midday prayer for its Muslim students by setting aside a space, segregated by gender, for praying during lunch break (Gorski 2011).

In Fort Morgan, city officials emphasise the importance of cooperation between different actors and agencies in order to make the integration efforts possible. “All of our agencies have done good things”, School Superintendent Greg Wagers said, “but individually none of us could have done enough to make an impact” (Weintraub 2011).

In Lieksa, the townspeople and authorities were faced with a completely new situation when Somali immigrants from the nearby refugee center and elsewhere started to settle in the city. During interviews, city officials referred to this initial period as a “boom” or “flood” period. In one interview, a civil servant

described it as a real challenge to organise and start arranging services for newcomers: “In the beginning, when this first bigger group came, in principle we were completely unprepared. We had to make everything out of nothing. It happened all of a sudden, integration, all plans, day care and everything.”

Much of the responsibility for welcoming new residents fell on the shoulders of city authorities because local self-government is traditionally strong in Finland. By law, municipalities have total self-government and they are also responsible for providing basic services, including social services, primary health care, basic education, cultural services as well as an environment and technical infrastructure, for their citizens. Importantly, they have a coordinative responsibility for developing, planning and monitoring the integration of immigrants as well as providing services for that purpose (Act on the Integration..., Section 6d).

As a first step, the Integration Program was put together by a coordinating committee consisting mainly of authorities concerned with integration services, and it was finally approved by the municipal council of Lieksa in 2012. The programme placed a strong emphasis on integration training, language education, free-time and other services as well as on the employability of immigrants and their family members. In addition, the programme also has an economic function. Providing that the municipality has drawn up an integration programme for immigrants, the state will reimburse the municipality for costs relating to the reception of refugees for the first 3–5 years after their arrival.

Lieksa established an integration office (the KOTO-office) to assist newcomers in settling in and to support the operations of the town’s administrative departments in dealing with immigrants’ integration and promote equality. The KOTO-office soon became an important liaison between the Somali community and authorities. In addition, Virike-soppi (the Activity Corner) was established in a residential building where many immigrants lived to strengthen the relationship between immigrants and the natives of Lieksa. Over the years, Virike-soppi managed to draw in many residents with an immigrant background and it became a meaningful place for them. However, it has proven more difficult to win the hearts and minds of locals.

Although the major responsibility for settling the newcomers has been placed on the municipality, some civic associations have also taken part in the integration process. Significantly, Somalis themselves have also started to organise and make their opinions and experiences heard in society. They have set up a self-appointed council to negotiate with authorities and an association to provide help and assistance to the growing community, especially to single mothers and young families. Päivi Pirkkalainen (2013) has noted that from the Finnish authorities’ point of view, associations serve as a liaison between themselves and various minority groups, and for individual Somalis they provide venues for recognition that they otherwise would lack in Finnish society. In Lieksa, the So-

mali Council has actively communicated with the authorities and worked in cooperation with the police, which in Lieksa has assumed a zero-tolerance stance towards racist crime (Security Plan 2012, 22).

However, the positive development in Lieksa is overshadowed by a strong negative reaction to the arrival of Somalis, especially in the media, by a small but vocal group of people who hold high positions in municipal politics. Public figures with a strong anti-immigration message have been backed up by numerous anonymous gossip-mongers who circulate rumours about Somalis and their social benefits. Insults are not directed solely at Somalis, but also locals who cooperate with newcomers either through work or in their free time. Especially social workers dealing with the benefits provided to Somalis have been targeted with malicious slander. This negative atmosphere has made the task of working with immigrants rather thankless and exhausting when it comes to dealing with such politicians and local prejudice.

Employment – a key to successful integration?

Perhaps the biggest difference in the situation of Somalis in Fort Morgan and in Lieksa relates to employment. In Lieksa, most of the Somalis are in training programmes, whereas in Fort Morgan they are already working. Most of the Somalis are drawn to Fort Morgan by the relatively high-paying entry-level jobs at Cargill Meat Solutions. In fact, employment at meat and poultry processing plants has been one of the main pull factors behind the secondary migration to rural towns in the US (Schaid & Grossmann 2007; Yusuf 2012). In the case of Cargill Meat Solutions, Somali immigrants were actively recruited from Denver and Minneapolis (Marks 2014).

As rural communities age and lose population, they will need a new workforce for their plants. The nature of the work and the demise of labour unions make the work unattractive for native-born residents, but for immigrants it offers a unique set of attributes. The work does not necessarily require knowledge of English or previous job skills, and the wages are attractive when compared to other entry-level jobs (Marks 2014). Although for many immigrants employment at a meat processing plant seem like an attractive opportunity, a recent report by the Midwest Coalition for Human Rights (2012) points out that meat-packing continues to be one of the most dangerous jobs in America. When working with sharp knives and other tools along a rapidly moving production line, workers often suffer from serious cuts and crippling repetitive motion injuries.

The US refugee resettlement programme prioritises employment and financial self-sufficiency as the two main indicators of integration. Based on these indicators, Somali immigrants in Fort Morgan show major progress towards integration. However, several studies (e.g. Shandy & Fennelly 2006)

concerning the integration of immigrants working at rural meat processing plants have pointed out that employment alone does not guarantee or facilitate integration. As Amato and Amato (2000) have noted, the newcomers often have little knowledge of English, which together with cultural and socioeconomic differences relegate many immigrants to the permanent category of outsiders. Furthermore, the fact that Somalis work almost solely at the meat packing plant indicates that their integration into labour market in Fort Morgan remains limited.

In Finland, immigrants face several barriers to finding work. The high unemployment rate among Lieksa Somalis is partly explained by the high level of unemployment in the North Karelia region in general. Second, the integration experts that we interviewed emphasised the immigrants’ limited language proficiency and lack of professional skills. In Finland today, there are only a few jobs available for those who do not have vocational training or university qualifications, and many of the Lieksa Somalis pursue formal education for the first time in their lives only after settling in the town. So, due to the limited number of entry-level jobs and high language and education requirements, it generally takes a long time for immigrants to gain access to the labour market. Accordingly, in the Finnish integration process a great deal of focus is placed on providing newcomers with suitable training and education rather than employment.

In Finland and elsewhere, Fort Morgan has been considered the success story of Somali integration, while the debate on Lieksa has focused on the problems encountered there. However, on the basis of our analysis, we suggest that these two places share the same difficulty of facilitating effortless social contacts between newcomers and locals. In Lieksa, the interviewees often explained the lack of interaction by the lack of a common language. According to this argument, as soon as Somalis learn Finnish and find jobs, it will be easier for Finns to accept them as full members of society. In Fort Morgan, a majority of Somalis work but still, according to Fairouz Abu-Ghazaleh, a former coordinator of the OMC project, the toughest challenge for those working toward integration has been nurturing tolerance by creating positive opportunities for interaction among immigrants, refugees and members of the receiving community (Abu-Ghazaleh 2009).

By comparing the experiences from Lieksa, Finland and Fort Morgan, Colorado we have come to conclude that integration is not just about finding employment. The problems that immigrants in these two locations face are more complex and cannot be solved by quick-fix solutions. Finding a job may be essential for the self-esteem and financial independence of individual immigrants, but it is not a shortcut to integration for immigrants facing the challenge of finding one’s place in a new society.

No quick-fix solutions

A comparative study (Carlson, Magnusson & Rönqvist 2012) examining the integration of Somalis in Sweden, the US and several other countries concludes that there are a number of factors contributing to the position of immigrants in the labour market and wider society. Accordingly, they claim that integration requires systemic work and commitment from various societal actors, including authorities and community-based organisations.

Based on this comparative perspective, we argue that both Fort Morgan and Lieksa have been doing many things right in terms of immigrant integration. The authorities have worked towards creating a network of professionals and volunteers to support newcomers and they have sat down with people to discuss the matters at hand. However, what sets Fort Morgan apart from Lieksa is the common realisation that Somalis are there to stay and therefore that it is important to work in unison to make the best of the situation. In Lieksa, residents are still at odds with each other and there is no shared understanding of whether Somalis should and could be welcomed as residents of the municipality. Some locals still claim that it would be better to close schools and tear down buildings rather than accept Somali pupils and rent empty apartments to immigrants. In this kind of atmosphere, energy that is much needed for regional development and for enhancing communication between people is spent on fruitless quarrels.

An alternative way to look at the issues at hand has been provided by a coffee shop owner named Candice Loomis, who in 2009 crafted the Fort Morgan petition that blamed the government for giving refugees financial support and portrayed Somali refugees as lazy freeloaders. She still has complaints, but now she is doing her best to treat Somali customers with respect. "I've come to the realization that they're here and we're going to have to do the best we can", Loomis said (Gorski 2011).

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Securitization and diaspora networks: Perceptions on their evolving socio- economic role and impact

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Abstract

This research paper examines the phenomenon of diaspora networks in society, addressing their perceived threat to society and how this is constructed. We focus on their illegitimate economic activities and the socio-economic impact. We review extant international research and analyse material from media and expert perceptions in Finland and compare them to illegitimate activity concepts established in previous literature. The findings illustrate that all types of negative activities can already be found, but that in many aspects they are still limited in scope and impact. The role of diaspora networks is linked both to transnational and local illegitimate activity, but the majority of crime takes place on a more individual level. The paper contributes by discussing activities aimed at preventing the negative impacts of diaspora networks on society and the economy.

Introduction

This paper addresses the phenomenon of diaspora networks and considers their societal and economic impact on the economy and securitization. It employs the lens of negative impact (note: this is a theoretical limitation and does not imply that only a negative impact exists; on the contrary, there is significant research on the positive impacts of such networks (e.g. Cohen 2008; Brinkerhoff 2009; Riddle & Brinkerhoff 2011)) and combines two research streams: diaspora networks and securitization and security management. The paper focuses on the economic and security dimension of diaspora network activities (e.g. smuggling, trafficking, money laundering, etc.) as deduced from extant research, and it ex-

plores perceptions about these activities in a Finnish context. From a socio-economic perspective, these activities represent threats, i.e. negative economic activities and related crime (see Figure 2). These activities require efficient policies and more research. The paper aims to understand whether diaspora networks contribute to the formation of a security threat and if these threats are visible in the media and expert perceptions. It examines views on the organisation and forms of irregularity and the negative effects of diaspora networks on an emerging receiver country, Finland.

Increased immigration to Finland since the 1990s has caused officials to view immigrants (i.e. both foreigners without Finnish citizenship and foreign-born Finns) as a group through a security lens due to the examples of the security threats they pose in other countries. Immigration and the resulting diaspora networks have been discussed as a political, social and economic challenge and as a possible internal security threat. Many studies are grounded in the securitization approach first proposed by the Copenhagen School of thought in the early 1990s, which treat security agendas as political (Buzan et al. 1998). The Copenhagen School views the political debate as a security agenda. In addition, it advocates the acceptance of exceptional security procedures and actions (Buzan et al. 1998; Buzan and Waever 2003; McSweeney 1996; Hough 2004). While the meaning and logic of security and societal threats have been intensively discussed and debated (Doty 1998; McDonald 2008; Browning & McDonald 2011), the roles of diaspora networks in securitization have received little attention (cf. Gillespie & McBride 2012; Edelstein 2013).

The concept of security with respect to diaspora networks is multifaceted, as diaspora networks are heterogeneous social structures with multiple connections (see Hepp et al. 2011). Successful and legally compatible diaspora networks transmit positive economic and societal benefits (Chung & Tung 2013; Brinkerhoff 2009), whereas failure- and irregularly-driven diaspora networks generate security problems, a high level of uncertainty and may even foster criminality (see Gillespie & McBride 2012). However, the perceptions and mechanisms of threat and their links to livelihood and catching up (i.e. societal and economic convergence) are underexplored. Moreover, further research is needed on how to approach and prevent possible threats caused by diaspora networks in a young receiving country.

This paper is structured as follows. First, the extant theory and research linking diaspora networks to securitization is reviewed and key negative constructs are identified. Second, the research approach and methods are presented. Then, an analysis of the perceptions both in the media and by experts is presented. Finally, we discuss and present conclusions, including theoretical and policy making implications.

Diaspora networks and securitization in the research literature

Immigration and diasporas both have spatial or geographic properties, as they refer to dispersions of people and the outcomes of migration. Diasporas represent ethnic minority groups of migrant origin residing and acting in host countries but maintaining sentimental and material links with their countries of origin, i.e. their homelands (Sheffer 1986, 3; Gillespie et al. 1999). Group members are often influenced by their dual identity and even longing for home (Lin 2010). It is assumed that diaspora networks maintain a psychic link with their homelands (Gillespie et al. 1999; Shimonov 2011) and would like to maintain or improve their places of origin or countrymen (Heinonen 2011), and this goal of homeland improvement binds them to each other. However, the same link may also cultivate negative affects towards one's country of origin (Barnard & Pendock 2012).

Diaspora individuals establish formal and informal networks, even religious networks (McCabe, Harlaftis & Minglou 2005; Hinnels 1997; Brinkerhoff 2009; Dutia 2012). Such networks play a role in societies at large because they act as a nexus and a bridge between the host country and the country of origin (cf. Brinkerhoff 2009; Clydesdale 2008). The participants in diaspora networks often have a comparative advantage in business both when compared with the host country nationals and with their fellow countrymen at home (Lin 2010; Chen & Chen 1998; Schotter & Abdelzaher 2013; Montoya & Briggs 2013). In addition, such networks can act efficiently across borders.

Diaspora is a global, multi-faceted and dynamic societal and business phenomenon with numerous implications for security. Global challenges such as wars and political crises, transnational organised crime, climate change, demographic developments and globalization all help spread the diaspora phenomenon. Many mechanisms of diaspora networks and their development are unknown (see Dugan & Edelstein 2013). Successfully employing diaspora resources provides mutual benefits (for sending and receiving countries) and progress (Saxenian 2005), while mismanaging resources leads to governance problems, threats and illegal activities (Dugan & Edelstein 2013; Gillespie & McBride 2013). Diaspora networks are active in trafficking, smuggling, the drug business, counterfeiting, and so forth. For example, counterfeiting is one of the fastest-growing industries and has a negative effect on the world economy, society and security (Cucinotta 2010).

Therefore, a young receiving country needs to invest in the appropriate management of diaspora resources and overcome a lack of experiential knowledge. Additionally, immigrants in a young receiving country face liabilities for being foreigners and outsiders (cf. Zaheer 1995; Johanson & Vahlne 2009). These problems influence not only economic interaction, but also societal coop-

eration and diaspora networks' emerging governance systems. This early phase is crucial for securitization, as it creates the architecture and foundation for the emerging structures governing the diaspora activities on various levels, i.e. the actors and their organisations and institutions. For example, resource employment problems may create a latent potential for the aforementioned threats and affect individual level thresholds.

Various disciplines approach these potential threats differently. For example, the Copenhagen School of Security Studies developed a "societal security" concept, which refers to "society's ability to preserve its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats" (McSweeney 1996; Hough 2004, 106). The school focuses on a wider definition of security, one that includes military, political, economic, environmental and societal aspects. It also concerns actions aimed to protect against threats to security and the ways in which they are applied as political tools.

The concept of securitization in Finland is twofold: it can refer to intentional, political acts (Turvallistaminen in the Finnish language) or to the unintended consequences of policies and strategies (Turvallistuminen in Finnish) (Virta 2013). The concept has been applied to immigration-related topics such as asylum, immigration and border security, and to the notion of "resecuritization" within the context of receiving asylum seekers and immigrants (McDonald 2011), when border politics are driven by national interests and when secured borders are re-secured again by means of political decisions (Buonfino 2004; Ceyhan & Tsoukala 2002; McMaster 2002; Sasse 2005). In addition, securitization has been considered in an environmental security context (Floyd 2010), as well as in a socio-economic context, such as consumer safety and protection (Plagiarius 2014).

Moreover, migration is a central element of globalization. Policy making and research perceive its immense political and economic importance from two perspectives: opportunity and threat. According to statistics, 91 million foreign-born people live in the 25 OECD countries (covered by DIOC 2005/06) (Dumont 2012). One-third of the 16.5 million recent migrants have a tertiary education; therefore, they represent valuable resources and bring their social network connections with them into their new country of residence (Dumont 2012). In fact, the European Union (EU) is actively supporting efforts to make the EU attractive to talented immigrants (European Union 2013). Immigrants are seen as important in creating a new workforce for an aging society and also for renewing societies, while local community integration is seen as the key for successful immigration (European Union 2013). The economies of the US, the UK and Germany have significantly benefitted from various diaspora resources. In addition, immigrant entrepreneurs help actively build the global economy in both their home and host countries (Teagarden 2010), as Silicon Valley and the

Chinese economy have demonstrated (Saxenian 2005; Teagarden 2010). Entrepreneurs with different origins are significant drivers of value creation in their communities and the global economy (Wong & Salaff 1998; Waldinger, Aldrich & Ward 1990; Tung & Chung 2013; Cohen & Vertovec 1999). Threats to security arise and increase when problems pertaining to livelihood, income and stigmatization start to grow; in particular, economic “misbehaviour” and irregular activities emerge and increase (see Dugan & Edelstein 2013). Despite various economic advantages, policy making often considers migration a threat to the original population.

Policy makers must also address the concept of migration. In Finland, the government is concerned with the security of society, communities and individuals and stresses the importance of a multivalued society where everyone can find their own place. Migration statistics illustrate the growing number of immigrants and their descendants living in Finland (see Figure 1) (Statistics Finland 2013b).

The main reasons for immigration are school, family or work (Ministry of the Interior 2014). Other reasons have to do with seeking asylum or fleeing an unstable situation in a home country. The Ministry of the Interior (2014) has estimated that by 2020 the number of immigrants in Finland will double when compared to the amount in 2014. The Ministry’s Future of Migration 2020 strategy was adopted in the form of a Government Resolution on 13 June 2013, and it underlines the importance of immigrant participation in building the future of Finland. Immigrants should be active and involved, instead of passive users of services and objects of government operations. The government fosters immigrants’ successful integration into society (Ministry of the Interior 2014).

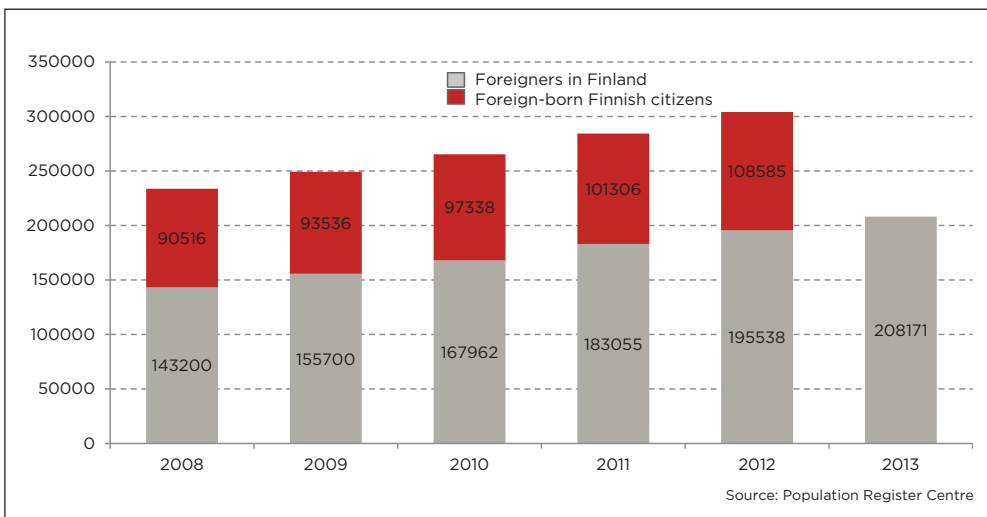


Figure 1. The changes in the number of foreigners and foreign-born Finnish citizens in Finland

Concerning the negative side of the equation, our review of the extant literature explored and identified several irregular types of activity that constitute indirect or direct threats and need to be addressed (see Figure 2).

Research approach and methodology

We employed qualitative methods to understand the complex phenomena affecting diaspora networks (Alasuutari 1995; Silvermann 2001; Yin 1984). The research design is based on a state-of-the-art literature review that identifies threat categories and then compares them to primary data. We explored and mapped an irregular activity landscape (Figure 2) identified by previous researchers as relevant for diaspora networks and related to negative economic behaviour and threats (e.g. Dugan and Edelstein 2013; Gillespie & McBride 2012). The research approach compares these theoretical constructs (cf. irregular activity types) with views from the media and expert perceptions, and it triangulates available statistics. It explores whether or not these constructs can be found in Finland.

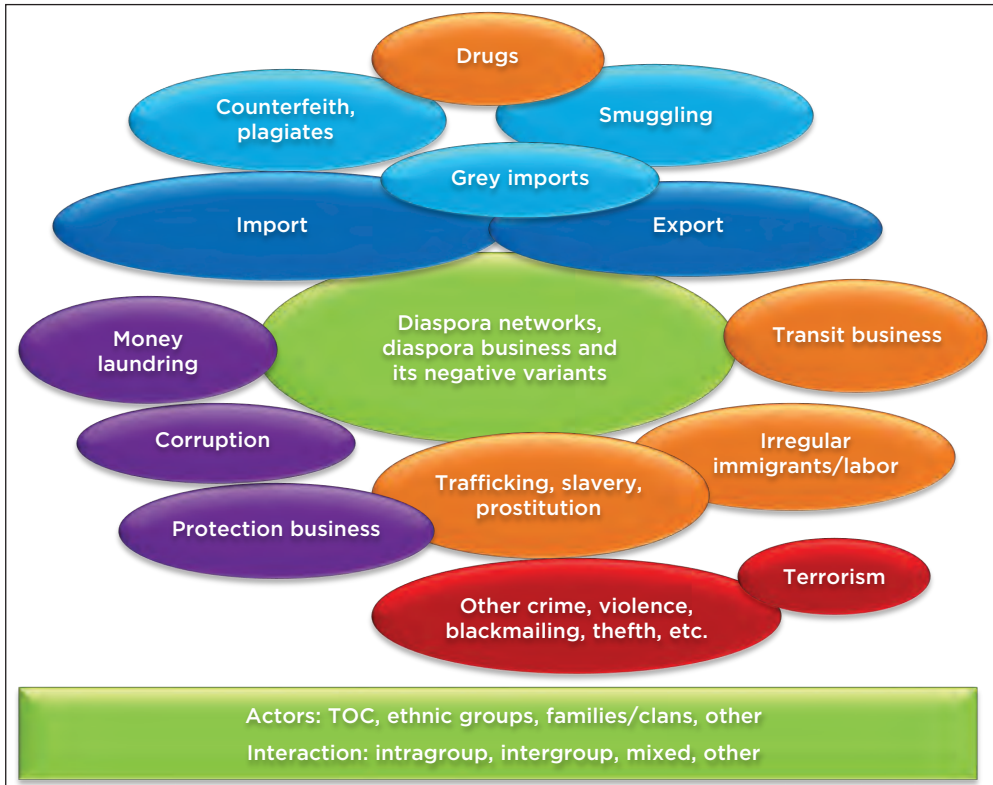


Figure 2. Types of irregular economic activities and actors

We used desktop research and NVivo to collect, store and analyse material from the media and qualitative in-depth interview data from securitization specialists. Data were collected from Finnish electronic media during 2013–2014 on the basis of purposeful selection while concentrating on articles that deal with the economic and societal activities of migrants. The titles of the articles were monitored, an identified article was checked for relevance and then the article was archived and saved with its source and date. The media sources included two daily newspapers (Helsingin Sanomat, Turun Sanomat), two economic newspapers (Taloussanomat, Kauppalehti) and two evening newspapers (Iltasanomat, Iltalehti). Ninety-seven general articles and 25 Finland-specific articles were identified.

The five interviewed specialists were purposefully selected based on their key institutional position, expertise, tasks and intensive daily contact with security and diaspora networks. Mapping (Figure 2) was used as a thematic backbone in the theme interviews with various specialists on the topic. They were asked to share their knowledge and explain their perceptions of each aspect with respect to the development of security threats in Finland and also to link the actors (see Actors in Figure 2) to the security aspects. They were also asked how the aspects are organised with respect to the interactions. The interviews were recorded and partially transcribed, and the observations and field notes were also documented.

The qualitative data was thematically analysed and organised into categories based on the threat concepts (see Figure 2) (Eskola & Suoranta 2003). It included 213 files in total. The specialists and their organisations remain anonymous, and the data are presented in a “granulated” form due to juridical and ethical considerations (Kuula 2006).

Analysis of perceptions and media articles

We compared the primary data with the constructs (Figure 2) after analysing the collected data contents and then synthesised the results in Table 1. We examined whether or not diaspora networks are approached as security threats and how this is done. We also examined the activities that pose the greatest threats.

The results indicate that economic crime and threats related to diaspora networks were less present in the media, while other types of crime, such as violence and drugs, were more present. The media covered almost all types of threats; only threats related to imports, exports and grey imports were not reported. The media does not always explicitly indicate the differences between actors (cf. Finnish-based diasporans, temporary immigrants or foreign criminals), which may lead to misleading impressions and ideas about underlining threats to the public. For example, consider the formulations in the following

Table 1. Categories and findings on perceptions and reporting

| Type of activity | Media presence | Expert perceptions | Synthesis |
|---|---|---|--|
| Import | n.a. | Minor “mistakes” | Not a problem |
| Grey imports | n.a. | n.a. | - |
| Export | n.a. | minor “mistakes” | Not a problem |
| Counterfeit, plagiates | Very little reporting, mainly in the context of international business | Some cases, not necessarily organized in one country only | Occasional problem, Finland considered a receiver country, not an actor per se |
| Smuggling | Very little reporting | Some problems, but effectively controlled | Typical small scale problem |
| Drugs | Increasing reporting, problem reported on many levels | Universal problem | Growing problem involving both diasporas and non-diasporas in Finland |
| Irregular transit business | Almost no direct reporting | Some problems, but more transnational control, less local control than earlier | Partially hidden problem due to its nature, Finland not seen as the actor country |
| Irregular immigrants/labor | Some reports with emphasis on intra-diaspora issues | Fragmented problems, problems mainly in certain sectors or populations | Considered an internal problem of some sectors or populations, not as a significant threat to security or the labor market as a whole. |
| Trafficking, slavery, prostitution | Numerous reports with particular topics such as ethnic restaurants, Eastern European prostitutes, Asian berry-pickers, etc. | Effective border control hinders mass phenomena, often cases in particular ethnic/cultural groups | Perceived as a problem, but focus more on particular victim groups |
| Money laundering | Some indications in the real estate business, less in focus | Universal issue, not considered significant | Not considered a problem yet |
| Corruption | More foreign, Finnish actors under the loop of correctness | Not considered an internal problem of significance | Considered on the foreign side |
| Protection business | Some cases | Some cases | Sporadic, not a yet a problem |
| Other crime, violence, blackmailing, theft, etc. | Rich reporting of various crimes, violence and sexual crimes emphasized | Crime is universal, significant organized cases in theft, specific to certain populations | High problem potential, but multiple actor-victim constellations |
| Terrorism | Some reports with a focus mainly on Muslim issues | Not yet present as a “receiving” country, currently for “resting” and as a sending country | Latent problem, yet emerging |

Money laundering text twice (technical thing to take the text)

Finnish newspaper articles: "...police have caught in Helsinki three Albanian men suspected of numerous burglaries..." and "...new information on circulating groups and their links to organised crime and the use of children in crime. The latter is a new phenomenon in Finland..." The articles do not report on the suspects' relationship to Finland.

