

Young generations and new patterns of emigration

The Finnish-Italian case

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**Web Reports 39
Institute of Migration
2008**



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*We shall not cease from exploration,
and at the end of all our exploring will be
to arrive where we started, and know
the place for the first time. (T.S. Eliot)*

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1.1 Introduction

Migration has taken many different forms throughout time, and it has gained much scholarly interest. This paper is also a result of a journey similar to that made by others before. As often is the case with migration, the place of departure is known but the final destination is veiled in shadow. Especially so in the present migration of young people. My research focuses on this new migration, in contrast to that of days gone by. Emigration no longer means hauling big trunks to ships, but boarding planes with cellular phones and laptops in the hand baggage. Despite progress and wealth many young people choose to emigrate and face new experiences, changing their entire life. How come?

After a giving an overview of the phenomenon, I will focus on two specific countries, Italy and Finland, both protagonists in the building of the European Union. Despite the distance and the differences between the two, there are many similarities.

The European integration has boosted new migration processes, which is a reason for so many Italians moving to London, Berlin or Paris since the 1990s. To the surprise of their families and friends, many decided to travel farther, to North Europe. Some went to see a girl they had met on the beach, others to study or work. Just as many Finns rejected Sweden and other countries nearby, such as Germany and Britain in favour of more distant destinations

On my journey I will explore some emblematic aspects of modernity, see if it is possible to define new patterns of migration in Europe, revealing contextually many other features of the selected countries. Even if the “Finnish-Italian case” hasn’t drawn any great interest yet, it constitutes an interesting anticipation of the future tendencies on the whole European stage.

1.2 Aims and background

The primary aim of this study is to analyse the issue of “new migrations” in the circuit of young generations from European countries. The originality of the project lies in the belief that new and crucial aspects can be discovered looking just at the opposite “sides” of the European scene. In the context of the European Union Italy and Finland present a vast range of differences concerning mentality, working experience, history, welfare and, least but not last, in the conception of migrating and travelling. In this sense, they can be described as “two opposite poles” of the European setting, and for this very reason they were chosen as an original perspective on the topic.

The research is twofold: the historical study is aimed at understanding the most relevant changes in the old migration patterns and in the new ones, focusing on the differences between Italy and Finland. The main body of the second part consists of an experimental study, where semi-standardized interviews were conducted with a selected sample of “new emigrants”, from 18 to 35 years old, moving along the Finnish-Italian route.

Who are these persons? What are their dreams, hopes and life expectations? What drove them to look for something new on the other side of Europe? Are there any differences between young Italians and Finns? What about their life-styles before and after the “big change”?

On another level, the intention is also to measure their national sense of identity. How strongly do they feel identify themselves as Italians or Finns? In the last part, the questionnaire probes the respondents’ conceptions of the growing European spirit.

The research includes an appendix, where a famous Finnish writer Leena Lander, recently raised to a “European dimension”, discusses new generations, integration and the image of Finland abroad. This study is an attempt to clarify the “idea of Europe” and to describe the presence of European values and identities in the Finnish society.

1.3 Why Italy – Why Finland

During the last years, the Italians have gradually changed their perception of Finland. Due to the European integration, they modified their image of Finland, which former was just a question mark in the northern latitudes. For many reasons, Finland became known as a well-organized country, clean and safe, but at same time as very active and developed. This raised the interest of young people.

Worrying about an uncertain future but at same time very interested of all the new opportunities offered by the European stage, young Italians began to look towards countries perceived as more “open” than their own. Their early ancestors emigrated to escape poverty, but their fathers could gain material prosperity in their own country becoming the main protagonists of the economic boom in the 1960’s, when Italy became an industrial and economic power (Segafreddo 1996). This impressive economic growth elevated new generations to levels of welfare never known before. Work, economic growth, increasing consumption, all this characterized a new Italy rising from the ashes of the Second World War. But this led to a new situation: the generation born after the 1970’s was the first in 200 years not to improve its own conditions in relation to the previous. Nowadays, a lot of young Italians have almost everything to satisfy their material needs: they can study, buy new cars and clothes, take summer holidays abroad. But the problem is that very often, the money comes from their fathers’ wallets (Cesareo 2005).

Much that was impossible in the past is now within reach. The older generation didn’t have enough time and resources to travel around or study, being compelled to sacrifice everything for job and responsibility. The times were different then. Since the 1990’s the situation has changed completely: the lack of permanent positions available in the labour market makes it increasingly more difficult to settle down. It is even harder to buy land for housing with the fast rising prices. The only solution for many young people is to accept continuous economic support from the parents (Cesareo 2005).

Few can establish a family without a taking a 30-year bank loan; many must rely on an inheritance from parents or relatives, if they are in such a fortunate position. Frequently this is the only hope for young people willing to settle down. Nowadays a university degree does not guarantee a good job. This situation is a result of uncertain employment opportunities and real estate prices skyrocketing. The disillusioned eyes of many young people turn to the European Union, which may provide a solution to the dilemma. Great Britain has the greatest attraction, but also Scandinavia - despite the difficult languages spoken there (very few people in Italy have any chance to study Norwegian, Danish, Swedish or Finnish in school). Some try with universities, others just go straight for a job. Among the Scandinavian countries, Finland is the least known, but for this very reason the country can appear attractive, being so far from Italian traditions and culture.

Italy is present in Finland through a wide spectrum of institutions and associations, whose function is not limited to promote the national culture. These can provide Italians living in Finland a connection to their own country. Apart from the Embassy and consulates, it is important to emphasize the important role of the Italian Cultural Institute and of the “Società Dante Alighieri” in

Helsinki and Turku. The official website “La Rondine” (www.larondine.fi) is a cultural association promoting relations between Italy and Finland.

The following text is part of an interview with Pauli Mäkelä, the Finnish Ambassador in Italy, conducted by the director of La Rondine, Nicola Raino. The Ambassador’s words hit a very significant spot when explaining the current relations between Italy and Finland.

“If we want to understand the evolution of the relations between Italy and Finland, we should start from the 1970’s. In the past, keeping up relations was difficult because of the geographical distance. Gradually both Italy and Finland faced the same process of Europeanization in spite of being on the opposite sides of Europe. Thus the European integration has been a crucial factor for nearing the two countries to each other. Before the European integration started, Finns used to look at Italy as a far and exotic place, while Italians saw Finland as the land of ice and reindeers. However, Italy has always been admired in Finland because of its long cultural traditions and heritage. This was not the case for Italians looking towards Finland: this Scandinavian country attracted attention as late as during the last 10-12 years, after Finland joined the EU in 1995. From that moment, Italians took increasing interest in Finland, admiring achievements such as the welfare state, the educational system and the environmental policies. Movies (especially Aki Kaurismäki) and literature (especially Arto Paasilinna and Leena Lander) promoted Finnish culture in Italy. Lots of exchange programs for students and researchers, schools and universities were useful and nice ways to increase the mutual knowledge”.

“Besides culture”, concluded the Ambassador, “also hi-tech was a decisive way to spread the Finnish image. Nokia is considered the top of mobile phone companies in Italy, not only for technical reasons but even for style and design. The last words are for tourism: Finnish people love the extraordinary beauty of Italy very much, and this explains why just “Belpaese” represents one of the most favourite destinations in the whole Europe. But also in Italy we register a growing interest for Finnish nature and towns. Besides Helsinki, also Lapland, Turku and Rauma start to be important destinations for people choosing Finland as a place to spend their holidays. To understand the consistency of the phenomenon, it is enough to consider that Italian tourism in Finland has been growing 10 percent annually from 1999”.

In conclusion: why Italy? Why Finland? They countries appear so different and have only under the common roof of the European Union started to know each other better. Most of the story is still to be written, but the following pages will depict the beginning of interesting times characterized by ideals of multiculturalism and integration.

1.4 Under the midnight sun – the Italian community in Turku

In front of the main entrance of “Trattoria Romana” restaurant, owned by Ulderico De Sanctis, visitors can see the figure of a fat man, smiling, surrounded by the three-coloured Italian flag, inviting guests to the restaurant. Founded in December 2000, employing 15 people, “Trattoria Romana” soon became one of the most popular places in town, offering the increasing number of visitors typical Italian cuisine. De Sanctis, living in Turku since 1985, has made his dream come true, transplanted a little piece of Italy to northernmost Europe and settled down there with his family.

After the economic crisis of the early 1990’s, Finland – with a territory larger than Italy’s but with a population amounting to only 9 percent of that of Italy - experienced a strong economic

development boosted by the highly advanced technological companies. Nowadays the country is doing well.

Of the 7540 foreigners living in Turku, Italians number only around 150. The number is small, but it has doubled after Finland joined the EU. In the whole country the number of Italian residents increased from 546 in 1996 to 1545 in 2005 (Statistics Finland). Most of them live in the Helsinki area where they can find jobs more easily.

The first Italians came to Finland at the end of 16th century as mercenaries serving the Swedish army (Luigi de Anna 1995). But the long run war between Lutherans and Catholics caused many of these soldiers to hide their origins, often changing their surnames in order not to be discriminated for their Catholic background. This has made historical research about them difficult. The Academy of Turku, founded in 1640, attracted many Italian masters and architects, who were followed by peddlers and craftsmen (Luigi de Anna, 1989). During the 19th century there was a significant increase of Italians in Finland and the number peaked at the end of the century (Suolahti 1969).

When Finland became a part of the Russian empire in 1809, it became a popular destination for many traders, artists and craftsmen, many of whom were Italians. Turku became a western gateway to Saint Petersburg. The migratory flow gradually increased and was consolidated in the 20th century (Luigi de Anna, 1996). Thanks to some important families as Tanzi-Albi, Battilana and Casagrande, Italians were able to introduce new products to the Finnish market, e.g. ice cream. These families, who moved to Turku and introduced original commercial ideas, became an important part of the economic structure of the town.

Professor Luigi De Anna at the Italian language and culture department of the University of Turku, has been living in Turku since 1973. He distinguishes between three phases of Italian immigration to Finland: The first occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, when Italian families came to the country. They retained their culture and language. The second phase occurred after WW2, when marital ties brought Italians to Finland, resulting in multicultural families and bilingual children. These immigrants integrated into Finnish society - in contrast to the prewar migrants - because of their Finnish spouse.

After the 1990s and the forming of the EU, many young Italians have found their way to Finland, representing a third, new phase in the history of Italian immigration. After working or studying in Finland for a while, many of them decide to stay permanently, often because of marrying a Finn.

According to De Anna, the main reason for the weak cohesion between the Italians in Turku is their successful integration. The Catholic Church, which has had a local parish since 1926, played an important role for many years, keeping first generations of Italians together and helping them to preserve their culture and traditions. After the Second World War, following the same tendency observed in Italy, the Catholic Church gradually started to lose this social function, and this provoked a gradual separation of the second generation of immigrants from their native land. The second and third generations have preserved very few Italian traditions, memories related by their grandparents and some knowledge of Italian and food traditions. The absence of meeting points for Italians in Turku adds to the lack of cohesion.

Because the Italians are so few, they have integrated well and have not experienced any prejudice or discrimination. The Italians who De Anna defines as “transitional” are an exception; some of them have experienced frictions with the locals. They usually work for Italian companies, mainly in the shipyards, and stay in Finland only for short periods and have no interest in learning the local language and habits and are thus not to be compared with those who live permanently in Turku.

Stefano Glorioso keeps a gastronomy booth in the market hall. He is 46 years old and has been living in Turku since 1991. Stefano's history conforms to that of many other Italians there: he followed his Finnish girlfriend after a couple of years, and mainly thanks to the flexible local bureaucracy, he was able to start a new business which was a novelty in Turku. For Stefano, Ulderico and many others, Turku has brought wealth, a job, new families, defining a "*sui generis*" pattern of emigration, almost untouched by all troubles that affected Italians all around the world. His story is a happy one, as many other are.

PART I – HISTORICAL STUDY

“They are sons of the Erasmus program, Inter-rail and low-cost travels. They speak (or they say they speak) one or more languages... And “foreign” does not belong to their dictionary. They have received their first salary in euro. They travel without passport. And want to discuss, to dream and to converse with other Europeans. About Europe they want. About Europe they are building. On the ground. This blog just wants to tell about that Europe. With the Eurogeneration’ words”

(Adriano Farano – Café Babel)

2.1 Società Dante Alighieri: a small case of aggregation for the Italian community of Turku

“Italy is made, but now we need to make Italians”. With these words Massimo D’Azeglio described the necessity of building a strong social and linguistic identification, after the declaration of the Italian national independency in 1861. These few words describe very well the situation of a “new country” with a recent political unification, but still dealing with an extremely heterogeneous background. It was a sort of long-term project, which was going to face difficulties in the following years, when the heavy economic crisis caused millions of illiterate farmers to move abroad, looking for better life conditions. The national identity was weak and the situation was even worse for emigrants. The Società Dante Alighieri, founded in 1889, represented one of the main solutions adopted by the Italian cultural movement to solve these problems. The aim was to keep the interest in Italian language and culture alive all over the world, throughout a huge network of presidiums. The society now has around 500 presidiums, active in 62 countries all over the world, with more than 200.000 members.

Despite of the low number of Italians living in Turku it’s not difficult to find someone there interested in speaking Dante’s language or to tell about a recent trip in Italy. The Dante Alighieri society was established in Turku in 1941, following the intention of Mussolini’s regime to spread the Italian image around the world. The dictator saw this Institution as a good vehicle for his purposes and Turku seemed to provide a good context where to make them true. Mainly due to the intense activity of “Fascio di Turku” (a branch of fascist government controlled by the Embassy) there was a great interest in the Italian language and culture in the town. Moreover, the Società Dante Alighieri was an important tool to coordinate the activities of Italian immigrants (Suolahti 1969).

What was the effective role of Fascio di Turku and of Società Dante Alighieri? How did they continue with the original purposes? Professor Ilkka Välimäki, retired medical doctor and teacher at University of Turku, has been president of the local Dante Alighieri (SDA) for many years. He emphasizes the growing interest in Italian culture and language in Turku and explains that SDA has been working for years to spread them through a series of activities. In cooperation with the Italian Department at the University of Turku and professor Luigi de

Anna, the society has arranged different kinds of programs comprehensive language courses, conferences and issued publications.

The Turku SDA is led by a board of 25 members in esteemed professions such as teachers, architects and businesspeople. The activities of the society tend to reflect this: the interest for contemporary news is quite marginal, and high culture (poetry, literature, arts) is favoured. “Lectures on Dante” are traditional and popular appointments in the SDA calendar: on these occasions, invited guests are asked to read and elaborate some specific parts of the “Divina Commedia”.

Because of this cultural elitism, people outside the university or without remarkable cultural skills are not prone to take part in the activities. Because of the high cultural level of the SDA activities, the society does not bring Italian residents in Turku together. The SDA’s connections with the Turku University on the one hand keeps the society alive and vital, but on the other it has made SDA exclusive, not relating to the Italian community of Turku. A sort of cultural elitism, that - according to Ilkka Välimäki - is completely justified if we look at the history and traditions of this Institute. It was never supposed to be a real popular meeting point. On the contrary, SDA aims to spread the less commercial aspects of Italian culture. For this reason, promoting Italian culture is more important than the generic support of the immigrant community.

Capitalizing the increasing interest of Finns towards Italy, SDA, accordingly to its traditions, has contributed to making Turku one of the most Italian culture oriented towns in northern Europe, despite of the low presence of Italian residents

2.2 The Italian emigration, a general view

The Italian emigration has a long and fascinating history. Millions of people left their own country looking for better life conditions abroad. As a result a big part of Italy is strongly present outside the national borders (Caritas/Migrantes, 2004).

The first reliable information on Italian emigration can be found shortly after the declaration of independence in 1861. This does not mean that Italians didn’t emigrate before that: already during the middle-ages Italian merchants were present in various parts of Europe and in the Venetian colonies as were emissaries of the church, pilgrims, students and soldiers etc. Even if this was a kind of migration, it was temporary, lasting only the time of a visit, a study period or a war. In all these cases strong connections were maintained with Italy.

The 19th century brought a change. The dramatic fail of 1815’s harvest resulted in famine. Many farmers started to look towards the “New World” for a better living. America was no legendary vision anymore, for many it became a compulsory choice. Because of bureaucratic problems, however, most of the applicants had to desist from their purposes. In the early years only few courageous pioneers could actually leave.

After 1861 migration became a realistic option. After the Italian declaration of independence, the new State established emigration records, and they revealed an increasing flow of emigrants. These records also estimated the remittances of emigrants, highly important for the national economy. On the base of these, the Kingdom saw emigration as a double-faced issue: on the one side the remittances were beneficial for the national economy; on the other hand emigration was a big loss of human resources.

In the first general census of 1861, state administrators certified the presence of Italian communities abroad, especially in Europe, the United States and South America, where the number of Italians already approached half a million.

Historians look at the period between 1876 and 1900 as the first phase of Italian emigration abroad. The year 1876 refers to the first reliable statistics. During this period, the big increase in emigration can be explained by the situation in the countryside. After the Italian independence, the new Kingdom raised the taxation of farmers. Especially in southern Italy, this hit the lower classes hard, sparing only the big land owners. Consequently, farmers being burdened by heavy taxation, felt oppressed by new “northern power”. This discontent provoked many different reactions. In the political field, new socialistic visions spread among these oppressed masses. Brigandage occurred and spread especially in southern Italy. Many ruined farmers, together with youths refusing the new military service, decided to hide in the countryside, living illegally. But apart from these extreme reactions, the most common way of the southern farmers to face the crisis was emigration. It was not easy to find money for the long journey. Many had to sell their belongings (usually farming tools, livestock and houses) to pay for the ticket. Many swindlers took advantage of the situation.

In every family, the first ones to leave were young men and household heads. The rest of the family was usually supposed to join them as soon as possible. The migration increased gradually until the beginning of 1900. Around 5.300.000 people emigrated, most of them men (80%) under 30 years old and farmers. Most of them went to Europe, the United States and South America.

Historians consider 1901 the beginning of a second phase of emigration, which lasted until the First World War. This period coincides with the beginning of the first, real industrialization of Italy. The industries could not absorb the entire labour force, which provoked a new wave of emigration, especially to America. Around 600.000 departures per year from southern Italy were registered. During 15 years, until the beginning of the First World War, 9 million Italians emigrated. As a consequence, the government decided to create a new General Board of Migration to manage the migration flows. Before that, emigration was under no public control, and many migrants became victims of swindlers. This Board could not solve all problems, but it was a clear improvement in comparison with the uncontrolled situation that had reigned during previous years.