It seems that the reporting reflects assumptions that immigrants are increasingly criminal, are more often unemployed, and thus, are easier to recruit for criminal activities; hence, they constitute an economic burden. Scandal cases such as slavery in ethnic restaurants and trafficking were emphasised in the media, as this article illustrates: "...record high. 324 crime investigations examined trafficking and related crime. The amount has more than quadrupled in ten years."

The securitization experts each emphasised independently of one another that there are problem areas, such as the drug business, trafficking and smuggling, that constitute threats. They pointed out key concerns: "...illegal entry is linked with economic crime...", "...their networking is immense" and "...organizations know how we officials work". Several problems have occurred in ethnic restaurants and the construction business, prompting one expert to say that, "multi-entrepreneurial immigrants create criminal activity centers". However, these activities are still rather limited to certain actor groups (the "top three"), and they are often directed from abroad. In general, the experts considered the situation in and location of Finland relatively good in comparison to Sweden (despite its transit country character), and they also praised the current governance system as well-functioning despite some communication and cultural problems.

The synthesis gives an overview of a rather positive, but evolving, situation. The international research on immigration and diaspora is not aligned with these media-related assumptions (Cohen 2008; Brinkerhoff 2009; Riddle, Hvirnak & Nielsen 2010). Immigrants are more entrepreneurial than the native population (Metzger 2014). According to Statistics Finland, the number of immigrant businesses has grown. In the context of Great Britain, immigrants create a £20 billion economic gain because their tax payments outweigh welfare and they are also better educated than the British workforce (Dustmann & Frattini 2014). Their ability to conduct both legitimate and illegitimate economic activities is high (see US National Security Council 2013). This analysis does not focus on unreported and latent threats, as we analysed reported data *ex post*. The data had both visible and latent indications that relate to global developments, such as the trade in fake products and drugs. However, the threats were too idiosyncratic (regarding region, group and type of activity) to allow for generalisation. We also triangulated the types of official statistics, and we could not identify a significant negative effect of Finnish-based diaspora networks in any category

of negative economic activity. Crime was most notably often linked to circulating foreign criminals, groups and networks, not to diaspora networks in Finland *per se*.

Both sources of data involve challenges. The media faces ethic and journalistic challenges when reporting on illegitimate activities and threats and when presenting information that influences public perceptions of threats. Irregular or illegitimate activity (Dugan & Edelstein 2013) has obtained surprisingly little attention in terms of its economic impact. On the other hand, the media has highlighted more individual irregular cases, such as old grandmothers without a residence permit, than threats related to societal problems and underlying criminal structures in trafficking, smuggling and slavery. Crime and other illegitimate activities, such as violence, theft and other individual-level crime (cf. Dugan & Edelstein 2013; Gillespie & McBride 2012), are reported on regularly, whereas economic crime that creates indirect and direct threats is only reported on sporadically (see Table 1). Media sales guide interest more than societal threats. Direct threats, such as public health and safety (e.g. caused by counterfeit products), together with indirect threats, for example threats to the competitiveness of a legal business and their influence on the economy, business environments, stability and security, have remained at the margins of media focus. Thus, it seems that the media has not yet created any “scanning map” of issues to follow and analyse on a holistic level.

The experts were aware of the challenge of objectivity and they perceived the key problems to be drugs and illegitimate activities that are more linked to transnational organized crime (see Table 1). Each expert pinpointed the idiosyncratic nature and the contextual setting of crime and emphasised that the majority of all diasporas are not related to crime or do not act as networks. There was a dichotomy between the types of crime: some cases were professional while other criminals did not perceive their activity as criminal, but as helping the family. The rules and regulations were not understood or not internalised. The experts pointed out the failures in integration policies, such as criminal behaviour among young male diasporans, but also their success in avoiding large-scale problems.

Discussion and conclusion

Securitization theory needs to conceptualise the actor levels and their roles. The societal integration of diaspora communities is crucial for sustaining security and reducing threats. Well-functioning governance decreases the costs of integration failure and shifts the focus more towards individual prosperity creation

and positive developments and away from crime and related forms of radicalism (see more in Archer 2004). According to the Immigration Barometer (The Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2013), 74% of immigrants received an integration plan and language training and 42% were working full time. The most important aspects of societal integration were work, language skills, safety and security, health services and a suitable apartment. The unemployment of migrant resources is a problem, as the conflicts in Sweden among various immigrant communities in 2013 indicate (see Bevelander & Irastorza 2014). The recent developments illustrate the latent threats in both directions.

Diaspora communities are responsible for the security of society just like any other community. Victim versus actor status thinking needs to be curtailed. Immigrants and diaspora networks need two-way communication with institutional actors in order to understand how the legal framework works and how institutions can assist in reducing threats. Language remains one issue. In Finland, officials introduced new language training and added more interpreters to improve communication and various services related to immigrants. Preventing illegitimate activities can include the following: 1) educating new immigrants on the laws, practices and social norms of their new country; 2) language training and other skills that facilitate full-time employment or entrepreneurship; 3) participating in multiple communities and developing a common bond of “Finnishness” in school, education, working life and business; 4) proactive two-way communication and involvement; and 5) diaspora networks’ participation in making communities and society safe across generations and for different societal groups.

For illegitimate economic activity, we present diaspora entrepreneurship as one possible tool for preventing threats, promoting success and integration, and generating income. Assuming personal responsibility in economic affairs and investments and the possibility of gaining social status are significant aspects that may foster regular economic wellbeing instead of irregular economic behaviour and threats. Diaspora entrepreneurs tend to assist their community members in employment and personal development, they enjoy a different status and they are expected to act within expected ethical standards; thus, they function as nodes of development and caretakers at the grassroots level (Heinonen 2010). Security and threats are related; thus, by increasing entrepreneurial and regular behaviour and reducing the motivation for crime and irregular economic behaviour, we may better avoid direct and indirect security threats. Investments, entrepreneurial activities, employment and career development incorporate inherent drivers for security that can be shared within diaspora networks and society as a whole.

More research is needed on Finland’s geopolitical and economic location as a transit country that could lead to many indirect threats and problems. Preven-

tion and control may limit the growth of international economic crime better than ex post action, and here diaspora networks may have a valuable role. Their role in reducing other threats, such as radicalism and terrorism and its financing, also require a more thorough understanding. Security policies may benefit from international experiences. Illegitimate economic activities and crime may evolve due to integration problems when the normal path to wellbeing and progress is perceived as blocked, thereby creating a necessity for taking other actions. In many receiving countries, policies regarding diploma acknowledgement and discrimination in places of employment have led to frustration, and they have indirectly contributed to the development of illegitimate routes to economic wellbeing and status. Preventive action, policy making and securitization need to examine the interconnected and mediated nature of diaspora networks (see Hepp, Bozdag & Suna 2011).

In summary, it is important to see the “big picture” of diaspora development. Countries receiving immigrants that fill in skill gaps and provide workforce-in-service and low-pay tasks need to care for the security and wellbeing of immigrants and the incumbent population. They should consider how to handle societal and economic development in a sustainable and responsible way. Generic tools and incentives for becoming integrated into society are needed. If inclusion fails, criminal activities, unemployment and threats will arise.

When considering the security perspective, Finland has had a rather limited diaspora history during its receiving country phase. However, modern diaspora networks are emerging and thriving in a digital, connected and globalized world (see Brinkerhoff 2009), and labour market integration is crucial for positive development (see Bevelander & Irastorza 2014). Contemporary technological infrastructures provide a better base for economic activities and crime than before, which results in more complex governance of direct and indirect threats to security and economic wellbeing. Diaspora networks are becoming a part of society (Bendixsen 2013), and diasporic livelihood is an issue requiring particular attention in order to avoid and manage societal problems, threats and crimes (cf. Oliveri 2013; Zaban 2013; Slavkova 2013). Diaspora entrepreneurship provided positive alternatives and development in Finland when the Ministry of Employment and the Economy initiated the ALPO and MATTO programmes (www.tem.fi). However, legitimate international business development using diaspora networks as a resource is still in its infancy and based on individual-level connections. Notably, on the illegitimate side the data show that the growth in drug and smuggling businesses has been significant; they employ similar mechanisms and resources and also employ Finnish-born criminals and capitalise on their embeddedness in local networks.

We agree that institutional development is needed (Norrback 2008), and we propose that diaspora communities and institutional actors should join forces

to create a more analytical and efficient identification, analysis and reporting system based on a holistic architecture of security, i.e. an increase in cross-governance. Co-developed institutions are required to better guide resource allocation. In addition, media ethics can support a balance in reporting and enhance positive social norms. Each type of illegitimate activity needs its own toolbox of governance measures, as not all crime is really Finland-based crime despite its location (e.g. temporary foreign-born criminals entering Finland, transnational organised crime and counterfeit trading). The complexity of diaspora networks requires an in-depth understanding, contextual knowledge and appropriate resource allocation. This is only just now evolving due to the young age of Finland as a receiving country, but quick and innovative learning will assist in the successful development of securitization.

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Cross-border migration and transnational connections among ethnic minorities in the region of St. Petersburg in the 19th century

Andrei Kalinitchev ■

Abstract

The region of St. Petersburg became a destination point for migrants of many nationalities from outside Russia in the 19th century. It experienced an internal migration by the domestic Russian population as well. Migratory routes, as well as the outflow and inflow volumes in the region, differed for each ethnic group. The ethnic groups had vast transnational networks. The networks were important for migration and collaboration among minorities. The main reason to migrate to the region was due to economic factors, and this led to complex migratory processes as a result of the region's rapid economic development. The region became an important part of the international market exchange, which created opportunities for ethnic minority migrants both domestically and internationally.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to study group collaboration among ethnic minorities living in the area near the Russian capital of St. Petersburg in the 19th century and to reveal transnational connections between minority communities.¹ The article will study cross-border migration in the capital region as well.

First, it is important to define what is meant by a single ethnic unity — an ethnic group. According to Anthony D. Smith, an ethnic group can arise with the help of several factors: an understanding of the unique origin of the ethnic group, knowledge of a common history, trust in a special national destiny, at least one common cultural feature and mutual solidarity inside the community (Smith 1981, 66). The other well-known scientist, Steven Fenton, who has stu-

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died different questions related to ethnicity, pointed out that such qualities such as knowledge of an ethnic group's unique history plus one or more common cultural features, for example religion, language or cultural traditions, are needed to create an ethnic group (Fenton 2010, 90–170).

The people who lived in the region of St. Petersburg considered themselves members of different ethnic groups, calling all members of a particular group “we” and using the word “they” to refer to other residents. This notion highlights the fact that it was important for the inhabitants to identify members of their own ethnic group among the whole population, and they were capable of doing it quite well. For example, a local Finn meeting another known or unknown Finnish person used the word “maanmies”, in English “countryman”, meaning that they belonged to the same community (Kalinitchev 2012, 53). Undoubtedly this helped to establish a mutual reliable and friendly relationship inside the ethnic group.

The governorate of St. Petersburg was situated in the Northwest part of Russia near the state border. Finland and the Baltic provinces were on the other side of the border. There was a high level of mobility and a number of interactive activities in the borderland region. The mobility produced large population figures because many migrants moved to the area from other parts of the Russian empire as well as from other European countries. The word “migrant” here means a person who moved to the region from another place inside Russia or from abroad. The significant influx of population started after the capital city was founded in the early 18th century, when tens of thousands of Russian peasants were forcefully moved to the region under the conditions of serfdom. Serfdom had been a form of feudal dependency and the dominant relation between peasants and nobility up to the year 1861. After the abolition of serfdom in Russia, the liberal reforms in 1860s and 1870s assisted the migratory process and the population figures started growing intensively (Kalinitchev 2011a).

The rate of migration was very high. It is known that in the 1880s, the number of migrants in north-western parts of the region increased to 55,000 persons and exceeded the local population by 30%. The main influx was observed in the industrial and market areas as well as near the city's boundaries (Materialy 1885, 206-247).

Table 1. The growth of different ethnic groups in the district of St. Petersburg in the 1880s (Source: Materialy 1887, 34).

| | Residents | Migrants | Total | Growth, % |
|----------------------|-----------|----------|--------|-----------|
| Russians | 21 718 | 49 386 | 71 104 | 227 |
| Finns | 10 967 | 3 126 | 14 093 | 29 |
| Germans | 2 197 | 1 329 | 3 526 | 60 |
| Ingrians | 1 027 | 65 | 1 092 | 6 |
| Jews | 89 | 309 | 398 | 347 |
| Estonians & Latvians | 11 | 413 | 424 | 3 755 |
| Poles | 37 | 341 | 378 | 922 |

The data presented in the Table 1 were collected from respondents based on their self-identification. The common people, including the minorities, who lived in the countryside belonged to peasant rural communities. There were minorities among the local landowners as well. It is possible to scrutinise the settlement areas of different minorities using the statistics on land possessions. The newcomers from the Baltic provinces and Finland comprised 23% of small landowners in the whole governorate (Materialy 1895, 12-13). Since the region was close to the Baltic provinces and to Finland, it is understandable that these minorities moved to areas close to their native homelands. Minorities in general preferred to settle near their homelands. The newcomers from Livonia and Estonia preferred to live near the border of their home region; just few of them continued migrating far away to the north. They started new villages together with their countrymen in the governorate of St. Petersburg. Also, they worked as agricultural employees (Materialy 1891; Materialy 1890).

Finnish migration

Migrating to the governorate of St. Petersburg was especially easy for Finns because of the strong ethnic networks between the various Finnish communities. It is important to notice that the Finnish ethnic group was divided into two subgroups: the Äyrämöinens and the Savakkos. Both moved to the region during the period of Swedish dominion, mainly in the 17th century. The Savakkos moved here from the province of Savo, while the Äyrämöinens moved from the western parts of the Karelian Isthmus, among other places from the municipality of Äyräpää. The nearby location of Savo and the Karelian Isthmus to the region of St. Petersburg helped sustain strong relations between their communities on both sides of the border. Their ethnic collaboration crossed the state border. It was easy for the Äyrämöinens to visit their relatives in Finland, to find a spouse on the other side of the border, and so forth (Kalinitchev 2011b).

The local Finns even arranged several illegal cross-border points: they constructed light wooden bridges across the Rajajoki River to make their cross-border journeys much easier. These crossing points were also in use after the Russian revolution due to a new migration wave caused by political disturbances in both countries.

At first, the cultural and linguistic differences between the communities of the Savakkos and Äyrämöinens were significant, but by the beginning of the 20th century little by little the cultural differences became smaller and they started forming a single ethnic group. Their common Finnish origin was a strong unifying factor; both subgroups consisted mainly of rural inhabitants who had shared the same customs of farmers and hunters as well as the same Christian

and pre-Christian rituals conducted during weddings and on other special occasions (Passek 1842, 92-124).

In addition, there was also another type of newcomer to the St. Petersburg region: namely, farmers from Finland who moved into the district's wastelands in order to work off the land. The local authorities saw a great deal of potential in Finns, and consequently new Finnish households were established in Haapakangas, Vartiamäki and other volosts (Ottshet 1866, 44-45). In the 1860s, there were only two farms that belonged to peasants who were originally from Finland and who were not members of rural peasant communities, whereas by 1888 their number had increased to 63. In the great bulk of cases, they owned small households, 46 of which had less than 0.5 dessiatinas of land (approximately 0.55 hectares). Thus, they can be defined as having been land tenants (Materialy 1891, 14, 38, 88, 100, 101). Agricultural immigration from Finland was also recorded in the neighbouring district of Pähkinälinna, which was situated in the north-eastern part of the governorate (Materialy 1889, 39).

German migration

The Germans moved to the governorate of St. Petersburg for political, religious and economic reasons caused by instability in Western Europe. The first German communities were established in the middle of the 18th century. The families came originally from Brandenburg and Wirtemberg and received important privileges, donations and large plots of land from the Tsars. The favourable treatment of the Germans continued into the next century; for example, Tsar Alexander II donated 40,000 hectares to the new German colonies for new families coming from Bayer, Wirtemberg and Prussia. As one can notice, the settlers maintained connections with their former home communities and newcomers continued to migrate from the places as the first settlers. In 1849, the total amount of the German population rose to approximately 4,000 persons (Kalinitchev 2012, 62).

Another census was conducted in Russia in 1897. According to the 1897 census, Russians made up the majority of the population, but the Finns formed a significant group as well, representing 1/3 of the population. The 1897 census recorded that the number of newcomers from Finland was altogether 2,277 (25,844 Finns in the whole governorate), representing 13% of Finnish speakers in the rural part of the Northwest. The volume of newcomers from Finland to the neighbouring rural region was second only to their inflow into the city of St. Petersburg (with a total of 18,240 Finns). It confirms the conclusions made by other researchers that the migrants from Finland comprised a remarkable share of the Finnish population in Northwest Russia (Engman 1983). In this sense, the migration of Finns was most active in the border area because of their inner-ethnic communication and interaction (Kalinitchev 2010). Migration of smaller eth-

nic groups, such as Poles, Jews, Estonians and Latvians, to the north-western countryside was not significant, partly because they could not create strong enough social networks there. The Russian, Jewish, Polish and German populations in the governorate of St. Petersburg, as well as the populations of other national groups, was mainly urban, while the Finnish and Ingrian populations were mainly rural (Pervaja 1903, 3).

Migration of foundlings and others

Bringing up foundlings had been a commercial activity for Finns for many decades. A Finnish family received an average payment of 33 roubles a year for an orphan. The populations of Korkiomäki, Lempaala and Kylänjatko increased by 1,439 in the 24 years prior to 1882, with the increased number of orphans recorded as being members of the local Finnish communities (Materialy 1887, 27). In addition to this figure, the total number of orphans in Finnish adoptive families in 1882 was 1,351 (Materialy 1887, 261).

Other kinds of migrants who came to the northern zone was invalids, elderly people, children wandering on their own and beggars without families that could take care of them (Ottshet 1866, 8-9). These people were supported and fed by local communities as well as Lutheran and Orthodox parishes, although there were few beggars among local residents (Materialy 1885, 94, 124). Migrants of these types found shelter in the countryside, escaping the capital police who detained beggars, tramps, infringers and Finns born in Finland but who were living without a valid passport (Ottshet o dejatelnosti 1885, 5).

Multicultural members of Lutheran parishes

A study of the Lutheran church records from Valkeasaari parish, which is situated in the Northwest near the Finnish border, shows that in 1880 there were 107 registered children born to migrant families and 179 children born in local families (RGIA. F. 828. Op. 14. D. 238. L. 35-66). The children born in migrant families made up 37.4% of all children born in that year. The records reveal that more than half of the migrant families having children that year came to the parish originally from Finland, mostly from nearby Lutheran parishes on other side of the border. Migrants from other European areas, such as Poland, Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and Sweden, also were registered there. The records reveal the transnational character of interrelations and interaction inside this particular parish, where services were provided for migrants of all backgrounds. The same Lutheran confession helped the migrants become members of the local communities.

Migration to the region of St. Petersburg was quite intensive, especially in the third quarter of the 19th century. Migration of minorities occurred via communal networks and also in cases when local communities were separated by the state border. The records reveal strong transnational connections between members of minority communities as well as ethnic collaboration among minority groups. The close ethnic connections made the use of social capital very effective.

The peasant communities that were formed as administrative units could consist of persons of different nationalities, although in the northern parts of the region these communities included mainly Finns. The rural communities became independent to a certain extent, had their own courts for small crimes (judges were elected by the local population of residents) and their own councils. Due to the natural growth of population, communities' agricultural plots per capita became smaller and there were only a few job opportunities in areas far from industrial and trading centres. The cost of living rose quite high as well as the tax rate. The developments brought some social inequality among local residents, causing further migration among the poor (Materialy 1887, 150–153, 157).

Conclusions

An analysis of the migratory processes in the region of St. Petersburg highlights the importance of religious and ethnic aspects when studying cross-border population mobility and transnational connections of minorities. A person in the 19th century lived in both local — usually rural — and church communities. After arriving, newcomers joined the community of local residents. The analysis determined that religious identity was an important factor among rural inhabitants and that belonging to a particular denomination was a significant part of a person's national identity. The current study has revealed that the denominational unity helped the newcomers in terms of being accepted by the local population (see Park 1994, 155). As a result, social connections that were based on national and religious unity created firm bonds within an ethnic group. In sum, migration in the region of St. Petersburg was determined by the behaviour of different groups, which were formed on the basis of native language, denomination and ethnicity.

There were subgroups within the main groups that were determined by migratory regions, sub-ethnic categories and occupation. According to the results of the research, this state of affairs influenced the migration routes of different ethnic groups. Hence, Orthodox Russians preferred to move to communities in

which their faith was practiced, while Lutheran Finns settled in villages that reflected their religious outlook (Ottshet 1866, 8).

When assessing the topic of intercultural collaboration with respect to small minorities, scholars have concluded that an ethnic minority like the Ingrians lived within communities with different cultural influences, which explains why they were members of both Lutheran and Orthodox communities (Istoriko-statistitsheskije 1884, 174-175; Hakamies 1991, 203; Sivonen 2007). Regarding immigrants who moved from Finland, one should mention the sub-ethnic immigration of the Savakkos and Äyrämöinens (Saloheimo 1991, 1992, 1993; Sihvo 1991), who both preferred to settle in areas in which their own subgroup lived (Kalinitchev 2010). Germans migrated across Ingermanland and founded new ethnic agricultural communities.

The Russian ethnic migration to the Finnish Lutheran communities occurred in terms of an influx of orphans into Finnish adoptive families. The research revealed that the majority of Russians stayed with their adoptive parents into adulthood and became members of Finnish rural communities (Ottshet o dejatelnosti 1885, 321-342).

It is important to point out that the migration of the ethnic minorities to the region of St. Petersburg had a transnational character. The study elicited the fact that ethnic identities and cultural features influenced the multicultural dynamic of the regional environment, included communities and social networks. The empirical material led the author to the conclusion that different local cultures from Finland (Ahlqvist 1904, 207-219; Kuujo 1969, 63-70), the Baltic provinces, Germany, Poland, Karelia, Sweden and governorates all over the Russian Empire took part in the migratory process, and their cultural traditions influenced their style of living and interrelations with other ethnic groups (see Tilly 1984, 83, 125).

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**MINORITY AND MAJORITY PERSPECTIVES
ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION**

Tolerance and expectations in Finnish attitudes about immigration in 2010 and 2012

■ Ismo Söderling and Heidi Kiiveri

Abstract

We study tolerance toward immigration as well as expectations of the consequences of immigration. The paper is based on the latest available European Social Survey (ESS) data (2012). The results are compared with the 2010 ESS data.

There are 1,871 Finnish respondents in the 2010 survey and 2,197 in the 2012 data, selected through random sampling and using face-to-face interviews.

The results show that Finns express positive views on both tolerance toward immigration and expectations of immigration consequences. Women are more tolerant and they also expect immigration to have more positive impacts than men. When analyzing the data by age, the increase in tolerance is clearly the most significant in the older age groups. In general, there is evidence that the attitude climate toward immigration is becoming more positive.

Introduction

The last two decades have brought a growing number of immigrants to Finland. The share of foreign-born citizens among the Finnish population has increased from half a percent in 1990 to 3.6 percent in 2014. Today, nearly 200,000 people with foreign citizenship live in Finland (Statistics Finland 2014). If we look at the number of foreign-born individuals currently living in Finland, however, the number approaches 300,000. There are more than 150 different languages spoken in Finland today. The rate of the country's internationalization has been quite rapid (Statistics Finland 2012). As demographic diversity continues

to grow, this is a good time to examine the prevailing attitudes towards immigration. This article will answer the following questions:

- How **tolerant** are Finns towards immigration?
- What **expectations** do Finns have in terms of the consequences of immigration?
- To what extent are tolerant and expectation-related **attitudes connected to gender, age or education**?
- How much have these attitudes changed from 2010 to 2012?

To answer these questions we examine data from two years (2010 and 2012) in the European Social Survey.

Attitudes represent a rather fixed portrait of an individual's personal views about a particular issue. Attitudes are influenced by preconceptions, facts and experiences. Attitudes are something one is not necessarily conscious of; one way to measure them is through a survey. Some attitudes are more generally accepted than others. Sometimes people feel the need to conceal certain personal opinions.

Finnish researchers who have used survey data to study attitudes about immigration include Magdalena Jaakkola (e.g. 2009), Heli Sjöblom-Immala (2013), Ismo Söderling (2013) and Heikki Ervasti (e.g. 2009). The studies by Sjöblom-Immala and Söderling utilized data from the Institute of Migration's *Ethnobarometer 2013*; Ervasti's relied on the European Social Survey.

Sjöblom-Immala examined the attitude climate among university-level students based on 14,568 responses. Her central findings concerned the higher rates of tolerance for immigration found among female university students, who were influenced by their greater number of international contacts and visits abroad as compared to men (ibid. 39-40). Another key finding was that the attitudes among students in polytechnic universities (universities of applied sciences) were more negative than among other university students. A student's **gender**, according to Sjöblom-Immala's findings, also played a part: tolerance for work-based immigration was roughly the same among men and women, but compared to women, men were significantly less accepting of refugees. Older respondents, on the other hand, showed greater tolerance for refugees than younger respondents did. The attitudes of polytechnic students were clearly more negative than those of other university students. Similarly, compared to other university students, **polytechnic students** expected immigration to have negative consequences in nearly every area of society (including the national economy, sports and security) (Sjöblom-Immala 2013, 39-40, 90). An interesting finding was that attitudes among foreign students (approx. 1,100) toward immigration for humanitarian reasons were significantly more negative than those of Finnish university students (ibid., 99-100)

The data used by Sjöblom-Immala and Söderling assesses immigration separately as either work-related or humanitarian in origin. The European Social Survey (ESS; more about the initiative on p. 4) includes general questions about immigration. In other words, respondents have to give their general opinion about immigration as a whole, as opposed to saying whether they approve or disapprove of the immigration of specific immigrant groups.

In analyzing the ESS data, Ervasti et al. (2008) observed that the higher the respondents' age, educational qualifications and number of personal contacts, the more positive their attitudes. In their study as well, women displayed more positive attitudes toward immigration. Examining attitudes in the Nordic countries, the researchers also found that the size of the minorities living in those countries did not *as such* influence attitudes (Ervasti et al. 2008, 188-206).

Magdalena Jaakkola has studied Finnish attitudes toward immigration for nearly two decades. In her 2009 summary report, "Migrants from Finns' perspective" (*Maahanmuuttajat suomalaisten näkökulmasta*), Jaakkola noted that in addition to a place of residence, education had the biggest impact on attitudes toward immigration (the higher the level of education, the more tolerant the attitude). With age, people's attitudes about immigration became increasingly tolerant, though less so in the case of work-based migration. Gender had only a minor impact on attitudes, but women were more tolerant toward immigration as compared to men. By the end of the research period (2008), negative attitudes toward immigration declined more among men than women. Men's attitudes were more negative than women's, particularly in younger age groups (Jaakkola 2009, 27, 34-36, 65, 74-78).

Elsewhere in Europe this issue has been studied for example in Italy by Corrado Bonifazi (2006), who found that Italians wanted the state to control immigration, but that respondents were more prepared to accept immigrants if immigrants' education level was higher. Italians also found it important for migrants to find employment – respondents were prepared to even accept illegal migrants, as long as they could find work. Bonifazi also evaluated attitude changes over time and observed that positive attitudes had increased in a little over 20 years.

Materials and methods

The paper is based on data from the Rounds 5 (2010) and 6 (2012) of the European Social Survey. The first survey was conducted in 2002 on the initiative of the European Science Foundation. The surveys have been carried out in more than thirty countries every two years. The purpose of the ESS project is to measure societal attitudes, values and behavior among Europeans (Finnish Social Science Data Archive 2013). Heikki Ervasti, Professor of Social Policy at the University of Turku, serves as the project coordinator for Finland.

Finnish respondents comprised 1,871 respondents in the 2010 survey and 2,197 in the 2012 survey, selected through random sampling and using face-to-face interviews. Respondents are aged 15 or older. The survey data is publicly available at www.europeansocialsurvey.org.

Weighting, i.e. utilizing a predetermined design weight for each survey round, was used to compare the data from the two different years, since the survey respondents are not necessarily equally representative of all demographic groups over the age of 15 living in Finland (Finnish Social Science Data Archive 2014).

This paper employs two variables representing **tolerance toward immigration** and **expectations of immigration**. The internal consistency of each variable was confirmed using Cronbach's alpha test. The variables were cross-tabulated by gender, age and education. The t-test was used to find connections between gender and the variables. The t-test is suitable for data consisting of dependent variables, where gender is an independent dummy variable.

Initially we confirmed the variables' normal distribution using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. In addition to the t-test for normally distributed data, we also conducted the Mann-Whitney U-test (which would have been used even if the variables had not been distributed normally), which produced similar results to those from the t-test. The relation between age and the variables was evaluated through a correlation test. In cross-tabulating, also the X^2 test was used when applicable.

Independent variables included gender, age and education, and dependent variables were tolerance and expectations.

Results

Tolerance toward immigration

The *tolerance sum variable* was constructed on the basis of answers to three questions. A similar variable has also been used, among others, by Davidov and Meuleman (2012), who named it the "reject" variable:

1. "To what extent do you think Finland should allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most Finnish people to come and live here?"
2. "How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most Finnish people?"
3. "And how about people from the poorer countries in Europe?"

These individual variables had the following response options: 1. many, 2. some, 3. a few, and 4. none. Thus, the tolerance-variable has values of 4–12.

Table 1: Tolerance towards immigration in 2010 and 2012, %

| Tolerance (total score) | 2010 | 2012 |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Many (2-4) | 6 | 6 |
| Some (5-6) | 23 | 27 |
| A few (7-9) | 56 | 58 |
| None (10-12) | 15 | 9 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 1 858 | 2 177 |

The **lower** the value assigned by the respondent, the **more tolerant** he/she is toward immigration. Looking closely at each of the three questions we can see that each one measures immigration tolerance slightly differently.

In Table 1, the tolerance-variable is divided into four categories: Many, Some, A few, and None. In practical terms, only the last category represents a totally negative attitude. Finns' attitudes were mostly tolerant already in 2010, with 29 % of respondents choosing "some" or "many" (a combination of respondents who chose one of the first two options). There was a marked increase in rates of tolerance between the two survey years; in 2012, the corresponding figure had risen to 33 %. Similarly, the share of those who would allow "none" declined by 6 percentage points between 2010 and 2012.

Cronbach's alpha test revealed the internal consistency of the sum variables to be excellent: the alpha coefficient for the 2010 data is .855 and the one for 2012 is .850; .70 is often considered the limit (cf. Johnson 2014). In other words, the sum variables of both years are internally consistent, i.e. the individual variables measure the same thing (tolerance).

Expectations related to immigration

The "expectations"-variable also contained three questions:

1. "Would you say it is generally bad or good for Finland's economy that people come to live here from other countries?"
2. "Would you say that Finland's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?"
3. "Is Finland made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?"

Ervasti, Fridberg and Hjerm (2008) have used the above three variables for a sum variable consisting of a total of six variables, naming it the "xenophobia" variable. Unlike this paper, they have not focused on expectations. Ervasti (2009)

Table 2: Expectations related to immigration in 2010 and 2012, %

| Expectations (total score) | 2010 | 2012 |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Very negative expectations (0-7) | 6 | 3 |
| Negative expectations (8-15) | 28 | 25 |
| Positive expectations (16-23) | 56 | 59 |
| Very positive expectations (24-30) | 10 | 13 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 1 600 | 2 195 |

has used this variable by itself to determine which of the countries participating in the survey is the most tolerant toward immigration.

The scores for the response options for the individual questions contained in the sum variable range from 1 to 10, with 1 expressing worsening or harm and 10 expressing improvement. Thus, the expectation-variable has a score of 0–30. The higher the value of the expectations-variable, the more positive the respondent's expectations regarding the effects of immigration.

According to Table 2, the share of those with positive expectations was 66 % in 2010 and 72 % in 2012 (the two most positive categories in the table, combined). In other words, positive expectations of immigration have increased. The most negative expectations declined by 3 percentage points in the course of the period in question.

The sum variables connected to expectations measured the same thing also internally, as their alpha coefficients were 2010/.836 and 2012/.826. Thus, each year's sum variables were internally consistent, meaning that the discrete variables all measured the same thing.

Tolerance and expectations were analyzed separately in relation to gender, age and educational qualifications. This was best achieved by cross-tabulating each variable with the sum variable in question (cf. Part 4). The analysis is based on both cross tabulation and variable means. The mean analysis in many cases clarifies and corroborates the results based only on cross tabulation.

Tolerance and expectations examined through background variables

Gender

Earlier, we noted that those who view immigration in at least somewhat positive terms formed the clear majority. In addition, a notable increase in tolerance was observed between 2010 and 2012 (Table 1). In both years, women were markedly more tolerant than men (Table 3).

Table 3: Tolerance towards immigration in 2010 and 2012, by gender, %

| Tolerance (total score) | 2010 | | | 2012 | | |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women | Total |
| Many (2-4) | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Some (5-6) | 19 | 26 | 23 | 25 | 29 | 27 |
| A few (7-9) | 59 | 54 | 56 | 59 | 56 | 57 |
| None (10-12) | 17 | 13 | 15 | 10 | 9 | 10 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 906 | 952 | 1 858 | 1 070 | 1 107 | 2 177 |

$\chi^2=23.192$; $df=3$, $p\text{-value}=.000$, $\chi^2=6.972$; $df=3$, $p\text{-value}=.073$

The change in tolerance is specifically connected to a change in attitudes among men (see Table 3). Among men, the increase in the two categories expressing greater tolerance was 7 percentage points between 2010 and 2012, whereas among women the increase was “only” 2 percentage points. In the case of men, this change was also naturally reflected as a decrease in the share of totally negative attitudes. Another thing pointing to increased tolerance among men is that the statistical significance of gender differences was only indicative by 2012 (X^2 test: $p=.073$; cf. Table 3). Jaakkola also found that the easing of attitudes towards immigration was connected specifically to a change in the attitudes of men (Jaakkola 2009, 27, 31, 79).

Tolerance analysis can be further defined through averaging. In 2010, the average of the tolerance-variable scores was 7.8, but in 2012 it had shrunk to 7.3 (see Table 4, below), an improvement of 0.5 points. The attitude average among men improved by 0.7 points, while women’s improved by “only” 0.4 points. In a t-test, the point-difference between genders in 2010 was quite significant, but as a result of the improvement in men’s attitudes, the difference in the total scores in 2012 was statistically “symptomatic” at most.

The results of the **expectations analysis** resemble those obtained in the tolerance analysis. In 2010, women had, on average, more positive expectations compared to men when it came to immigration, but men’s expectation-related attitudes had improved significantly by 2012. Expectations improved among women as well, but not as much.

Men who viewed immigration in positive and very positive terms “caught up” with women at a rate of 5 percentage points between 2010 and 2012. A similar development was observed also in tolerance-related attitudes between the genders. Chi-square tests show that, in 2010, there was a clear statistical difference between the genders, whereas in 2012 there was no longer a statistically discernible difference by gender.

Table 4: Expectations of immigration in 2010 and 2012 by gender, %

| Expectations | 2010 | | | 2012 | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women | Total |
| Very negative expectations (0-7) | 7 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Negative expectations (8-15) | 31 | 25 | 28 | 27 | 23 | 25 |
| Positive expectations (16-23) | 54 | 59 | 56 | 57 | 61 | 59 |
| Very positive expectations (24-30) | 8 | 12 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 909 | 961 | 1 600 | 1 074 | 1 121 | 2 195 |

$\chi^2=16.045$; $df=3$, $p = .001$, $\chi^2=5.498$; $df = 3$, $p = .139$

Expectations can also be analyzed further through averaging. The difference in scores by gender was still quite significant in 2010, but merely indicative by 2012.

Age

Tables 5 and 6 show that the older the respondent, the less tolerant her/his views regarding immigration. This is true in both survey years. Thus, in 2010, a third among the respondents in the oldest age group did not tolerate immigration at all (Table 5), but two years later only one-fifth expressed a similar lack of tolerance (Table 6). This translates to a 13-percentage point reduction among older respondents. For the sake of clarity, the tolerance-variable was divided according to the original four response options. In each of the two years, viewed through an χ^2 test, age differentiated tolerance quite significantly.

Table 5: Tolerance towards immigration in 2010, by age, %

| Tolerance 2010 | Age | | | | | | | Total, % |
|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65-74 | 75-95 | |
| Many (2-4) | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Some (5-6) | 36 | 32 | 22 | 22 | 19 | 14 | 9 | 23 |
| A few (7-9) | 52 | 51 | 61 | 58 | 59 | 61 | 56 | 57 |
| None (10-12) | 4 | 8 | 11 | 13 | 17 | 21 | 33 | 15 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 250 | 270 | 254 | 304 | 253 | 245 | 182 | 1 858 |

$\chi^2=155,09$; $df=18$. $P = .000$

Table 6: Tolerance in 2012, by age, %

| Tolerance 2012 | Age | | | | | | | Total, % |
|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65-74 | 75-95 | |
| Many (2-4) | 9 | 13 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| Some (5-6) | 32 | 32 | 32 | 29 | 21 | 24 | 19 | 27 |
| A few (7-9) | 55 | 49 | 56 | 58 | 63 | 62 | 59 | 58 |
| None (10-12) | 4 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 11 | 20 | 10 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 242 | 290 | 292 | 365 | 387 | 312 | 205 | 2 096 |

$\chi^2=105,809$ $df=18$ $p\text{-value}=,000$

An analysis by age shows that in 2010 the share of “none” increases linearly with age (Table 5). Two years later, however, this kind of straightforward connection is no longer discernible (Table 6). The analysis can be defined further through averaging: compared to 2010, the tolerance average in each age group improved somewhat.

In general, respondents’ tolerance towards immigration declines with age. In this respect, too, the differences between the age groups have evened out. When in 2010 the point-difference between the youngest and oldest groups was 1.9, in 2012 the difference had come down to only 1.2 points. The specific reason behind the whittling down of the difference has to do with the increasingly positive attitudes found among the oldest respondents. The change toward greater tolerance has been most remarkable among the oldest age groups, as shown in the right-hand column.

As noted earlier (see Table 4), also **expectations** became more positive between 2010 and 2012. Of all age groups, older respondents were most likely to expect negative consequences from immigration (12% and 9%), though among them as well, the majority expected positive consequences from immigration in both years (Tables 7 and 8).

Based on the average analysis, in 2012 the “expectations climate” was discernibly better compared to 2010. In particular, the immigration-related expectations of middle-aged (45–54 years) and senior (65+ years) respondents had turned in a more positive direction. Correlation analysis shows that the correlation between the expectations-variable and age is negative; i.e. not linear as with tolerance.

Education

Education is more difficult to measure than the above variables – no one can help one’s age or gender; whereas people of certain “mind bents” may seek out particular types of education. On the other hand, attitudes may be influenced by education or by the other students.

Table 7: Expectations in 2010 and 2012, by age, %

| Expectations in 2010 | Age | | | | | | | Total % |
|--|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65-74 | 75-95 | |
| Very negative expectations (0-7) | 6 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 12 | 6 |
| Negative expectations (8-15) | 30 | 25 | 24 | 29 | 26 | 26 | 36 | 28 |
| Positive expectations (16-23) | 56 | 61 | 57 | 55 | 60 | 60 | 47 | 56 |
| Very positive expectations (24-30) | 8 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 10 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 251 | 273 | 255 | 303 | 356 | 247 | 185 | 1 870 |

$\chi^2=48,402$; $df = 18$, $p = .00$

Table 8: Expectations in 2012, by age, %

| Expectations in 2012 | Age | | | | | | | Total % |
|--|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65-74 | 75-95 | |
| Very negative expectations (0-7) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 3 |
| Negative expectations (8-15) | 32 | 24 | 22 | 19 | 24 | 26 | 32 | 25 |
| Positive expectations (16-23) | 56 | 57 | 60 | 64 | 61 | 60 | 53 | 59 |
| Very positive expectations (24-30) | 11 | 17 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 13 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | 256 | 273 | 310 | 376 | 407 | 320 | 221 | 2195 |

$\chi^2=62,102$; $df = 18$, $p = .00$

Tolerance increases noticeably with education. In 2010, nearly one in four (= 23%) of respondents with the least education wanted no immigration at all (Table 9).

Table 9: Respondents' educational qualifications and tolerance in 2010, %

| Educational qualifications | Tolerance | | | | Total % | Total N |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | Many | Some | A few | None | | |
| Lower secondary school, secondary school or comprehensive school | 4 | 18 | 55 | 23 | 100 | 566 |
| Matriculation examination or vocational qualification | 5 | 20 | 61 | 14 | 100 | 606 |
| Polytechnic university or Bachelor's Degree | 6 | 27 | 56 | 11 | 100 | 501 |
| Master's Degree or higher | 12 | 35 | 50 | 3 | 100 | 184 |
| Total %, N | 6 | 23 | 56 | 15 | 100 | 1 857 |

$X^2 = 112.048$; d.f. = 9, $p = .00$

The situation in terms of educational qualifications and tolerance is similar in 2012 (Table 10).

Table 10: Highest educational qualification and tolerance in 2012, %

| Educational qualifications | Tolerance | | | | Total % | Total N |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | Many | Some | A few | None | | |
| Lower secondary school, secondary school or comprehensive school | 4 | 21 | 58 | 17 | 100 | 552 |
| Matriculation examination or vocational qualification | 5 | 26 | 59 | 10 | 100 | 761 |
| Polytechnic university or Bachelor's Degree | 7 | 30 | 59 | 4 | 100 | 563 |
| Master's Degree or higher | 13 | 38 | 45 | 4 | 100 | 220 |
| Total %, N | 6 | 27 | 57 | 10 | 100 | 2 096 |

$X^2 = 130.908$; d.f. = 9, $p = .00$

A comparison of the averages of tolerance between 2010 and 2012 shows that the scores improved in all education categories. The greatest improvement occurred among those educated at polytechnic universities.

Although the change in tolerance among polytechnic students was greatest when analyzing it via educational qualifications, there was still a clear difference between them and respondents with a Master's Degree or higher. Similar results have been obtained by e.g. Sjöblom-Immala (2013, 119-120) and Söderling (2013, 27).

Also positive **expectations** of immigration increase with more education (cf. Tables 11 and 12). The tables show that positive **expectations** have increased between the two survey years.

Table 11: Highest educational qualifications and expectations in 2010, %

| Educational qualifications | Expectations | | | | Total % | Total N |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Very negative expectations | Negative expectations | Positive expectations | Very positive expectations | | |
| Lower secondary school, secondary school or comprehensive school | 10 | 32 | 52 | 6 | 100 | 568 |
| Matriculation examination or vocational qualification | 5 | 32 | 55 | 8 | 100 | 610 |
| Polytechnic university or Bachelor's Degree | 2 | 23 | 62 | 13 | 100 | 504 |
| Master's Degree or higher | 2 | 13 | 64 | 21 | 100 | 187 |
| Total %, N | 6 | 28 | 57 | 10 | 100 | 1 869 |

$X^2 = 130.659$; d.f. = 9, $p = .00$

Table 12: Highest educational qualifications and expectations in 2012, %

| Level of education | Expectations | | | | Total % | Total N |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Very negative expectations | Negative expectations | Positive expectations | Very positive expectations | | |
| Lower secondary school, secondary school or comprehensive school | 6 | 33 | 52 | 9 | 100 | 574 |
| Matriculation examination or vocational qualification | 3 | 30 | 57 | 10 | 100 | 780 |
| Polytechnic university or Bachelor's Degree | 2 | 17 | 65 | 16 | 100 | 597 |
| Master's Degree or higher | 2 | 9 | 63 | 26 | 100 | 243 |
| Total %, N | 3 | 25 | 59 | 13 | 100 | 2 194 |

$X^2 = 153.951$; d.f. = 9, $p = .00$

Expectations about the consequences of immigration have improved in all educational groups; however, the greatest change has occurred among respondents with the second-lowest educational qualifications.

It is interesting that while the respondents with the lowest educational qualifications have the least positive expectations of immigration, this group has also seen the lowest increase in terms of expectations.

Summary and conclusions

This paper has examined **tolerance** toward immigration as well as **expectations** of the consequences of immigration using data from two rounds of the European Social Survey, conducted in 2010 and 2012. At first, we analyzed total distributions through variables. In Chapter 4, we analyzed the impact of respondents' gender, age and educational qualifications on their opinions. Both sum variables were created from three variables measuring the above three factors. The validity of the sum variables was confirmed using Cronbach's alpha test and found quite good in each case.

In general, Finns expressed positive views both in terms of tolerance toward and expectations of immigration. Those with completely negative views comprised 16 % of the respondents in 2010, and 9 % two years later in 2012. Viewed in this light, the trend is moving to a positive direction. The change was similar when it came to respondents' immigration-related expectations.

Women were more **tolerant** toward immigration and also **expected** immigration to have more positive impacts. Attitudes among men, however, changed significantly during the two years, trending toward increased positivity. Thus, the gender difference in tolerance in 2010 was statistically quite significant, whereas by 2012 it was merely indicative. The same trend applies to immigration-related **expectations**: the positive development is largely due to the change that has taken place in men's opinions.

When analyzing the data by age, the increase in tolerance was quite clearly most significant in the older age groups. For example, in the oldest age group – of 75–95-year-olds – the share of totally negative views dropped by 13 percentage points between 2010 and 2012. A similar finding was found in immigration-related expectations: the expectations had become more positive in all age groups, but again, the greatest improvement occurred among those aged 75–95.

Tolerance towards immigration was found to increase with higher education levels: in 2010, the respondents with the most negative views belonged to the group with the lowest educational level. In 2012, expectations had improved at all education levels, but the greatest improvement was seen among the

second-lowest group, i.e. respondents who had completed matriculation examination/vocational qualification.

The findings show a relatively significant change over the two-year period in question. Traditionally, men as well as older respondents have been seen as the greatest challenge in terms of their attitudes. Similarly, when analyzing the situation through education, attitudes among vocational school students were more negative than among respondents who had earned an academic degree (cf. Jaakkola 2009; Sjöblom-Immala 2013). Based on this analysis, an obvious change toward the positive has taken place among these groups (men, elderly, low educational qualifications) both in terms of tolerance and expectations.

Going forward, it will be important to use the ESS data to evaluate the ways in which the Finnish attitude climate changed between 2010 and 2012 as compared to the rest of Europe. In addition, it would be important to determine the individual explanatory power of the background variables using a multivariate method after standardizing the effect of the other variables.

On an individual level it would be useful to study the impact of an individual's own view of how integrated he/she is in society. What kinds of experiences do individuals have of migration and immigrants? Is it possible to make generalizations based on these experiences? Are people's views based on preconceptions or real-life experiences? How do people with anti-immigration opinions view themselves? And how do they assume that other people see *them*?

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Experiencing and coping with everyday (dis)belonging: The case of 1.5 generation undocumented youth in the United States

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Abstract

In this chapter, I examine the subjective experiences of everyday belonging and disbelonging for 1.5 generation undocumented youth living in the United States. Despite their initial inclusion socially, culturally and educationally, these long-term, non-legal residents experience a sense of (dis)belonging regardless of their knowledge about their immigration status. I focus on everyday thoughts, actions and interactions that lead to perceptions, feelings and experiences of (dis)belonging as well as on the conscious and purposeful actions youth employ to mitigate or avoid a sense of disbelonging. Young people experience a range of emotions in their daily lives, for example normalcy, fear, uncertainty and stress, as they compare themselves with their legal and citizen peers. Importantly, examples illustrate how (dis)belonging occurs in everyday activities, making daily routines not so banal, as well as how coping strategies become rote practices.

Introduction

At present, approximately 2.4 million undocumented youth under the age of twenty-four reside in the United States, many of whom have spent the majority of their lives there and grown up “American” (Perez 2009). The pivotal 1982 U.S. Supreme Court Case, *Plyler v. Doe*, ruled that all children have the right to a free and basic kindergarten through high school (K–12) education, regardless of their immigration status (Olivas 2005). Thus, though they are undocumented, they are formally and knowingly incorporated into the nation and recognized as individuals deserving of certain rights and protections from the onset of their lives in the United States. Young people who migrated at or before the

age of twelve can be considered “1.5 generation” immigrants (Rumbaut 2004). Because they were born abroad and migrated at a young age, scholars argue that their identities, attachments and modes-of-being neither neatly resemble those of the U.S.-born, second-generation children of immigrant parents, nor those of first-generation adult immigrants (e.g. Cebulko 2014; Rumbaut 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2002).

Abrego (2011, 358) notes that because undocumented youth have been raised, socialized and incorporated in the United States, “along with the sense of stigma, they have internalized many U.S. social norms and can use their socialization to fit in”. Furthermore, Gonzales (2011) writes that they experience “suspended illegality”, as their status seldom presents barriers in childhood. Eventually, however, they wake up to a “nightmare” when they are denied participation in mainstream rites of passage (Gonzales 2011). They face barriers in accessing higher education and employment, both of which have enabled immigrant social mobility in the past (Abrego & Gonzales 2010), and they are forced to live as “illegal subjects” like their parents (Gonzales & Chavez 2012). Ultimately, “these youth who are American in spirit, schooling, and life experiences are nonetheless illegal in the eyes of the law” (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011, 439).

Initial inclusion, followed by a process of exclusion, challenges traditional models of acculturation and assimilation (Gonzales 2011). Such models posit that over time and immigrant generation, assimilation will follow linear processes: second- and third-generation immigrants will integrate into mainstream society and culture, but not earlier generations (Gans 1992). Yet research suggests that 1.5 generation undocumented youth (hereafter “1.5GUY”) integrate in and identify with the United States well before this point. The dissonance between legal, social and educational recognition raises several questions as to how 1.5GUY experience and construct their lives, identities and spaces in a nation where they are only partially and temporarily recognized. Scholars have made various suggestions for research, but my focus is on three themes: the subjective understanding of living an abject life (Gonzales & Chavez 2012), the everyday modes-of-being in the world (Willen 2007) and how prolonged legal exclusion shapes a sense of belonging (Cebulko 2014). My aim is to explore how 1.5GUY — long-term, non-legal residents — experience and cope with (dis)belonging in their everyday lives. I focus on examples of belonging and disbelonging that occur during daily interactions, revealing that everyday banalities such as making plans, conversing with family and friends, taking public transportation and engaging in other activities provoke fear, stress and uncertainty. Young people attempt to cope by employing avoidance, performativity and false narratives during the course of their thoughts, actions and interactions, but these strategies may work only temporarily.

Theoretical underpinnings

Such a focus requires attention to the theoretical understandings of belonging. Belonging entails feeling safe and at home (Yuval-Davis 2006), as well as acceptance, membership and the sense that one has a future within a community (Anthias 2006). It also involves a desire for attachment (Probyn 1996) and combines action and awareness (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004). Anthias (2006, 19, 21) notes that “you may identify but not feel that you ‘belong’ in the sense of being accepted or being a full member”, as “to belong is to share values, networks, and practices and is not just a question of identification”. Scholars regard belonging as an active and continual process, act or performance (e.g. Probyn 1996; Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; Yuval-Davis 2006). Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004, 1010-1011) explain that belonging combines desire and conscious action: “belonging refers to practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection ... these actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions.” They note that even food and clothing choices mark belonging, indicating the necessity of examining taken-for-granted banalities of everyday life in conjunction with these choices.