The third phase of Italian migration can be dated between the two world wars. In this period migration numbers fell, caused both by the new restrictions introduced by the United States and by the nationalist ideology of the fascist regime, led by Benito Mussolini. Fascism changed the migration policies: Mussolini imposed an imperialistic vision of the country, pushing for a reduction of the flow of emigrants. The dictator feared that disordered masses of emigrants would give an impression of Italy which wouldn't fit the ideology of the new regime. Also the military build up required young men for the army.

Between the two world wars 3.200.000 Italians moved abroad; most of them went to Germany where work was available. During this period, the old Institute for migration control was absorbed by the Ministry of Foreign affairs, which created a specific General Board for Italians abroad.

After the Second World War and the following collapse of the Fascist regime, Italy entered a new phase of migration. Historians date this period between 1946 and 1970, i.e. lasting to the economic boom of the 1960s. During these years Italian migration again confirmed to the traditional pattern, registering 7 millions emigrants. The main destinations were France, Germany, Switzerland, North America, Argentina, Venezuela and also Australia started to attract lots of emigrants.

After 1970 Italy gradually started to change from an emigration to an immigration country. Especially after 1990s, an increasing flow of immigrants arrived from Africa and eastern European countries, as the Italian economy gained momentum and as a rich country became attractive for people from less developed regions of the world.

In the 1990s new migratory tendencies emerged, including brain drain. New emigrants are often under 35 years old, with high education skills, able (or compelled) to take advantages from globalisation and European integration processes. They are pushed by the simple will to see the world or want to improve their professional skills. In other cases, they just need to move if they want to make their aspirations come true. This phenomenon started to grow year by year, attracting the attention of mass media also (Caltabiano 2004).

This is a new kind of emigration, where qualified workers replace the generic labour force. Sometimes they are sent abroad by international companies, but generally they move independently, looking for better opportunities to profit from their professional skills.

When many researchers considered that Italian emigration was definitively over because of the extraordinary economic growth of the country after the 1960s, they were confronted with this new, interesting tendency. It is not clear if this represents the actual birth of a new emigration phase, but many researchers started to consider it as a new fundamental feature of post-modern society (Caritas/Migrantes, 2004).

2.3 The Italian emigration in numbers

There are about 58 million people in the world originating from Italy. This large number, being so close to the quantity of the current Italian residents, brought many commentators to speak about two different Italies (Segafreddo, 1996). Apart from Italy proper, there's another Italy spread all over the world, which is multicultural, multilingual and heterogeneous.

Who are the Italians living abroad? Where do they live? In 1988 the government created a new general register to classify all citizens living outside the national borders. Since then, everyone leaving the country for more than 90 days has to give notice to the Ministry of Internal Affairs through the municipalities. Another source of information is provided by consular registers, which send all their statistics to the Foreign Ministry. For many years these registers haven't been carefully updated, so they used to seriously lag behind the real situation. Things started to improve in the last two years: after the approval of the new law for emigrants' participation in political elections (April 2006), the government and municipalities finally started to update the registers.

According to the Research Institute of Migration of Rome (2005), there are about 3.5 million Italian citizens living in 201 different countries. 7 percent of the citizens are currently living abroad, and their number corresponds to 2.5 percent of all emigrants in the entire world. It means that one emigrant out of 40 in the world is Italian (the highest rate among industrialized countries).

It is very hard to define a specific profile of Italians abroad, because the situation can change very much from one country to another. An interesting element is education: according to the Migrantes Foundation report (Italians in the World - Report 2006) the average cultural level of Italians abroad generally is lower than that of Italians in Italy. This can easily be explained by mass education being a relatively new phenomenon (after the 1960s) - most of the earlier migrants lacked basic education. But this can vary quite much from one country to another:

only one third of Italians living in Australia have a basic degree, while in Brazil 44 percent of Italians have got at least a High school diploma.

In most cases, the average age of the emigrants is high, but there are exceptions: the huge increase of Italians detected by the Ministry archives during the last 10 years in Great Britain was considered to be a direct effect of a new migratory movement. It became clear, that Great Britain was the most attractive country for young Italians. This became a topic of new migration research (Caltabiano 2004).

Europe is the most popular destination for Italian emigrants, especially Germany and Switzerland. The following table gives a general view of the presence of Italians in Europe. Moreover, it shows that 1545 Italians are currently living in Finland.

European Countries	Persons	Families
Albania	338	287
Andorra	287	212
Austria	14,220	8,352
Belgium	239,374	130,093
Byelorussia	36	27
Bosnia-Herzegovina	398	232
Bulgaria	417	299
Croatia	7,597	5,010
Denmark	4,131	2,556
Estonia	73	50
Macedonia	97	60
Russia	1,237	880
Finland	1,545	924
France	363,542	193,688
Germany	575,565	283,154
Greece	9,626	5,117
Ireland	4,962	3,124
Island	153	102
Latvia	54	35
Liechtenstein	1,220	622
Lithuania	65	56
Luxembourg	21,458	11,777
Malta	1,154	638
Moldova	35	27
Monaco	6,010	3,850
Norway	1,973	1,226
The Netherlands	28,042	15,848

Poland	1,917	1,211
Portugal	3,158	2,087
United Kingdom	164,961	97,110
Czech Republic	1,781	1,186
Romania	2,080	1,591
San Marino	8,220	4,751
Serbia and Montenegro	795	463
Slovakia	296	218
Slovenia	2,292	1,454
Spain	62,986	39,647
Sweden	7,416	4,370
Switzerland	491,226	254,797
Ukraine	222	176
Hungary	1,437	892
Europe	2,039,149	1,078,603

Source: Ministry for Internal Affairs – 31 December 2005

2.4 The Finnish emigration

Finns have emigrated to all over the world, 1.2 million persons have moved during the last 150 years, to North America a hundred years ago and to Sweden since the 1950s. Only a third of them have returned. The loss of 800.000 persons has been of great importance for such a small country, whose population is only a bit more than five millions. Without this emigration, the Finnish population could now be around 7 millions (Koivukangas 2003b).

After the 1960s, Europe outside Scandinavia became a target for many Finnish emigrants. Nowadays 15,000 Finns live in Germany, 6,000 in Great Britain and 4000 in Switzerland. Additionally around 10,000 Finns live in Spain, most of them retired from work, spending the winters there.

The emigration from Finland waned off in the 1980's while immigration increased. The country ceased to export unskilled labour, and when Finland joined the EU in 1995, the emigrants were in general skilled professionals, entrepreneurs, students, marriage migrants etc.

Even though the number of foreigners living in Finland is quite small (2.3 percent of the population at the end of 2006, with Russian immigrants consisting the biggest single group), the society is turning in a multicultural direction following the same patterns as other European countries. The Finnish and Italian situations show similar development tendencies: after a long history of emigration, both countries gradually became popular destinations for increasing flows of immigrants. Even though the numbers are very different in proportion, in both cases the European integration and new patterns of migration seem to play a crucial role for the future.

The following table shows the growth of the number of foreigners in Finland: in only 16 years (from 1990 to 2006) they increased from 26,255 to 121,739.

Foreigners in Finland								
Country of citizenship:	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Russia	.	20,552	22,724	24,336	24,998	24,626	24,621	25,326
Estonia	.	10,839	11,662	12,428	13,397	13,978	15,459	17,599
Sweden	6,051	7,887	7,999	8,037	8,124	8,209	8,196	8,265
Somalia	44	4,190	4,355	4,537	4,642	4,689	4,704	4,623
China	312	1,668	1,929	2,086	2,372	2,613	2,992	3,382
Former Serbia- Montenegro	.	1,204	1,935	2,177	2,782	3,336	3,321	3,340
Iraq	107	3,102	3,222	3,420	3,485	3,392	3,267	3,045
Thailand	239	1,306	1,540	1,784	2,055	2,289	2,605	2,994
Germany	1,568	2,201	2,327	2,461	2,565	2,626	2,792	2,978
United Kingdom	1,365	2,207	2,352	2,535	2,651	2,655	2,762	2,910
Turkey	310	1,784	1,981	2,146	2,287	2,359	2,621	2,886
Iran	336	1,941	2,166	2,363	2,531	2,555	2,562	2,602
United States	1,475	2,010	2,110	2,146	2,149	2,040	2,086	2,199
Afghanistan	3	386	719	1,061	1,312	1,588	1,833	2,011
India	270	756	892	1,012	1,169	1,343	1,619	1,990
Viet Nam	292	1,814	1,778	1,713	1,661	1,538	1,657	1,811
Bosnia and Herzegovina	.	1,627	1,668	1,701	1,694	1,641	1,584	1,599
Others	13,883	25,600	27,218	27,739	27,129	26,869	29,171	32,179
Total	26,255	91,074	98,577	103,682	107,003	108,346	113,852	121,739
<i>Source: Statistics Finland 2006</i>								

Most of the immigrants are concentrated in the southern part of the country, especially in the metropolitan area that surrounds Helsinki (Koivukangas, 2003a). Generally immigrants are manual labourers, between 25 and 43 years old. According to the statistical projections, the immigrant population in Finland is going to increase, facing a new process of diversification. In this sense, the labour market, as well as the social and cultural systems are requested to deal with great changes and challenges in order to reach a positive integration.

The next tables summarize all information illustrated above.

Emigration from Finland (1860–2004)		
COUNTRY	1860-1944	1945-2004
Sweden	45,000	555,000
Other Europe	55,000	150,000
United States	300,000	20,000
Canada	70,000	24,000
Latin America	1,000	6,000
Asia	500	8,000
Africa	1,500	5,000
Oceania	3,500	22,000
TOTAL	476,500	790,000
<i>Source: Jouni Korkiasaari, Institute of Migration, 2005</i>		

<i>Finns living abroad (2004)</i>		
COUNTRY	1st generation	2 nd generation
Sweden	190,000	280,000
Other Europe	55,000	80,000
United States	20,000	80,000
Canada	19,000	40,000
Latin America	1,000	1,000
Asia	2,000	2,000
Africa	1,000	1,000
Oceania	8,000	20,000
TOTAL	296,000	504,000
<i>Source: Jouni Korkiasaari, Institute of Migration, 2005</i>		

Finnish citizens in Italy and Italian citizens in Finland	
Finnish residents in Italy Source: Statistic Finland - Sept 2003	Italian residents in Finland Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs - Dec 2005
1,913 (73,8% females)	1,545

PART II – SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

“It is so hard to divide your soul in different sides; which is the Finnish, and which is the Italian one?”

FIN-12

3.1 Outline of the sociology of migration

The object of analysis, human migration, is connected with many different factors. Political, economic or natural changes in the environment can easily cause social disorder. Emigration is a mostly a direct consequence of this situation. Migration is a way to react against in response to unsatisfied needs or/and social disorder. This kind of reaction has varied throughout history. Human needs are not only economic. It is possible to observe a need/resources disharmony even on social (integration) or cultural (knowledge) basis (D’Orazio 1987).

Emigration can generally be described through the following aspects:

1. Necessity of satisfying needs (economic, social or cultural).
2. Delicate equilibrium among human needs, environment and available resources.
3. Continuing evolution due to the different life conditions

In human history, the role of emigration has been very important, since in many occasions it could slow down or even defuse social conflicts, pushing people to satisfy their needs abroad. In this sense, the emigration choice can be seen as a refusal of violence. The necessity of satisfying needs can easily cause conflicts inside the social system, provoke marginalization, violence, social or economic misery and, in extreme cases, even war. From this point of view, migration represents a way to refuse war and conflicts, opening the doors to cooperation. This choice leads to look outside the original social system.

3.2 New migration patterns in the EU context: integration and globalisation

After the Second World War, Europe has experienced three big migratory waves: the first (1959-1970) was heavily conditioned by the needs of reconstruction and by the so called structural expansions. Because of this, work opportunities were provided by the developed countries, being ready to receive the increasing migratory flux. In the second phase (1970-1980) new international assets of the labour markets were introduced by the economic recession (started with the oil crisis of the early 1970’s). Despite of the European difficulties, migration didn’t stop, often finding illegal paths. The first phase involved migration from southern Europe to northern countries (e.g. from Italy to Germany). In the second period migration changed and involved countries outside Europe. The third phase, which started in 1980, is a consequence of the general crisis of the non-developed countries and the recovery of capitalistic economies. In contrast to the first phase, the intensification of migration did not correspond to any increased demand for new workers in the capitalistic markets.

Despite of the economic recovery, the demand for new workers was very low. This was mainly due to the industrial rationalization of production, with widespread use of new technologies. In the same period occurred a demographic collapse of the non-developed countries. This set flows of people in motion, despite of the lack of demand for immigrants. This resulted in illegal migration followed by intolerance and social conflicts (Giddens 2007).

After the 1980s, migration ceased to be only an economic issue - social and cultural aspects rose to importance. This kind of migration, motivated by mere desperation, led to marginalization, overexploitation, crime and new forms of xenophobia. Especially in the big metropolitan areas, cultural assimilation of immigrants occurs, but obviously this has little to do with real integration (Filtzinger and Sirna, 1997).

As illustrated in the previous chapter, in later years Finland and Italy faced a rapid transformation becoming popular destinations for immigrants. This requires new political visions when managing migration problems. According to the spirit of European Union, this will involve not only economy and labour market, but also social, cultural and linguistic aspects. Multiculturalism is one of the main pillars of the European Union.

The Finnish case requires some explanation: Finland's relation to its eastern neighbour has strongly influenced Finnish politics. It is important to emphasize these aspects because until May 2004 Finland was the only EU country bordering to Russia. Nowadays the Russian situation and politics are important both for Europe and Finland. This also affects immigration policies. The Finnish strategies must be necessarily taken according to European resolutions (Koivukangas 2003a).

A similar problem is present in Italy, where the country is facing an almost uncontrolled flux of persons coming from Northern Africa and Eastern Europe. In this sense, also Italy is expected to coordinate its strategies with the European outlines.

The enlargement of the EU from 15 to 25 members in May 2004 increased the European territory by 34 percent and brought 75 million new citizens. But a lot of unbalances characterize the new enlarged Europe: the gross domestic product of new members is only 6 percent of the Euro-15. There are a lot of other differences concerning wages, welfare and pensions. This raised fears for uncontrollable migration. Mass migration would have serious consequences for the welfare systems of Euro-15 countries.

It is difficult to describe the features of the intra-European population redistribution and see the real dimensions of this phenomenon? The debate is still going on without any definitive solutions in sight (Heikkila, Nijkamp, Traistaru, Yousfi 2006).

There is no univocal definition of integration. It is a prismatic concept, which can assume different meanings (Koivukangas, 2002). With globalisation, migration patterns have greatly changed: the new economic structures have sparked migration, compelling industrialized countries to face new situations. The European Union is not only an emigration target for persons from the Third World, but also intra-European migration is an important issue. The rich countries attract migrants from poorer parts of Europe. No common strategy exists; each country practices its own migration policies. A true European integration, however, calls for such common strategies. Combining national interests to a common European vision is no easy task.

3.3 New patterns of migration for young Italians and Finns

3.3.1 *Italy*

According to the analysis of Cristiano Caltabiano (Caltabiano 2004), the great migrations after the Second World War were characterized by a sort of “double self-abstraction”: on the one hand emigrants suffered for being far from their native land, on the other they had problems to integrate in the new context. Generally this was due to the big cultural differences between the native land and the host country. Things have changed since then: after the improvement of geographical mobility, there are better opportunities for exchanging ideas, culture and knowledge. New technologies bring people in contact over vast distances. The native country is not for the migrant any “mythological” land. Even after moving to Finland, young Italians can conserve in their everyday life things Italian, thanks to the news and images broadcasted online 24 hours per day. The perception of the native places has changed.

Young generations adapt to the situation, acquiring good competences with new technologies; they are used to travel, frequently crossing borders being constantly online. The educational system is structured on a territorial basis, but an increasing number of projects are oriented to mobility, like the Erasmus programs or post graduate studies abroad. The Internet has widened the scope of young generations far beyond the national borders (Segafreddo 1996).

In 2005 the Consorzio Almalaurea (a national network grouping the most important Italian universities) presented very interesting research results: according to this study, most of the graduates living in northern Italy (95 percent) can find a job and then settle down in the same area where they have been studying. In southern Italy, it is possible only for 66 percent of the respondents. The rest, thousands of students that every year get their degrees in the southern provinces have few other options than moving away. Many of them decide to move to Northern Italy, where unemployment rates are much lower.

Due to the internet, mass media, and new international exchange programs, Europe seems to be the most favoured destination, especially for a large part of southern Italians, coming from areas where unemployment involves more than 800,000 persons under 29 of age (Association for industrial development of southern Italy, 2006). In these areas, after 3 years from graduation only half of the graduated have a regular job. In northern Italy, the corresponding number is 82 percent. Southern Italy struggles with a wide range of problems, such as uncertain jobs, unemployment, under-employment, black market jobs: everything that increases out-migration. But also in northern Italy an increasing number of young people are unsatisfied with their working conditions and start to look to northern European countries. In the last few years London has become the most favoured destination for thousands of young Italians. This can be illustrated by the website www.italianialondra.com, a web community created in London by some young Italians in the early 1990s; thousands of persons joined it in a few years. Most of the members are people from 25 to 35 years old, embodying the typical features of “new emigrants”: young professionals, brokers, architects, musicians.

Another example is “Café Babel”, an online magazine created by a small group of Italians studying at the Strasbourg Institut d’Etudes Politiques. The magazine grew out of the student community and in few years got a European audience, structuring its own identity around the concept of multiculturalism. Nowadays “Café Babel” has got 20 different branches located in 12 different countries, able to guarantee the simultaneous publishing of papers in seven lan-

guages. “It is a typical result of the Eurogeneration” says Adriano Farano, founder of “Café Babel” (Farano, Conference report - Friburg, March 2005). According to Farano, the Eurogeneration is constituted by 20-35 years old persons, able to speak different languages, open to travel and to work abroad. They see opportunities, life-choices and exciting occasions abroad. In this process, they develop another way of looking at their native country, and these visions are likely to be full of regrets. In Italy, this Eurogeneration is tired of staying in their home country, especially in the south.

This aspect is confirmed by the IARD Institute study: there is an evident slowdown in the passage to adulthood, which implies the assumption of specific roles and responsibilities (AA.VV., *Giovani del nuovo secolo. Quinto rapporto IARD sulla condizione giovanile in Italia*, 2002). The IARD project studied how these passages have changed between 1983 and 1985. They registered a growing difficulty of young Italians to emancipate. The youth period is prolonged, an increasing number of adult children choose to stay with their parents, even up to the age of 35 (Cesareo, 2005). The passage to adult life should be marked by passing thresholds. However, in the present Italian society all these thresholds have lowered and faded, there is no clear step to becoming adult. The Eurogeneration is not immune to this process, but different from others, at a certain point they decide to make a change in their lives and move away to seek their fortune in some other place.

3.3.2 Finland

According to Statistics Finland only persons who move abroad for at least 12 months can be classed as emigrants. This definition underlines the deep discrepancy that characterizes both European researchers and institutions; generally, official and institutional archives tend to collect data referring to specific parameters that can vary considerably from country to country. There is a lack of uniformity in valuating migration issues and gathering data and this forms obstacles to research. In Finland, the information provided by the national institute of statistics records only experiences abroad lasting no less than 12 months.

According to the data of Statistics Finland, it is not possible to see any relevant increase in migration after 1995, when Finland joined European Union. This can be explained by a wide range of factors, connected to specific economic and social events faced by the country from the early 1990s. The global recession of this period, peaking in 1993, hit Finland hard, discouraging emigration, job opportunities were hard to come by abroad also. After 1998-99 when the crisis was over, migration numbers rose again, without reaching any high level, though.

Sirkku Wilkman has studied 73 Finns who have migrated to USA and 66 to Germany (Wilkman, 2005). These two countries have been traditional destinations for Finnish emigrants. Germany has lately attracted Finns in the information technology sector, while USA has mainly attracted migrants in marketing, business and research. Most of these emigrants who have left Finland in the new millenium are between 30 and 39 years old, and the second biggest group is aged 20 to 29.

According to the Wilkman's results, the main reasons to migrate, even if not in a direct way, were generally related to work (openly mentioned by 51.8 percent of respondents) and economy. It is necessary to be cautious in interpreting this information: compared to Italians, Finns seem more reluctant to criticize their own country. So, when analysing economic and profes-

sional reasons to move, they may not be direct motivations. Even if the respondent does not refer to the economy or the labour market as reasons for leaving, Wilkman found in the answers some motivations related to the economic side, such as high taxes, salaries lower than in the US or in Germany. These hidden motivations (not explicitly mentioned) have been individuated by Wilkman in different cases, but they were not mentioned as the first reason of the move.

There are other important reasons to migrate, such as family reunions or multicultural marriages with citizens of the host country (16.5%). making new experiences, for cultural (6.5%) and for general (7.9%) reasons. 5 percent of the respondents mentioned “adventure” as their main reason for moving.

Summarising the last 3 categories - those connected to the idea of internationalisation of Finnish “millennium migrants” – 19,4% of the respondents chose to move abroad in order to experience the world outside the national borders. These numbers do not refer to short periods abroad, but to stays lasting at least one year. Most respondents had lived abroad before moving to the US or to Germany. Generally, the main reason for the previous experience was related to study. These features delineate typical international profiles.

Considering the pull factors, the Finnish migratory tradition to the United States still nowadays plays an important role. In the case of Germany, the geographical proximity seems to be a decisive factor for migrating. Many respondents referred to the cheaper life conditions in the US (e.g. possibilities to buy cars and food at lower prices); on the other hand, many Finns moving to Germany were convinced they could get better salaries there. But obviously this is only secondary information: it would be interesting to verify how much they are just popular beliefs and, on the contrary, how they correspond to reality.

In conclusion, Wilkman’s research is interesting, shedding light on the recent trends in Finnish migration. The present study will try to verify if the Finnish Eurogeneration is still a marginal phenomenon or being in a process of development already representing a potentially relevant social issue.

3.4 Italy and Finland: a preliminary survey

Before introducing the experimental research, a preliminary survey aimed to clarify the mutual perception between Italy and Finland is presented. It has no scientific claims, but simply wants to explore some relevant aspects about the Finnish-Italian relationships. It was built on young peoples point of view: they were asked to express their opinion about a country that, even being part of the EU, is on the opposite side of Europe.

3.4.1 The explorative survey in Finland

The first step was the selection of a sample of 50 Finns, where the only prerequisite was related to age limits: the respondents had to be within 18 and 35 years old. They were asked to indicate in which European country they would like to spend one year of their life if they had this possibility. The survey was given in public spaces (mainly university and libraries) of Turku (19 respondents) and Helsinki (31); all persons participating were Finnish citizens. The average age was around 24: the oldest respondent was 33, the youngest 20. The sample was

collected in a casual way. As to the cultural background, 36 percent had a bachelor or master degree, 40 percent studied at a university. 40 percent were students, 42 percent were workers and 18 percent unemployed. The high percentage of graduates and students is probably due to the specific location in which – for practical reasons - the survey has been conducted (universities and libraries).

The respondents answered to the question – “If you had the possibility, in which European country would you like to spend one year of your life?” – as follows:

Germany	10
Italy	12
Spain	10
England	5
Sweden	5
France	8

Even though the survey lacked any scientific claims, representing only an explorative instrument, the number of persons choosing Italy is the highest. After that, persons indicating Italy were asked to explain the reasons for their choice. Most of them (7 out of 12) referred to cultural, artistic and linguistic aspects. The other four respondents said that Italy could be a good context to improve their professional skills. In one case, climate was the main motivation.

This little survey indicates that Italy represents a good option for young persons in Finland. Because of the non-scientific features of this study, it is not possible to say that Italy is the favourite choice; anyway, it cannot be considered as secondary. This is mainly due to history, art, language and culture and seems to prevail on instrumental factors (as job or education).

3.4.2 The explorative survey in Italy

I also wanted to know what young Italians think about Finland. For different reasons, the survey couldn't be the same as the one used for Finns: even if Finland is getting more appreciated in Italy, it is not as popular as other bigger European countries yet. That's why a more direct approach was preferred, asking to 20 persons (between 25 and 30 and years old, casually sampled via internet) what kind of opinion they have about Finland and what they associate this country with. 30 percent of the respondents that said that they didn't know enough about this country to say something relevant, 40 percent expressed great admiration for the welfare system, the order and cleanliness of Finland. The last 20 percent referred to touristic (Lapland, lakes) or general/folkloric aspects (Formula and rally drivers, Santa Claus, blonde women). The most significant data come from the second group of answers, the 40 percent of the respondents (8 persons) who described Finland as a country with good living conditions. None of the respondents had visited Finland before (excluding two persons who had spent a short holiday there), but this was not a prerequisite, since the only purpose was to check what kind of image Finland has among young Italians. When saying “everything working fine” or when speaking about “order and tidiness”, respondents were referring to a country they never had visited before. In this way, they revealed a common credence in the Italian public opinion, according to which Scandinavian countries represent a good model of efficiency and social security. It is important to underline that these 8 replies were the most detailed and well-motivated, while the others (referring to tourist or folkloric aspects) seem more connected to stereotyped or superficial visions.

3.5 The experimental survey

3.5.1 The quantitative dimension

This part embodies the main points of the research, presenting the direct analysis of persons belonging to the “new generation of migrants”, young people who come from so very different countries and cultures as Finland and Italy, with great differences in geography, climate, demography, economy, politics and much more. But this very distance makes the analysis even more interesting.

First, it is necessary to circumscribe the real quantitative dimensions of the phenomenon. The total number of Finnish citizens living in Italy in 2003 was 1,913 and the number of Italian citizens in Finland in 2005 was 1,545. What does a closer inspection of these numbers reveal? How many Italians have been moving to Finland after 1995, the year of Euro-15 birth? What kind of trends followed this process? And what about young Finns moving to Italy? The following tables, provided by Statistics Finland shed some light on the situation.

Emigration from Finland to Italy (Age 15–34)

1993	36
1994	86
1995	88
1996	88
1997	75
1998	74
1999	99
2000	124
2001	135
2002	97
2003	107
2004	121
2005	103
2006	108

(Source: Statistics Finland)

This table gives the number of young Finns (15-34 years old) that have moved to Italy for no less than 12 months between 1993 and 2006. The year when Finland joined the European Union didn't bring about any significant migration increase. On the contrary, the number remains stable until 1998, then it increases from 74 to 99 persons. 1998 is the year when the Finnish economy had recovered from the early 1990's recession. The number continues to grow in the following years, reaching a peak in 2001, with 135 persons. This tendency seems to confirm Sirkku Wilkman's findings according to which the turning point was not 1995, but 1998-99, with the end of the economic recession.

Between 1998 and 2001 the number of young Finns moving has increased from 74 to 135. Moreover, the general increase during the whole period (1993-2006) corresponds to an impressive triplication (from 36 to 108). After 2002 there is a slight decrease in migrants.

Does any Finnish “Eurogeneration” exist? The following table might give a clue.

Emigration from Finland to Euro-15 (Age15–34)

1993	2297
1994	3046
1995	3184
1996	3415
1997	3412
1998	3648
1999	4234
2000	4553
2001	4583
2002	4373
2003	4267
2004	4319
2005	4279
2006	4137

(Source: Statistics Finland)

The Eurogeneration grew between 1993 and 1994, when the Finnish recession peaked, from 2297 to 3046. During the following years there is a steady increase and the peak was reached in year 2001, with 4583 young emigrants. After 2001 the value seems to stabilize. Migration increased from 2297 in 1993 to 4553 in the year 2000.

Do these numbers verify any existence of a Finnish Eurogeneration? They show that young Finns increasingly move to the EU-countries. The year 2001 can be considered as the most euro-oriented for young Finns. It’s hard to foresee what direction this process will take: this migration has plenty of undertones. The “European spirit” observed among young Finns is connected to such factors as internal economy, global markets, mass media influence and it is hard to say how it will manifest itself.

What about Italians moving to Finland (min. 12 months)?

Emigration from Italy to Finland (Age: 15-34)

1993	42
1994	56
1995	76
1996	81
1997	61
1998	72
1999	77
2000	104
2001	116
2002	115
2003	120
2004	126
2005	146
2006	184

(Source: Statistics Finland)

More young Italians have moved to Finland than Finns to Italy. In this case it is not possible to determine any specific turning point, neither in 1995 nor in the following years. The only thing that can be easily attested is the constant increase in migration: from 1993 to 2006 the number of Italians moving to Finland has clearly grown every year. The biggest increase can be registered for the last two years, going from 146 to 184. From 1993 to 2006, the number increased from 42 to 184.

Even if the migrants are few and do not compare to the number going to the UK, young Italians seem to be more and more interested in Finland. Even though the euro-oriented Italians find their favourite destination in London, some also take interest in countries such as Finland. It is difficult to predict what kind of direction this tendency is going to take.

3.5.2 Methodology

The present research is based on semi-standardized interviews. This method was preferred to open interviews, since it is a kind of compromise, giving some generic topics that respondents can explain in their own words based on their own life experiences.

Interviews always contain a possibility of discrepancies between what respondents say and what they really mean. Also for this reason, before analyzing the results of interviews, the researcher should get familiar with that social group, reaching a reliable confidence with their communication modalities (Bailey 1992). Before analyzing the respondents' words, it is necessary to be familiar with them. They constitute a specific range of the society, with particular features and needs: in this sense, they tend to look at everything in a particular way. Asking their opinion about their home country surely is not the same as asking a 50 year old Italian who always has been living in Italy. That's why the first part of this research presented an analysis of the context: it was very important to be aware about the most significant aspects of the emigrants' world. If the present study started to interview respondents without any previous analysis, such qualitative methods would have easily led to misunderstandings.

3.5.3 The questionnaire

The sample consists of 15 Finns and 15 Italians; they were asked to reply to a written questionnaire. The aim was to collect as much qualitative information as possible about their experience abroad.

The questionnaire is structured into different blocks: except than the first one (personal information), next sections belong to the category of "semi-standardized" interviews. This kind of qualitative method provides the best solutions for investigating the present topic. Analyzing a small sample of experiences, instead of taking a wide statistical approach, seems to be the best way to define the features of the nowadays "new migrations" (Bailey 1992).

All interviews were conducted during the summer of 2007 (July-September). During the sampling process, a certain priority was given to the "quality" of experiences, starting from a minimum of 7 months of stay. The subjects were selected after a preliminary analysis.

Useful information about the presence of Italians in Finland and about Finns in Italy have been provided by universities, associations, private and public institutions. Even personal initiatives represented a good way to get some significant figures. After collecting 60 names (30

Finns and 30 Italians), a subsequent reduction brought to eliminate all subjects that, for example, had spent in the host country an insufficient amount of time; in other cases, the reduction was committed after further analysis of the subjects (e.g. direct talks). When the experience was not considered significant enough, it brought to eliminate the subject from the initial sample. After these preliminary operations, we finally arrived to select the definitive groups, constituting 30 persons.

The selected respondents have been explained the general features of the research, but the explanation was not very detailed, in order to avoid that the knowledge of its aims and motivations could influence the answers.

All questions were formulated in Italian, presuming that even Finns had a sufficient knowledge of the language. On the contrary, the researcher could doubt about the effective relevance of the respondent's experience in Italy. This is to say that the learning of the local language was considered decisive to make the respondent's experience relevant. That's why Finns were asked to reply to the questions in Italian. It is quite different when thinking about Italians in Finland: in this case, there was a general use of the English language in almost all the contexts they had been dealing with. So, even if some Italians could learn the local language, we preferred not to use the linguistic factor as a decisive criterion. The given questions were just the same for Italians and Finns.

All respondents received the questionnaire via email. They were asked to reply within 48 hours in order to get spontaneous answers. Every respondent was given a code between 1 and 15, preceded by "ITA" for Italians, and by "FIN" for Finns.

The first block of questions (Personal information) collected objective information such as age, gender, current residence, previous working experiences, current occupation and studies.

The second block (general questions) wants to clarify some general issues, such as the length of the experience abroad, the reasons for this choice, evaluation of the personal experience and the willingness to live permanently in a foreign country. In some cases, this migratory experience is already over; in some others, respondents still live in the host country. The sample includes both situations on purpose, because it seems useful to compare the experiences of persons whose migration was just temporary with the ones of respondents that, on the contrary, decided to have a long-term change in their life. So, if the minimum length is 7 months, it looked much better not to set a maximum limit.

The third block (dreams, hopes, life expectations) helps to understand the respondents' vision of their future, trying to verify if they give more importance to "material affairs" (such as job, education, economics etc...) or to personal and sentimental ones.

The fourth block (deep motivations), is aimed to verify in a more explicit way those motivations that have brought respondents to live this kind of experience. In this sense, they have been asked to explain what pushed them to spend a relevant part of their life in a country looking so different from their native place.

Block number five (national identity) wants to measure the level of national identification of respondents with their native country: how deeply do they feel to be Italians or Finns? In the same block they were asked to express their opinion about the native country, indicating both

its best and worst aspects. The last question tries to measure the level of personal and professional satisfaction observed by respondents during their stay in the native countries.

In the following sixth section (changes) respondents described the most important changes that have occurred after the move.

The section number 7 (vision of the host country) required to indicate what kind of idea did they have about the host country before moving and in which way this original perception has changed nowadays. This point is very useful to verify the initial presence of some stereotyped perceptions, evaluating their eventual evolution after the real life experience.

The only question presented by the block number 8 (everyday experience in the host country) required to describe a specific episode that has particularly affected respondents during their experience abroad. This question, apart from being an important instrument to collect anecdotes, is very useful to verify the nature of situations to which respondents tended to attach more importance during their life abroad. Through this question, it is possible to verify if these episodes were more connected to working experiences, to social relations or to the everyday life.

The last block (European identity) represents a crucial moment of the entire research. First, it is important to check which kind of perception new emigrants have about Europe and how deeply do they feel to belong to it; then, it tries to measure how much this experience abroad influenced the process of coming “into” European visions.

After receiving the answers via email, all papers were printed and carefully analyzed, considering all the expressions used by respondents. The following reports are the results of these analyses. In order to present a clear exposition, the reports will follow the exact sequence of the questions listed in the questionnaire. In this way, it will be much easier to compare Italian and Finnish positions, measuring the common trends, evaluating the differences and checking all other significant elements.

The next one is the definitive version of the questionnaire used for the interviews. All arguments and topics analyzed during the initial theoretical part flow together in these blocks, underlining step by step the originality of the matter under investigation. In fact, it is not just an accident that the definitive version of this questionnaire was set only after the conclusion of the theoretical analysis.

Block 1 (PERSONAL INFORMATION)

1/A Age:

1/B Gender:

1/C Current residence (town):

1/D Previous working experiences:

1/E Current occupation:

1/F Education/studies:

Block 2 (GENERAL QUESTIONS)

- 2/A How long time have you been living in Finland/Italy?
- 2/B Why did you go to live in Finland/Italy?
- 2/C Why did you choose just Finland/Italy and not another country?
- 2/D Would you like to live abroad permanently?
- 2/E How can you evaluate your life and study/work experience in Finland/Italy?

Block 3 (DREAMS, HOPES, LIFE EXPECTATIONS)

- 3/A Describe what would you like to do in your life both personally and professionally in the next future.

Block 4 (DEEP MOTIVATIONS)

- 4/A Describe the main points that have motivated your choice to move abroad for living this kind of experience.

Block 5 (NATIONAL IDENTITY)

- 5/A How much do you feel to be Italian/Finnish?
- 5/B What do you think about your native country?
- 5/C In your opinion, which is the strong point of your home country?
- 5/D In your opinion, which is the weak point of your home country?
- 5/E How much do you feel satisfied, both for professional and personal reasons, about your native country?

Block 6 (CHANGES)

- 6/A Which is the personal aspect of your life that has been changing more during your experience in Finland/Italy?
- 6/B Which is the professional (or related to studies) aspect of your life that has been changing more during your experience in Finland/Italy?

Block 7 (VISION OF THE HOST COUNTRY)

- 7/A What kind of idea did you have about your host country before moving in there?
- 7/B What kind of idea do you have about your host country nowadays?

Block 8 (EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE IN THE HOST COUNTRY)

- 8/A Describe one episode or situation that has particularly affected you during your experience in Finland/Italy (concerning everyday life, work, free time)

Block 9 (EUROPEAN IDENTITY)

- 9/A What do you mean for “European Union”?
- 9/B How much do you feel to be “European”?
- 9/C Do you think that this experience in Finland/Italy has been significant regarding your feelings about “Europe”? If yes, why?

3.5.4. The results analysis

The first two blocks of the questionnaire are mainly aimed to collect some “objective” information. This means that the resulting data will be analyzed through traditional methods, in order to present an objective description of respondents and of their background. When needed, statistical indicators and summary tables will be used as well. On the contrary, starting from the third block, the analysis is dealing with non-objective questions, whose answers look like an ideal base for semantic and qualitative studies.