According to Lefebvre (1984), everyday life is a dialectical relation between the real and the possible. In everyday life, gestures, actions and movements may be repeated so routinely that they occur seemingly without reflection. Lefebvre (ibid, 24) writes that quotidian life includes taken-for-granted routines that “follow each other in such a regular, unvarying succession that those concerned have no call to question their sequence; thus it is undated and (apparently) insignificant”. With this in mind, I am interested in both the automatic routines that 1.5GUY employ in their everyday lives, as well as in experiences that become significant for them, but are otherwise taken-for-granted by legal residents or citizens. For example, when do 1.5GUY feel a sense of safety, acceptance and membership versus insecurity, uncertainty and inequality? Additionally, I am interested in the purposeful actions young people undertake to signify belonging and mitigate disbelonging. Such foci require a qualitative approach, which is where I turn my attention in the next section.

Researching the everyday experiences of 1.5GUY

My focus on the everyday experiences of belonging seeks to fill a noted research gap in the qualitative understanding about the daily lives and lived experiences of 1.5GUY (e.g. Abrego 2008; Cebulko 2014; Gonzales 2011; Perez 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011) and, additionally, requires appropriate methods. De Genova (2002, 421) notes that, in general, “remarkably little” research on undocumented populations in the United States uses qualitative methods “to elicit the perspectives and experiences of undocumented migrants themselves, or to evoke the kinds of densely descriptive and textured interpretive representa-

tions of everyday life that socio cultural anthropologists tend to relish". Thomsen (2012, 101) adds that it is "essential to access deep information about the specific situations and conditions" of undocumented immigrants to give them voice and aid in our understanding of undocumented immigration. However, such an approach is not without its challenges. Gonzales (2011, 606) writes in reference to undocumented persons: "researching hard-to-reach populations adds layers of difficulty, time, and cost to any study...today's anti-immigrant climate and localized immigration enforcement present challenges to finding respondents" (see also Abrego 2008, 2011; Abrego & Gonzales 2010; Suárez et al. 2011).

Knowing the potential challenges, I took an open-ended, non-hypothesis-driven approach. I did not rigidly restrict respondent demographics to one site, country of origin, ethnicity, educational status, etc., as I was concerned that doing so would reduce access to respondents. Though there is no established way to access or sample undocumented populations (Thomsen 2012), I accessed respondents via four methods: 1) through organisations working with undocumented immigrants; 2) information that I gathered via the internet, including articles written by undocumented youth; 3) my own network; and 4) snowball recruitment. I emphasised my focus on *undocumented* immigrants, but did not ask about respondent's status until after I had met with them in-person, discussed the interview process and obtained informed consent. Thus, thirty-two of the total thirty-eight respondents are undocumented and come from nine different countries in Latin America and Asia. While my open approach assisted with access and generating data, I note that the recruitment methods and sample size are not representative; the narratives in this chapter represent only some examples of how 1.5GUY experience (dis)belonging.

Scholars note that a phenomenological epistemology is particularly well-suited to examining the experiences of undocumented immigrants (e.g. De Genova 2002; Gonzales 2011; Gonzales & Chavez 2012). Willen (2007, 13) adds: "the power of this ethnographic prism" is to "unpack, to thickly describe, and to humanize" the conditions that shape their everyday modes-of-being. Following existing research traditions and inspired by qualitative gaps, I conducted semi-structured interviews to importantly explore the subjective perspectives of individuals and their experiences. Interviews were conducted in English in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas and lasted between one-and-a-half and three hours. I personally transcribed all interviews and have changed all names. Afterwards, I employed content analysis to systematically code data for the purpose of exploring how 1.5GUY navigate their daily lives.

Growing up undocumented, American

Regardless of whether 1.5GUY know their status growing up, and especially due to their incorporation in the educational system, they are often shielded from

the barriers that undocumented status presents to adults (e.g. Gonzales 2011). They often “grow up American” alongside their peers and classmates, which sometimes means they have no reason to question their legal identity or belonging. Marcelo has been living in the United States for fourteen years; when asked if he knew of his immigration status growing up, he replied:

I had no idea before because I was just living a normal life. I did everything that my friends did — being able to go to the park, being able to go to an after school program, nothing was ever asked of me, but just to attend school.

Aja has lived in the United States for sixteen years and had a similar response when I asked her the same question:

I was with other American peers and residents. I didn't realize about [sic] my status. At the time, I was at a public school and I was just assimilated with everyone else. I was not aware of the difference in status ... My family, my mom doesn't really talk about it. She doesn't tell me about the immigration status. It is not something we talk about at the table or that she ever mentions.

Even young people who know they are undocumented growing up can experience belonging in the form of perceived similarity and equal participation. As Leonardo indicated: “We grew up here. We know how things work. We did the pledge of allegiance every day. We did everything that everyone else does.” Beatriz told me that she has known of her status since she crossed the border between Mexico and the United States, but it did not bother her:

I knew I didn't have papers because of the way I came. I started living here. I started getting used to the life here. I went to school and all of that. I didn't care about the papers because I had the opportunity to study and to do the things that other people do.

Though her mom was always upfront about the challenges undocumented status would bring, it was precisely because Claudia spoke English, was being raised in the United States and attended school that led her to believe that she would not face the same barriers as her undocumented mom:

Growing up, she was always honest about these things. I would see her working at low-paid jobs. She was being exploited, having to balance two or three jobs, trying to take me to school, my siblings, and all that—I always knew. She would always tell me “you don't have papers, you are just going to work twice as hard”. Or, “you are going to have to finish school, because I didn't get to do that”. But I didn't really think it was going to

have the same impact, because I was being raised here. I learned how to speak English, I was going to school. I always thought it was a different environment, but it still had a similar impact.

Importantly, the narratives illustrate that regardless of knowledge about their status, 1.5GUY experience a similar form of acceptance, membership and participation. They perceive their actions and participation as being similar, if not equal, to those of their American-citizen peers, and they construct their sense of belonging accordingly.

Disbelonging: experiences and strategies

However, 1.5GUY also have various experiences of disbelonging — feeling insecure, unsafe, uncertain, unaccepted and unequal — in their daily lives. To examine their experiences and the coping mechanisms they employ, I divide their experiences into three realms: thoughts, oral interactions and physical actions.

Sentimental inaction

For some young people, planning and goal-setting related to tertiary education, career, immigration status and life in general evokes negative emotions; some 1.5GUY cope by attempting to avoid future-oriented thoughts. For example, when I asked Alejandra about her future plans, she replied: “If I were to think about what I am going to do when I graduate, it would just be more stress upon me. I would rather push it to the side and not think about it.” Alvarez’s response was similar: “You just try not to think about it ... I think that the more time you think about it, the less successful you are going to be. You are going to be the one putting up a wall between you and your future.” Aja noted that she tries to be “normal” by avoiding thinking about her status: “It affects me, it gives me a lot of stress when I have to think about being undocumented. I am trying to be a normal student here. It affects you so much and it’s out of my control.” In regards to thinking about his life in the future, Daniel noted:

Even if you try to avoid it, it is just something that will come up. It is your life ... The worst thing is that if you do get past those barriers that the system puts on you — I feel like I was able to — you just get put into this limbo. You don’t know what is going to happen to you. I feel like that uncertainty about the future can really have a big impact, not only on your motivation ... It can add to that depression.

I asked Gabriela if she liked thinking about her short- and long-term future; she replied “not really”:

It really became depressing over this past winter break when I was trying to figure out my summer. Last summer, I took classes and did that internship, which worked out great, but this summer I think “what am I doing?” My roommate is applying to all of these law firms, and I am like, “well, I can’t stay here without an income. I need to get a job, but I can’t get a job ...” So I literally spent hours trying to figure out what I am going to do and came up with nothing ... So thinking about my future is very depressing.

Lucia does not purposely avoid thinking about her future, but instead notes the distinction between herself and those with legal status: “So many people plan with plan A, plan B, plan C, right? Well, many of us plan [with] plan A, B, C, D, E, F, G ... ‘cause one day you can just wake up and you may be put into deportation proceedings ... There are so many things that can happen.” While thinking about the future is a common facet of daily life, many 1.5GUY are unable to make future plans, which signifies their disbelonging. Their narratives illustrate avoidance as a coping mechanism, as well as the limitations, uncertainty and stress their undocumented status presents now and in the future.

Oral interactions

The respondents’ narratives also revealed that oral interactions, e.g. topics or methods of communication, can cause fear, a lack of acceptance, discomfort and shame. Young people attempt to mitigate these feelings of disbelonging by avoiding discussions, changing the topic or creating false narratives so as to avoid divulging their undocumented status to peers. For example, Sofía recounted how her family altered their normal communication or avoided particular contexts; while at home, they spoke Spanish, but in public they avoided conversation altogether due to fear and a lack of social acceptance:

What I remember was just a lot of fear. A lot of “let’s not go to the grocery store today”. Even at the grocery store, my mom would shush me if I started talking to her in Spanish. She would say, “Don’t talk to me in Spanish right now”. I would say “Why?” and she would say “I don’t want them to hear us speaking Spanish,” and it was true. As soon as you say something in Spanish ... people automatically turn to you and give you the dirtiest look. If we were out in public and there were a lot of people around, we would always keep to ourselves. We would just keep quiet, keep to ourselves, go get our groceries and then leave.

Whereas Sofía’s example of disbelonging occurred due to the choice of language, Claudia’s was due to her friends’ topic of conversation, which left her out:

All six of them are citizens and they were talking about how they are going to go to all of these different countries during their summer vacation. I was just sitting there sipping my orange juice and thinking, "What am I going to do? Am I just going to sit here quietly? Or should I say something? Should I say 'This conversation is making me feel uncomfortable' or that I am being excluded from the conversation?" It is situations like that where you will feel powerless, or voiceless in a way. There was nothing for me to contribute.

For Claudia, not being able to travel internationally negatively affected her contribution to the conversation, which left her feeling uncomfortable, powerless and a non-participant. Lina's story about a class field trip illustrates similar emotions. Her classmates questioned her non-participation out of a desire to help, but Lina never revealed the true reason: due to her undocumented status, she could not leave the United States and easily re-enter; thus, she could not participate:

Everyone in that class went. I had one very close friend in that class and I felt really pushed. Not intentionally, obviously. They were all like, "Why aren't you going? Is it a money issue? We can all raise money". And I was like, "No, I just can't go". There was a constant ... that is when it becomes aggravating. You have to come up with narratives. You are not being true to yourself or to the people around you as a way to safeguard yourself. But it is really because you are a) scared, b) shameful, c) there is a stigma.

Lina's non-participation in the trip is significant, but so too is the emotional toll that resulted from the discussion. While Lina chose not to disclose the reason as a way to mitigate disbelonging, ultimately the false narratives caused similar results. Several other youth described the ways in which they employ false narratives, or white lies, as a means to avoid revealing the real reason behind why they do not take particular actions or participate in group activities or normalised rites of passage: not wanting to divulge their immigration status. This approach was a commonly cited strategy to mitigate feelings of judgment, non-acceptance and unequal participation in mainstream processes such as driving. Alejandra remarked, "I would literally tell them anything I could come up with, and usually I would blame it on my parents being over-protective because that is the only thing I could come up with". Gustavo's story is another example, but also demonstrates that false narratives may be temporally-bound and necessitate the creation of additional white lies:

I made the excuse my mom got into a car accident when she was 17, so my mom wouldn't let me get a driver's license until I was 18 ... I felt really bad, but it was just an excuse for me to give to my friends, so they were like "Oh, ok. It's okay you aren't getting your license when you are 16" — especial-

ly when my birthday is in January. I turned 16 before any else [sic] of my friends. When I turned 18, I was just like "Oh, I don't have any time ..."

For some youth, these false narratives become such an integral or routine part of their everyday lives that they occur seemingly without reflection. When I asked Tomás how he handles similar questions from his peers, he replied: "Those are the type of questions that ... when people ask me, whatever comes to mind I say." However, these false narratives may only suffice initially and may end up creating the exact feelings they are meant to mitigate. As Gustavo explained about these false narratives:

I started becoming ashamed of being an immigrant. It's kind of like an identity crisis. You start feeling like you have a double life. You start hiding yourself. You feel like you can't be yourself, because there are all of these legal things behind you. It was tough.

Importantly, these examples illustrate how disbelonging occurs through everyday activities, as well as how coping strategies become everyday routines; talking in a particular language, going to the grocery store, conversing about travel with friends, fulfilling course requirements and transportation all become markers of disbelonging for 1.5GUY.

Physical actions

At times, 1.5GUY purposefully engage in more active measures to avoid fear-provoking situations. Whereas citizens and legal residents likely do not think about or fear interactions with authorities they encounter while taking public transportation or at hospitals or airports, 1.5GUY do. For example, Beatriz noted her fear of interacting with hospital staff or police:

If you are undocumented, you are scared of the police. If something happened to you ... Let's say you get hurt. You are going to be scared of going to the hospital or going to the police because you know you ... don't have your papers.

Whether interactions with authorities lead to detainment or deportation is irrelevant; Beatriz's fear permeates her daily actions and conditions her future responses, where fear could potentially prevent her from getting necessary treatment or protection. Diego's story illustrates how his undocumented father's fear influences Diego's daily life:

I told him this morning, "I am going to the library, would you like to take me?" He said, "Okay" and was about to, and then saw his phone. My stepmom sent him a text that said "the police are at that exit" 'cause she just

went to work. My dad was like “I was about to take you, but look at the text ...” That is their life. It’s just work, work, work. Afraid, afraid, afraid.

Instead of taking a ten-minute car ride, Diego had no other choice but to walk and take public transportation, which took five times as long. Diego’s statement also illustrates his perceived difference between the 1.5 and first generations: he feels more protected and integrated than his undocumented father, who is preoccupied with work and fear. However, whether Diego’s life will be the same post-university remains to be seen. Importantly however, these lives are linked; fear within the family unit conditions actions in daily life and paths not taken.

Among young people, there were differing opinions as to which form of transportation is the “safest”, e.g. the least likely to require identification or result in interaction with authorities: car, bus, train or plane. Before undertaking her cross-country trip, Sofía sought advice from both an undocumented peer and a lawyer and was assured that air travel was safest, as she would only be asked for identification once. Nevertheless, she was fearful:

I was scared, very scared. What they told us — to feel safer — was to wear as much [university] clothing as we can. I wore a [university] t-shirt. Everything said [university name] on it. That was a way to change the perception of whomever is looking at your ID. Literally, that is what every other undocumented student is told: “You need to appear as Americanized as possible ...” I definitely thought a lot about what I was going to wear, how I was going to go through, how you present your documentation ... The tiny things that other people don’t think about, we need to be very strategic about. Obviously I was dying. I was sweating. I was freaking out. It ended up fine.

Sofía’s story illustrates the deliberate actions she took to mitigate fear, increase safety and give no reason for authorities to question her documents or presence in the country. It further illustrates how 1.5GUY must strategically think about “the tiny things” otherwise taken for granted by citizens and legal residents as part of their daily routines and life navigation. All examples demonstrate how perceptions and emotions condition potential and actual interactions or translate into conscious actions purposely taken or avoided for the explicit goal of creating experiences that signify belonging.

Conclusion

Overall, these narratives reveal the various ways in which 1.5GUY experience belonging via their incorporation into normal routines, their opportunities and the educational system, as well as a sense of disbelonging, where youth do not

experience membership, participation, safety, acceptance or community or feel as if they have a future in the communities in which they have long resided. That youth purposefully undertake deliberate actions to mitigate disbelonging, promote attachment or signify a sense of belonging vividly illustrates how otherwise taken-for-granted banalities of everyday life become routine markers of disbelonging rather than mere routines. Furthermore, their experiences indicate a dissonance between legal, social and educational recognition. Young people can experience belonging as the result of structural mechanisms early in life, only to be followed by experiences of disbelonging later in life. However, the examples here demonstrate that disbelonging does not necessarily occur as the result of knowledge about undocumented status and that not all experiences of disbelonging are due to an undocumented status. Instead, 1.5GUY enter and exit sites and experiences of (dis)belonging.

These experiences of fragmented belonging illuminate a particular paradox in the way the United States handles immigration policy and the incorporation of non-citizens; it knowingly includes and recognizes undocumented children and their rights partially and temporarily while providing no such equivalent mechanisms for their futures and adult lives. As undocumented children and youth are systematically integrated and included educationally, socially and culturally, only to become progressively excluded from legal legitimacy and recognition, their experiences continue to challenge traditional theories and processes of incorporation, assimilation and citizenship. Furthermore, the stories of integration, e.g. being and doing “normal” activities, demonstrate not only that acculturation can occur before the second generation, but also that 1.5GUY compare themselves and their activities with citizen peers as they construct their level of participation, membership and identities in the United States. Due to these various, unique and paradoxical phenomena, future research should continue to explore how 1.5 generation undocumented youth experience, navigate and construct their everyday lives, identities and spaces within the United States; their narratives importantly demonstrate how immigrant incorporation is experienced from below in host societies.

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The reception of separated minors in Sweden: To receive with grace and knowledge

Kristina Gustafsson ■

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to describe the reception of separated minors in Sweden and analyse some central ideas and ethics as they are manifested, interpreted and practiced by professionals involved in the reception system. What impact do these ideas and ethics have on separated children? This article is based on extensive fieldwork consisting of more than 100 interviews with and observations of actors in the reception system. Theories of differences and similarities are used to investigate how professionals perceive of minors both as normal teenagers and as culturally different aliens who need to become “Swedish”. The study concludes that a combination of the ideas of similarities and differences, where the minors are recognised as persons with various backgrounds and experiences, could upon reflection result in a more gracious reception.

Introduction

“They [professionals working with separated minors] think we come from a bad country, and people assume that we do not know or understand anything, that we are only interested in eating and sleeping. They see us as merchandise, an easy business you can make money from.”

The quote comes from a boy who came to Sweden as a separated minor in 2009. He was reflecting on the professionals he had met during his time as an asylum seeker. Where does his view, that he is seen as merchandise, come from? In order to understand this notion, let us switch perspectives from that of the boy to that of professionals working in the Swedish reception system.

The Swedish reception of separated minors is based on the rights set forth in international agreements, such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in Geneva, the asylum-seeker's rights according to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the Geneva Convention and, in national legislation, the Aliens Act (SFS 2005, 716), the Act on the Reception of Asylum Seekers and Others (SFS 1994, 137) and the Social Service Act (SFS 2001, 453).

In 2002, the government was assigned the task of improving the reception of separated, asylum-seeking minors. This led to changes in the enactment of SFS (1994, 137), the Reception of Asylum Seekers and Others Act, which went into effect on 1 July 2006. Under special agreement and with a clear division of responsibility, Sweden's municipal authorities and county councils, together with the Migration Board and the National Board of Health and Welfare, have joint responsibility for separated children. The Health and Social Care Inspectorate at the National Board of Health and Welfare has a supervisory role. Confidentiality is observed between the different authorities. Since January 2014, reception of separated minors is a non-negotiable obligation for all municipalities in Sweden and a "whole Sweden model" is practiced. Since 2006, almost 30,000 separated minors have arrived in Sweden and applied for asylum. The majority of them are young boys and most of them come from Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Eritrea and Syria. The legislative changes of 2006 and 2014 and the "whole Sweden model" mean that new municipalities and actors with no prior experience of receiving asylum seekers and refugees are now entering the arena of reception with respect to separated minors. Many municipalities and professionals must build the reception system from scratch.

In this article, I will map out the reception system and analyse some of the ideas apparent among those who work closely with the separated minors on a daily basis. What ideas do professionals have about separated minors? How do these ideas influence the way in which they work and meet with the separated minors?

Material and method

This article is based on a research project called *Behind closed doors – the impact of interpreting for legal security and integration, with special focus on the reception of separated children and young people 2008-2011* (www.tolkprojektet.se). Within the framework of this project, two fellow colleagues and I have carried out extensive fieldwork, including participatory observations at group

homes for separated asylum-seeking children and young people who have received permanent resident permits. We observed ten asylum interviews and conducted more than 60 in-depth interviews with guardians, foster parents in family homes, social welfare officers, residence staff, teachers, case workers at the Migration Board and others who work with the reception of children. We conducted 74 interviews with community interpreters and 23 biographic interviews with ten separated children. On three occasions, we assembled reference groups of people who had arrived as separated children during the following years: 1946 from Finland, 1979 from Uruguay and 1992 from Croatia. The reference groups' collective experiences and knowledge allowed us to investigate various possible situations brought up during the interviews and observations.

Theories of differences and similarities

In order to analyse and understand the ideas, perspectives and ethics that are present among the professionals working in the reception system, I will use theories on differences and similarities derived from the philosophy of science: methodological collectivism and methodological individualism (Gilje & Grimen 1995; Johansson 2000). The choice of theory is inspired by an article, *Difference and similarity: Narrativity, Politics and Theory*, by the ethnologist Ella Johansson (2000).

Methodological collectivism implies that a social phenomenon, for example "culture", has unique qualities that go beyond the acts and capacities of individuals. Any human situation, experience or action must be understood through the impact of society, culture or other collectives (Gilje & Grimen 1995). A methodological collectivist perspective creates interpretations and stories of difference that give us an opportunity to understand humans as collective beings embedded in different contexts that go beyond the rationality of the individual. The advantage of methodological collectivism is that it creates an ethical standpoint wherein we have to understand humans in terms of particularism and recognise the fact that not all people do interpret the world and act in the same way (Johansson 2000). One drawback of such a perspective is that it might diminish the recognition of each person's own individual activity and rationality. At its most basic level, it could lead to the idea that people are "slaves" operating under the rules of the collective. This is not an unusual but still a very simplistic explanation of how "culture" functions (SOU 2005, 41; Gustafsson 2007).

Methodological individualism, on the other hand, implies that all social phenomena have to be understood through the acts and capacities of individuals. For example, culture is no more or less than the total of every individual's actions and capacities. Culture has no life, actions or qualities on its own. A methodological individualist strives to understand the perspectives, experiences, rationales and actions of the individual without regard to the com-

munity, society or culture. For several researchers, this have led to an idea of social atomism where individuals constitute the smallest parts in society just as atoms are the smallest parts of everything in nature (Gilje & Grimen 1995). When everything — society, culture, language, etc. — is peeled away, all individuals have the same needs and the same rationalities and, last but not the least, the same values. In this way, methodological individualism creates an idea of universalism and similarity between individuals (Johansson 2000). An advantage of this perspective is the fact that ideas of similarity form the basis for an ethical approach premised on respect for the equality of all individuals rather than on a recognition of differences. It stands to reason that all individuals, irrespective of their background, gender or other status, should be accorded the same respect and equal treatment. One drawback of this perspective is a lack of recognition of differences, which might lead to a point of non-recognition (Taylor 1994).

In everyday life, for example within the reception system for separated minors, the ethics of reception may be interpreted as being based on ideas of collectivism and differences or individualism and similarity. The former idea makes it possible to recognise the particular and concrete person embedded in collectives. The latter idea leads to recognition of a universal, similar and abstract person; it does not matter who you are or where you come from. As a human being, you have equal worth and the right to the same kind on respect regardless of culture, religion or nationality (Benhabib 1992).

Terminology

The official terminology used in the European Union to refer to minors who migrate internationally without the company of a parent or other legal guardian is *unaccompanied children*:

“An unaccompanied child is a person who is under the age of eighteen, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier and who is ‘separated’ from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so.” (UNHCR 1997, 5)

Alongside this definition, the UNHCR and Save the Children in Europe use the term *separated children* in the joint programme Separated Children in Europe (SCEP), which has been in existence since the 1990s. The term better reflects the fact that children are not alone or without company and that they, during transit or after arriving in the receiving country, are cared for by adults who are not their parents or their customary primary caregivers (Statement of Good Practice 2010). Within the field of research on migration, children and youth, the con-

cept *independent child migrant* has become more and more common (Orgocka & Clark-Kazak 2012). The concept was introduced to challenge and contradict the widespread idea of the vulnerable child who needs to be cared for. The concept assumes a fundamental respect for the capacity of the individual in line with modern childhood sociology. Children are recognised as capable human beings on their own terms (Corsaro 2011). In this article, I will use the term *separated minors* since its focus is on the reception system. Still, my scientific approach to those whom I study and write about is better captured by the concept *independent child migrant*.

Mapping the reception of separated children in Sweden

On a national basis, Sweden is ambitious in planning and organising its reception of separated minors. Within just a few years since 2006, municipalities and private companies have built up a huge administrative system and acquired extensive staff to work with such children: this includes social secretaries, staff at residences and family homes, guardians ad litem, school teachers, interpreters, and so forth. New actors and practitioners are entering the arena every day. These professionals work for different authorities and organisations with different tasks, mandates and special laws and regulations. In the research project *Behind closed doors*, we described and mapped out the Swedish reception system in order to provide an overview of it (Norström & Gustafsson 2010). The mapping process also illustrates the position of minors in relation to professionals working in different areas of the reception system. Figure 1 shows quite well the complicated web of professionals and institutions involved in the situation of minors.

In the next section, I will summarise the results of the analysis of the interviews and observations of professionals working in the reception system and return to the questions raised in the introduction: What kinds of ideas do professionals have about separated minors? How do these ideas influence the way in which they work and meet with the separated minors?

Teenagers and aliens

The professionals, and especially those who work closely with the minors, stressed that they are working with *teenagers*. This means that they treat the separated asylum-seeking minor just like any child or young person and that they focus on teenage problems. This perspective on the minors is supported by the fact that most people working in the reception system have worked with other groups of people in need of social care before: delinquents, the disabled or young persons who otherwise are considered dysfunctional for different rea-

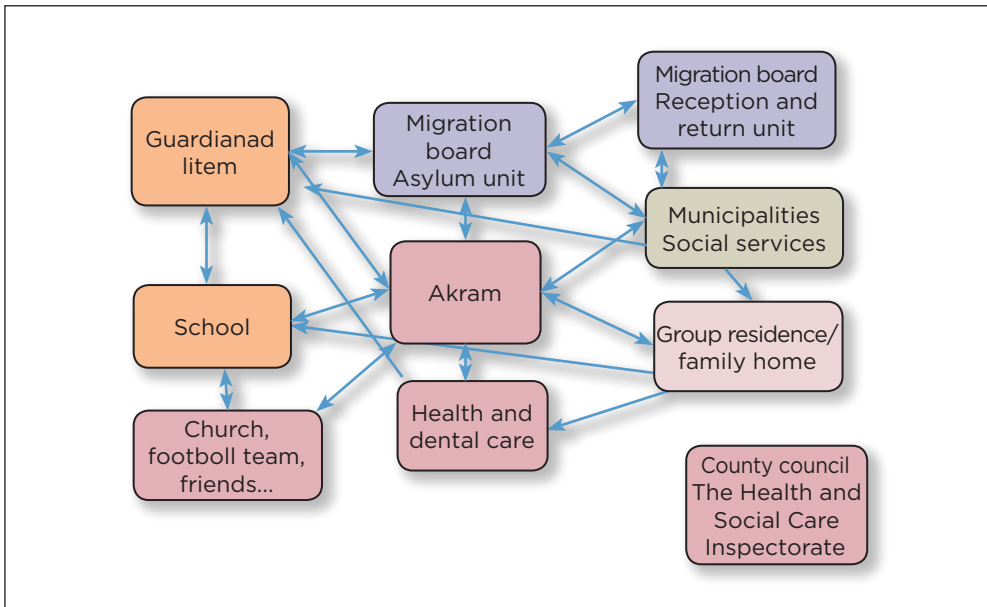


Figure 1. A map of the most common contacts with authorities and professionals for the single separated minor. In this figure the separated minor is called Akram.

sons. For example, their parents may be drug users, have criminal backgrounds or be in need of social services. Such a perspective is reasonable. The minors are teenagers and they might well act like it and be going through the same existential situation as typical teenagers while growing up.