- **Personal information (block n. 1):**

The first block of questions was aimed to collect objective information as age, gender, current residence, previous working experiences, current occupation, and studies. The results can be summarized in the following tables.

Code	Age	Gender	Residence	Education	Work exp.	Current occupation
ITA-1	29	M	Turku	Graduate	Generic	Ph.D. student
ITA-2	29	F	Milano	Graduate	N/N	Ph.D. student
ITA-3	28	M	Helsinki	Graduate	Ind. Designer	Ind. Designer
ITA-4	32	M	Pescara	Graduate	Publishing/journalism	Researcher
ITA-5	24	F	Treviso (prov.)	Graduate	N/N	Student
ITA-6	32	M	Milano	Ph.D.	Generic	Researcher
ITA-7	27	M	Turku	Graduate	N/N	Engineer
ITA-8	24	M	Brescia (prov.)	Graduate	Generic	Student
ITA-9	24	M	Turku	High school	Generic	Student
ITA-10	32	F	Belluno (prov.)	Graduate	Teacher	Ph.D. student
ITA-11	30	M	Turku	Graduate	Chemist	Researcher/chemist
ITA-12	29	M	Turku	Graduate	Generic	Marketing/ software
ITA-13	33	F	Kaarina	Ph.D.	Researcher	Researcher
ITA-14	31	F	Tampere	Graduate	Legal assistant	Legal consultant
ITA-15	28	M	Helsinki	Graduate	Generic	Marketing
FIN-1	28	F	Roma	High school	Generic	Generic
FIN-2	34	F	Perugia	Graduate	Assistant professor	Generic
FIN-3	23	F	Turku	High school	Generic	Student
FIN-4	27	F	Helsinki	Graduate	Clerk	Clerk
FIN-5	30	F	Turku	High school	Generic	Unemployed
FIN-6	25	M	Turku	Graduate	N/N	Ph.D. student
FIN-7	34	F	Kaarina	High school	Generic	Tourism/ business
FIN-8	26	F	Milano	Graduate	Generic	Generic
FIN-9	28	F	Turku	Graduate	Generic	Unemployed
FIN-10	35	F	Ascoli (prov.)	Graduate	Translations/Marketing	International officer
FIN-11	35	F	Chieti (prov.)	Graduate	Secretary/interpreter	Teacher
FIN-12	30	F	Chieti (prov.)	Graduate (2)	Teacher	International officer
FIN-13	31	F	Torino	Graduate	Translations/Marketing	International officer
FIN-14	28	F	Milano	Graduate	N/N	Student
FIN-15	30	F	Turku	High school	N/N	Student

The evident unbalanced gender distribution is not accidental. On the contrary, it reflects the real situation very well: when sampling new immigrants among young Italians in Finland, it was much easier to find men (10) than women (5). This is mainly due both to professional/educational reasons (Finland seems much more attractive to technological and scientific operators, and these fields in Italy are attended mostly by men) and to personal reasons. As for the Finnish sample, it is not surprising that 14 respondents out of 15 are women. The disproportion is correspondingly due both to personal and professional reasons (Italy tends to attract persons in artistic or humanistic fields, and generally such subjects in Finland are attended by women). In this sense, the unbalanced distribution of gender can be expected: the composition of the samples gives a realistic picture of the phenomenon.

The educational and professional background of the respondents is interesting. According to theoretical assumptions, “new migrations” generally concern persons with high educational profile. The selected sample confirms it well: 14 Italians out of 15 have got at least a bachelor degree, 2 have completed their Ph.D. programs (and are currently working as researchers at university) and 3 of them are doctoral students. The only non-graduate subject is a 24 years old man, currently enrolled as nursing student in Finland (ITA-9).

As for the fields of education, there is an evident prevalence of scientific studies (10) over the socio-economic ones (5). The fact that 10 respondents out of 15 are involved into scientific studies leads to suppose that in their perspective Finland looks much more attractive for this kind of backgrounds. The well-known reputation of Finland in such sectors as technology and sciences probably represents a strong pull factor for Italian students, workers and researchers. The same situation is confirmed when considering the current working positions.

For Finns, the analysis of educational background depicts a different situation. Even if the level of education is similarly high, with 10 graduates (with one case of double master degree and one Ph.D. student) and 5 undergraduates (high school diploma), the most relevant difference to the Italian group appears in the study fields. The Finnish group shows a clear prevalence of the humanistic field (4 graduates in literature, one in arts and one “double” degree in language and musical pedagogy); if the degrees concerning economic and social studies are very close in number with the Italians’ (4), it is quite surprising to note the complete lack of scientific graduates or students, that on the contrary represented the biggest group among Italians.

Some important conclusions can be drawn: the general absence of Finns studying science shouldn’t imply that this field is not such important in the country; on the contrary, technological and science areas generally are the most popular among students, even considering that they guarantee a faster access to the labour market. The lack of these fields in the sample can rather lead to suppose that it is much more natural that young Finns with humanistic backgrounds develop serious interests towards Italy. That is to say, towards a country that has always been linked to aspects concerning history, culture, language and arts.

The average age of Italian respondents is 28.8, where the oldest is 33 (ITA-13) and 3 are 32 (ITA-4, ITA-6 and ITA-10). The youngest members of the group are 24 years old (ITA-5, ITA-8 and ITA-9).

For Finns, the average age is almost one point higher (29.6); in this group there are two 35 (FIN-10 and FIN-11) and two 34 years old members (FIN-2 and FIN-7). The youngest one is 23 (FIN-3).

Generally, the age distribution is quite balanced among the two samples, without presenting evident gaps: this is shown by the similar average and by the extreme values closeness.

Before spending some words on the geographical distribution, it is better to clarify some points.

As was briefly mentioned before, the samples include both persons that have already concluded their migratory experience and other ones that are still going on with it. This was just a precise choice: it allows to analyze this kind of experience taking a wider view of the situation. The fact of having samples with diversified migration experience makes the present study “wider” and favours the presentation of different points of view.

The tables on geographical distribution do not consider the home towns of respondents but only the current residence when answering to the questionnaire.

As for Finland, it is important to consider that most activities are concentrated in the southern part of the country. That’s why most Italians are found in the Helsinki and Turku areas. Moreover, Turku and Helsinki have important universities, and they both host Italian language and culture departments. In this sense, it was much easier to find young respondents involved with the Finnish-Italian new migration experience within the area. The situation is different in Italy: because of its different geographic and demographic situation, the Italian context favoured a much more various distribution of respondents.

As for Italians, 9 of them haven’t completed their experience yet and are still living in Finland. When filling the questionnaire, they were living in Turku (5), Helsinki (2), Tampere (1) and Kaarina (1). As to the rest of 6 Italians that already concluded the experience, they were staying in Milan (2), Pescara (1), Treviso (1), Brescia (1) and Belluno (1).

The situation is not so different for Finns: even in this case, most respondents haven’t concluded their experience yet, so that 8 of them are still living in Italy. They live both in metropolitan areas as Milan (2), Torino (1) or Roma (1) and in smaller towns as Chieti (2), Fermo (1) and Perugia (1). Young Finns already returned in the home country instead are living in Turku (5), Kaarina (1) and Helsinki (1).

The fourth question of the block deals with the previous work experiences of the respondents. Among Italians, 3 persons out of 15 said that they didn’t have any kind of experience before moving to Finland. In 6 cases there are only generic experiences (shop-assistant, waiter, gardener, factory workers), usually occurred during the period at universities. 6 respondents presented professional experiences, after being employed in such fields as journalism, legal affairs, chemistry, university, design and teaching.

This doesn’t change when considering the Finnish group. Also in this case, 6 of them already had some kind of “professional” (non-generic) experience before moving to Italy: assistant professor (1), teachers (2), interpreter/translators (2) and clerk (1). Comparing to Italians, there is the same number of respondents that had only generic experiences before moving (6) and that didn’t have anything at all (3).

Looking at these data, it is evident that the light superiority of Italians concerning the educational background does not correspond to a similar prevalence for previous professional experiences. Even if it is quite lower the number of Finns with a university degree (10 Finns and 14 Italians), a Ph.D. (0 and 2) or with doctoral studies (1 and 3), the same difference cannot be observed when counting the amount of members that got a relevant working experience before leaving.

The last point of the block concerns with the current occupations. Among Italians, besides 3 students at university (all dealing with scientific fields) and 3 Ph.D. candidates (one in scientific and 2 in economic/social fields), there are also 2 researchers at university (both in scien-

tific fields), an engineer, a chemist, an industrial designer and others employed in marketing (2), publishing (1) and legal (1) activities.

Coherently with the information concerning the educational background, also for job positions the most of Italians migrated to Finland look to be much closer to scientific fields.

Looking at the Finnish sample, there are 3 generic workers (this category was not present among Italians) and 2 unemployed (not present as well). Both the unemployed have returned to Finland after 8 and 10 months. As to the 3 generic workers, all presenting precarious occupations, they are still resident in Italy (Milano, Roma and Perugia). Looking back at the Italian sample, there was the absence of generic workers, both for the ones returned to Italy (6) and for the others still living in Finland (9). Then, the Finnish sample presents a Ph.D. student (socio-political studies), 3 students at university (foreign languages, arts and social politics), 5 clerks (administration, marketing and tourism) and one high school teacher (languages). Even for current working positions the Finnish group confirms the same trend observed for the educational background: differently from Italians, occupations of Finns tend to be far from scientific fields.

It is possible to give a similar interpretation of this problem: probably Italy attracts more persons dealing with humanistic or social fields; on the contrary, Finland looks much more attractive for emigrants with scientific or technological interests.

- **General questions (block n. 2):**

The second block of questions wants to clarify some general points as the length of the experience abroad and the reasons for this choice. In some cases, the “migratory” experience is already over; in some others, respondents still live in the host country. It looks useful to compare the experiences of persons that lived it just as a temporary digression, with the ones of respondents that decided to change their life completely, finding a “new world” beyond the national borders. So, if the minimum length is 7 months, a maximum one was not set at all. This block tries also to deepen the respondent’s opinions and attitudes about migration processes: are they interested to live abroad permanently? How do they evaluate their personal experience abroad?

(2A/*Italians*) - The first question measures a typical quantitative element as the length of the migratory experience.

As to Italians, first it is necessary to distinguish between those 9 who are still resident in Finland (when responding to the questionnaire), from the other 6 whose experience is already over. The length of the experience in Finland tends to be shorter for the ones already returned to Italy. 3 subjects out of the 6 already returned, have spent abroad the minimum period required by initial parameters (7 months: ITA-2, ITA-5. ITA-8), while another one stayed only 9 months (ITA-6). Only for 2 “returners” the stay was significantly higher: 18 (ITA-4) and 34 months (ITA-10). The average length of the stay in Finland tends to be longer when considering the ones still living up there: in all the 9 cases, nobody is below 12 months. 2 of them are staying since one year (ITA-14 and ITA-15); ITA-7 is at the 15th month while ITA-1 and ITA-13 reached 2 years. Then, there are 21 months for ITA-12 and 33 for ITA-9. The longest experiences regard ITA-11 (3 years) and ITA-3 (5 years).

Length of the presence in Finland (months)

Months spent in Finland	Number of respondents	Still resident in Finland
7	3	0
9	1	0
12	2	2
15	1	1
18	1	0
21	1	1
24	2	2
33	1	1
34	1	0
36	1	1
60	1	1

This numbers show an evident variability: values vary from few months (7) to long pluriennial experiences. Anyway, more than an obstacle, this looks a motive for making the perspective richer and wider, valuating the situation from different points of view.

(2B/*Italians*) - In connection with this element, Italians were asked to explain the initial reasons that pushed them to move to Finland. More than a deep motivation (that the questionnaire will focus later), this point was aimed to verify just the main reason of the move.

Five Italians have indicated the Erasmus project as the initial motive (ITA-1, ITA-3, ITA-4, ITA-10 and ITA-11). Trying to make a connection with the previous table, it is interesting to see as 3 of them are still resident in Finland, in all cases belonging to the “long permanence” category (2, 3 and 5 years). But also the other former Erasmus that have returned to Italy (ITA-4 and ITA-10) present a long stay (18 and 34 months). The Erasmus project, started as a typical temporary experience, was surprisingly able to turn into something more serious and continuative, presenting work possibilities (for 3 of them) or further studies (2).

For other 3 cases, the first motivation that brought to Finland was the compilation of the thesis (bachelor, master, or Ph.D.: ITA-2, ITA-5 and ITA-8). In this case, differently from what happened to the former Erasmus students, the Finnish experience was only temporary: after concluding their projects, all the 3 respondents returned to Italy. In all the 3 cases the length of the stay corresponds to the minimum required (7 months).

As for the rest of respondents, other reasons were post-graduate (ITA-14) and doctoral studies (ITA-6).

3 respondents indicated in “sentimental stuff” the primary motivations that pushed them to Finland (ITA-9, ITA-12 and ITA-15); only 2 of the respondents moved there straight for work (ITA-7 and ITA-13).

Those values can be summarized in the following table:

Primary motivation	Number of respondents	Still resident in Finland
Erasmus program	5	3
Thesis	3	0
Post-grad. studies	1	1
Doctoral studies	1	0
Sentimental motives	3	3
Work	2	2

The table shows as if the thesis has not been a valid (initial) reason to make the experience longer, the sentimental (3 out of 3 still resident), work (2 out of 2) and, surprisingly, the Erasmus program (3 out of 5) look much more incisive.

(2A/*Finns*) - What about the Finnish sample? As to the length of the stay, also in this case the 8 respondents still living in Italy generally have longer permanence behind. In this case, they have been abroad from a minimum of 20 months (FIN-8) to pluriennial experiences (10years/FIN-10 and FIN-11; 9 years/FIN-14; 6 years/FIN-12 and FIN-13; 4 years/FIN-2; 2 years/FIN-1).

Looking at Finns that already left Italy, the average stay is much shorter, varying from a minimum of 8 (FIN-5) to a maximum of 18 months (FIN-15).

The situation is illustrated by the following table:

Length of the presence in Italy

Months spent in Italy	Number of respondents	Still resident in Italy
8-12 months	6	0
13-24 months	3	2
2-6 years	3	3
9 years	1	1
10 years	2	2

If the short term migrants (8-12 months) show an evident tendency to return to the native country (6 out of 6), on the contrary, the more respondents stay in Italy, the more they tend to become permanent. 8 of the 9 long term residents (1-10 years) in fact are still living in the host country. Considering only the very long experiences (2 years and more), all of them (6) have not returned to the home country yet.

(2B/*Finns*) - Following the same track covered for Italians, it is time to verify the primary motivations that pushed young Finns to move.

3 of them decided to go for new job opportunities (FIN-4, FIN-7 and FIN-11), but only one is still resident in Italy (FIN-11). 3 respondents individuated the primary reason of their move in sentimental motivations (FIN-8, FIN-10 and FIN-13); in this case, all of them are still living in Italy. Then, 4 affirmed they chose Italy to learn the local language (FIN-1, FIN-2, FIN-3 and FIN-15); 2 of them are still abroad, (FIN-1 and FIN-2). Finally, there are 2 Erasmus programs (FIN-9/returned and FIN-12), one master thesis (FIN-6, returned), an international civil service (FIN-5, returned) and other reasons (FIN-14, still in Italy).

Primary motivation	Number of respondents	Still resident in Italy
Erasmus	2	1
Thesis	1	0
Language studies	4	2
Intern. civil service	1	0
Sentimental motivations	3	3
Job	3	1
Other reasons	1	1

Comparing this table with the one of Italians in Finland, it is possible to observe that if the 2 Italians initially moved for job reasons are still abroad, on the other side, only 1 out of the 3 Finns gone to Italy to work hasn't returned yet.

Love and sentimental affairs, in both cases, seem to be very strong reasons to stay (3 out of 3 in both samples). Primary reasons connected to studies (Erasmus, postgraduate studies, thesis) and language courses, look less capable of keeping both Finns in Italy (only 3 out of 7) and Italians in Finland (4 out of 10). As it was already said before, the Erasmus experience tends to "weigh" especially for Italians.

If the Finnish group includes 4 respondents affirming they initially moved to learn the language, the same element is completely absent among Italians. Besides the well-known difficulty of the Finnish language, this is probably due to the large diffusion of the English language in Finland, so that foreigners can generally manage it even without speaking the local tongue. On the contrary, the high number of Finns pushed just by the will of learning the Italian language, shows the growing popularity of this tongue in the Nordic countries.

Concluding this part, it is better to remark that the primary motivation indicated by respondents must be seen only as the first reason why they decided to move abroad. It represents just the initial cause, generally followed by other important factors (for example, the fact of finding a good job after the thesis or starting a love affair after a language course).

(2C/*Italians*) - The third question of the block looks much more focused: after the respondents were asked to explain the initial reasons of the move, now they have to say why their choice has gone just on that country and not somewhere else.

The most of Italians answered indicating general interests towards Scandinavian countries. In particular, Finland was chosen because it was perceived as a "mysterious" and "tidy and clean" country.

ITA-1 affirms that "I have always been attracted by Scandinavian countries and so was seriously intentioned to know them better". In this case, the Erasmus project was just the stepping-stone that successively brought the respondent to start a Ph.D. program in the host country. Also ITA-4 indicates curiosity and personal interests: "Initially I chose just Finland only because of my curiosity; after I got the Erasmus grant I had the opportunity to choose my destination. Finland attracted me a lot because I consider this country very far from mine, a new place to discover". Even in this case, the Erasmus program was a stepping-stone after which the respondent could extend the stay for 18 months. The same kinds of ideas are shared by ITA-6 ("I've always been attracted by northern European countries"), ITA-10 and ITA-11 ("I imagined that Finland was such a civil and tidy country"). According to ITA-5, it was a good opportunity "to live some months in a place that was completely unknown before".

In these situations an important role is played also by the so called "snow-ball effect": many respondents were conditioned by advices and tales received by friends or colleagues that had already experienced the Finnish context. It is the case of ITA-2, ITA-14 ("I have some friends that were speaking so well about Finland, where they spent the Erasmus project...and their tales were so good that when I had to choose a post-graduate course I was soon oriented towards Finland") and ITA-15 ("many persons have been speaking very well about the country before I decided to go").

In many other situations it is just the conviction of finding better job opportunities to push respondents; it is the case of ITA-7 ("my company has a branch in Italy: while working there, I was offered an interesting opportunity to move to the head office") and ITA-13 ("I knew I could find a good research group there; then working conditions are better than in Italy").

(2C/*Finns*) - What about Finns? Even in this case there is an evident supremacy of motivations concerning “personal” feelings for the destination country, often perceived as fascinating and very different from the native place. FIN-2 thinks that “Italy is the country where you can live better in all Europe”, while according to FIN-5 it was important just to know “such a different place from my own”. The same idea is shared by FIN-9, which describes a sort of “sociological interest” for the Italian set, and by FIN-12 (“I like the country and I have always been interested to it...food, history, art, language and music are the vanguard”).

As it was already mentioned before, an important role on the Finnish interest towards Italy is played by the language. It is the case of FIN-2, FIN-3, FIN-4 and FIN-11. The position of FIN-6 is quite original: the respondent affirms to be interested to the local political institutions, because of the thesis. Even among Finns the “snow-ball effect” is very important. This is particularly evident for FIN-7 (“the travelling experience of my parents convinced me to come back here, alone”) and FIN-15 (“my sister, that was living in Rome to study, recommended me to go to Italy”).

(2D/*Italians*) - In the following question (2D), respondents are asked to say if they had intentions to live in the host country permanently.

Would you like to live permanently in the host country?

	Yes	No
Italians	13	2
Finns	12	3

As for Italians, 13 of them answered positively. ITA-1 affirms that “I have no intentions to go back to Italy”, while ITA-4 remarks that “in this case Finland and mainly Turku would be at the top of my list”. The same opinion is shared by ITA-14: “may be yes, currently I’m doing very fine here in Finland”.

Only 2 respondents replied “no” (ITA-2 and ITA-10). In the first case the respondent had only a short researching experience (7 months) to complete the doctoral thesis. Despite this is valued as “very positive” in the following question, anyway it is “definitively concluded”. As for ITA-10, the respondent presents a much longer experience (more than 3 years, not continuatives); despite of finding the way back home, ITA-10 defines “good” the experience, anyway.

(2E/*Italians*) - Because of the high rate of Italians affirming to be available to stay permanently abroad, it is interesting to verify in which way just Finland was perceived as “responsible” for this kind of choice. The next question in fact requires to evaluate the experience in Finland. As it was already anticipated, the 2 respondents that are not intentioned to live permanently abroad, consider “very positive” (ITA-2) and “good” (ITA-10) the migratory experience up there. Looking at the other 13 answers, it looks like a sort of plebiscite: 12 considered at least “positive” the time spent in Finland; this brings to suppose that for many of them just the “Finnish period” was decisive to motivate the intention to live permanently abroad. In this sense, they are particularly significant the words of ITA-7 (“in Finland I could get more opportunities than in Italy”) and ITA-4 (“Really great from all points of view. I spent in Finland one of the best period of my youth. As to the professional aspects, I appreciate very much the way in which Finns use to work. Both at university and at the Research Institute that accepted me, I found stimulating places, where I never missed the support and all the conditions to work at my best.”). It is quite similar the experience lived by ITA-12 and ITA-15: after the initial difficulties, they define “great” the entire time spent abroad.

The only negative answer comes from ITA-5: after spending 7 months in Finland to prepare the master thesis, the experience is described as “positive from the human perspective but quite difficult for my professional aims”. Except the last one, the general satisfaction of Italians is very evident, remarking the good conditions in which they could study or work. This brings to suppose that just the Finnish experience has been decisive to motivate the general inclination of Italians to live permanently abroad.

(2D/*Finns*) - It is interesting to verify in which way Finns answered to the previous questions. Even in this case, a large majority of respondents (12) affirm to be available to live permanently abroad. Among them, FIN-1, FIN-2 and FIN-3 showed enthusiastic opinions about Italy (“First of all I’d like to stay here in Italy!”), while FIN-8, resident in Italy for 20 months, affirms that “I’m seriously thinking to go back to Finland”.

As for the 3 respondents that affirmed not to be interested to stay permanently abroad, they are FIN-4 (“now I’m doing fine here in Helsinki” - the respondent spent one year in Italy to work and to study the language), FIN-6 (10 months to complete the master thesis) and FIN-7 (11 months to work as babysitter). In all the 3 cases the permanence abroad was not so long. In the other 12 replies, where the average stay is much longer, there is a higher inclination to move permanently abroad. Anyway, it is important to underline that, even if they are not interested to live abroad, both FIN-6 and FIN-7 considered positively their experience in Italy (“very good” and “I had the opportunity to have fun and to learn a new language and culture”). It looks quite different for FIN-4, according to which “the life experience has been great, but I prefer to work in Finland”. In this way, the respondent implies that the reason of the definitive return in Finland lies just in the professional dissatisfaction.

(2E/*Finns*) When Finns were asked to evaluate their experience in Italy, the most of them gave a positive reply, even if with different emphasis. In this sense it is important to remark that Finnish respondents spontaneously made a clear distinction between the personal/sentimental experience and the professional one. This looks quite evident reading their words:

“It is really great for my social and personal life, I have also a lot of friends. On the other side, unfortunately I had to abandon my career at university. Here in Italy it was not possible to carry on with it.” (FIN-2)

“It was great for my life in general, but I prefer to work in my country.” (FIN-4)

“I have learnt very much, a new culture, a new language and also a new job (shop assistant), but I am working really much (6 days per week) and the wage is very low! Day off and holidays are paid very few, and I suppose the situation is like that because if I quit the job they will always find somebody else available to make the same, may be also for less money. Then, the everyday life in Milan looks too fast and stressing. But I think it is not the same in the whole country. This is such a big town and presents all the typical problems of metropolitan areas: poverty, messy, too cars, pollution and superficiality. Then, women are always on a diet and tend to speak too much. Anyway, I consider my experience really positive, because I had chance to see the world from a different perspective” (FIN-8).

“It wasn’t an easy experience but very useful, anyway. In the beginning I was too dependent from my boyfriend, both for my social and for the everyday life. But after some months I found my own friends (it looks quite hard for Italians to accept the idea of “private” friends, separate from the couple’s life) and had very good time with them. Anyway my life at university was quite messy because of a system that looks so far from the one I was used in Finland” (FIN-9)

“In Italy you can find good conditions to work even if they don’t have clear rules for everybody. Then, wages are very low in relation with your skills: currently I earn the same amount of money I got in Finland many years ago.” (FIN-10)

“The study experience was good; but working is a bit difficult, even if I’m trying to arrange it at my best” (FIN-11).

These answers show as the positive valuation of Italy is often joined by the remark of negative aspects concerning the professional side. This is to say that, even if the general comments are positive, the professional side is perceived as an obstacle. Finns tend to make a sort of spontaneous “splitting” between the personal and the professional experience in Italy. Looking back at Italians in Finland, except for a single case (ITA-5), the situation was quite different.

This “double vision” is widened and significantly embodied by the FIN-12 answer:

“Well... I could write a novel about this... Generally, I can say I like to stay here. Coming from Finland, one should learn to be more easygoing and not so strict about <details> as punctuality, precision and functionality, competence of clerks in the public offices, servility and nepotism... On the other side, Italy can offer you some kind of human warmth and the possibility of enjoying life even in the small details: sun, food, music, ice-cream, relations, seaside, the relaxed way of life, the importance of families, a certain flexibility, the possibility of eating everyday fresh fruits and vegetables, preparing every year tomato sauces by yourself, going to the hairdresser once a week...”

• Dreams, hopes, life expectations (block n. 3)

The block number 3 is constituted by a single question: after analyzing the respondents’ dreams and expectations, it will be very useful to verify if they give more importance to material/instrumental aspects or to sentimental and personal ones.

(3A/ *Italians*) - Starting from Italians, the following table represents a good summary of the collected data.

Describe what you would like to do in your life both personally and professionally in the next future.

Material perspectives (job etc...)	Personal/sentimental perspectives	Both material and personal perspectives	N/N
10	0	4	1

When asked to describe their dreams and life expectations, just 10 Italians out of 15 made a direct reference to material aspects, generally dealing with their professional life. Nobody answered referring only to personal/sentimental motivations while in 4 cases they gave a similar weight to both the aspects. In one case the answer was classified as not significant.

The most of Italians gave the exclusive indication of material aspects; other 4 respondents, even if considering also sentimental and personal aspects, didn’t separate them from instrumental perspectives. Evidently, professional/material aspects have a decisive role for young Italians that chose to live their migratory experience in Finland.

It is particularly interesting to consider the answer of ITA-4: “I’d be happy to have the possibility of living and working also in Italy with the same conditions and motivations I found in Finland. All the rest would be just a simple consequence”. It was quite hard to classify this

answer, but finally it was included in the “instrumental” category: starting from the respondent perspective, it is evident a certain and decisive connection between the professional dimension and “all the rest”. Just the fact that ITA-4 recognizes in the professional factor the source of consequent “serenity” is extremely significant to classify it.

Some other relevant answers come from ITA-5 (“...I cannot exclude the possibility I move abroad, because Italy does not offer great possibilities in my working field”) and ITA-14 (“I would like to go on with the same job I am doing now, and then settle down here in Finland”). A similar situation is presented by ITA-15: “I would like to be successful in my field, then buy my own place and, why not, meet a nice girl...” In this case, the respondent (living in Helsinki since 12 months) tends to associate the will to get professional success, with the hope of settling down also on the personal/sentimental side. The answer was included in the third category, where professional and personal aspects are both considered.

The fact that so many Italian respondents tend to connect their expectations to the professional area, contextually underlining the positive experience in Finland, induces to look back at the second block of questions, when it was asked if they wanted to live permanently abroad. The most of Italians (13) replied positively; among the only negative ones, it is interesting to consider the case of ITA-10. When speaking about expectations, ITA-10 affirms that “I would like to work for solidarity and social projects, better if connected with nature”. If by one side the respondent do not contemplate the possibility of living permanently abroad, at the same time does not present a material vision of the professional experience.

Generally, when respondents give a relevant importance to professional aspects, they spontaneously underline the positivity of the Finnish experience and the parallel inadequacy of the native country to realize their dreams. In this sense, the ITA-3 words look particularly bright: “I’d like to become a good designer, get a nice job, have a happy family and live in Scandinavia”.

(3A/ Finns) - In which way Finns replied to the question?

Describe what you would like to do in your life both personally and professionally in the next future.

Material perspectives (job etc...)	Personal/sentimental perspectives	Both material and personal perspectives	N/N
7	1	6	1

Comparing to Italians, it looks like Finns tend to give much more importance to the personal dimension. If by one side there were 10 Italians indicating only in professional elements their future expectations, Finns underline the role of personal aspects as well: 6 of them included in both categories their expectations, while in one case (FIN-9: “I would like to live in harmony with persons and nature, then feeling myself as an useful persons for other ones”) the affective side takes an exclusive relevance. Even among Finns it was counted a non-classifiable answer.

The results of this block look quite surprising and drive to consider new significant differences between the Italian and the Finnish group. It is evident the different “weight” that they give to the two categories. Generally 7 Finns out of 14 mentioned the personal/affective dimension as a relevant element of their future expectations. On the Italian side, for 10 of them work was mentioned as the only element.

The 10 Italians belonging to the first category had very good opinions about the working experience in Finland, putting negative accents on the native country. If considering the 7 Finns that mentioned only the professional area, none of them has given negative opinions about Finland. On the contrary, they tended to remark some negative aspects of the host country. This is quite evident in the following answers:

FIN-8 (living in Italy since 20 months, graduate, shop-assistant with a temporary contract): “I’d like to find a new interesting job...hopefully in Finland”;

FIN-12 (30 years old, international officer and project assistant in Italy, temporary position): “I like very much my current job, I got a contract for 4 years, but I would like to take a longer one and get a better wage...”

FIN-14 (28 years old, student of arts, in Italy since 1998): “Currently I am studying and working in Milan, but I point the international market...”

It is evident as Finns do not point any critical aspects concerning the native country; at the same time, there are frequent complains about the Italian labour market.

But even if this trend looks quite common, the opinion about the Italian dimension was not negative for everyone. In this sense, the answer of FIN-1 (28 years old, temporary shop-assistant, living in Rome since 2 years) reveals a different position: “My purpose is to find a good job in some office or, better, to open my own shop...” It does not sound strange, actually, but when the respondent was asked to specify “where”, she had no doubts: “In Italy, of course!”

• Deep motivations (block n. 4)

Also the fourth block is constituted by only one question, aimed to understand the deep motivations that pushed respondents towards this kind of experience. They have been asked to explain why decided to spend a relevant part of their life in a foreign country that looks so different from their own. It is important to distinguish this question from the previous ones, which only apparently proposed the same themes: if in the question 2B respondents were asked to explain what they went to do in Italy/Finland (objective information), in the next (2C) they had to say why they chose just that country and not another one. In this case, with block number 4, the purpose is to explore the deep motivations that pushed these persons to move abroad.

When they were asked “can you describe the motivations of your experience abroad?”, respondents focused on specific themes. If by one side there are many answers directly connected with the economic/professional dimension, many others give a decisive weight to personal aspects; a third group of respondents, underlined the importance of the 2 dimensions at same level.

(4A/ *Italians*) - The next table summarize the answers of Italian respondents.

Motivations (Italians)	
Professional/instrumental	7
Personal/affective	2
Professional and personal	5

After eliminating a non-classifiable answer, it is evident as also in this case young Italians converge on instrumental motivations (7 out of 14); 5 answers considerate both the aspects while just 2 value only affective and personal reasons.

Comparing these values with the previous question ones (dreams, hopes and life expectations), it is possible to observe a certain coherence among Italians. The most of those that gave importance to the instrumental category when speaking about dreams and expectations, confirm this vision also when indicating deep motivations.

Particularly relevant are the words of ITA-1: “I just wanted to move away from Italy, because this country looks very far from young persons at the moment. In Finland I was able to define in a positive way my life and perspectives. I was surprised to find a new way of thinking, thanks to which I was always asked to give my opinion. Here I feel more appreciated. Anyway, the real peculiarity of Finland stays in the closeness of the State, whose institutions are there just to serve the citizens. And this is what I like more: the State as an instrument to realize the citizen’s wish and ambitions”.

A similar answer was given by ITA-11: “My purpose was to escape from the shameful exploitation of students perpetuated by Italian professors, especially during the compilation of final thesis.” A direct comparison between the host and the native country comes also from ITA-13: “My main motivation is strictly connected to the job and in this sense Finland looks better than Italy. This country is much more “meritocratic” than my own. Then, I found better public services and an easier way to get a loan for buying my own place”.

According to ITA-9 “there are more possibilities for young persons while social pressures for becoming someone important are weaker than in Italy”; the thoughts of ITA-7 look quite similar: “I decided to move after I was offered a job; then, I considered the bad way in which my country is managed at the moment...”

In some cases, even though they assumed instrumental motivations, respondents didn’t tell negative opinions about Italy. It is the case of ITA-14 (“I wanted to improve my education skills and practice some English...these were the initial motivations but today, after the successful professional experience, I’m also studying the local language!”) and ITA-15 (“to improve professionally and learn new languages”).

Even when motivations are classified both in the personal and in the instrumental area, it was possible to find some critical positions towards Italy. According to ITA-12: “I was determined to leave my country, because I considered it too limited for my perspectives; I just wanted to see if I could manage it by myself, in a so far place”.

Looking at personal motivations (5 cases), they vary from the nature-oriented words of ITA-10 (“I was astonished by the powerful Nordic environment, considering it so decisive for the Finnish culture and habits”) to the memories of ITA-4 (“first time I went to Finland I was only 20 and had the great wish to discover a new world. I was stimulated by the country because I soon realized it was far from my own culture and way of life”).

In conclusion, the words of ITA-5 represent a perfect explanation of the so called “personal and affective motivations”: “The first reason that comes in my mind is very personal, a sort of challenge with myself, to change my moods, to test my skills, going out from that shelter in which I tend to hide myself in the everyday life. Only on the next level I started to think at the studies, and was very stimulated by the curiosity of seeing how they work abroad.”

(4A/*Finns*) - Moving to the Finnish side, also in this case the evident change of the answers is quite surprising. In the same way as it happened when spoke about “dreams and life expectations” even here Finns tend to give more importance to personal and affective dimensions.

This element shouldn’t bring to think that generally all young Italians are oriented only to careers and to economic success, while Finns have a more “romantic” vision of life. While interpreting these data, it is always necessary to contextualize them: the present respondents do

not represent a generic sample of young population as a whole but they embody only a special profile of persons with particular experiences and needs. So, when affirming that Italians show evident inclinations for instrumental and material motivations, while Finns follow more personal attitudes, it means that evidently young persons that decided to move on the other side of Europe, for a wide range of reasons (historical, cultural, economic, sometimes also linked to stereotyped visions) tend to see in the host country a source of specific answers to their particular instances and needs. So, if for young Italians feeling unhappy about their professional life Finland is perceived as a possible solution, on the other side, for a certain kind of young Finns, Italy can be figured as the ideal context for satisfying their specific needs (that are usually less connected to professional dimensions but closer to personal aspects).

As showed by the following table, Finnish motivations are quite far from the Italians’:

Motivations (Finns)

Professional/instrumental	3
Personal/affective	11
Professional and personal	0

11 Finns out of 15 gave only personal reasons to explain their choice to move to Italy. Besides a non-classifiable answer, it is interesting to underline as none of the respondents indicated personal and professional motivations together (the Italians were 5); probably Finns look more oriented to choose straight one way or the other one, where the personal dimension tends to prevail clearly (11 versus 3). But even in this case it is better to clarify some aspects: if among “economic” Italians there was an evident level of dissatisfaction towards the native country, for Finns it was not possible to notice the same critical attitudes towards Finland. Besides being less numerous than Italians, the “economic/instrumental” Finns look much more “soft” in their answers: “I was pushed mainly by my desire to learn the language, because I thought it could be useful for my career, working with classical authors of the Italian literature.”(FIN-2); “I like to study foreign cultures and languages. Thanks to an association, I could find a job in Italy and finally start with it.”(FIN-3); “To improve my professional skills”(FIN-4).

Except than FIN-4, in the other 2 cases a decisive role is played by factors as the Italian language and culture. It was not easy to classify these answers: how to interpret the interest towards language and culture? Was this the case to consider such factors as personal or instrumental? Finally, they were both included in the “instrumental” category, but this choice could be easily criticized. Keeping in mind that the present research is not a statistical study, qualitative information are clearly presented to the readers, so that everybody will be able to get a personal definition of the situation.