The professional background of people who work in the reception system might also strengthen the idea of normality. The minors are normal and functional, not delinquents, disabled or dysfunctional, and thus they do not need care to the same extent. In line with other studies, I can note, based on my empirical material, that professionals often stressed the fact that the separated minors seem even more normal and better behaved than many other categories of teenagers. The explanations in these cases are based on the assumptions that the minors have had a good upbringing and received a good education at home (Kholi 2007).

There is another, parallel, perspective on the minors. In the interviews with professionals, the perspective of the minors as “the other” was expressed in at least two ways: through discrimination and by citing cultural differences. Several professionals complained that almost nothing in the reception system, from the investigation of social services to school and health care, is “good enough”. Those who stated this point are critical of the fact that municipalities do not provide the separated minors with the same services as those received by native Swedish children. The director of a group residence gave examples of repeated

discrimination carried out by the authorities in the municipality where she operates. One example had to do with a preparation class offered in a basement full of mould and separated from the rest of the school.

A woman working at a group residence reported an appalling situation in which the minors have health problems or sleeping disorders, feel stressed or are either in despair or depressed. Instead of psychological care, the minors are treated with chemicals. She describes her work as “working in a hospital, distributing different kinds of pills from morning to evening”. This is not medically secure for the minors. Besides the criticism of inadequate solutions and discrimination against minors, there is another perspective related to the professionals themselves. In addition to the perspective mentioned above – that the professionals are working with normal teenagers – they also hold the idea that these teenagers are culturally different and *alien*.

One common story among professionals, often women, is that the separated minors, who are often young men, do not respect women. This disrespect, or even contempt for women, is considered a consequence of culture and cultural clashes. The idea of culture as something essential among separated minors goes hand in hand with a long history of culturalizing the immigrant (Eriksen 1999; SOU 2005, 41). When professionals talk about minors, it often ends with the conclusion that “they” are different from “us”. If these differences are abolished, integration and harmony will be achieved. This idea of integration, meaning that “we” can teach “them” how to speak, behave and value things, is essential in the reception system. Many of the professionals interviewed believe that their most important tasks are to represent the Swedish society, convey Swedish values about gender and teach the Swedish language. The preparation classes in school are described as “super important” for this reason by a guardian ad litem. He was worried about the cutbacks in schools for separated minors and argued that they (the guardians) have to fight for the preparation classes, since learning about Sweden and how to speak Swedish are the most significant goals for the minors in the long run.

The sense that the minors are aliens and different from “Swedes” is reinforced by the fact that they speak languages other than Swedish. Professionals in all areas of the reception system have the legal right to use community interpreters (Norström et al. 2011), but it is not possible to have an interpreter around all the time. One account, often reported in the interviews, is that the minors learn Swedish quickly. Professionals working with daily care tasks state that they even avoid the use of interpreters to “force” the minors to learn Swedish. Besides, many of the professionals told us that “body language is global” and that it is good enough for everyday life communication.

During one observation at a group residence, we attended the “Thursday interpreter and guardian ad litem hours”. The event is repeated every week on

Thursday afternoons. The staff requested interpreters for all relevant languages. The interpreters and guardians ad litem came to the residence and communicated the whole week's agenda in two hours' time.

When the conversation with the guardian ad litem was finished, there were a few minutes left before the interpreter had to leave. One person on the staff used the time to ask a boy if he remembered that he had spilled tea on the kitchen floor earlier in the week. The boy nodded. "Well", the staff member said, "I am not pleased with the way you wiped it up, using your sock. You should have used a Wettex." The boy nodded. The staff member looked over at the guardian ad litem and sighed. Then he addressed the boy: "Do you have anything else on your mind before we end?" The boy did not look at the other two or the interpreter. He folded his hands and asked, "I am very worried about my brother. Would it be possible to get some help to find him?" "Ok", the staff member said, "that is not an easy question; maybe we can deal with it next Thursday. We cannot keep the interpreter here any longer."

There might be a long history behind those few words and the short, explicit question about needing help in finding the boy's brother. Maybe they discussed this many times and the boy was never satisfied or perhaps the staff member was not prepared to adequately respond to the boy's despair and concerns. If we consider the latter explanation, a lack of preparation for dealing with the emotions and concerns of minors, we discover another prominent feature in the empirical material about professionals: fear. A fear of being too close and too curious on the one hand and a fear of violence on the other.

Fear of curiosity and violence

In their interactions with the minors, most of the professionals feared the intangible, namely the feelings, histories and experiences of the minors. However, the professionals interviewed for the study did not use the word fear. Still, among the more than sixty persons we interviewed, it was for some reason obvious that "you should not ask the minors about the past or any personal questions". Different persons used different metaphors, but the most common one was that "we are not supposed to 'dig into' or 'spy on' their past and backgrounds". The professionals explained their own behaviour by saying that avoiding certain aspects of a minor's life and history is a consequence of the minor's status as a refugee:

"As a refugee and asylum seeker you are in an uncertain situation, you are under investigation. You might have entered Sweden illegally and you might have told a false story about yourself and [your] background in the asylum interview, but also in meetings with professionals in the recep-

tion system. You might have lied about your name, age, family situation, everything.”

This is one reason why professionals should not ask too much. The other is the fear of being trusted with deep, difficult emotions and traumas that the professionals are not prepared to deal with or to listen to (Kholi 2007). In one case, a staff member at a residence where an obviously traumatised girl lived argued that she could not do anything as long as there was no chance of the girl receiving professional psychiatric care. In the opinion of the staff member, she and others around the girl should not disturb her too much. Furthermore, the staff member explained that the girl would not get any psychiatric care until she had received a permanent residence permit. This was justified with the argument that if the girl was denied asylum, she would have to go back to her home country and would not be able to finish her psychiatric care. That would be of no use to her. This argument confirms the idea I touched upon above, namely that the minors are only interesting to the staff members in circumstances where they might become Swedish citizens with a focus on *Swedish*.

There was also another fear apparent in the interactions with the minors. It was the fear of violence and it was often based on personal experience. Violence is an outcome of the uncertain situation and perhaps traumatic backgrounds of the minors and is also, like in the quote above, interpreted by the professionals and explained by them as being the result of the minors' refugee status. The smallest thing can start a riot at the group residences. During one observation, a riot started when the staff distributed telephone cards to the minors. The deal was that each minor should get two cards each month, but those minors who prepared meals at least twice a month received three cards. From the perspective of the staff, the extra telephone card was a reward. From the perspective of the minors, withholding the third card was a punishment if they failed to cook. The riot started when one boy stated that he forgot to write his name on the list of those who had prepared meals and one member of the staff stated that this was not true. There were ten minors against five staff members in this situation. A lot of equipment and furniture were damaged, including a television set and a microwave.

More grace and knowledge?

It is time to return to the minor's quote in the introduction and then summarise the experiences of the minors we have described, analysed and presented in previous articles (Norström & Gustafsson 2010; Gustafsson, Fioretos & Norström 2012; Gustafsson, Fioretos & Norström 2013). The quote sums up feelings of

being badly received. Minors coming to Sweden find it difficult to figure out who is responsible for what; they feel like no one hears them or listens to them and that there is a lack of interest from people around them.

The discrepancy between the experience of the boy in the quote, who perceives that he is being treated as merchandise, and the ambitious and generous reception mapped out in Figure 1 may be understood in light of theories about similarities and differences. On the one hand, the analysis shows that there is an idea that the minors are normal teenagers. Being a teenager is interpreted by the professionals as a universal experience. This is based on ideas of similarity, of universalism and of methodological individualism. If the impact of society and culture is peeled away, all human individuals are perceived as being equal. Implicit in the interpretation of equality is also the idea of being not just “alike” but also “like” or “similar” (Gilje & Grimen 1995; Johansson 2000). The professionals emphasised that the minors should be treated as any young person without exception. In the interviews, they described examples of how the minors dealt with typical individual teenager problems stemming from their transition from childhood to adulthood. The story of similarities also explains the criticism directed towards authorities and municipalities regarding discrimination and inadequate solutions for the minors. The professionals wanted more equality for and universal perspectives on the minors, and they avoided singling them out in particular.

On the other hand, there were stories among professionals where the minors were singled out as different and of differences based on ideas of diverse cultures, languages and the minors’ status as refugees. Instead of being genuinely interested in these differences and what they might mean, the professionals considered them obstacles to be overcome through learning about Sweden and Swedish values and culture and through speaking Swedish. From the perspective of methodological collectivism, the problem identified by the professionals is that the actions and capacities of the individual are characterised by society, culture or other collectives, and therefore, the problem is difficult to overcome. Still, there is an idea among professionals that it is possible to re-socialise individuals into new collective communities and for them to become “Swedish” in the end. Again, we find an idea of similarities and being the same, but in another context, one in which the idea is not based on universalism but on particularism. This idea of similarity is not based on equality but on an evaluation of culture and hierarchies. The original culture of the “other” (the minor) has to be overcome and the individual have to be embedded in a new “Swedish” culture if he or she wants to be treated as a person with equal rights.

None of the approaches are very beneficial in relation to the minors. The first idea about similarities tends to neglect the fact that the minors are more than normal teenagers. They are young persons with experiences of migration: breaking up, leaving home, conflicts, war and dangerous escapes through Europe. They have the status of an asylum seeker, which is a stressful and uncertain situation involving a great deal of administration and of regulation by and contacts with authorities. These experiences and their special status must be acknowledged and the minors need support from people around them who know about the system and can help them understand everything that happens to them once they arrive in Sweden. The idea of similarity means that the particular and special situation of young refugees and migrants is difficult to clarify.

The idea of difference is just as problematic with its simplified and essentialist focus on differences, which reinforces the idea of aliens as the “other” instead of allowing for a humble understanding of diversity. The risk is that the separated minors’ experiences, life situations and values will be dismissed as just being part of their “culture”. They can either leave all this behind and become Swedish or remain culturally different.

In order to understand the ethics of the reception of minors, I will introduce the concept of *grace* in contrast to, or as a complement to, *rights*. As explained above, theories of methodological individualism and the idea of equal but abstract individuals generates an ethical approach based on respect for equality and rights. The respect comes from the idea that an individual is a human being in a universal sense and it does not matter who you are or where you come from; you will always be treated with respect, respect for your person and for your rights. This is a basic ethical standpoint, one that has been laid down in liberal theory and is explicit in the laws of democratic liberal states, including Sweden.

One problem with this ethical standpoint is a lack of recognition of differences and a lack of knowledge about the concrete individuals who are embedded in various contexts and collectives, all with a history of their own and often affected by inequality in society. Yet, departing from the perspective of methodological collectivism and an interpretation of the differences between people and individuals leads to another ethical approach. Instead of talking about respect, equality and the rights inherent in the idea of universalism, this ethical standpoint highlights humility and recognition of the particular. It is an ethical approach that makes equality possible only if you address the fact that people are different from each other and also that through history, this fact have generated inequality between individuals. Only by recognising particularism and differences is it possible to make

equality a reality (Gustafsson 2004; Young 1990, 2000). This ethical standpoint could be called the ethics of grace. The concept of grace captures the idea of recognition and humility and the need to have knowledge about the other, not just as an individual but also as a person with a background, a history, dreams and visions.

Using the theories of similarities grounded in an idea of methodological individualism and of differences grounded in an idea of methodological collectivism illustrates how the professionals working closely with the minors in the reception system are caught up in a series of shortcomings rather than possibilities. Combining the stories of similarities (the minors as normal teenagers) and differences (the minors as persons with various cultural backgrounds and experiences) and the ethical standpoints of rights and grace could, if reflected upon, lead to a more gracious reception for minors with a refugee status. The goal would be that the young person should be cared for and prepared to live anywhere in the world on his or her own terms.

Finally, the term *receive* has a dual meaning in this article. On the one hand, imagine Sweden as a society receiving separated minors as if it were receiving a gift. The minors and their families are the givers. The reception system receives and the minor gives.

On the other hand, my research shows that the idea within the reception system is that the minors are the receivers. As in other areas of integration policy and integration work in Sweden, there is quite a one-sided perspective in place, one in which it is the society and members of the majority population who give, tolerate, respect, compensate, educate, etc. (SOU 2005, 41). The reception system provides the minor with financial, social and symbolic capital, meaning, skills, an opportunity to learn Swedish, knowledge about Swedish society, its rules and regulations, and the ability to become an independent individual and citizen of Sweden. The separated minor is the one who receives, is tolerated, respected, compensated and educated. One party is active and the other passive. Being considered passive by the professionals might have made the minor quoted at the beginning of this article feel that he was viewed as merchandise.

This is of course a simplified description, but it is still a useful one if we want to understand the ideology behind “integration projects and policies” in Sweden today, how these ideologies shape work among professionals in the reception system and how they provide the minors with opportunities to participate and be recognised over the long term.

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IV

MEMORIES OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

People in motion, a historical perspective

A narrative about leaving and change

■ Ann-Christin Torpsten

Abstract

The aim of this study is to shed light on one immigrant's experience of leaving and of change, of being forced to abandon the family home. Though the immigrant eventually chose to go home, she later chose to leave again, pursuing new possibilities elsewhere. The informant related, in an oral interview, memories of the 1930s and 1940s, telling this story nearly seventy years after the fact. Taking a life-story approach, I analyse this narrative of leaving and of change, building on the idea that individually narrated memories can contribute knowledge and understanding to the field of immigrant studies. Experiences of insecurity and the search for a place where one feels safe and comfortable result from being forced to leave one's home, all that is familiar, and from starting over. In this context, while the informant's initial exodus was beyond control, the later move to start over in a new country appears to reflect one's own choice.

Introduction

I have become increasingly interested in investigating people's memories and experiences, their life histories and life stories. Over time, my research has focused on young people's experiences in seeking protection and a place to live. This article relates the memories and experiences of one older woman who, when she was young, sought refuge in Sweden after the devastation experienced by Finland in World War II. Nearly seventy years later, she told me about her remembered and lived experiences of life before the war, during and after the war. The story she told me starts when she was eleven years old. Life was calm and filled with games and swimming with siblings. The family lived together in a

nice, newly built house in a beautiful neighbourhood in southeast Finland. This was a harmonious time. But everything soon changed.

It was after the war, the First World War. My father became ill and was hospitalized. Then they came and built a house for us, and we lived there for three years, until the new war came. It was a lovely house near a bay, like this. The house was by a lake, and our land went around so we had two sides of the lake. We would splash around in the still lake water. We had a pig that always sneaked down to the beach and swam with us. We moved in when I was eleven, and I was fourteen when the new war began.

When she was fourteen, 1939, the family was evacuated from Karelia. They were forced to leave their home for a more secure place, a new homestead, and a new place to live. Shortly after their arrival at the new house, she started to move around by herself. For years she searched for a place to fit in, a place to work and for opportunities to support herself. She tried to make a life on her own. During this time, she once went back to the family house and found it burned down. Her family never went back. She stayed in Finland during the war years, and nearly six years after her family had left their home she visited her sisters in their foster families in Sweden. It was a short visit and she soon went back to Finland. But shortly thereafter, in 1945, she moved to Sweden as well. She found a job, gradually settled down and raised a family. She started to learn the new language by reading to a child and by communicating with friends. There were no courses in Swedish as either a first or a second language in those days.

This woman's voice forms the foundation of my approach to interpret her narrative about leaving and changes in the 1930s and 1940s.

Purpose and research questions

The main purpose of this article is to interpret remembered and reported experiences of leaving and of change. What events and circumstances are talked about and what is communicated? What did leaving and experiences of change mean to the person? How did she learn to participate in society and what information did she want to convey with this story?

To start with, individual memories can contribute knowledge about and an understanding of one's experiences. The narrator perceives and organises such events in a particular way, connecting the reported experiences with other life experiences. Memories of events long ago change both over time and in light of new experiences and circumstances. But, leaving behind an established life, change and orienting oneself to an entirely new existence all help to raise concerns about what one has left behind and where one belongs.

The present article, which includes reported memories from a long time ago, is part of a more comprehensive study. This life story interpretation will be intertwined with memories, as told by young people, about leaving and change in more recent times.

People in motion

During the Second World War, approximately 80,000 Finnish children were evacuated from Finland to Sweden. Parents wanted to protect their children from the war, and the children received better food and medical treatment in the neutral country of Sweden. Some of them travelled to Sweden with their mothers, while some were unaccompanied. Most of them were placed in private homes. Some of the children ultimately returned to Finland, while others, approximately 7,500, opted to stay in Sweden (Kavén 2012). The older children “... *the forgotten group* ...” (Korppi-Tommola 2008, 451), those who stayed in Finland during the war years, were active in the Finnish labour market. However, some of them sought safety and work in Sweden and travelled there without their families as unaccompanied minors.

Sweden has a long tradition of both emigration and immigration. At the beginning of the 1900s, a quarter of the Swedish population had left for America, Australia and other countries, often because of religious persecution and starvation. However, during the Second World War more people moved to Sweden than left it. People moved there for reasons of safety. During the early 2010s, people on the run from war and persecution have again sought asylum in Sweden (Ekberg & Rooth 2000, 8). Each year, many people from around the globe attempt to leave behind war, poverty and persecution. According to one estimate, today there are forty-five million refugees in the world (Amnesty International 2014, 3).

When people move between countries, young persons and children move as well.

Young persons and children seeking protection

When parents wish to protect their children from war and persecution, one strategy is to send them away to a safer place. The number of unaccompanied children and young people that moved to Sweden in 2014 seeking refuge from war and persecution was larger than in previous years. In order to meet the needs of refugees, the Swedish government has made it easier for unaccompanied minors to stay. In Sweden every child has the right to receive an education, and primary education is compulsory. Children with a foreign background and a mother tongue other than Swedish have the right to receive instruction in Swed-

ish as a second language, in their mother tongue, and they have the right to be tutored in their mother tongue in other subjects (Skolverket 2011, 87; Skolverket 201, 239; Torpsten 2008, 90).

In this context, it is important to emphasise those young immigrants cannot be considered a homogeneous group in terms of their experiences and needs. They all have different abilities, desires and wants. School, teachers and society all must deal with this challenge.

Alienation, ambivalence and activity

The consequences of forming one's identity when being forced to leave one's life and to start over elsewhere are made visible via three factors: alienation as identity, ambivalence as identity and activity as identity (Wigg 2008, 27). When people are forced to leave their lives behind, they can feel divorced from their true selves. Their sense of foreignness could result in alienated identities because of a sense they do not belong or fit in anywhere. They may feel ambivalent and uncertain about the future, about where they belong and about what how they should deal with it. The old life does not exist anymore. The new one is uncertain and unknown. An individual longs for the known, and in order to achieve balance in life, she or he strives to find a new place to fit in. Through actions such as getting an education, an individual creates opportunities for a new future and life, for togetherness and for an identity based on activity rather than passivity. Young refugees' memories encapsulate their experiences of loss, adaptation and rebirth (Torpsten 2008, 117), which include feelings of a lost childhood and a lost mother tongue and a sense of belonging everywhere and nowhere (Korpipi-Tommola 2008, 450), an identity of alienation. Other consequences include experiences of discrimination and a fear of the unknown. But they may also choose to engage in activities such as learning the new language, the dominant language. Linguistic skills in the dominant language can open doors to a new life. Such skills create new opportunities. Focusing on themselves, their needs and their possibilities for success allows these young immigrants to balance the new and the old. Moving to a new country may well mean that one's world is changed; things that were taken for granted before can no longer be counted on. Knowledge of one's old life, the old world, is perceived as being less useful. The new world feels so different that the old one is perceived as lost. Empirical evidence attests to a strong sense of rebirth among young refugees along with feelings of fundamental change and a distance from the old life when adapting to the new one. The sentiment of being reborn is strongly associated with being forced to start over and learn everything from scratch (Torpsten 2008, 116).

Young migrants' relationship with parents has been highlighted as central to the desire for repatriation and its intensity (Bunar 1998, 10). Young migrants

might know that the prospects of finding work and a good life are better in Sweden than in their countries of origin. At the same time, some wish to return, perhaps for their parents' sake, and such ambivalence can become a dilemma.

Language knowledge and theories of social capital

In the context of this study, skills in a country's dominant language (Milani 2007, 4) are seen as keys to closed doors, as keys to successful co-existence in the new environment and as keys to life chances (Torpsten 2011, 37–45). Mastery of a language can be spoken about in terms of social and cultural capital. Such skills can be understood as representing both a struggle to achieve higher positions in society and to reproduce the dominant culture through education and language. An individual can improve her or his social position via knowledge of the dominant language. By increasing his or her social and cultural capital, she or he becomes less subordinate. As de Waal writes, *“with languages one can move from one social situation to another. With language one is at home everywhere”* (2012, 39). An individual gains access to the surrounding world by knowing the dominant language.

Linguistic constructions and practice

Linguistic structures both shape and are shaped by other practices and structures. One example of a social practice that affects and is affected by norms and context is the way individuals are constructed as citizens (Benhabib 2004, 89). Different ways of talking about individuals and their needs, as well as membership in a community, divide and organise these phenomena, shaping reality so that some individuals are considered helpless while others are deemed competent, thereby creating the foundation for future relations. Those who have full membership in a community have power over those who do not. Those who are considered proficient have power over others who are helpless. Language becomes a social construction. Identities, relationships, valuation and normative systems are created through social practices, through language.

Empirical evidence, method and implementation of analysis

This study considers one person who shared her memories, her life history or life narrative. A narrative is *“when a speaker connects events into a sequence that is consequential for the later action and for the meanings that the speaker wants listeners to take away from the story. Events perceived by the speaker as import-*

ant are selected, organized, connected and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience” (Kohler Riessman 2008, 3). The narrative interview took place in the informant’s home and the conversation was audio-recorded and later transcribed. The participant constructed her own narrative, choosing what she wanted to say and how she wanted to say it. She alone decided how she would respond to and how she would perform in the context of the interview. In telling such a story, the narrator depicts her life events, thus creating the narrative in collaboration with the listener.

As a researcher, my perspective affects my understanding of the narrative and my research interests almost certainly influence my interpretation of the informant’s life story. When I categorise the informant as a young person (she was eleven when this story begins and just about twenty when it ends), I am placing her in a group with others whose experiences exhibit certain similar characteristics. My research interests, my way of categorising, my understanding of what is told to me and the research questions I have posed are based on and influenced by my extensive experience in meeting with young migrants, researchers and my own research in the field. My understanding is grounded in twenty years’ experience as a second-language teacher in primary and secondary schools in Sweden and as an educator of teachers.

The life-history approach: Remembered and told events

Life stories are personal, social and linguistic constructions and re-constructions of memories and evaluations of events. When telling a life story, the story-teller organises his or her life accordingly (Kohler Riessman 2008, 3), and by focusing on single events and managing them, she or he evaluates and gives meaning to select parts of that life story. The stories are therefore subjective descriptions, highlighting events that in some way have been critical for the story-teller. The events selected for the life story bear particular significance (Pérez Prieto 2006, 7). Things that have involved trials or resulted in success live on in the memory and appear as turning points in life when people tell their life histories.

The story-teller here and now relates events that played out there and then. Telling about one’s life therefore involves both presenting oneself so that you fit in the context of the times and telling something that seems interesting to say to someone. Life stories are constructed by the story-teller, who in his turn is influenced by both the receiver and the story situation (Pérez Prieto 2006, 7). The story situation is therefore crucial to what the story-teller chooses to tell.

The life story considered in this study starts during the late 1930s and ends during the 1940s. It was narrated to me nearly seventy years later. One person’s memories of the past have been related in the present. When one is looking back at the past with the present in mind (Freeman 2010), things might be under-

stood in a new way, in a new light. Looking back at the past makes it possible to draw conclusions that would not have been possible earlier, and one's life story is seen in relation to time, history and context. This means that a life-history approach can be understood as a puzzle, and the narrator must put together the various parts. In this study, one person has puzzled out her life story while telling me her remembered experiences of leaving and the resulting changes. I have attempted to understand and learn from this puzzle.

Having a life story approach means that attention is directed towards understanding people's reality and life experiences. With the starting point of a person talking about her life, her life story and her personal memories of life, I interpreted her story both as part of the complete life story and as particular memories. Her verbally related and remembered experiences of leaving and change are interpreted. Those reported experiences are analysed qualitatively. I have thematically identified patterns and variations in the narration in what is called an analysis of selected stories, which builds a mosaic or a puzzle (Pérez Prieto 2006, 7; Kohler Riessman 2008, 53).

To start with, I read through the transcriptions. Then I structured the memories in such a way that they reveal themes and I could see the connections in the texts. I focused on what was described and how the informant presented herself. Then, I organised the memories thematically. In order to reach a general understanding of what was told to me, I discuss the re-told story using the previously described theoretical standpoints. The excerpts from the informant's story have been edited by me, but they are authentically reproduced here. In the following discussion, I have chosen to call the informant Anja.

Leaving and changes

This section is divided into the four themes: the forced move; return to the lake house; beginning again: emancipation, work and education; and starting over in another country: new job, new language.

The forced move

Leaving behind the life they knew entailed great adjustment and put tremendous strain on a family with small children. Anja's memories reflect what happened when the war began and the family realised that they needed to move away.

The war had come, so we knew we would be moved anytime. One evening, a bus came to pick us up. Everything happened quickly and merrily. We should have brought food for five days. But dad was sick, so he could

not carry anything but his razor in a backpack. Mom had to carry one child, and I took one child, so mom and I could not carry anything but these kids. The other two boys had to carry food for the whole family – mother, father, brothers, and me, seven people. We got dressed in several layers of clothes, as much as we could. Then we ended up in the bus and drove away. We went bit by bit, and our family took over an old cabin that should have been demolished long ago. It was late autumn. Yes, it was December. When we arrived at this cabin, it was full winter. It was a hard winter that year.

Anja and her family had almost no time to prepare for the evacuation. There was a great strain on all the family members, perhaps especially on the children, because the father was not healthy. When they left, they could carry food and clothing for only a few days. The family was forced embark on a trip to an unknown destination. Their safe home and everything else that had constituted ordinary and normal life were left behind. The forced move changed their life and cut them off from their social relations.

Return to the lake house

Four years after the family had left the lake house, Anja went back to her former home in Karelia. Conditions were calmer, and she had been told that people who were fit for work could return to what they had abandoned. With the help of friends from before the war, Anja managed to return for a short visit.

It was in my youth; I was eighteen when I was there. The war was over now, and that's why I could go back. A man I knew from before arranged for me to go; not just anybody could come. One had to be fit for work. But the day after, the place was evacuated. They (the soldiers) had set it on fire. The house had stood in the way and was gone – but the foundation was left, along with the stairs up to the house. And mom's sewing machine had been in the kitchen window. The iron legs were standing there. The house had not been much over three years old. We'd lived there for three years.

Anja has clear memories of her return to the site of the family house as well as of how she got there and back. The recollection of finding the home burned down, with only the lower half of her mother's sewing machine and the cast foundation and stairs surviving, remained vivid. She also related how worried her friends had been. They did not know where she was, and there were landmines in the area she had moved to. Anja recognised her friends' concern and realised the

danger she exposed them and herself to. Her earlier family home was in an area that was evacuated because of the fighting against the Soviet Union.

Beginning again: Emancipation, work and education

The forced move led to a time of uncertainty. Anja did not mention any particular difficulties, but after barely a year at the new homestead where she and her family had been resettled by the government, Anja left again. This move entailed being apart from her siblings and parents, and the family split up. Anja left in order to free herself and to reorient herself, making her own way in the new and unknown situation. The process involved several additional breaks with the familiar.

When I was fifteen, I had to go to my aunt's. The war was not over, World War II. At night we were bombed, so we had to get up in the middle of the night and go to the bomb shelter. I thought it was such a hassle, and one night I didn't follow the others. I stayed where my aunt and her family lived. While bombs fell around me, I just slept. I could have died there.

And then I decided one day ... I had an uncle who lived in east-central Finland, and I went to him. My uncle's wife got me a job as a maid on a farm close to them. We worked all day, and while we were working she told me stories. Then I came back to my uncle's and became a maid there. I felt fine, but I went from their place to other relatives nearby – I think it was a cousin of my mother's. They were not interested in taking care of me. So I went back to the first aunt and got a job. I had simple jobs because I was so young. And I [was] trained as a fur seamstress and worked as one.

Anja's time apart from the family presented her with opportunities as well as obstacles and hazards. In the story, the moves appear unplanned and seem to have taken place for reasons that were beyond her control. In the narrative, Anja appears helpless and dependent on other people's good will, yet she also appears brave. The helpless Anja is the young woman whose relatives and other adults do not support her. The brave Anja is the young woman who sets off into the unknown with the help of relatives. From her narrative emerges a brave young woman who tried to arrange her income through various kinds of work. She gained an education and then found employment in her profession.

Starting over in another country: New job, new language

Anja's story reveals the discomfort she felt. After multiple moves and her return to the lake, Anja moved further away from her parents and family and security

with them. Nearly six years after the initial evacuation from the house by the lake, she went for the first time to Sweden. It was a short visit.

Then I went to Sweden with the girls [the sisters]. I was in Sweden for two weeks. There was a brother in the family that the girls lived with. They lived in Stockholm, so I could go to their place and stay there for two weeks. So I learned quite a bit of Swedish at that time. I went back to my aunt's in Helsinki and did various odd jobs. But when I was twenty, I decided to go to Sweden again. A friend of mine, when I was working as a fur seamstress, had an aunt, and her family spoke Swedish. The aunt could not speak Finnish well. My friend got a job in this family. She had to take along a girl as a nanny to their youngest child, a boy of four, and I would read stories to him. And when I pronounced the words wrong, he corrected me. So he taught me much Swedish, this four-year-old boy. Then I got a job as [a] fur seamstress.

Anja's second arrival to Sweden was in 1945 via Stockholm. Her first contact with Sweden and a new language is described in positive terms. Her move to the new country was facilitated by her sisters, who were already there, and by contact with the sisters' foster family. With the help of a friend who had a job in Sweden, Anja got her first job. To start with, Anja lived with this friend. Becoming established in the new environment was also facilitated by the fact that she had learned some Swedish from her sisters. Through her first job and by reading tales to a child, she developed her language skills further and built new social relations. Economically, this meant that she could support herself and take up a place in the new society.

Concluding discussion

This text illustrates my interpretation of remembered and told experiences of leaving and of change. I have asked what this life history communicates about the circumstances in which a young person is forced to leave home and become oriented to something new. Memories of experiences from long time ago change over time and in the light of new circumstances. Some things are forgotten, but those that are remembered and talked about appear as important, as turning points to the narrator (Bruner 1991; Peréz Prieto 2006). What one chose to tell depends on the situation, the listener and how the narrator will perform at that particular time. Through talking about the past, Anja constructed herself in the present but with the past in mind (Benhabib 2004; Freeman 2010; Kohler Riessman 2008), and her memories were connected with other experiences.

A close reading of Anja's story makes it clear that she related times of both security and insecurity, talking about her own capability and helplessness. She talked about power, or rather, about her lack of power. But the story of orienting herself to a new life and of her conquest of the unknown illustrates strength and determination. Anja's story clearly attests to the experience of uncertainty about where she belonged as well as her search for a place where she could feel at home and be accepted.

The experience of a forced migration and of settling into a new community is visible in this narrative. These moments appear as turning points in her life. Social relations were cut off, and the moves contributed to changes in her life chances. She belonged nowhere and yet everywhere (Korppi-Tommola 2008), and she tells us about loss and uncertainty (Torpsten 2008). Anja's life story tells us about her experience of alienation and uncertainty, about ambiguity about where she belonged. It tells us about her ambivalence when she searched for a place where she could feel comfortable and fit in. Alienation and ambivalence (Wigg 2008) are consequences of being forced to leave one's life behind and start over. Anja's experiences of alienation resulted in action when she struggled to find a measure of safety and togetherness. This activity (Wigg 2008) made it possible for her to succeed in new contexts.

After multiple moves and her return to the lake, Anja moved further away from parents and family and the security of being near them. After some years struggling and searching for a place to settle down, Anja established herself in a new environment. When she was no longer escaping from something but instead moving towards something, she started to decide by herself what to do. While the initial exodus appears to have been a non-decision, the later moves and starting over seem to have resulted from Anja's own choice, though that choice was dependent on the decisions of others and their needs. Moving repeatedly, remaining in constant motion, also appears to have been a strategy for dealing with the situation of being forced to flee from home.

Anja's time of starting over in Sweden began with a period of peace and tranquility mingled with anxiety and uncertainty and additional moving around. Anja thrived at her first job, but she felt compelled to pick up and move on because of discord and the unwillingness of others to help her. This led to a break in her new social relations, a disconnection from her newly established networks. But Anja's desire was to create opportunity in life, so she moved away in order to make this possible. This illustrates again a turning point, a time before leaving and after leaving her country of origin.

Her work became an important context. There was no Swedish as a second language and no possibility for being educated in her native Finnish available at that time and no school for immigrants in Sweden at that time either. Her work and her social network became the scenes for learning the new language

and keeping up her mother tongue. And her increasing mastery of the new and dominant Swedish language opened doors for her in the new society (Milani 2007, Torpsten 2008, 2011). Her opportunities and potential increased as her skill in Swedish grew. Anja positioned herself as more autonomous through her increased linguistic competence. She increased her social and cultural capital, improved her social position by knowing the dominant language. This example makes clear the importance of language both for success in the workplace and for a migrant's own well-being.

Cross-border cultures, along with cultural and linguistic variation due to people's increasing mobility, are quite common in today's globalised society. Anja both retained and developed her mother tongue and learned to master the Swedish language. When language affects an individual's way of thinking, it also affects how she or he formulates his or her identity. By switching between different languages, in this case Finnish and Swedish, it is possible to switch between different identities depending on the situation. Ultimately, an individual's ability to switch identities (Torpsten 2011), to embody both at once, can lead to a third identity that implies the acceptance of participation in different contexts. In this specific context, it became possible for Anja to take part in at least two language contexts, to play at different language scenes. She was able to switch identities depending on the situation. *"With languages one can move from one social situation to another"*, as de Waal says (2012, 39).

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Ethnic identity, Americanization and hybridization of 2nd generation Finnish Americans during the Great Depression Era in Toivola, Michigan, as presented in Jingo Viitala Vachon's books

Jari Nikkola ■

Abstract

This article studies Finnish-American ethnic identity as presented in Jingo Viitala Vachon's books: *Tall Timber Tales* (1973), *Sagas From Sisula* (1975) and *Finnish Fiddles* (1979). My research questions are as follows: 1) How was Finnish-American ethnic identity changing among the first American-born generation of Finns in Toivola, Michigan, especially in light of the post-1924 restrictions on immigration? and; 2) How are these changes depicted in Vachon's autobiographical tales of her childhood and youth in Toivola during the Great Depression? According to Vachon's remarks, making the transition from a Finnish migrant culture to a new, hybridized Finnish-American ethnicity mainly occurred as a result of learning the new language and therefore affiliating more easily with the American mainstream culture and also as a result of increasing interaction with other ethnic groups in the area. Becoming bilingual also was a major issue for the Toivola Finns; it helped them preserve their original culture and was a source of ethnic pride for them.

Introducing Jingo Viitala Vachon

Jingo Viitala Vachon (1918–2009) (born Jenny Maria Viitala) was a second-generation Finnish-American folk musician, raconteur and writer. She was born and raised in the Finnish settlement of Toivola in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (the UP), where she lived until her marriage with Stanley Vachon in 1939. She moved back to the area in her elderly years and lived only a couple of miles away from the place of her birth, "because this is where my roots are", as she once stated (Määttä, 2008).

Toivola was founded by Finnish settlers in 1894. The Viitala house was built at the westernmost edge of Toivola in 1895. The Finnish expression “Toivola” means “the Vale of Hope” or “the Land of Hope”, as if to express high hopes for a new beginnings in the new country. *“It was all about ... hope, you know. They were hoping for the better. They were hoping all the best. And after that things just started to happen”*, as Jingo herself recalled when reflecting on the settlement’s name in Ismo Söderling’s lively interview (Vachon 1987). The word “toivo” also has been seen as referring to the “hope” of keeping Finnish traditions and customs alive in the new country, which again matches quite nicely with the idea of describing early Finnish settlements as “language islands”, as Michael Loukinen (1997) has stated in his earlier study on the subject.

Toivola was not the original name of the settlement, though. It was first called “Urhola” for the supposed “bravery” of the early Finnish settlers in upstate Michigan’s wilderness; second, it was known as “Kurjala”, “the Place of Misery”, which is likely a reference to the poor condition of the land in the area. The Finns were latecomers in the “Century of the Great Migration” (for more on this in general, see Daniels 2002, 2004) and thus not always able to secure the most fertile lands for their homesteads. The town was ultimately renamed Toivola in 1901 when the settlement got its first railway station (Holmio 1967, 163).

Jingo’s parents were both Finns. His father, Erik Viitala, migrated from Alavus, Finland to the U.S. in the year 1884. Erik’s first known address in the new country was, somewhat typical of the Great Migration era of 1880–1924; he first moved to the mining town of Calumet, Michigan before securing a homestead in Toivola. Before making it to Toivola, Erik Viitala worked in the mines, ran a small boarding house with his first wife Maria Viitala (nee Marsi), and he was also involved in commercial fishing in the area. Elina Viitala (nee Mäkinen), a Finnish Swede and Erkki Viitala’s second wife, worked as a maid in New York City in 1902 before making it to the UP, where she married Erik after his first wife had died. The couple had known each other in Alavus before immigrating. While still in New York, Elina received proposal letters from Erik, which ended up in the couple getting married. This was again typical of the immigrant culture of first-generation Finnish Americans.

Besides having a Finnish speaker and a Swedish speaker living in the same house, religious and political views differed in the Viitala house, too. Elina Viitala was a devout Apostolic Lutheran believer (Church Finn), whereas her husband might have been one of the so-called Red Finns. *“He was not one of those churchgoers for sure. But he was not one of the communists either”*, Jingo recalled when speaking of her somewhat moderate leftist father in a Finnish documentary (Määttänen, 2008). Despite Elina’s mother tongue, the Viitalas spoke Finnish in the home.

Vachon, now in her mid-50s, wrote three books in the 1970s based on her popular columns in various Finnish-American newspapers of the era. The first collection, *Tall Timber Tales*, was published in 1973. Because of popular demand, *Sagas From Sisula* hit bookstores in 1975, and finally, *Finnish Fiddles* was published in 1979. According to the author, the books sold approximately 30–40,000 copies (Vachon 1986, 1987). Besides taking courses in creative writing, another popular second-generation Finnish-American writer of the time, Heino “Hap” Puotinen, might have inspired Vachon in her work with his dialect stories, which were written in broken English (Andrews 1992, 73). Vachon was granted a Michigan Heritage Award in 1988 for her lifetime achievements in helping maintain and preserve the Finnish-American culture in the area (Lockwood & MacDowell 2004, 26).

The material in the books can be split into two different groups. The first group of writings are memoirs of the olden days and of people who lived before the author’s time in Finnish settlements. These are the stories Vachon was being told by fellow Finnish Americans. The focus of these stories is usually on the daily chores done on early Finnish farms and how the traditional Finnish way of living was more or less kept the same as it was in Finland. Saunas, berry-picking, people with Finnish names and even the farms themselves were pretty much like they were in the old country. Geographically, the texts deal for the most part with Michigan’s UP and the Copper Country, but there are also some stories dating back to the early 20th Century and life in South Dakota.

Besides just poking fun at or feeling nostalgic about the early Finnish Americans, the stories also address changes in Finnish-American ethnic identity in an interesting way. This is also the point of departure for the second group of stories, where Vachon’s writing takes a sudden generational shift. Based on her memories of the 1st generation, stories which were passed down to her in second-hand fashion, she jumps into everyday situations of the 2nd generation in 1930s Toivola and most speaks as herself with her own narrative voice. In these particular stories, Vachon offers the reader an exclusive insight into, for example, how mainstream American culture and other ethnic groups and their customs became a part of Finnish-American practices in the 1920s and 30s in Toivola, while on the other hand, she describes how the rural Finns of the area were seemingly keen on preserving the traditions of the old country at the same time.

According to the author, all the stories are based on real persons and real events that took place in the Finnish communities, mostly in communities in the upper Midwest. Only some names of the characters, mainly of first- and second-generation Finnish Americans, have been changed. “*I write about things I knew about, I don’t create stories. I write about things I have personally lived through. And also the stories are about before my time by people who have told me stories, the older people who told me about things that happened*”, as the au-

thor recalled in the documentary “Tradition Bearers” (Loukinen, 1983). In an interview done by Ismo Söderling in 1987, she revealed some interesting information too: “*There is a little frosting on the top, otherwise the stories are true*” (Vachon 1987). Söderling also interviewed Linda Honkavaara during his stay in Toivola in 1987. In that particular interview (ibid., 1987), Honkavaara, who was Vachon’s close lifelong friend and also of Finnish ancestry, made it clear that she was actually one of the featured characters in the stories.

To summarise, what we have here is an interesting mix of tales and stories first told to Vachon by the first generation of Finnish Americans and, on the other hand, a personally-lived-through type of writing based on her own memories of growing up in Toivola in the 1920 and 30s. Vachon’s writing about her own individual experiences can thus be labelled a *life story* rather than just fiction, namely autobiographical writing (for more on this, see Plummer 2001, 18–19).

Besides recalling historical events from an individual point of view, Vachon’s writing also analyses things from a collective perspective of reality. Issues of ethnic identity making and questions of “who we are and where do we come from” in a larger sense of societal thinking also come into play here. As Maurice Halbwachs remarks, “*the social framework of memory*” is the key for a deeper understanding of the material here (cited in Plummer 2001, 235). Although there is no clear evidence of Vachon’s writing being inspired by, for example, the so-called “ethnic revival” of the 1970s in the US, it is obvious, at least to my current understanding, that it must have affected her writing. Why else would she pick up issues such as Americanization, assimilation and finding your ethnic roots or ethnic self again in the early to late 1970s, given all the memories she had available? “*No memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections*”, as Halbwachs has stated (cited in Plummer 2001, 235).

To give another possible interpretation of the stories and the author’s memorising process, maybe it was Vachon and her fellow Finnish Americans just being concerned with the disappearing trails of Finnish-American culture in Toivola in the early 1970s. The process of Americanization, of losing the Finnish language and Finnish customs such as annual festivities, seemingly frustrated her. Vachon actually was one of the activists fighting to bring back the Finnish Midsummer Party to Toivola in the early 1970s. Combining the project with her written memoirs of the rise and heyday of early Finnish-American culture would seem only a logical step to take here.

Altogether, there are a total of 168 stories in the books. All of the material was published in English. Some of the stories were originally written in Finnish in regional magazines. I have categorised the material by genre as follows:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| DAILY LIFE IN THE FINNISH COMMUNITY | 55.9% |
| Daily chores in the farm | |
| Going to school | |
| LEISURE TIME | 25.7% |
| Going to dances | |
| Going to church | |
| Fashion | |
| Radio, music | |
| Sports | |
| Annual festivities | |
| LANGUAGE | 2.2% |
| Problems with the language | |
| Finnish | |
| ETHNICITY | 16.2% |
| Finns, Finnishness | |
| Interaction with other ethnic groups | |
| Americanization, American values | |
| Annual festivities | |
| Foodways | |

Stories in the category of *Daily Life in a Finnish community* mostly provide witty commentary on daily activities (such as farm chores) and highlight funny incidents that took place at the homesteads around Toivola and in other Finnish-American surroundings from the early 1900s until the Depression days of the 1930s. This information in and of itself could serve as valuable material for folklorists in the field, but it is mostly left out of the commentary at this point. The subcategory of *Going to School* on the other hand gives us interesting information about the education system and the quest for Americanization by the immigrants and their children in the 1920s and 1930s in Toivola. From the standpoint of integration, *Leisure time*, *Language* and *Ethnicity* seem to provide us with most valuable information here. This is especially true in terms of early Finnish Americans, other ethnic groups and mainstream American values becoming mixed together and also as a means of hybridization and Americanization of the Finns in the area at the time.

Methods and concepts

I studied the material for ideas about ethnicity and ethnic identity (Finnish, American, Finnish American) and integration (interaction with other ethnic groups and the larger society), then categorised the material by genre in the manner mentioned above. The concept of ethnic identity is used here in general

to describe group affiliation and a sense of belonging in a multicultural environment, such as the one that existed in the UP of Michigan at the time. By hybridization, I mean the cultural mishmash typical of multicultural environments; the practices, customs, habits, tastes, and so forth, that emerge as a result of ethnic groups creating new cultural forms and identities (for more on this, see Burke 2009). Identity itself is considered a non-essential and perpetually changing entity here. Environment affects identity, and identity can have different forms depending on the occasion. Also, how “others” see “us” and, again, how we respond to others’ views of ourselves can be a marker of identity (for more on this, see Hall 1999).

Furthermore, ethnic identity and its transformations can be seen in two different lights here. It can be seen first on a *generational* level, and second, on an *interactive* level. With the first model, I am following the path presented in Mikko Toivonen’s (1999) article on the so-called Ranger Culture of the Iron Range in Minnesota. Studying an early Finnish-American culture that was quite similar to Finnish-influenced Copper Country of the UP, Toivonen summarised the generational changes in local Finnish-American ethnic identity based on three different patterns: i) immigrant culture (1st generation), ii) ethnic culture (2nd generation) and iii) regional culture (3rd generation onwards). In this paper, we are more or less skirting around the first and second patterns, since we are mainly speaking of the 2nd generation of Finnish Americans in the Great Depression era in Toivola, Michigan.

Besides being a generational issue, ethnic identity can also be seen as a multidimensional phenomenon. By taking a multidimensional approach to the subject, I am loosely relying on the so-called interactive theory of ethnic identity (see McDonald 2007, 11). In simple terms, with interactive models and theories ethnic identity is not only defined as a one-way negotiation or dictating process between an ethnic group and the “dominant” culture, but also as an ongoing democratic negotiation among all the ethnicities and groups in a given area and era. Keeping in mind the multicultural nature of the UP’s Copper Country, this model seems more or less adequate to use here.

Combining these two theoretical approaches could provide us with a potential platform for also analysing subsequent Finnish-American generations and their mixed ethnic identities. Whether it holds true or not that the shift from “immigrant culture” to “ethnic culture” and “regional culture” in times past resulted in a new “European-American ethnic identification”, including among late-twentieth-century Finnish Americans, as Alba (1990, 291–319) has suggested for other groups of white European heritage, it is nevertheless obvious that the issue should be investigated more carefully than scholars have done so far. Putting an emphasis merely on Finnishness (i.e. from ethnicity to symbolic ethnicity within generations) is not the whole story from a cultural historian’s

point of view. Taking a closer look at the cultural mishmash and interactions in terms of ethnicity and ethnic identity making might be the key for an advanced understanding here.

Education, language and Americanization

Keeping an eye on education is important when studying the ABC's of early Finnish-American ethnic identity and its changes. Education and public schools can be seen as a key, or *the* key, institution in the Americanization process throughout the nation's history. Certainly this was the case during the period of the Great Migration, when new arrivals and their offspring confronted the American experiment through progressive education (Kivisto 1995, 112).

This is seemingly how things worked out during the Great Depression era in Toivola, Michigan as well. Vachon's books are filled with remarks about this stage in her life. Language in particular seems to be the key for all things positive integration wise here. The first generation of Finnish Americans were more or less struggling with the issue, whereas the subsequent American-born generation found it easier to cope with the new lingo. In some cases, this meant becoming bilingual, while in other cases it meant losing the language of the old country entirely.

In Jingo's case, the answer was bilingualism. Growing up in a mono-ethnic neighbourhood, surrounded by all things Finnish, she only learned English when attending the public school in Misery Bay in the mid-1920s. At school, the students were forced not to speak any Finnish at all, otherwise they were punished by the teachers (Määttänen 2008). There were exceptions to the rule according to Vachon, though. Teachers with Finnish ancestry were not always so strict about the language code for obvious reasons. Some of the teachers, for example, allowed the pupils to sing Finnish songs at Christmastime (Vachon 1973).

Nevertheless, outside in the schoolyard they went back to speaking Finnish again with each other, their siblings, neighbours and parents. This was happening in other parts of early "Finnish America" as well, namely rural parts of northeastern Minnesota (Alanen 2012, 11). Thus bilingualism was becoming a new rule for the 2nd generation of Finnish Americans in these parts of the Copper Country.

For Jingo, the change came about easily and naturally, as she was well prepared for it:

"I couldn't speak any English when I entered school, but mother had taught me to read, write and count long before, so it was just the simple matter of learning the English language. The transition from Finnish to English was swift. The realization came when I suddenly found myself

reading the history book I had picked up, just to look at the pictures. It was early American history.” (Vachon 1973, 6)

American education in the public schools between the years 1890 and 1930 was based on immigrants learning English, gaining knowledge about important individuals and events in American history, and embracing democratic principles, attitudes and behaviours, whereas for adult immigrants it was based on becoming citizens (Mirel 2010, 48). According to my sources, public education in Toivola pretty much followed the same instructional model. In Vachon’s books, there is no further evidence available of the systematic Americanization of ethnic children in a larger sense other than teaching them the lingo and introducing them to the basics of US history. Jingo learned how to read English by looking at her US history books in the first place! Whether they were taught civics or American beliefs and values remains somewhat a mystery.

There may also have been everyday reasons for this particular order of learning, too. It was the time of the Great Depression and at least in the backwoods of Michigan’s Copper Country you could sometimes end up teaching children right after you had just finished your own secondary studies. No college diploma was necessarily required, which might have affected the curriculum as well. *“The teachers were mostly girls fresh out high school, and sometime had no more than an eighth grade diploma. A college degree wasn’t necessary. It was considered sufficient that they be able to teach the children to speak, read and write English and to learn their numbers” (Vachon 1973, 1),* as Jingo recalled of her school years decades later.

Leisure time, hybridization and integration: from foodways to radio waves

By learning the language, doors opened for Finnish Americans to interact with the larger society in the Copper Country as well, with them not only having to just cling to their ethnic roots. One should remember that Finns were not alone in the area; there were other ethnic groups present as well: Cornish (British), Irish, German and Italian people, Native Americans, Slavs, even Gypsies, to name but a few. As a result, ethnic boundaries started to break down with the 2nd generation, especially in terms of intermarriages. Jingo herself actually ended up marrying her lifelong companion, Stanley Vachon, in 1939, who was of French-Canadian ancestry.

One should also remember that Toivola was not 100% Finnish either during the 1920s and 1930s. The Finns, for instance, adopted John Spiegel, who was of German background, and taught him to speak Finnish. Finns did not care about learning German, though, since “outlanders” (mostly people speaking languages other than Finnish — once you learned Finnish, you were part of the group as

in Spiegel's case) were always aroused suspicion and were to be avoided! One should not exaggerate fear and suspicion of other ethnicities, though. Since passage of the Immigration Act in 1924, which introduced strict national quotas, no "new Finns" had been arriving to the area anymore. Interacting with other ethnicities and adapting themselves to American values started quite logically to affect their lives.