Looking at the Finns that expressed personal motivations (11), it is useful to underline the words of FIN-1 (“I wanted to change, living in a new and different country”), FIN-5 (“I needed to find a new place where I could observe the world from a different perspective”), FIN-9 (“...to know new persons and to see how it could be to study abroad”), FIN-12 (“I had the desire to live, learn, try, speak, know...in order to avoid to regret in the future”), FIN- 13 (“I think that in a foreign country you always learn new things and never get bored”) and FIN-14 (“I’ve always been motivated by my family to live new experiences abroad. For me it has always been clear that I was going to study outside Finland when grown up”).

The last two answers represent a particularly clear expression of “affective” motivation: “I wanted to marry my fiancé” (FIN-10); “I realized my dreams when I married my Italian boyfriend, creating a new family with him” (FIN-11).

Now it is easy to comprehend the evident distinction between Italian and Finnish emigrants: a clear grudge towards the native country, followed by the will of reaching better professional successes, by one side; a more romantic and personal vision, without specific criticisms towards the native land, on the other.

- **National identity (block n. 5)**

The fifth block is aimed to measure the level of identification with the native country: how much do they feel to be Italians or Finns? This point will be particularly useful when analyzing the correlation between national feelings and perception of the host country. Then, in the same block, respondents were asked to give an opinion on their home country, indicating positive and negative aspects. After that, it was important to measure the level of personal and professional satisfaction that respondents observed for their life in the home country. The fact of verifying their national feelings is decisive to understand how deeply such factors as frustration (both personal and professional), recriminations or simple curiosity influenced the choice of migrating.

(5A/*Italians*) - The first question is very direct: how much do you feel Italian/Finnish? As to Italians, 11 respondents out of 15 affirmed to consider themselves as “very” Italians. Anyway, it is better to make some distinctions. For example, when ITA-1 affirms that “I feel very much Italian, but at same time I do not recognize myself in a certain kind of Italianity” it emerges again that sort of polemic spirit which was already detected before. Similar answers come from ITA-2 (“Italy is my country, even if sometimes it is too messy...”), ITA-8 (“I feel Italian, but I don’t think I have a very typical Italian mood”) and ITA-12 (“For many aspects I feel really Italian, but for some others I do not feel it at all. I think that the more time passes by, the more these personal features tend to awaken”). ITA-11 and ITA-13 gave similar answers, saying that even if they recognize a national identity, they claim the belonging to a specific regional context: “I am Italian, but I like to think at myself even as a Lucano” (ITA-11); “I feel Italian, but also very Sicilian” (ITA-13). There are also some enthusiastic positions, as the one of ITA-7: “I am 100% Italian...especially when I am abroad the level of national belonging tends to grow”. As to the other 4 respondents that do not feel a strong national identity, in all cases they showed very polemical attitudes: “I really feel like a non-traditional Italian. I have always been a foreign-oriented person, and I am quite outside the national traditions” (ITA-15); “Very few. I don’t refuse my country, but at same time I am not so proud about it.” (ITA-6); “I think I am not a typical Italian. Generally, I prefer to describe myself as a world citizen, or at least as a European one!” (ITA-4).

(5B/*Italians*) - The polemic attitudes of Italians emerge also in the following question, when they are asked to give an opinion on their native country. In this case, the replies are very homogeneous: respondents tend to underline as the potentialities of the country are often vanished by a weak political class. The only way to verify how much uniform are the opinions expressed by Italians is to read directly their answers:

“It is a nice country just for holidays, but generally it is not good to live there for persons between 20 and 45 years old. If you want to survive, you need to be old or, in the best cases, to age inside. You always have to accept compromises and modify your legitimate aspirations in order to satisfy the pressures of the context” (ITA-1); “Too messy” (ITA-2); “We have a difficult political situation, and people tend to accept the facts without reacting; then companies do not pay enough young workers, and the Institutions don’t guarantee decent supports for them. If someone has not a good family behind the shoulders that can pay the expenses, he is compelled to go to work abandoning personal aspirations; the State doesn’t help and without connections with important persons it is very hard to find decent jobs” (ITA-3); “Italy is a

country with very high potentialities that unfortunately are often vanished by the political immorality" (ITA-4); "It is a country with great possibilities but with a low sense of rules" (ITA-5); "Italy is facing an evident cultural decadence, becoming the country of frivolities. I think that nowadays valid persons in Italy are not considered as they deserve" (ITA-6); "I like very much to be Italian. It is something to be proud of, but at same time I have the impression to stay on a sinking boat"(ITA-7); "Inefficient, chaotic, superficial" (ITA-8); "It is a very warm country but with no sense of public things, motionless, whose changes are really slow and where spaces left for young generations are very narrow" (ITA-9); "Italy has got many beautiful things and some others that, changing the perspective, should necessarily be improved"(ITA-10); "It is a country with enormous potentials, often ruined by a corrupted political class."(ITA-11); "Italy looks like a Ferrari travelling with the hand-brake jammed" (ITA-12); "The country presents many contrasts and contradictions. It is full of historical and cultural treasures, but at the moment it looks very difficult to live there peacefully and without a guilty conscience" (ITA-13); "In theory it is an exceptional country, distressed by a series of problems...and often politicians are the sole responsible!" (ITA-14); "A great country, but with many problems, that are often hard to accept, especially for persons like me" (ITA-15).

All the answers are entirely reported, without leaving anything, and this because their homogeneity looks very significant. Regardless of gender, age, level of national identification and working position, the results are very close each other. So many words to express always the same concept: sociologists and researchers, but above all politicians and ruling classes, should pay a great attention to this. Nobody has described Italy as a negative, sad or boring country. On the contrary, it is perceived as "great", "extraordinary", "very beautiful", "with high potentialities"; but just these definitions underline the evident contrast with the following opinions, oriented towards pessimistic images.

Now it is easier to understand why the most of respondents explained their motivations referring just to "instrumental" aspects. It looks like in many cases migration is not only the consequence of the will of discovering a new place, but is mainly due to the necessity of "escaping" from a "very beautiful" but at same time "very difficult" country. In this sense, the situation is perfectly expressed by the metaphorical image of ITA-12: "Italy looks like a Ferrari travelling with the hand-brake jammed". They are very astonishing words, that deserve to be carefully considered.

(5A/*Finns*) - It is interesting to verify the same points on the Finnish side. How strongly do they feel the national identity? Comparing to Italians, there is a weaker inclination to show strong national identifications. Anyway, differently from Italians, Finns didn't mention specific criticisms towards the native country, even when affirmed they lost the national identity.

7 respondents out of 15 (Italians were 11) feel "very Finnish". Then, other 5 present a particular perception of their national belonging. In this group, emerge the words of FIN-15 ("when I am in Italy sometimes I feel more like a Finn, but when I stay in Finland I think to be closer to Italians), and of FIN-12 ("it depends from the things I'm dealing with. Sometimes I feel very Finnish, especially when I am disappointed for something happening here. Instead in other occasions I feel much more Italian, and this happens when I'm bored of something concerning Finland or Finnish people"). Also the FIN-9 reply seems hard to interpret in a univocal way: "I feel very Finnish, but probably in a different way comparing to the traditional sense of Finnishness, too close to some nationalist or military spirit". Then, there are also some respondents whose heart looks perfectly divided in 2 parts ("I feel just like a half-Finn, because of my long years in Italy", FIN-11) and others that are very close to lose completely their national identity. It is the case of FIN-2 ("today I consider myself as Italian!") and FIN-5, that enlarges the perspective to a wider context, defining herself as a "world citizen".

(5B/*Finns*) - In which way young Finns tend to perceive their country? Also in this case, there is an evident difference with the Italians. Regardless of their national sense of belonging and no matter if they live in Italy or Finland, young Finns show a positive image of the home country. In 7 cases Finland was described only with positive terms. The other 8 respondents, together with positive aspects, mentioned also some negative ones; anyway, the answers were always moderate and very far from the Italian's! As to the positive responses, they describe Finland as "a place with great attention for human rights" (FIN-5), "a small country that is becoming more and more important, mainly thanks to high technology" (FIN-6), "a place that offers everybody the basic living securities" (FIN-9), "a peaceful place, where I can find the roots of my life" (FIN-11). There are also some enthusiastic visions: "it is the best country in the world!" (FIN-7) and "it is my own place...and it is a wonderful one" (FIN-8). According to FIN-3, Finland is a country "with few, quiet inhabitants, generally open to others".

Among the other 8 respondents, even if they generally have positive opinions, they propose also some critical aspects, being anyway less drastic than Italians. Then, if Italians were very focused on negative points concerning economics or politics, Finns directed their comments somewhere else. For example, according to FIN-1, Finland looks like a modern and pleasant country, but "comparing to Italy, it is too homogeneous". After saying that "it is a place where you can live very fine", FIN-2 underlines "the cold weather and the excessive alcohol consumption". Even FIN-4 finds some critical aspects: "It is difficult to live in the northern areas of the country, too cold and isolated". The valuation of FIN-12 is positive, but with a small negative point: "Finland is tidy, things work quite fine, with competence and meritocracy; wages generally corresponds to personal capabilities, public services are ok, nature is clean, technology is a world leading sector...anyway, in this perfect picture, I am often disappointed for that blind submission of persons...".

The words of FIN-11 summarize very well the image that young Finns have about their country: "Finland is a nice place, with its qualities and defects. It is not a perfect place, as many foreigners use to think, anyway you can live quite fine up there".

Keeping in mind the general purposes of this block (to measure the national identification of respondents), the next two questions are aimed to deepen the perception of qualities and defects of the home country. Which are, according to respondents, the strong and the weak points of Italy and Finland?

(5C/*Italians*) - As for Italians, answers can be classified as it follows:

Italians/ strong points

History, culture, arts, nature, climate, food	7
Italian style, moods and attitudes	5
Both the aspects	3

Such general aspects as history, culture, gastronomy, arts, climate and nature are considered the real strength of the Italian system by the most of respondents (7). They perceive these elements as the distinctive points of national identity in the world panorama. Very emblematic words come from ITA-5 ("culture, history and arts are a kind of distinction that allow the country to be perfectly recognized all over the world"), ITA-6 ("climate, natural and architectural beauties, the traditional food: it is impossible to find something better anywhere else!"), ITA-13 ("the historical, cultural and artistic heritage") and ITA-14 ("the extraordinary beauty of our towns and the natural heritage"). All respondents belonging to this group underlined just the idea of "exclusivity" of their country, seen as something unique in the world. The words of ITA-4 are a perfect synthesis of this feeling: "The typical beauties of my country are

not present in the rest of the world. We have the gastronomy, that I consider the best in the world, the climate – except than the summer, too hot -, the great historical traditions and the cultural heritages. In many sectors I think that Italy is the first country in the world”. After this perception of “uniqueness”, many others remarked the extraordinary heterogeneity of the country. It is the case of ITA-1 (“I like the fact that in the same small space you can find so different situations. In only 100km the Italian way can show very various features concerning mentality, food, natural views”) and ITA-3 (“The surprising cultural differences that you can find moving from one place to another, even for little things: this makes of Italy a very special country”).

5 respondents focused on the typical attitudes and moods of Italian people: “the capability of smiling showed by the most of persons” (ITA-2); “the creativeness and the ability to improvise” (ITA-8); “vitality and curiosity of persons” (ITA-9); “the niceness of many inhabitants, especially in the southern areas” (ITA-10); “Italians in some way are able to solve also the most difficult situations. In this sense, at least for this aspect, I can consider me myself as a typical Italian! Facing problems and situations, I never lost my hopes and soul, and after all I decided to move to Finland. May be at the beginning it was just an impulse ... but now I’m sure it was the right choice. Yes, Italians are just like this: they are able to create solutions even when the others cannot see anything” (ITA-15).

Together with other 2 respondents, ITA-12 was classified in the third category, indicating both general features of the country and inhabitants attitudes and moods: “About Italy: it is one of the most beautiful places in the world! About Italians: the capacity to adapt and to manage fairly well”.

Reading these answers, Italians look quite aware and proud about the best aspects of their country, underlining things as heterogeneity and the uniqueness. Then, when speaking about inhabitants, they point out the creativeness of persons.

(5D/Italians) - In which way things change when Italian respondents were asked to indicate the weak aspects?

The answers are very significant and confirm all the elements already emerged in the previous analysis.

Italians / weak points

Political class, public services	15
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Even in this case, the majority of respondents indicated just in the political class, in the inefficiency of public services and in the poor space given to young generations the real matters of the Italian system. All the answers in this sense are very similar: “The weakness of the social system, the difficulties to find a permanent job” (ITA-2); “It is hard to speak about a serious political class. Then, people are too submissive towards the *status quo*... and this is the main reason of the current decadence of the entire country” (ITA-6); “The ruling class should be completely set to zero. Italy needs new persons, new ways to manage the public belongings, and this can happen only after a real change of the ruling class” (ITA-4); “The immobility and the arrogance of the entire system” (ITA-9); “The bad working of public services; the lack of meritocracy; the absence of professional guarantees” (ITA-13); “The political class is the core of the problem. We need strong changes, otherwise the situation is going to be worse and worse” (ITA-14); “I see a growing break between the ruling class and common people. It is necessary to find good solutions, as soon as possible, before that something bad happens”

(ITA-15). In all the other cases, except for ITA-10 (“provincialism”), the answer was even more direct and explicit: “Politicians”.

The evident homogeneity of these words recalls a lot of aspects that already emerged in previous analysis. The strong sense of frustration showed by young persons is particularly worrying: very often they feel they were almost compelled to leave their own country, a beloved place that - as affirmed by one of the respondents - “nowadays has nothing special to offer to new generations”.

(5C/*Finns*) - How things change when looking at Finns?

It is very strange to see that when asked to describe the strong points of their country, contrary to Italians, they preferred to mention just the political dimension and its positive effects on the social system.

Finns/ strong points

Social system and Institutions	15
Finnish style, moods and attitudes	0
History, culture, arts, nature, climate, food	0

Finns individuate in the institutions and in the social system (education, welfare, job and housing policies) the better aspects of their country. In this sense, comparing with Italians, the perspective is completely turned over, even considering that they didn’t mention any artistic, historical or cultural aspects as strong points. The following answers indicate the total change of the perspective: “The security guaranteed by social services” (FIN-1); “The State is much closer to citizens comparing to the Italian situation” (FIN-2); “The education system is completely free and the State helps very much the young persons” (FIN-3); “Well educated persons have good possibilities to find a satisfying job” (FIN-4); “The care of institutions towards human rights is a world vanguard” (FIN-5); “Welfare state: it is a very equal country” (FIN-9); “The meritocracy present in different levels of society” (FIN-11); “order, cleanliness, nature, and the fact that the most of persons at 30 years old already have a permanent job and the consequent possibility of creating their own families” (FIN-12); “The social system is working fine. The public benefits are quite many. You have to pay high taxations but you get a lot of things back”(FIN-13); “The financial aid given by institutions to students, young mothers, unemployed and elderly persons” (FIN-14); “everything that is referred to the welfare system, as the policies for employment, houses, health care” (FIN-15).

If Italians spoke about “history, nature and culture” or about “the creativeness of persons”, none of these aspects are mentioned by Finns; on the contrary, the ones that were indicated as the main problems of the Italian system here are seen as the strong points of Finland.

This element gives lights to tendencies that emerged in the previous blocks. For example - when analyzing expectations and motivations -, now it is much clearer why young Finns underlined more personal and affective dimensions, while Italians saw just in the better reliability of the Finnish-system the main reason of their choice.

(5D/*Finns*) - What about the weak points described by Finns?

Finns / weak points

Geographical, historical or demographic problems	7
Alcohol consumption	2
Attitudes and moods of persons	4
Work and institutions	2

Contrary to Italians, they never mentioned anything connected to the social or political dimension. The most of the answers deals with geographical, historical or demographic problems: “Finns are very few, and this is the reason why the country is quite unknown in the world” (FIN-3); “The country has been isolated for many years, and even nowadays comparing to the other Scandinavians’ there are few foreigners” (FIN-5); “the country is too homogeneous” (FIN-1); “Geographical and meteorological conditions made this country quite isolated” (FIN-7).

Other respondents referred to the problem of alcohol, as FIN-2 (“an excessive consumption of alcohol”) and FIN-8 (“abuse of alcoholic drinks”). Then, there are some comments regarding attitudes and moods of Finns. If among Italians these aspects were classified in the strong points, Finns consider them as negatives. It is the case of FIN-9 (“people are too reserved”), FIN-10 (“Finns are very serious...”), FIN-12 (“obtuseness, low flexibility inside social relations; then people look quite suspicious if you behave too openly, showing your moods and successes”) and FIN-13 (“The nature of persons is too closed”). It is very important to underline that these respondents are the same ones that, when they were asked to explain the reasons of their move to Italy, they indicated personal and sentimental aspects, leaving out professional and other “material” things.

In only 2 cases, when asked to mention the weak point of their country, respondents referred to the working and social dimensions: it is the case of FIN-6 (“the unemployment rate is still too high”) and of FIN-15 (“social systems are too hierarchical and still dependent from charismatic leaders”).

(5E/*Italians*) - The last question of the block represents a good way to deepen the national perception of respondents: how much do they feel satisfied, both for professional and for personal aspects, about their country?

As for Italians, the most of them gave negative answers, confirming the critical attitudes that already emerged before. Moreover, negative valuations generally refer to the instrumental and professional dimensions.

There are some negative but generic comments as the ones of ITA-1 (“zero”), ITA-3 (“not too much”) and ITA-13 (“I was not satisfied, and that’s why I decided not to leave nor to work there in Italy”), and others looking more oriented to the professional dimension: “I have the impression that there are less possibilities in Italy to realize themselves” (ITA-9); “I love my country, and I am sure it is the best place where spending holidays, but I got very few for my professional life” (ITA-11); “Not much satisfaction, actually, as I think that it is quite a demoralizing place for young persons. You cannot have great expectations if you are just a common citizen” (ITA-5); “Not much. If it wasn’t for my relatives, I’d like to leave. On the professional side I know I have quite much independence with my job, but unfortunately this situation is always accompanied by a permanent lack of economic supports...” (ITA-6); “Quite little on the professional side: even if I am intentioned to work hard, I find many difficulties to settle down. In Italy there is a very strong sense of antagonism, and many persons look interested only to defend corporative interests. It is necessary to fight at all times to preserve the basic rights while you are working” (ITA-10); “I am not satisfied and wouldn’t like to go back to Italy. I don’t know if things will change in the future...But I have the impression that if I move back there I would be exploited with unjust contracts and low wages. Then, I cannot stand the increasing bad manners. I find it hard to conciliate the common mentality with my own” (ITA-12).