According to Jingo's remarks, foodways played a significant role in the process of getting closer with other ethnic groups:

"Back in the old days we had a mixture of ethnic groups that had just arrived from the old country, and they often viewed each other's habits, traditions and foods with suspicion and contempt. It took many long years for the different groups to accept each other's cooking, but by and large it eventually did happen." (Vachon 1979, 93)

Integration on an everyday level did not always come easily, though. Finnish and Italian tastes for food seem to have had the most in common in the early years of the integration process, at least from the Finnish point of view. German tastes, on the other hand, were something not to be tolerated by any means! What is important here is the recognition of foodways as a means of integration (and maybe in some cases of disintegration as well):

"Limburger cheese was something else! It smelled so horrible, it seemed unconceivable that anyone would eat anything so rotten a food, if that's what it is.

Spaghetti was a different story. It had a wonderful taste, and the Finns took to it, except the little kids who sometimes cried and called it worm stew.

I can sort of understand why outlanders didn't like our Finnish salt fish, viilia, trout head-and-tail stew, raw fish eggs and a number of other foods we Finns considered delicious." (ibid., 94–95)

Interestingly enough, *radio* seems to have been one of the main factors of integration in Toivola in the 1920s–1930s for second-generation Finnish Americans, especially in terms of adapting to the popular culture and mainstream values of the new country. Money was tight, roads were blocked during winter time, there was nowhere to go, so this new fascinating piece of technology, which ran on car batteries (electricity did not reach Toivola until the late-1940s), now became a favourite pastime and way of socialising with family members, friends and close neighbours in churches, co-op stores or Finnish halls.

With the emergence of radio, the Finnish Americans in Toivola now made friends with a new type of music, one which could not be found in the old country and had not been brought by the immigrant generation to the new country. It was called country & western music:

“By the time I was a teenager, mountain music had swept like wildfire through our rural community. Since we didn’t have any money to anywhere [sic], especially during the winter, we stayed up all hours of the night listening to radios that ran on car batteries. We got to know the Drifter from Del Rio, Texas, The Callahan Brother from WWVA Wheeling, West Va., Patsy Montana, Arkansas Woodchopper, Skyland Scotty and Lulu Belle, Linda Parker and all the rest from WLS Chicago, Louise Massey and the rest from Des Moines, and of course Uncle Dave Macon the Dixie Dew Drop from Grand Ole Opry! And we musn’t forget the Carter Family from WJJD Chicago. We knew them all.” (Vachon 1975, 131)

Ethnic identity, just like the immigrant music that Finns had brought with them to the area, was undergoing a process of change with the new generation. Younger Finnish Americans were modifying it. The witty couplets of the migrating generation, as well as waltzes, schottizes, church music and old country folk tunes were still there, but the musical repertoire started to expand somewhat as American-based old-time music and bluegrass started making inroads in Finnish-American culture in Toivola, too. Jingo even did Jimmie Rodgers (often heralded as the father of country music) impressions on local radio stations. In Finland in the 1920s and 1930s, there simply was no equivalent to a cultural phenomenon of this nature. With occurring events like these, it is obvious that Finnish and Finnish-American culture were now literally starting to go their separate ways, bit by bit, and pretty much as Saari (2014) has recently stated.

The impact of radio and American popular music seemingly affected the Finnish-American folk music scene of the Copper Country in terms of instrumentation, too. “Kanteles”, violins, accordions, choirs and singers with national costumes are still present today in the Finnish-American music scene, but the first American-born generation, just like Jingo, were already keen on bringing in banjos, guitars, harmonicas and string bands in the purest bluegrass fashion in their modifications of the immigrant music. This worked for Jingo as well, as she played country music tunes along with Finnish folk music in local halls and at social gatherings, as did Art Moilanen, another second-generation Finnish-American music maker from the UP (for more on this fascinating musical and cultural mishmash, see Leary 1987).

With all of the cultural changes happening at the time, it is only sad that there is no further obvious documentation left of the supposed Finnish-Amer-

ican hillbilly pioneers, “The Hinky Dinkies”, in the UP during the Great Depression era, who seemingly inspired young Jingo, too:

“The orchestra was a Finnish group that played Finnish folk tunes and hillbilly stuff. Nowadays we call it Blue Grass music. Cripe, as far as I can see, the only difference between Blue Grass and Finnish folk music is the language! They both have that same sad, wailing quality. This particular group came from another Finnish district about forty miles away. They called themselves ‘the Hinkie-Dinkies’ or something like that, and that their trademark was a little French beret cockily draped over one eye.” (Vachon 1973, 146-147)

American, Finnish American or Finnish: how to cope with the quest for assimilation?

Finnish kids of the Great Depression era in Toivola, Michigan learned the new language, and by gaining fluency in it, they seemingly adapted to mainstream American society more easily than their parents, the migrating generation. By adapting to popular culture, mainstream American values, music and sports, communication with neighbouring ethnic groups came about more naturally since now there was a common language available for connecting them to each other and for feeling a sense of togetherness.

For Jingo this meant becoming proud of both of her American and Finnish heritage in life. She felt American, but also had Finnishness deeply rooted in her heart. Finnishness might have become merely symbolic with the 2nd generation, but it was still there in terms of “sisu”, foodways, annual gatherings, keeping up with the language and so on. They carried Finland in their blood:

“We had fierce pride in being Americans (hadn’t our parents told us over and over that it was the greatest country in the world?), but we retained a deep pride in our Finnish heritage. The country of Finland held a [sic] very little meaning for us; it was the Finnish blood in our veins we were proud of.” (Vachon 1973, 8)

According to Vachon’s books, American-born Finns in Toivola might have felt the pressure for total assimilation maybe as being less important than their ethnic counterparts. Questions of bilingualism and keeping up with the heritage of the old country seem to be the keys here. Toivola Finns of the 1930s like Jingo felt proud of their mixed ethnicity, whereas other groups might have followed the assimilation rule more willingly:

“It has always been a great source of puzzlement to me why English and Irish Americans, who took such great pride in their ancestry and followed cultures and traditions handed down from generations back in the old country, would resent and ridicule the Finns for the same thing. I think it was mostly because the Finns would not give up their language. I still maintain speaking two languages is better than speaking one.” (ibid., 8)

Duality in manners seems to have been commonplace already in the pioneering days of Finnish-American culture in the Copper Country, though. For the immigrant generation and the American-born youth, there was seemingly no problem celebrating both Finnish and American annual festivals with full hearts already in the 1920s and 1930s. “Juhannus” (Midsummer Party) and “Vortsulai” (Finglish for the 4th of July) were treated equally in terms of their cultural and social importance. Early Finnish Americans eagerly waved both stars and stripes and blue and white when the time and place were right:

“The Swedes call it Midsummer, some call it the festival of light, but St. John’s Day, the twenty-fourth of June back in the Toivola area was ‘Juhannus’. It was the biggest Finnish festival, and even American born Finns from all over the USA made sure their vacations were planned to coincide with this great event that brought families and old friends back together for one monumental day in a year.” (Vachon 1973, 98)

“Fourth of July, or ‘Vortsulai’ as the Finns called it, was a noisy, colorful bang up day way back when. It was somewhat like ‘Juhannus’ of St. John’s Day, but where ‘Juhannus’ was definitely Finnish, the Fourth was riotously American. This was the day the Old Country Finns showed their pride in their adopted land, and let me tell you, they weren’t quiet about it! Miniature Old Glories flattered from radiator caps, side mirrors, bicycles, children’s hands, and even horse halters. Red, white and blue were colors for the day.” (ibid., 102)

Noticeable here is also the use of expressions “Old Country Finns” and “American born Finns”. By mentioning that distinction repeatedly, Vachon is clearly making a distinction between new and older generations of Finns in the area. One should not overestimate this separation, though; at least for Jingo Vachon, no generational gap of this kind existed between her and her parents. The story often told, the 2nd generation losing contact with the elderly immigrants in terms of total assimilation and losing the old world language, seem not to hold true in this particular case by any means. It is only fair to say that Hansen’s legendary thesis on the 2nd generation of immigrants losing their original ethnicity did not quite come about in 1930’s Toivola. At the same time, it is obvious that if Vachon

would have lived in the urban areas of Michigan at the same time, such as downstate in Detroit, the story would have been somewhat different.

Conclusion

Kids growing up in Toivola during the time of the Great Depression were American born, they learned the new language and they felt American in that sense. Adapting to mainstream American values and popular culture was somewhat natural for them. They were also influenced by and interacted with other ethnic groups in the area, but nevertheless they retained deep pride in their Finnish ancestry. In academic terms, for second/generation Finnish Americans growing up in Toivola this meant making the transition from a migrating culture to a new hybridized ethnicity and ethnic identity, becoming Finnish American rather than being immigrant Finns in America.

Integration wise, there were three domains above all that affected this process. First, *in school* the quest for Americanization was a fact, if not always so literally accomplished. Any signs of old country ethnicity or shared memories of Finnishness were kept out of the education system most of the time. Second, *at home* it was still all things Finnish in the Viitala house and largely elsewhere in the settlement of Toivola. Besides learning the new language, Jingo spoke Finnish with her parents, neighbours and siblings, all of whom were mostly of Finnish ancestry. Migration culture was being preserved in that way. Third, and perhaps most interestingly, in *leisure time* activities these two worlds started to fuse together. Going to dances and annual celebrations, listening to the radio, meeting people of different ethnic backgrounds, and for the most part, learning a new language, adapting to American ways – all of this affected the ethnic identification process to a great extent. There quite simply was no equivalent cultural phenomenon in native Finland anymore. Finnish and Finnish-American histories and narratives were now forever taking different directions.

My understanding is that we should study second/generation Finnish-American culture in its hybrid nature more carefully than we have possibly done so far. The first American-born generation may help us to understand subsequent Finnish-American generations as well, especially in terms of hybrid identities, mixed ethnicities, supposed European-American identification and new types of shared memories, among other things. Understanding the sociocultural mix and the inevitable differentiation from native Finnish culture are the keys here. Popular literature based on autobiographical tales like Vachon's short stories can again serve as valuable resources in opening new windows into understanding the phenomenon, as they provide us with a colourful view on the everyday culture of the people in a given time and place.

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Jell-O with dill: Food in constructing transcultural identities in a Finnish-American migrant short story collection

■ Roman Kushnir

Abstract

This article explores the collection of short stories, *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), by the Finnish-American writer Lauri Anderson. It analyses the role of food in constructing the identities of second-, third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans in the texts. The article demonstrates that foodways, memory, and nostalgia are actively used in constructing the migrants' identities in terms of both difference and transculturation. It illustrates how the characters' eating practices, on the one hand, unite them as Finns and separate them from other Americans, but, on the other hand, give them an opportunity to negotiate their identities and construct transcultural ones.

Introduction

Food plays a significant role in migration literature in connection with nostalgia, memory and identity. The importance of food from the old country is evidenced in migration poetry, fiction and autobiographies (Reichl 2003, 177–178). For migrants in a new country, the old tastes and foods are tied to their identities and to their homeland (Anzaldúa 1997, 2953). For them, the familiar food has the power to evoke memories of their country and thus evoke and construct their identities. As Edward Steiner (1914, 68) puts it, "*I am inclined to believe that noodle soup, with the right kind of seasoning, touches more channels of memory than ---say, a lullaby or even a picture of their homeland*". At the same time, food is also associated with the negotiation of migrants' identities in new contexts. In Jopi Nyman's (2009, 282) words, the tropes of food in ethnic and postcolonial literature not only function to stitch the characters together and separate them from

the dominant group, but they also have the potential to bridge cultural differences and create new transcultural identities. In my work, I want to demonstrate this dual role of food in a selection of up-to-date North American migrant fiction.

This article focuses on a collection of short stories by the Finnish-American author Lauri Anderson, in which food holds a prominent position: *Heikki Heikkinen and Other Stories of Upper Peninsula Finns* (1995; 31 stories; hereafter *HH*). I will demonstrate how food, memory and nostalgia are actively used in constructing the characters' Finnish-American identities in terms of both difference and transculturation. On the one hand, the foodways of the Finnish forebears obtain not only nutritional but also symbolic value for the American-born Finns, and they provide them with what Angus Gillespie (1984, 148) calls "a badge of identity". The familiar food unites them and distinguishes from other Americans. The characters who do not have personal memories of Finland nostalgically use the old food practices to construct their Finnishness in the new context of modern America and to form links with their past. On the other hand, the migrants, who now live between the cultures of Finland and the USA, use Finnish and American foods to negotiate their identities with both the past and the present, both Finland and the US, and to construct them as transcultural.

The author of the stories is a professor at Finlandia University in Hancock, Michigan, and a second-generation migrant himself. He writes about different generations (mostly second, third and fourth generations) of Finnish Americans in primarily Michigan and Minnesota, two places with large concentrations of Finnish Americans. He has written the novel *Impressions of Arvo Laurila* (2005), the memoir *From Moosehead to Misery Bay* (2013), the book of poetry *Snow White and Others* (1971), and seven collections of short stories: *Small Winter Wars* (1983), *Hunting Hemingway's Trout* (1990), *Heikki Heikkinen and Other Stories of Upper Peninsula Finns* (1995), *Children of the Kalevala* (1997), *Misery Bay* (2002), *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), and *Mosquito Conversations* (2009). All of his texts feature Finnish themes and characters. His realistic comical, sarcastic and sad stories and novels tell about the lives and misadventures of Finns in the USA, and they revolve around such topics as loneliness, hardships, traumas and family dramas. Anderson pays a great deal of attention to their Finnishness, and he often portrays such features and components of it as sauna, Kalevala and *sisu*, the legendary Finnish toughness, stubbornness, and perseverance. In Beth Virtanen's (2001) words, "In spite of the sarcasm, Anderson seems to have an almost mystical awe for the Finnishness of his characters, for the dignity they embody forever bullheadedness".

HH profiles the comic and tragic aspects of Finnish-Americans' everyday lives from the early to the late 20th century and is primarily set in the 1980s and 1990s. It is divided into three sections: Becoming a Finn (1), Heikki Heikkinen (2) and An Odd Collections of Finns (3). The first section comprises three stories

(“The Author”, “Eddie Maki” and “Sam Dorvinen”, all analysed below), which are united by a similar topic. In all of the texts, the young protagonists, third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans, experience the quest for their identities and learn how to “become Finns” within an American context in the late 20th century. The second section includes 20 stories featuring the same protagonist, Heikki Heikkinen, a stereotypical old, rugged and stubborn Upper Peninsula Finn, a retired logger and miner with a strong love of beer, hunting and fishing. The texts describe his comic adventures and his misfortunes in Michigan in the 1980s and 1990s, which are not unlike those experienced by the “*Hölmöläiset*”, the proverbial Finnish simpletons who are both silly and wise. The third section comprises eight stories that focus on the hard and tragic lives of various Finnish Americans: lonely hermits in the wilderness, weird recluses, a refugee boy sent to the US by his parents from post-WWII Finland and ultra-conservative church-centred families.

Food is of special interest to Anderson, and in his fiction (for instance, in *Hunting Hemingway’s Trout*, *HH*, *Misery Bay* and *Back to Misery Bay*) he often describes in detail the migrants’ cooking and eating practices, the acquisition of the ingredients through hunting and fishing, and food-related rituals. The foodways are important for him in defining Finnish character. For instance, Tim Frandy (2009, 130) points out that within the Finnish-American community in Michigan and Minnesota, poaching has become some kind of an ethnic symbol, and Anderson, like many other popular Finnish-American writers, often uses poachers as protagonists in his fiction. In *HH*, the titles of many of the short stories are directly linked with food: “Fishing”, “Growing Tomatoes”, “Hunting Deer”, “Old Finnish Cooking”, “Taking The Smartass Fishing”, “The Poaching Hall of Fame” and “The New Barbeque Grill”. As the stories often exaggerate and use parody in portraying the characters, their foodways also become exaggerated, sometimes for comical effect. The settlers take pride in expressing their Finnishness through eating in a Finnish way. This emphasises that for the characters, Finnishness and Finnish foodways are deeply connected.

Food, memory and identity

Food studies emphasise the prominent role of food in constructing and manifesting personal and group identity: we are what we eat, we become what we eat (Caplan 1997, 9; Fischler 1988, 27), and what we eat produces who we are (Bell & Valentine 1997). As Lupton (1998, 25) points out, the shared act of eating brings people together into the same community, and food is instrumental in marking differences and strengthening group identity. According to Johanna Mäkelä (2006, 21), we define ourselves and others according to what we do not eat. As Pauliina Raento (2005, 50) points out, generalised representations

of “*our national way*” unite “*us*” around mundane items and activities, while the foodways of “*others*” may cause suspicion and fear.

The role of food in constructing identity is strongly based on a connection between food and memory. According to Sutton (2000, 121), food has the power to evoke the memories based on which identities are formed. Food constructs a mental image of people’s affinity – their imagined community, which is based on a common food culture, a common past and experiences. As Barthes (1997, 24) illustrates with respect to the role of food and memory in the creation of Frenchness: “[F]ood permits a person to partake each day of the national past. [...] [I]t’s fair to say that through his [sic] food the Frenchman experiences a certain national continuity. [...] [F]ood permits him to insert himself daily into his own past and to believe in a certain culinary ‘being’ of France.” Thus, food acts as a “storehouse” of meanings and serves as a reminder of events in the past, events which are associated with certain food products, with certain tastes and feelings (Lupton 1996, 49–50). According to Sutton (2001, 18), one may “*eat in order to remember*”. The past can also be an imaginary reconstruction, and the product of desire, longing and loss (Duruz 1999, 250; Erll 2010, 5). So, one eats not only to remember but also to imagine.

Sutton (2001, 86, 102) emphasises that for migrants, cooking is an attempt to reconstruct, remember and return to their home and past, and the “old” food gives them “wholeness” and fixity in the migration context of shifting and fragmentation. The act of eating food “from home” serves to re-imagine “worlds” displaced in space and/or time (Sutton 2001, 102), and it evokes a shared identity with people who eat the same food (Sutton 2001, 84). For migrants, such a mundane commodity as food becomes a reminder of their past and a catalyst of memory that keeps them together. This theory is of relevance for an analysis of Anderson’s stories, in which the generations of migrants born in the USA do not have direct memories of their forebears’ homeland and culture, and their connection to Finland is mediated through imagination and creation. The foodways of the first-generation migrants transmit the experiences of their home country and culture to their children, who are otherwise distanced from the past.

Nevertheless, although migrants generally cling to the food of their former homeland, their food practices cannot be viewed as something static and fixed. On the contrary, the migrants’ position between countries and cultures makes their diet prone to changes. As Anette Svensson (2010, 98) points out, this position allows them access to several distinct food cultures. The gradual transformations of the migrants’ foodways in a new country are usually inevitable and are linked with various factors, including changing ethnic identities (Tuomainen 2009, 528). The settlers accommodate themselves to the food culture of their new country, although the scales of this accommodation may vary. Finnish Americans live between the food cultures of the US and Finland. Their

Finnish foodways undergo changes and transformations, such as the introduction of new products, and thereby take on new meanings. Different generations of migrants have different culinary tastes. This makes me view food in the stories not as a fixed entity (although many characters express a great deal of culinary conservatism), but rather as a dynamic process of appropriation, acculturation and reconfiguration.

The resulting identities constructed by these foodways can be addressed as transcultural. Moslund (2010, 66–67) defines the transcultural identities expressed in migration literature as hyphenated ones that simultaneously incorporate not one but several cultural identities. In his words, it is an identity “*which is not either one or the other but both and*” (Moslund 2010, 66–67). Nordin, Hansen and Zamorano Llena (2013, x) view it as a multifaceted, fluid identity resulting from diverse cultural encounters, while Suárez-Orozco (2004, 192) highlights that it is an identity that does not require one to choose between cultures but incorporates the traits of both of them. In the stories by Anderson, the foodways comprising Finnish and American features construct the characters’ identities as fluid, both Finnish and American, selectively incorporating the traits of both cultures within transcultural Finnish-American identities. However, it would be a mistake to approach the characters as being a mere mix of some fixed, pre-existing identities. On the contrary, there is neither “pure” Finnishness nor Americanness evident in the characters. They inhabit multiple cultural spaces, being simultaneously both migrants and Americans, and their identities are far more complex.

Foodways, difference and transculturation in constructing Finnishness

The migrants’ Finnish foodways and their culinary conservatism distinguish them from other Americans by accentuating their difference as migrants and unite them through the shared consumption of the same products. A number of their products are marked in the texts as distinctively Finnish and are made to sound more exotic by the use of the original words in Finnish, often without any translation, explanation or glossing. Food functions as a carrier of memory to connect them with Finland and the past, and it helps to construct an imagined community for Finns in the US. The characters also use the foodways of their ancestors to introduce Finnishness to their children and to bind different generations together within the imagined community. In contrast, those migrants who want to dissociate themselves from the Finnish-American diaspora do so by refusing to eat Finnish food (Anderson 1995, 16).

At the same time, some of the “old” foodways of the second, third and fourth generations have been accommodated to better suit American tastes (and thus are not Finnish at all) and demonstrate the characters’ adaptation to the new

country. This is represented by the foods and practices that comprise Finnish and American features but that are neither Finnish nor American. The adaptation of the original migrants' foodways to the US establishes the successive generations as different from the first generation and as more Americanized. On the whole, the migrants' foodways construct the characters' identities as transcultural ones.

Sutton (2001, 28) highlights the fact that food and memory come together on the level of everyday life. The characters' foodways, memories and Finnishness are brought together during mundane occasions. The products that the migrants consume on a daily basis function to remind them of the past, unite them with other Finnish Americans and distance from others. For instance, in the story "Eddie Maki", which features a third-generation Finnish-American youngster from a mixed Finnish-New English family, the characters' everyday foods play a prominent role in defining their oneness. Food represents Eddie's Finnish ancestors' profound difference from Anglo-Americans, their exoticism and their migrant status in the US. Their distinct eating practices mark them as "others" no less powerfully than their language and religion:

"Eddie's Finnish grandparents spoke little English. [...] They attended the Lutheran church when the service was in Finnish. They had odd customs and ate strange food – pickled fish, yogurt, heavy dark bread with smelt inside.

Eddie's mother's people lived through history. They traced their roots back to the original colonies. They drank only milk or water and ate plain food without seasoning – roast beef, boiled vegetables, potatoes, and beans." (Anderson 1995, 11)

Eddie's father, a second-generation Finn, uses the foodways inherited from his parents to reconstruct their Finnish "world" in the US. He stubbornly clings to the old foodways, and replicates them. Moreover, he turns them into a business. He constructs a "Little Finland" in his town based on the foodways; this in turn connects him with other Finnish Americans who have the same culinary tastes: *"The Maki store was popular with Finns because Eddie's father stocked Finnish foods, made his own blood sausage, pickled his own tripe, and salted his own salmon. He spoke their language and understood their wants"* (Anderson 1995, 11–12). Finnish food products allow Eddie's father and other Finnish Americans to be independent from the surrounding mainstream American culture and distinct American foods. He is disgusted with his New English wife's "American" foods (she in turn clings to her own cuisine and has exactly the same attitude towards the husband's "un-American" tastes), and he cooks not only for himself but also for his son Eddie to remind him of their shared heritage:

“Eddie’s mother found Finnish incomprehensible and Finnish food disgusting. She prepared the same plain foods that her mother had prepared. She refused to make any un-American foods except spaghetti and pizza [...]. Eddie’s father abhorred his wife’s cooking. Often he prepared Finnish food, which he and Eddie ate together. Eddie’s mother could not comprehend how anyone could eat fish roe in eggs, animal organs, or fish preserved in lye. Yet she had married a man who ate all these things.”
(Anderson 1995, 12)

At the same time, in the story food has a potential to help people negotiate identities. Later, when Eddie rebels against the values and way of life of his father’s and the other elder generation of Finnish Americans and tries to dissociate himself from their diaspora community, he does this among other things through rejecting his father’s Finnish food: *“Eddie reacted by refusing to eat his father’s favorite foods – mojakka [the dialectal Finnish-American word for a stew, popular among the migrants in Minnesota and Michigan], nisu [the dialectal Finnish-American word for a traditional Finnish wheat sweet bread], and sillikaviaari [herring-caviar]”* (Anderson 1995, 16). Marie Gillespie (2000, 199–200) points out that through the negotiation of food, young people can negotiate their relationship to the parental culture. To show a dislike or a distaste for the parents’ foodways is perceived to be a rebellion against their culture. The rejection of the parents’ food is a gesture expressing a desire to gain some independence from the family culture (Gillespie 2000, 200). So, while Eddie’s father, through his foodways, seeks to gather independence from the majority culture and to create a sense of continuity between generations, Eddie uses his eating practices to obtain independence from the Finnish-American diaspora community, to distance himself from his father’s generation and to break away from their “Little Finland”. He associates Finnishness with the migrants’ lower status in America, the unattractive job of working as a miner, the secluded life in their little town and a lack of prospects. By refusing to eat Finnish food, Eddie challenges his father, rejects his heritage and tries to show that he is not a “normal” Finn, that he longs for a better life (Anderson 1995, 16).

The everyday foods of the first generation have obtained symbolic value for Eddie and his father, and they function as the carriers of memories of the past. On the one hand, clinging to the old Finnish foodways is connected with remembering the heritage of one’s ancestors and it provides people with a visible and prominent symbol of the Finns’ difference from other Americans and from migrants from other countries. Or, on the other hand, rejecting Finnish food can be viewed as a gesture to forget the past and an effort to present oneself as being not so different from other Americans.

At the same time, the migrants' foodways not only set them apart from other Americans, but also demonstrate their position in-between Finnish and American cultures. Their own eating habits have been transformed by the US, which illustrates the change in their identities and the transcultural nature of life in the United States. In the story "The Author", the foods that have played a significant role in the American-born narrator's "becoming a Finn" (the title of the section to which this text belongs) are described as follows: "*Very early in life, I became aware of my Finnishness. Our little Upper Peninsula town was full of Finns. [...] I also knew I was a Finn because all fish in our house were pickled, all potatoes were boiled, and the Jell-O had to have plenty of dill*" (Anderson 1995, 1). In the list of the culinary badges of the protagonist's Finnishness, pickled fish and boiled potatoes, real products of Finnish cuisine, stand side by side with Jell-O, the American gelatin dessert. It naturally does not belong to the foodways that came from Finland with the first generation. Moreover, it is not generally supposed to be served with dill, and it does not seem to be a real Finnish-American food, but rather the author's comical exaggeration of the passion for dill that is for some reason considered Finnish by the characters.