If for the previous cases the professional dissatisfaction has evident influences on the private life as well, other respondents answered keeping clear distinctions among the two dimensions. It is the case of ITA-3 (“I am completely satisfied on the personal side, but totally disappointed for the professional one”) and ITA-14 (“Personally I left there my family and friends: many exceptional persons that I miss very much. In this sense, I was very satisfied. On the professional side, I never had relevant experiences in Italy, and I am quite sure that my new life in Finland helped a lot to find new opportunities”).

There is also somebody that affirms to be unsatisfied in both the dimensions (“When I left the country my level of satisfaction was very low. This is the reason why I decided to change it all”, ITA-15) and someone else that, after defining in a negative way the professional situation, presents other interesting distinctions: “The country has not much to offer to young generations (...) and if things are not changing in the next future, we will have a lot of people moving away. (...) As to the personal side, I am really happy about my family and friends, but outside of these contexts, I observe a worrying growth of superficial behaviours, especially among young persons, and this looks quite sad for me” (ITA-4).

(5E/*Finns*) - Looking at Finns, for 7 respondents the level of satisfaction is quite good, both for the personal and for the professional side: “I am doing quite fine with university and social relations, friends and so on” (FIN-3); “I feel satisfied about my job even if I’d like to improve. Personally, I am looking forward to build my own family” (FIN-4); “I am happy for my studies and life” (FIN-6); “quite satisfied in both the dimensions” (FIN-7); “I like to leave here, so close to my friends and family. Then, I feel very close to the Finnish language. I think it would be hard for me to live a 100% satisfying life being too far from my culture and language” (FIN-9); “Quite much” (FIN-10); “Very much for my personal life; for the working side, it is nice and relaxing to work with Finns because of their reliability and honesty” (FIN-11).

Some respondents proposed interesting distinctions, as FIN-8 (“I am very satisfied. But people should be more happy and speak less tediously”), while others, as FIN-15, affirm that “I would prefer to stay in Sweden or Holland, even if my family and friends are all living in Finland...then, I think I have more possibilities to find a job here”.

It is evident that, comparing with Italians, the level of satisfaction towards their country is much higher among young Finns, especially for the professional dimension. Only in 2 cases they showed negative opinions, but they are very far from the extremely critical tones of Italians: “I am quite satisfied for my personal life, but I miss a job!” (FIN-5); “I have my friends and roots in Finland, and for this reason I’ll conserve forever my Finnishness. But I’m not very satisfied for the professional dimension, as I couldn’t find good opportunities” (FIN-13).

• **Perception of the changes (block n. 6)**

The present block is aimed to clarify all the aspects that have been changing more after the respondents move abroad. Is this experience perceived as solver, thinking to the initial problems, needs and purposes? The block is constituted by 2 questions, where the first deals with personal aspects and the second with the professional ones.

(6A/*Italians*) - As for Italians, when asked to say which was the personal aspect that changed more during the migratory experience, only 2 of them couldn’t see particular alterations. They are ITA-8 (that has spent only the minimum period of 7 months abroad) and ITA-11 (3 years). In the other 13 cases, the experience abroad is perceived as moment of personal growth and improvement, regardless of its length. But the elements to which respondents give more importance are very different from case to case: there is somebody speaking about serenity, as

ITA-1 (“The serenity and the opportunity of keeping the future in my own hands”), ITA-6 (“The contact with nature was great, and the everyday life was more human-centred...”), ITA-10 (“It’s like I found a different way to behave that I never experienced before. Then, I got really much from the nature, loving its well defined seasons, that helped to relax my mind and body”), ITA-13 (“since I live in Finland I feel much more relaxed and live better”) and ITA-15 (“I am more calm, and I see it better how to realize myself as a person, man and worker. When I was in Italy, because of some personal and family problems, in the last period I started to be quite pessimist....”).

Other respondents underline the increased independence they acquired with this experience: “I feel freer to realize my planes now...” (ITA-9); “I think I am more self confident and brave after that” (ITA-2); “I feel free to do everything I like and can look at the world in a more objective way” (ITA-3); “My way of thinking has changed a lot: the importance I give to things, my behaviours...I think I have never been so self confident before” (ITA-5).

The answer of ITA-4 looks more complicated and cannot be classified with the previous ones: “Nowadays in Italy especially young persons try to make their best to look original and interesting. But if you analyze it better, you will find that it is only appearance, as the most of them tend to do the same things. I observe a kind of homologation that is really worrying, and everything is sacrificed to the appearance. I think that mass media have heavy responsibilities in that. On the contrary, if you observe Finnish people, only superficially they look more homologate than Italians; but when looking closer at them, you will see that homologation is just an impression, and it is quite easy to find very original and independent persons. In this sense, thanks to Finland I learnt to be more faithful to myself, far from superficial trends and models.”

(6A/*Finns*) - The situation does not change very much when moving on the Finnish side. 14 respondents out of 15 valued the experience as positive, remarking the decisive role it had for their personal growth and maturity. Besides the sense of independence (“I feel more independent”, FIN-7; “For the first time I learnt to live in a place far from my own, managing it even in difficult situations”, FIN-4), Finns tend to underline the “socializing” aspects of this experience. If Italians speak more about serenity and independence, Finns prefer to remark the benefits they got for their social skills: “I feel much more open, and I think it helped me to win my shyness” (FIN-1); “Before moving I was alone, now I have my own family” (FIN-2); “I met so many persons, living an extraordinary experience” (FIN-5); “I met great persons with which I still keep in touch” (FIN-6); “My communicative skills and my opening to others are very improved” (FIN-11); “My social network is changed. I got new friends and built a new family with my partner” (FIN-12); “I became more open” (FIN-13); “My experience in Italy has widen my knowledge of the world, of persons and of life in general” (FIN-15).

These words show as Finns tend to underline very much the social aspects of their experience. If the migratory time is considered decisive by Italians especially to gain independence and serenity, on the other side, it allowed Finns to enlarge their social skills.

Finally, in a couple of cases, the answer was a bit different, revealing the social awareness of delicate problems. It is the case of FIN-9 (“That period made me more conscious about such matters as social equality and feminism, that I didn’t consider so much when I was in Finland...”) and of FIN-10 (“I learnt that if you really want something, you have to fight for your rights”).

In only one case the Italian experience was not valued in terms of personal “growth”. FIN-8 (20 months in Italy) affirms that “Since I moved here, I have less time for myself... I cannot practice so much sport as I made before... If you want to go in for sport, unfortunately here you need to get your car and drive till the expensive sport centres!”

(6B/*Italians*) - Also the following question deals with the “change”, in this case focused on the professional dimension.

Confirming tendencies that already emerged before, Italian respondents speak about professional changes in positive terms. In all the cases, except for a non-classifiable answer, it is possible to detect the perception of a growth. The positivity of this experience is spontaneously compared to the situation that Italians left behind their shoulders in the native country. This is particularly evident in the following answers: ITA-1 (“Fortunately now I can do everything with enthusiasm”); ITA-2 (“Here I understood that I like very much the research but not in the way it is made in Italy”); ITA-3 (“I owe everything to Finland...here I found a nice job, well paid and permanent, in such a difficult sector as the industrial design”); ITA-4 (“In Italy young persons have very limited spaces for themselves, especially in such fields as publishing and research. Usually young workers are exploited, under-paid and left in the *mare magnum* of uncertain and precarious future. On the contrary, I think that in Finland valid persons have better opportunities to improve professionally. During my experiences both inside university and outside, I could learn a lot of things, setting direct and non-hierarchical relations with persons that were supposed to be more important than me”); ITA-5 (“A better confidence with laboratory techniques. I am quite sure that if I prepared my thesis in Italy I wouldn’t have an entire room for myself with sophisticated instruments... In Italy probably I had to share a common room with many others... I think that this possibility of managing your spaces and times improves quite much the final job”); ITA-6 (“In Finland I can work better and with more enthusiasm and serenity...I feel more motivated and considered...”); ITA-8 (“I learnt to organize my job by myself in a kind of work environment that looks so different from the Italian one”); ITA-10 (“I felt more considered and had the impression that there were more open ways in the future”); ITA-13 (“In Finland I earn more money, I use better public services; universities work really fine and values are oriented to meritocracy”) and ITA-15 (“I like very much my current working position while in Italy I was not able to find such kind of opportunity”).

It is evident as Italian respondents reveal a significant growth of their professional skills. But the most interesting aspect lies on the fact that in many cases they spontaneously compare the Finnish working experience with the previous Italian one.

(6B/*Finns*) - As for Finns, besides a certain number of respondents affirming that they couldn’t see any special changes at all (FIN-7, FIN-10, FIN-14 and FIN-15), many others, differently from Italians, underlined that they didn’t notice improvements as well (“My work hasn’t changed so much, the environment is quite different, but in practice I do the same things...”, FIN-1). On the contrary, there is someone that has observed even a worsening comparing with the previous situation: “Before coming to Italy I had my own job, instead now I only help my husband with his activity” (FIN-2); “Now I know that in Italy it is more important to have good relationships than professional skills to go ahead...” (FIN-8); “Here the student life is harder, more boring than in Finland. Then, when looking for a good job, probably I needed more time than in my country to find it. I found great differences between the Finnish system –based on meritocracy – and the Italian one, based on personal relations and recommendations. Moreover, there is a serious problem with the wages: for the same kind of job I am currently doing in Italy, in Finland I would earn more money” (FIN-12). Some respondents even regret what they left after moving abroad: “I started to appreciate the Finnish universities especially after my experience in Italy. Just there, I understood I am very close to the working moods of my own country” (FIN-9).

After all these negative perception of changes, there are also some positive ones. It is the case of FIN-5 (“I learnt many things after the language...the way in which Italians live solidarity, for example...”), FIN-6 (“In Italy I had the opportunity to prepare a very successful thesis”)

and FIN-13. This one represents the only case of explicit professional improvement: “In Italy I found a nice job in an international environment”. Unfortunately, the last one is only an exception: contrary to what happened to Italians moved to Finland, in the most of cases Finns expressed an evident dissatisfaction for their professional route in Italy.

• **Vision of the host country (block n.7)**

The two questions composing this block are very useful to measure in which way the vision of the host country has changed after the concrete realization of the migratory experience. If the first question (7A) aims to understand “how much” respondents knew about Finland/Italy before moving, the next one (7B) wants to verify the new perception after the experience was effectively done.

(7A/*Italians*) - As for Italians, it is better to classify their answers into 3 categories.

What kind of idea did you have about Finland before moving there?

Nothing special	7
Negative perceptions	3
Positive images	5

First, it is important to notice the high number of respondents that admit they didn’t know anything special about the host country before going there (7). The presence of almost the half of the sample in this category, confirms something that already emerged before: at least until some years ago, Finland was not a very well known country in Italy. Then, there is a second category of answers, where respondents show a sort of initial “negative” perception of Finland, often influenced by prejudices and stereotypes. This group includes 3 Italians. Finally, for the last 5 respondents, this perspective deals with positive images. As to the first group, the answers look quite homogeneous: “I had no specific ideas” (ITA-2); “I was very curious about this country but now I understand I was scarcely informed about it! Everything that I knew was the consequence of generic information, often regarding folkloric aspects...” (ITA-4); “I didn’t know anything” (ITA-7); “Just an exotic and unknown place” (ITA-12); “If I have to say the truth, I had not great consideration for the country before moving in. I never had great interest for Nordic countries before, because I considered them as a bit outside the world” (ITA-5). In the same category, there is also somebody as ITA-6, that was used to “look at Finland just as a part of Scandinavia, without considering specific differences with Sweden or Norway”, or as ITA-10, that chose on purpose not to get information before moving, because “I wanted to discover everything from the inside”. Generally, this category shows a serious lack of information on the host country, before the move. The analysis of the same answers concerning Finns in Italy, will show a completely different situation. The second category presents 3 respondents affirming that their initial opinions about Finland were not so nice: “cold” (ITA-3), “I thought it was a cold country both for persons and for the climate” (ITA-8), “I was a bit scared for the cold and dark winter” (ITA-13). Anyway, negative opinions are quite “soft”, generally influenced by worries concerning climate. After that, there are other 5 respondents that already had some positive opinions about the country before moving: “I knew it was a very civilized country, as all the other Scandinavians” (ITA-1); “I thought it was a quiet place, where things worked fine and persons behaved honestly” (ITA-9); “A very tidy and civil nation” (ITA-11); “Before going there, I heard about a nice country, where it was easy to live and work peacefully” (ITA-14) and “I’ve always heard good things about Finland” (ITA-15). Both the negative and the positive initial vision, look quite soft and rather influenced by indirect information.

(7B/*Italians*) - In which way these initial opinions found a concrete reply after the real life experience? Generally, the answers confirm what already emerged in the previous analysis: regardless of their expectations, prejudices or stereotypes, respondents have nice opinions of Finland even after the concrete impact. In many cases, the concrete valuation is much better than the initial expectations. Only 2 answers show negative elements, which have partly scratched the initial opinions.

What kind of idea do you have about Finland after the concrete experience there?

Nothing special	0
Good visions / Better than before	13
Negative visions / Worse than before	2

Starting from the Italians that were initially worried (3), it looks like negative aspects tended to lose their importance: this is what happened to ITA-3 (“After experiencing it, now I consider Finland as the place where I would like to live”), ITA-8 (“An efficient country, whose inhabitants, despite being a bit cold in the beginning, after all they start to be kind and available”) and ITA-13 (“The current idea is much better than the one I had before. Even for social relations, I revaluated quite much the Finns”). It is evident as the initial fears have been removed, giving space to new positive elements. Looking at the other answers, there are respondents that, after they had initially imagined Finland as “fascinating” (ITA-14), had their ideas confirmed, and others whose initial visions were even improved by real life experience. For example, this is the case of ITA-15: “I had my initial opinions confirmed, while all the negative rumours were just false. Generally Finns are not as cold as they use to say, or as they themselves think to be. As regards the climate, I thought it was much worse! Let’s say that the first winter hasn’t been as terrible as expected...” The next opinions remark the general enthusiasm of young Italians towards Finland: “I think that Finland is a very modern and open country, always oriented to the future and never far from its own history. The political class is much more careful to the citizen’s needs, and institutions never forget to support persons in trouble” (ITA-4); “I think that a new great passion was born after I moved in: I don’t believe that Finland is outside the world, as I thought in the beginning, and at least for the scientific fields it is more advanced than Italy.” (ITA-5); “It is a country where future is less scaring. If you decide to build your own family you are not abandoned. The efforts and the quality of persons are appreciated and valued. Trying to dupe others here is not considered as a merit” (ITA-6). The metaphorical image proposed by ITA-1 deserves to be mentioned: “If I have to describe Finland, I like to take the idea of <digital farmer>: Finns tend to conjugate the sobriety of their life style with very modern and advanced settings”. Finally, ITA-7 presents a nice advice: “Finland is a country that deserves to be lived, and not just visited. I wouldn’t suggest anybody to come up here only for a short holiday”. As it was already said before, only 2 Italians underlined negative aspects after they moved in. In both the cases, they mention matters concerning social behaviours of Finns. It is the case of ITA-9 (“many persons in Finland look very lonely and with great difficulties to open to others”) and of ITA-10 (“I was worried by the increasing urbanization and Americanization of the country, especially for the negative effects on young generations. It looks like there was a drastic change of life styles in few years. I hope it is not the sign of a progressive loss of roots, because in this case the American model surely doesn’t represent the best solution”).

(7A/*Finns*) - As for Finns, contrary to Italians, none of the answers revealed a poor initial knowledge of the host country. Italy seems to be quite popular among young Finns and all of them affirm they had some previous opinions before moving. Another surprising element is

the fact that all the Finnish respondents say that in the beginning they had only positive images of the country.

What kind of idea did you have about Italy before moving there?

Nothing special	0
Negative perceptions	0
Positive images	15

The following responses can clear this kind of initial visions: “Italy was the country of my dreams since I was a kid” (FIN-1); “A country rich of history and culture like no one else in the entire world” (FIN-2); “an exceptional country” (FIN-3); “interesting” (FIN-4); “I looked at Italy as a country that, despite of its small dimensions, for centuries was able to mark the world history, in all fields” (FIN-5); “great consideration” (FIN-6); “a place where it is possible to eat very well and where family is still an important institution” (FIN-7); “a nice and creative country with a lot of arts, culture and natural beauties” (FIN-9); “sunny and funny” (FIN-13); “nice guys, good food, happy people and great cultural traditions” (FIN-15). It is evident as the initial images were very similar each other, being oriented to a positive conception of the country. The answer of FIN-14 is particularly emblematic, describing an image of Italy that looks very close to the Federico Fellini movies.

(7B/Finns) - Just the answer of FIN-14 represents a good start to analyze how Finns replied to the following question:

What kind of idea do you have about Italy after the concrete experience there?

Nothing special	0
Good visions / Better than before	6
Negative visions / Worse than before	9

If for Italians there was a general confirmation (or even improvement) of the positive initial opinions, in this case the situation changes very much. It looks like for the most of the Finnish respondents the “Fellini effect”, oriented to “art, smiles and culture”, was nearly twisted after the impact with reality. This brings to suppose that, despite Italy looks very popular in Finland, probably these expectations (generally oriented to positive images) are only the result of stereotyped ideas. On the contrary, as emerged in the previous analysis, the lack of precise initial information about Finland, often brought Italians to be positively surprised about the “unexpected” features of the new country. The words of FIN-14, that described a sort of “cinematographic” vision of the host country, are particularly useful to show this process. After the real life experience, things revealed to be much different than expected: “Fellini has almost nothing to do with Italy. The country is chaotic, frustrating, not functional. Anyway, it is also creative, passionate, impulsive, some times corrupted and many others too relaxed”.

The unreliability of the initial impressions is confirmed also by FIN-9: “It is always pleasant to go to Italy for holidays, there are so many things to enjoy for tourists: food, nice people, beautiful towns... But the everyday life sometimes drove me crazy: bureaucracy and the strange logic followed by public institutions are quite impossible to understand; moreover, I don’t like the evident social inequalities and that kind of mentality that often accepts passively the situations”. Similar comments come from FIN-1 (“A great country, full of nice things but also plenty of problems”), FIN-4 (“an interesting country where, unfortunately, often it is not so easy to live”), FIN-6 (“such a messy place, even if my general valuation is positive”) and FIN-8 (“a nice country with many troubles”).