This dish can be viewed as representing Finnishness in a strange environment. Putting dill in Jell-O seems out of place for both Americans and first-generation Finns, and the product with this mixture is neither Finnish nor American; rather, it is both Finnish and American. Nevertheless, for the protagonist, who experiences his Finnishness as nostalgic memory transmitted from the previous generation and who "becomes a Finn" only in the US, Jell-O with dill does not seem strange. After it has been reconfigured in accordance with the migrants' tastes, it serves to manifest the characters' version of Finnishness and to unite the narrator with his family. While pickled fish and boiled potatoes inherited from the first generation demonstrate the characters' continuity with their ancestors and with Finland, Jell-O with dill illustrates the change in Finnishness from the newcomers' generation to the narrator's generation and his parents' generations and how such Finnishness changes to fit an American context. This composite product also demonstrates the migrants' in-between position, and in Moslund's (2010, 66–67) words, the hyphenated character of their identities, being both Finns and Americans.

A similar mixture in Finnish-American foodways can also be found in the story "Old Finnish Cooking". On the one hand, Heikki Heikkinen, an "*old-fashioned Finn with old-fashioned tastes in food*" (Anderson 1995, 29), likes "*to eat the kinds of food his grandparents ate in Finland*" (Anderson 1995, 29), and he disdains all "*new-fangled ways of cooking*", such as barbecued and grilled foods (Anderson 1995, 72). His complete failure with barbecuing and subsequently throwing the grill away in the stories "Old Finnish Cooking" (Anderson 1995, 31) and "The New Barbeque Grill" (Anderson 1995, 71–72) set him apart from

modern American mainstream culture. Although his eating habits are “under siege” by his younger and more Americanized relatives, who try to introduce him to modern American cooking (Anderson 1995, 31–32), he is not going to change his tastes: “*He said they would never change his tastes in food. ‘Even if it’s good,’ he said, ‘I’m not going to like it!’ He had sisu [the Finnish word for strong will, determination and perseverance]*” (Anderson 1995, 32). Heikki laughs over his younger relatives’ Americanized eating habits, and he clings to his home-made Finnish food, which for him is more authentic than the next generation’s store-bought variety: “*He ate his home-pickled fish right out of the jar with his fingers and didn’t understand why his chic granddaughter served store-bought pickled herring in cream sauce on a platter with a toothpick stuck in each piece*” (Anderson 1995, 29). His foodways represent his “old” Finnishness, and they mark the protagonist’s difference from other Americans and younger generations of Finnish Americans. On the other hand, despite his pride in culinary conservatism and his resistance to Americanization, his own eating habits also demonstrate a great deal of adaptation:

“Heikki’s idea of a good American meal was canned and frozen in the forties and fifties. [...] Two ingredients were usually essential when Heikki cooked American – cream of mushroom soup and Jell-O. He stirred the soup into all leftovers and called it a casserole. He added a can of mixed fruit to the Jell-O. For a Finnish touch, he mixed dill into both.” (Anderson 1995, 29)

This makes the title, “Old Finnish Cooking”, rather ironic because American products like condensed canned mushroom soup and Jell-O are in fact neither old nor Finnish. On the other hand, Heikki’s cooking “American” is not American either, as he uses the American ingredients in his own Finnish way to conform to his tastes. He makes these foods “Finnish” so they can supposedly stand alongside the foods of his ancestors. If his original Finnish foodways function to construct and manifest Heikki’s Finnishness in terms of continuity with Finland and the past, such composite dishes as Jell-O with dill also demonstrate that his identity is negotiated together with aspects of American culture and the present. So, this migrant’s eating practices highlight his generation’s position between cultures and countries, between the past and present, and of their being both Finns and Americans and simultaneously neither Finns nor Americans, but something new. There is a paradox, however: Heikki resists the Americanization of his tastes without noticing that they have already been Americanized. Some American food products for him are more “Finnish” than others.

A similar situation is present in the story “Sam Dorvinen [sic]”, which features a fourth-generation Finnish-American youngster in the 1980s and 1990s. The protagonist’s father reminds his son about their common Finnish heritage

by telling the son about his youth and the camaraderie among Finnish-American loggers and miners in the past. Food holds a prominent position in his stories:

“In the old man’s stories, every self-respecting Finn had driven a pick-up and had worked in the woods or in the mines. Every tough old guy had eaten pickled eggs, pickled fish, and beef jerky at the Mosquito Inn. Every one of them had guzzled gallons of Stroh’s mixed with cheap brandy. They had all worn ragged and stained flannel shirts as a sign of their fortitude, their sisu. [...]” (Anderson 1995, 4)

These foods are praised by the father: they are associated with shared experiences of the hard work and lifestyle of loggers and miners, and they help construct an imagined brotherhood with the tough and hardboiled Finnish migrants of the past. This past is not real but is more likely what Lupton (1996, 49–50) calls the fiction of the past recreated by idealising nostalgia. Or, in Duruz’s (1999, 250) terms, it is not a historical past but its imaginary reconstruction, the product of dreams, longings and loss, or the fictional past to which an eater wants to return. Not each and every Finnish man drove a pickup or worked in the mines or woods, or ate only pickled fish and pickled eggs, or was as masculine and tough as Sam’s father claims. He reinvents the past to create a better image of it in order to impress his son. For the father, these foods manifest “true” rugged Finnishness, and later in the text they are contrasted with the eating habits of his son, which are portrayed as not so Finnish: *“Sam’s Finnishness was greatly diluted. He couldn’t even speak the language [...]. He preferred pizza, Twinkies, and Coke to pickled eggs and beer”* (Anderson 1995, 4). Foodways here illustrate the differences between the generations of settlers, their lifestyles and degree of Americanization. Again there is a paradox: while some American foods and drinks, such as beef jerky or Stroh’s beer, are put along the foods from Finland in representing Finnishness for the father and his generation, and they do not “dilute” that Finnishness, Coca-Cola and Twinkies, the American foods and drinks of his son, “dilute” it.

On the whole, food plays an important role in connection with the characters’ identities. Since the migrants have no real experiences of Finland, their material practice of foodways inherited from the first generation allows them to nostalgically reconstruct the “old” world and to restore their integrity through the familiar and shared tastes. Their eating practices work as a cultural site of the migrants’ memories, which the settlers use to construct their imagined community as Finns, or, in Lauri Anderson’s terms, to “become” Finns. Their foodways also demonstrate the migrants’ difference from the first generation and highlight the fact that their Finnishness has been changed in the new environment by the second-, third- and fourth-generation’s imagination and reconfiguration of it. It can be viewed as a fiction of Finnishness, a product of nostalgia and dreams.

Conclusions

This article has revealed the dual role of food and food-related practices in constructing the identities of Finnish Americans in *HH*. On the one hand, the forebears' foods and the new "Finnish" products invented in the US serve to link the migrants with their past, unite them and distinguish them from mainstream Americans by providing them with a prominent symbol of their difference. On the other hand, the migrants' eating practices help them construct their identities in terms of transculturation: as something belonging to both Finnish and American cultures, past and present. At the same time, it allows them to select and incorporate various elements and produce something new. The migrants' in-between position allows them access to both cultures, and their identities are not the identities of "either or", but the identities of "both and".

At the same time, food not only functions as a marker of inclusion/exclusion, allowing migrants to negotiate and renegotiate identities. It also demonstrates the dynamic differences between generations. The second-, third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans may change their diet in the US in different ways, may abandon or reconfigure the old practices, and may add new ones. Each generation has its own definition of what constitutes "Finnish" food practices.

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Two Finnish migrants Down Under: An Australian biographical perspective

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Abstract

Two brothers from Munsala, Ostrobothnia, escaped Russian conscription and oppression by migrating to Australia in 1899 and 1902. This paper tells how they adapted to their new country and integrated in different ways. The elder brother, Karl Johan Back (20.10.1877–20.6.1962), established sawmills and farms but made his mark as a poet and philosopher; the first published Australian Finn. Wilhelm Anders Back (29.7.1886–2.4.1974) was a businessman and entrepreneur land developer. He became “Australia’s richest Finn”.

A granddaughter explores their migrant settler experience; the successes and failures, challenges and struggles to demonstrate their significant contributions to this new southern land.

Introduction

This perspective is from a third-generation Australian-Finland-Swede, intrigued since childhood by strange accented relatives. My journeys since then – to explore my heritage – have brought my family full circle around the globe.

In 1978, fate led me to Sweden, directly across the Gulf of Bothnia from my grandfather’s birthplace in Munsala, Ostrobothnia. Spine-tingling magnetism drew me “home” as the ship crunched through the glittering ice. I felt like a bird migrating over *Linnunrata*, the Milky Way path of the birds, to roost in the land of my ancestors.

My Finnish family warmed to my halting Swedish and barrage of questions. My father’s cousin Rolf Åke Back (7.10.1923–30.11.2010) gave me parish records and old letters – an archival treasure trove dating back to 1500. His daughter Gretchen helped me translate the old Swedish dialect.

Since then, my interest has grown into a passion – some might say an obsession. For how can we live our futures when we do not know who we are? My research is channelled into a book called *Burn My Letters: Midnight Sun to Southern Cross*. In this work, narrative nonfiction morphs into memoir as I discover and separate truths from myths. *Burn My Letters* tells of escape, hope and freedom. It tells how living in fear breeds paranoia, which becomes imprinted in family DNA for generations. Finland's experience with Russia is a thread that is woven through my writing. To explore my family's integration process, I trace themes of Escape – Land – Language.

This paper and my book draw on primary sources, especially on the letters that my Finnish family gave me, and it draws on my Australian family's shared photographs, letters, journals, oral histories and an uncle's memoir. I obtained photographs from the Institute of Migration. In Finland, I interviewed historians, relatives, authors and genealogists. I gained access to parish records, oral histories and books. During five visits to Finland, I conducted research in Pietarsaari (in Swedish Jakobstad), Munsala and its environs, Helsinki (Helsingfors), Vaasa (Vasa), Hanko (Hangö) and Turku (Åbo). In Australia, I explored areas settled by the brothers and gained access to many of the houses they built. In all of the venues I photographed and recorded information. Microfilm and online data such as Trove were consulted.

Escape

In Australia, our family lore resonated with the words: *escape conscription... escape the Russians*. But I knew little more until I read a letter that my grandfather wrote in 1947 as encouragement to a refugee woman from the Baltic States (Family archival letter dated 10 December 1947). His letter spoke of “*the providence that pushed me out of Finland as a young man*” and how in 1900 he hated the governor. The letter is torn so that the name appeared as “-ikoff”. Google supplied the name Bobrikoff. Granddad wrote to her as follows: “*After a few years you may say the same thing too; Thank God there were so many persecutions and hardships because it was those hardships which forced us to leave the old country.*”

As I crossed the frozen Gulf of Bothnia in 1978, I remembered a family story. Did my great uncle Karl Johan Back escape Russian oppression on skis in 1899? Why did Russian military police board his ship at the Suez Canal looking for him? He swam ashore and hid. Why did he write home to “*burn my letters*”? (What mother, who knows she will not see her son again, could do that? She hid them in the family Bible.)

My research found that, in fact, Karl Johan sailed from Hangö in May 1899. I imagine he hid in his bunk until safely away, for he dodged the conscription call-



Wilhelm Anders and Christina Back. (Date unknown but probably early 1950s)

up and appears to have been an activist with early Munsala Socialists against the Russian occupation.

Even decades later, he still feared Russian reprisal and that he might be tracked to the end of the world. Often when he wrote home he signed off with the words *"burn my letters"*, which indicates that he feared the Russians. Locals told me that he built tree houses on his properties where he could hide if threatened. He wrote in 1931 to apply for a new certificate of naturalisation because he supposed that termites had eaten the original. He needed this to renew his passport so he could travel back to Finland. As he had escaped with a friend's passport, perhaps he never had one in the first place? This may be the main reason why he did not return to Finland in his lifetime.

Three years after Karl Johan fled, my grandfather Wilhelm Anders Back emigrated on 26 November 1902, a 16 year old eager to take on the world. Their father, Anders Karlsson Back Ohls (15.3.1848–25.9.1926), brought him out to Australia. They arrived at the Bangalow train station, where Karl Johan met them with a horse and sulky. Anders waved an arm at the green hills and said, *"This is surely the Promised Land. May the good Lord grant some of this good earth to my descendants."* After three weeks, he returned to Finland. His parting words to his sons were as follows: *"This is your country now. Settle down, marry an Australian woman and forget Finland."*

Karl Johan remained a bachelor, but Wilhelm married Christina Hart, my grandmother, on 4 November 1908 at Mooball in New South Wales. Two weeks

before he died in 1974, Granddad attended my own mountain-top wedding, about 80 miles away across the hills as the crow flies. He wrote me a letter in which he told of his marriage. This letter seemed to pass to me the mantle of family historian.

After the 1918 civil war, their sister Anna Sanna (7.3.1880–13.3.1964) joined them in Australia – the first Finns to migrate to Australia as a family. In October 1920, she posed for a farewell photograph with her husband Erik Johan Nyholm, their four children and their relatives. It shows two horses, which were Erik Johan's pride. According to family oral history, he hitched them to a sleigh and took the assassin of a Russian official across the ice to safety in Sweden. (I welcome suggestions how I might research this story.) He declared, "*There will be reprisals. No son of mine will serve in the Russian army. We must go to Australia.*"

Walter, known as Wally, seen in the photograph on his hobbyhorse, celebrated his 100th birthday on 23 February of 2014, and I sang for him *Ja må han leva*. He is much appreciated and respected in the Byron Bay community.

During my recent trip to Finland, I visited Hangö. I wanted to put myself in these emigrants' shoes as they waved goodbye to their homeland. Although I could not stand on the actual wharf, I looked for remains of the emigrants' hostel. I stood on the flat granite rocks where emigrants danced through their last night in Finland, looked back over the town and forward to the horizon that expanded ahead of them as their ships sailed away.

The promised land

When Karl Johan fled, little was known of Australia. One book wrote: "*Australia is a large country, mostly desert.*" Anders Back obtained maps from sailors and said, "*Head for the easterly point, son. There must be rain.*" Thus my family story radiates from Byron Bay like beams from its historic lighthouse. A main hub was the nearby town of Mullumbimby, with its green hills and rich, volcanic earth.

Both brothers became successful landowners. Karl Johan built and operated sawmills that produced beautiful cedar, including 39 doors for Wilhelm's house, Cedarholm. After the long murky Finnish winters, Karl Johan revelled in Australia's exotic plants and collected lush orchids. He wrote:

"The climate is idyllic because the winter is very short and mild; summer is seldom too warm. Although we had several frosty nights the potato and sugarcane are unharmed. I have about 1000 orange and mandarin trees, 100 peach, 20 fig trees and others." (26 July 1909)

Yet he often wrote home asking family to send Finnish seeds. Wilhelm brought some out in his pocket and I showed visiting family and also Dr Olavi Koivukan-



Karl Johan Back with Finnish workers in ca. 1910. Back is third from left.

gas the trees grown on their first land. Karl Johan employed Finnish emigrants to work on his farms.

A recurring theme in his letters was to be reunited with his family in The Promised Land.

He wrote home:

"It's my desire that Mama and Papa should come here. I myself have five cottages and they could live in whichever they want ... It will be a lot of hardships to face but once they reach here I think they might live ten years longer than they would in Finland and for that alone it is worth risking. The death rate is here very small; we never have to widen any churchyards." (21 September, 1920)

Karl Johan wrote in 1921 about the brothers' many efforts to settle a fellow Finn. When the man proved fussy, Karl Johan offered to sell him one of his own properties, which he had planned for his own family in the hope that they would immigrate:

"It was a paradise for the hunter and fisher. A place with big birds like in Finland that he could shoot when he wants to. The fish were jumping in the water, the kangaroos were jumping from every bush; the birds in all colours of the rainbow were singing from morning to eve and flying from tree to tree. You don't have to irrigate but can catch the water that comes

down from the mountain. My place was the best in the area, and freehold; the others surrounding me belong to the government. All my neighbours are farmers; they are not self-sufficient, as I am. I am not a farmer; I am a landowner and independent.” (1 July 1921)

But Karl Johan lost his sawmills, cottages, orchards and bananas to fire and bankruptcy.

Wilhelm was an astute land assessor, and he developed about a quarter of Mullumbimby. As he expanded north into Queensland, Wilhelm moved to base himself in Brisbane. The Mayor of Mullumbimby gave him a Civic Farewell on 12 September 1949 with a magnificent citation:

“To you, Sir, on the Eve of your departure and on behalf of the Residents of Mullumbimby and district, we desire to record appreciation of the progressive influence demonstrated by you as a member of this community during your residence of over 40 years amongst us. Your response to all charitable, public and patriotic causes has always been of the highest standard whilst every organisation and movement for the promotion and advancement of this Town has benefited from your support.

To you, Mrs. Back, we express our esteem, and high regard for your example and sincerity, and for your support in all charitable and religious activities.

Worthy and respected citizens, we ask you to accept our Goodwill for the years ahead and trust you will be long spared to render Charity and Service to fellow travellers along Life’s Highway.” (Citation held in family archives dated 12 September 1949. Quoted in the *Mullumbimby Star*, 24 September 1949.)

The brothers’ farms were staging posts for emigrant Finns. Wilhelm helped some of them, his sons and nephews, by partnering them in ballots for land. His pastoral province extended to sheep properties in Western Queensland. He ran a stock and station business to manage the bookkeeping of many properties and forty individuals. Wilhelm’s sons Eric and Elwyn were commended for their wool clip, which topped the market for the state:

“They are the right type of young Australian settler that the country requires to develop the land and with the zest and enthusiasm they are putting into their work, provide an example that many others might follow. With the optimism characteristic of youth, they discount their present discomforts and the setback by drought, and look forward to ‘next year’ to lift the clouds.” (The *Mullumbimby Star*, 26 November 1931)



Wilhelm Anders Back and his office in Mullumbimby. (Date unknown but ca 1915.) Back is seated in the car on the right.

But my father Aubrey wrote that he hated living in the outback and longed for the coastal areas where he had grown up. His hobbies were to grow fruit and build boats, all impossible in the outback. A true Scandinavian, he was happiest by the sea. He took a creative step to solve the problem of a lack of grass during a drought and shipped sheep to a Barrier Reef island. It proved a fiasco, as the sheep died miserable deaths when speargrass burrs itched under their skins. He turned away the opportunity of a 99-year lease on Orpheus Island, now an expensive resort. That hurts! Like him, I am happiest near water. It's the Finn in me.

In Brisbane, Queensland, Wilhelm developed dairy land into the Coronation Estate. He was rescued during the Depression when the University of Queensland bought much of it for the St Lucia campus. It is now a bustling inner-city suburb. In the 1950s, Wilhelm built a four-level mansion overlooking the Brisbane River, complete with elevator and new-fangled air-conditioning. I grew up as *“the granddaughter of the man with an elevator in his house”*. Dame Quentin Bryce, who was the Governor General of Australia between 2001 and 2014, later owned it.

Karl Johan's properties were on hills with vantage points. Wilhelm's coastal houses overlooked water. Prime Minister Billy Hughes visited the family beach house at Brunswick Heads and declared that it had “the best view in Australia”.

Letters of introduction from premiers and the prime minister opened doors when Wilhelm travelled to Finland in 1924, a post-war grand tour in his Fiat automobile. His eldest son Eric (16.12.1909–29.11.1993) chronicled this tour with box Brownie photographs and a journal. Wilhelm sponsored a wave of Ostrobothnian migration to Australia.

Wilhelm was generous to charities and, after World War II, he shipped 10,000 sheep to help Europe with its famines. He employed a woman full-time to pack food into calico bags. Each Christmas he posted around 600 cards; many included a £5 note, worth perhaps 8E in today's money. When my husband and I sought to buy our first house, the loan process was expedited when the bank manager heard that I was the granddaughter of W. A. Back.

Language

The year before Wilhelm migrated, Karl Johan advised him by letter: *“Knowing English would be good when you come here. If you learn seven words each day (that isn't much) it would become over two thousand words in a year, so much you could almost begin reading books.”* (Family archival letter, dated 23 July 1901)

It is doubtful that the teenage Wilhem took this advice, and in fact he first learned some Hindi in Australia. He wrote that, *“when I first came out to Australia at Coorabell Creek as I was bossing 20 hands for Karl Johan I practically lived with those Hindus for 12 months”* (Family archival letter, dated 20 May 1959).

Later, as an established citizen, he integrated so well that English overtook his Swedish. His secretary was kept busy typing voluminous business correspondence and letters home to Finland. He retained a lilting accent, as can be heard in a Brisbane radio interview dated from the 1960s. When Wilhelm visited Finland in 1924, he tried to do business in Swedish. *“I think we will manage better if you speak English,”* he was told.

Karl Johan described himself as a pen fighter. During World War I, he protested his patriotism by writing two books and numerous articles – in English that he had learned on the voyage to Australia.

When the Prince of Wales visited in 1920, Karl Johan presented a Morocco bound copy of his second book, *The Royal Toast*. It contains his *Challenge in Literature* to become the poet laureate of the world. Finns would recognise that his idea derived from the *Kalevala*. Did anyone accept his challenge? None of the 30 reviews I have located from newspapers around the country mention this challenge, but overall most are positive:

“No Australian should be without a copy of The Royal Toast” (Traralgon Record, 19 October 1920),

"It overbrims with patriotism added to which are many gems of philosophic wisdom" (The Bookfellow, 16 August 1920) and

"It is a publication that should appeal directly to the heart of every true Australian" (The Wyalong Advocate and Mining, Agricultural and Pastoral Gazette, 26 October 1920).

Others inform readers: *"Twenty years ago he could not speak a word of English ... Now he is a fluent English speaker. He has absorbed the ideas and the ideals of Australia"* (Cootamundra Herald, 28 September 1920).

Some noted that Karl Johan was no Tennyson and advised him against printing further books.

"It should rank as one of the curiosities of Australian literature", wrote one paper (Singleton Argus, 5 October 1920).

Karl Johan was a voracious reader; his shack was piled high with newspapers and books. When they overtook the space beneath his bed, he set up a pulley and lifted the bed higher.

Their sister, Anna Sanna, unlike her brothers or husband, never learned English and relied on her offspring to translate for her. I am told that, at age six, I chatted with her, even though neither spoke the other person's language. My generation learned no Swedish. I grew up in the Australian outback, (known as "the bush"), but our family often drove the thousand miles south to holiday with relatives near Byron Bay. As a child, I wondered why people in New South Wales *"talked funny."*

When I came to live in Umeå in Sweden, I discovered that some words had filtered into our vocabulary. As a child at breakfast, we would say *"Pass the smör, please"*.

A land of freedom

Conscription was a major factor that prompted the Back brothers to migrate to the South Land. They must have felt gratified that Australians were offered via referendum – not once, but twice – the **choice** to fight for the country rather than being compelled to do it. Both times the nation voted against it.

Did free will ease Karl Johan's pacifism? He wrote in 1916: *"Great Britain has begun National Service so it is possible that we get it in Australia before long. If that is the case I would give my life happily for mankind"* (Family archival letter, April 17 1916).

Yet life was difficult for migrants during wartime; many were interned. *"During WW1 it wasn't safe to speak with an accent in Mullum,"* writes histori-

an Peter Tsicalas. (Tsicalas, Peter. *The Finns. Siirtolaisuus Migration*, 1/2010, 39.)

Anna Sanna's husband anglicised their surname from Nyholm to Holm. Locals suspected that Karl Johan spied for the Germans, for he tended his bananas on the ridge by lantern light. But what is night to a Finn?

Perhaps Wilhelm asked the local newspaper to refute the suspicions? The Mullumbimby Star wrote in 1915 that: "*It has been said that Mr. W. Back of this town is of German nationality. On Mr. Back's naturalization papers, the place of birth is given as Munsala, Finland, a Swedish part.*" (Mullumbimby Star, 8 July 1915)

Wilhelm made large and conspicuous donations to the war effort, second only to the mayor's. He raised money by driving people in his new automobile to say farewell to soldiers – for a fee.

Many Australian soldiers, a large proportion of its population, fought and died on battlefields elsewhere in the world. A continent surrounded by oceans, Australia is blessed to have escaped invasion and occupation – as Donald Horne titled his book, it has been *The Lucky Country*.

Conclusion

What does it mean to be a third-generation Finland-Swedish Australian? Paranoia about Russian invasion is embedded in my family; my father's youth was shadowed by stories of Russian brutality. Throughout his life, he predicted invasions by the red peril (Russians), the yellow peril and the Indonesians. As a child, I would pull the pillow over my head to block out loud recordings by survivors of atrocities.

My father must have felt similar fears as a 10 year old during that summer of 1924 in Finland. I imagine his eyes rounded, appalled yet fascinated by stories that could not be written in letters. Did he think, "*Why not build a boat and escape to Sweden?*" The highlight of his visit "home" was the boat he and two brothers built, using wood that was intended for their grandfather's coffin. Dad built boats all his life. Some sank, others were never finished and their skeleton hulks littered the garden. "*It's the Finn in him,*" I say.

Anna Sanna's sons Hugo and Wally Holm felt similar paranoia when they visited Finland in 1988. They refused flights via Moscow, for "*Russians have long memories*". The tickets were changed to a longer route via London.

This year, I – safely – visited St Petersburg. It seems Russians *do* have long memories – about the realm and borders of their empire under Catherine the Great. That included Finland.

I hope and pray that this country of my heritage remains free.

**Elli Heikkilä, Auvo Kostiainen, Johanna Leinonen
and Ismo Söderling (eds.)**

Participation, Integration, and Recognition: Changing Pathways to Immigrant Incorporation

These conference proceedings gather expert articles about different ways of understanding immigrant incorporation, both historically and in contemporary society. It is important to examine critically what is meant by the term “integration”. Who are targeted with integration policies and who are left out? In which domains of society (e.g. education, labor market and families) is integration expected to take place and at what speed? What is the desired outcome of integration, both for immigrants and for members of the receiving society? How is this outcome measured and best achieved?

The articles included in this publication show that there is no single pathway to successful immigrant integration. Immigrants – just like anyone else – have multiple roles in their lives (for example, as family members, workers, students, and political and cultural actors), engage in activities in different social fields, and form relationships along these dimensions. In each of these dimensions, different factors can create obstacles or opportunities for immigrants’ integration process. As scholars examine these multiple pathways to immigrant integration, it is important to keep in mind the power relationships embedded in the integration process. Ideally, integration is a two-way process which results in changes in both immigrant communities and the receiving society. The publication shows how crucial it is to examine integration as a process, and study it both at the group and individual level.



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