In this sense, the impression is that young Finns, after the direct impact with the Italian reality, have gradually reached the awareness of problems that are part of such a great and prismatic country. This new conception is perfectly expressed by FIN-11 (“The country is touched by evident changes in the social structure”) and FIN-15 (“I am not sure that there is just only one Italy...I’m rather oriented to think that the country is very fragmented... so much that it is quite hard for me to realize how all these parts can stay together, going on without collapsing...”).

Despite of this “new awareness”, many respondents still conserve great opinions about Italy: “My current vision of Italy is much more realistic than before, but anyway I am even more convinced of my choice to live here. Despite all the problems, I confirm the positive things I said and thought in the beginning” (FIN-12); “Italy is a small place but there is nobody in the world that has never heard about this country. The history, culture, European Union: Italy has always been protagonist for everything happened in the world. And I am sure that after all there is a good reason for that.” (FIN-5). After a couple of answers that have generally confirmed the initial positive image (FIN-2 and FIN-3), it is quite surprising to read the way in which FIN-13 described Italy. These words look like a perfect symbol of that “new awareness” which was already mentioned before. If - at least in the beginning - for FIN-13 Italy was just a “sunny and funny country”, now it is a place where “it’s possible to make even the chaos logic”.

• Significant life experiences in the host country (block n.8)

The only question of the present block asks respondents to describe an episode that has particularly struck them during their experience abroad. Besides representing a useful way to collect anecdotes, this question is very important also to verify the nature of situations to which respondents tend to attach more importance. Through this question, it is possible to verify if these episodes are more connected to working experiences, to social relations or to the everyday life.

(8A/*Italians*) - As for Italians, the first distinction can be made between the positive and the negative nature of the mentioned episodes. After excluding a non-classifiable answer, 11 responses were considered “positive” while in only 3 cases the mentioned episode recalls a negative situation. Moreover, the answers were classified also for the specific context they are dealing with (e.g. job, everyday life and social relations).

Significant episodes mentioned by Italian respondents:

Positive	11
Negative	3
Non class.	1

Context of the mentioned episodes:

Work	Everyday life	Social relations
1	8 (1 negative)	5 (2 negative)

Despite the previous analysis showed as work represents a very important dimension for young Italians in Finland, when they were asked to tell an episode that has particularly struck them, 8 respondents referred to events concerning the everyday life; other 5 chose the social relations while only in one case the work context was mentioned. The highest rate of negative

episodes regards the social relations, with 2 cases out of 5. As for the professional context (1/positive), it is ITA-13 to remember that “at University they were all very available. When I arrived they soon provided me a private office, a computer with internet connection and everything else I needed.”

In the “everyday life” context, after the negative memory of ITA-3 (“Teenagers use to spit very much on the ground when they are together”), it is possible to collect a long series of positive anecdotes: “In all public offices people just wait in the queue and nobody tries to go before. On the street, the security signals generally are much respected” (ITA-6); “Once I went to the shop and after paying I forgot an old packet of candies on the cash-desk. The shop-cashier left the place with all customers waiting and came after me outside only to return my half-empted packet” (ITA-7); “It was a dark winter night, with a lot of snow. I was going home with a friend, there was nobody around, no cars at all. When I had to across the street I saw a man waiting at the traffic lights for the green signal...” (ITA-11); “It is funny that in all the offices Finns use to have a kitchen... So, it is quite easy that you prepare your own food while just in that moment your boss is drinking a cup of milk! It is such an unusual scenery for the Italian habits and for our professional contexts!” (ITA-15).

In the same category of answers, referred to everyday life situations, the tales of ITA-10 and ITA-4 are particularly significant and deserve a special attention. In these cases, the memory of apparently far and little episodes, reveals very strong bonds with the host country.

“It was the morning of some years ago, on winter time... I was looking for a flower to give to a friend for her birthday in the market square of Turku, when an old lady with very modest clothes and deep blue eyes, came close to me. She was there to buy flowers as well, and I was after her in the queue. She told me something I didn’t understand. I answered that I was not a Finn. Despite of her very poor English, we were able to start some kind of conversation; I told about my Italian origin and what I was doing there in Turku. Then, the woman asked me which was my favourite flower. After that, it was her turn to pay and, before leaving, looking straight at my eyes, she pronounced something like <Have a nice day>. When she moved, I waited the florist preparing my flower and then asked how much I had to pay for it. The seller replied that the old lady already paid it for me. I was very surprised about that. I turned back immediately to thank for the gift but she was already disappeared. I have been thinking many times to that strange episode: it was a kind of magic, a special moment of hospitality that I could experience in different ways also in the next months of my stay in Finland” (ITA-10).

“I’d have thousands episodes, but probably the most significant regards just my first approach with Suomi. When I went there for the first time, many years ago, I had never been abroad before, I was alone and had just a basic knowledge of the English, being quite unprepared to everything was going to happen. As it was Sunday, I knew I could get the keys for my room at student village only on the next day. My plane was to spend my first night at the local youth hostel. I got the coach from the Helsinki airport and when arrived at the bus station of Turku, with 2 enormous luggage, I asked to the driver – that in the meanwhile had turned off the bus – where was the hostel. It was late evening, I felt alone and a bit scared! Probably he could understand only a few of my poor English, anyway looking at the worried expression of my face he comprehended I was in trouble. After he got which was my destination, the man didn’t think about it that much: he just turned on again the bus and drove me straight in front of the hostel that was 10 minutes far away. This is the first thing that happened to me in Finland and if you believe to destiny’s signs... I confess that the following experiences confirmed completely the positive impression of that first approach” (ITA-4).

Looking back at the answers classified in the “social relations” category (5), a couple of them report negative memories. In both cases, they concern with alcohol abuse: “I feel always very

disappointed when I see the large amount of persons destroying themselves every weekend with alcohol” (ITA-9); “I am still not used to all the drunk persons I meet walking around” (ITA-12). As for the positive responses, after a proper reference to the famous celebration of “Vappu” (“I’m always very impressed by the Vappu...going in the streets to celebrate... being so proud of their own studies is just a sign of great civilization”, ITA-1), in the other 2 cases respondents tend to underline a sort of “doubling” in the Finnish’ attitudes: “Locals are very original persons...they are really shy on the day time, very reserved, serious and precise... then, they get much more confidence in the night, at the parties, in the pubs...they look like very different persons...” (ITA-5); “Finns are very serious and professional while working, but if you are able to interest and involve them in some way outside, often they reveal to be more extroverted than expected. I had a colleague that for many weeks has never spoken to me...I thought he didn’t like me at all... but suddenly one day he invited me to a party. I accepted, and there he was very very nice, introducing all his friends...after that everything’s changed and now we are very good friends! Now he says that he always had a kind of liking for me, since the beginning, but he just didn’t feel the need to speak, until there was a good situation to make it” (ITA-14).

(8A/*Finns*) - What about the episodes told by Finnish respondents? Besides 4 non-classifiable (or not provided) answers, it is possible to observe a much higher rate of negative episodes (5 out of 11). Comparing with Italians, there are more memories recalling unpleasant situations. As for the categories, the same ones already used for Italians (work, everyday life, social relations) should be joined by a new one, concerning “politics and institutions”. These topics were never mentioned by Italians but here involve 2 Finns. The “negative” memories are included in “work” (1 out of 2), “social relations” (1 out of 4), “politics and institutions” (1 out of 2) and “everyday life” (2 out of 3). Even if negative episodes are much higher in proportion than for Italians, they are equally distributed among all the categories. In this sense, it is not possible to observe a particularly “critical” area.

Significant episodes mentioned by Finnish respondents:

Positive	6
Negative	5
Non class.	4

Context of the mentioned episodes:

Work	Everyday life	Social relations	Politics and institutions
2 (1 neg.)	3 (2 neg.)	4 (1 neg.)	2 (1 neg.)

Besides 4 respondents that couldn’t (or didn’t like to) mention a specific episode, there is somebody like FIN-12 that reported 2 stories (classified in the “social relations” category):

(1) “It was my first year in L’Aquila, on summer time, I was walking on the streets and a police car came close to me. One of the cops leant out of the window and asked me to approach. Looking at that signal, I felt worried and, as a typical Finn, I thought I probably made something wrong. After few seconds, the cop in the car started to whistle, and then he said: <Ciao Bella, would you like to come with us and have a glass of spumante together?>”;

(2) “We have a postman that is able to find me wherever I go. When we moved out from the old house, he could sort my mail without I needed to give the official notice of movement. When he gets some packets, if I am not at home, he comes straight to my office. And the

same thing happens for my boyfriend. It is funny because he is not compelled to make it. It is the same with my newspapers-seller: he conserves everything I like... ”(FIN-12).

In the same group (“social relations”), FIN-1 (“almost all the persons I knew looked very interested to the fact that I was foreigner, making a lot of questions about Finland...this is an evident sign of the European spirit of Italians!”) and FIN-2 (“people are very kind with north Europeans, I was never felt alone here”) appreciate the great consideration of Italians for foreigners. On the contrary, at least in the beginning, FIN-13 had some troubles: “In the first period of my stay I was quite lost, especially at university, and I didn’t know where to ask for information. After all I decided to ask to a nun, thinking that she could help me... but she was very impolite!”

As for the “work” category, somebody was negatively struck by the fact that “in Italy all young persons tend to complain about job, perceived as dissatisfying or just missing” (FIN-4); somebody else on the contrary was surprised to observe that “Italians do not work few, as it is generally thought. On the contrary, I saw that the working hours of shops and offices often are longer than ours” (FIN-6). Finally, 2 negative comments come from the “politics and institutions” (“everybody in this country speak badly about politics, but I think Italians should consider themselves as lucky, thinking that in the rest of the world there are much worse situations”, FIN-5) and from the “everyday life” categories (“I was always struck by the great contrasts between the things I observed on the streets, in the stations and so on, and the life style of the middle-class persons. It was so strange to see these opposite sides of life in the same hour, for example taking the underground and looking at all the homeless, then going to the party of persons that don’t even know about the existence of such poverty, because probably they never use public transports...”, FIN-9).

In conclusion, all these memories are very useful to outline the phenomenon under investigation. The words of FIN-3 look quite emblematic to comprehend the nature of relations between Italians and Finns: “Italians have very different habits comparing with Finns: food, work, the way of having fun... everything! But generally, despite of all these differences, for some strange reasons, there’s a lot of mutual liking, a sort of special feeling among them”.

• European identity (block n. 9)

The last block represents a decisive point for the entire research. The following questions, that were left on purpose just at the end of the questionnaire, want to verify which kind of perception new emigrants have about Europe and how deeply do they feel to belong to it; finally, it is important to measure how much this experience abroad has influenced the process of coming “into” European visions.

First, respondents were asked to explain what they think about Europe. This question, after verifying if it prevails a positive or negative perception, defines the fields to which the idea of Europe is associated. Are they dealing with economy, politics and culture or just with geographical elements?

(9A/Italians) - As for Italians, the following table shows as the most of them have a positive vision of the European Union. 14 answers out of 15 reveal an evident optimism for EU.

Perception of Europe

Positive definitions	14
Negative definitions	1

Fields related by Italians to the idea of Europe

Culture	Politics	Economy	Geography	Values/Ideals
3	2	2 (1 negative)	2	6

The most of Italians can find inside “values and ideals” the main motive of European Union; the other answers are equally distributed in the other categories. The only negative answer concerns “economy”; it comes from ITA-11, according to which “Europe is just a way in which the members try to exploit the money of the entire community”. The other (positive) answer included in the same category, on the contrary underlines the opportunities that European Union could guarantee to international economies and labour markets. According to ITA-15, “thanks to Europe I see better opportunities for young persons that, same way as me, decide to move abroad to live and work. If I made this kind of experience 15-20 years ago, I’m sure that things would have been much harder”. The most favoured category is the one dealing with ideals and values, and this suggests a sort of “idealized” vision of Europe among young Italians: “Europe is that kind of idea according to which identities, common roots and values have nothing to do with differences as races, religions, nationalities, restricted habits or personal tastes, finding their concrete reference just in the ideals of the French Revolution” (ITA-1); “Europe means having the opportunity to go out from the fixed borders, and I don’t think only to the geographical ones. Europe is the future, is the occasion that everybody have, especially young generations, to go beyond their limited visions, for widening life experiences and perspectives” (ITA-4); “EU makes me think to the fact of being part of a group, sharing common values and being proud about that” (ITA-9); “...the possibility of communicating, dreaming, knowing the peculiarities that define each group and that open the doors to everything and everyone is different from us” (ITA-10); “...creating new common tracks and identities but without flattening the local peculiarities of each nation” (ITA-13).

Looking at the other categories, 3 answers can be classified in the “cultural” one: “First of all, Europe means cultural exchange...” (ITA-2); “...to give original features and directions to national realities with solid traditions... This will bring to integrate very different kind of cultures” (ITA-5); “Europe represents the capability of sharing similar cultures, generally oriented to a common vision of the future” (ITA-12).

Only 2 respondents underline the political/institutional nature of Europe: ITA-7 (“...the possibility of having the same rights and duties for everybody”) and ITA-8 (“... a group of countries that try to fix common rules in order to present on the international setting as a single political institution”). Finally, in the last 2 cases, respondents give a decisive importance to logistical and geographic aspects: “... the easier possibility of moving from country to country” (ITA-6); “... better opportunities of moving” (ITA-3).

Generally, these answers reveal a very mature and aware vision of Europe for young Italians, with the evident supremacy of positive opinions.

(9A/Finns) - As for Finns, the first important element concerns just with this aspect: comparing with Italians, the number of respondents that described Europe only with positive tones is a bit lower. Even if they are just few cases (4), it is important to consider the difference with the Italian group, where negative comments were restricted to only one case.

Perception of Europe

Positive definitions	11
Negative definitions	4

Fields related by Finns to the idea of Europe

Culture	Politics	Economy	Geography	Values/Ideals
0	2	4 (4 negative)	2	7

If by one side the numbers concerning values/ideals, politics and geography are very close to the Italians', on the other side it is quite surprising to see the complete lack of Finns with "cultural" visions of the European identity (Italians were 3). Moreover, the number of respondents that consider just the economy as the main structure of EU is doubled: Finns are 4, Italians were 2. It is important to underline that – both for Italians and Finns – all the respondents that describe a negative perception of Europe can be classified in the "Economic" category. This is to say that both the only Italian and all the 4 Finns that have remarked a negative vision of Europe, pointed out only the economic aspects of the problem. Generally, if we consider the entire sample together (Finns and Italians), 6 respondents (5 "negatives") observed just in the "economics" the main element of European Union (20% of the entire sample). Considering all the other responses, it is significant to see that for the 80% of the respondents (24 out of 30) Europe deserved only positive comments, concerning fields outside economics.

Many interesting comments come from the Finnish group; as for "values and ideals", they speak about "better possibilities for increasing tolerance" (FIN-10), "... looking outside everybody's country with more simplicity" (FIN-6), "... making a decisive step towards a global village" (FIN-5), "Better opportunities" (FIN-4), "More possibilities to travel and to meet persons that share similar interests" (FIN-11), "... feeling each other closer and less individualist, without forgetting their own roots" (FIN-13).

As for geographic and logistical factors, FIN-2 speaks about the "easier way to move and to work outside the native country"; according to FIN-3 "It is much easier to choose where to study, work and live". The "political" category includes the significant comment of FIN-12: "Europe means setting common rules for everybody, that can guarantee better life possibilities to persons".

Finally, as it was already said, the "economic" category includes all the 4 negative answers given by the Finnish respondents: "Basically Europe means Euro, that is to say all the money thrown away to Brussels" (FIN-8); "This Europe has cost a lot of money to all Europeans. After all, it looks like something very different from what people expected" (FIN-10); "It is a kind of structure that favours mainly the mobility of big enterprises, killing the local cultures and regulating even the price of bananas" (FIN-14); "I see that the real motives of Europe are more in the economics than anywhere else. The cultural aspect, on the contrary, is just a kind of manipulation" (FIN-15).

It is evident that these last opinions would deserve deeper analysis. Anyway, looking just at the present sample, they represent only a small percentage of respondents. In the other cases, emerged a positive vision of EU, where important roles were assigned to values, ideals, culture and politics. Generally, "new emigrants" show an optimistic vision of the "European perspective", and in this sense it does not look improper to describe a sort of "Eurogeneration", oriented to further life horizons.

(9B/*Italians*) - The next question of the block tries to go deeper: after they described their idea of Europe, now respondents are asked to say how much they feel to belong to this reality.

How much do you feel to be “European”? (Italians)

Very much	Moderately	Not so much	Not at all
9	4	1	0

The total amount of answers is 14 and not 15. This, because it was not possible to classify the response of ITA-11 (“I feel a world citizen”); in the previous question, ITA-11 was the only Italian to give a negative comment on European Union, affirming that “Europe is just a way in which the members try to exploit the money of the entire community”. Besides this one, the table shows as a large part of Italians feel “very much” (9) or at least “moderately” (4) European: considering these values together, 13 members of the sample can observe relevant tracks of “Europeanism” in their lives. The only exception comes from ITA-5: “I can’t feel European, may be because I feel just Italian”.

Looking at the most relevant comments, interesting elements come from ITA-2 (“I feel European in the same way as I feel Italian” – classified “moderately”), ITA-4 (“Europe is my country”), ITA-6 (“Moderately. I feel more European than Italian”), ITA-7 (“Completely. When I travel in Europe I have the impression that, comparing with other continents, my national values are closer and shared”), ITA-9 (“The fact that I have been living in other countries, speaking other languages, makes me feel quite European”), ITA-10 (“I recognize I belong to a specific cultural dimension, that for sure is different from the Asian, the African and the Arabian...”), ITA-14 (“I think that the European identity is quite close to my way of facing the life”) and ITA-15 (“I feel European more than just Italian or Finnish”).

(9B/Finns) - As for Finns, the following table shows that the situation is not far from the Italian one:

How much do you feel to be “European”? (Finns)

Very much	Moderately	Not so much	Not at all
8	3	3	1

In this case, 8 respondents consider themselves as “very” European, and also for the second group (“moderately”) numbers are very close to the Italian’s. Then, there are 3 respondents feeling “not so much” (versus one case for Italians) or just “not at all” (1) European (not present among Italians).

If looking at statistics, the Finnish sample seems slightly less “euro-oriented” than the Italian’. Anyway, it is just a minimal difference, and even in this case, if considering the “very much” and the “moderately” categories together, the total value is quite high (11 Finns versus 13 Italians). The first group (“very much”) includes the significant words of FIN-1 (“Nowadays much more than before”) and FIN-12 (“I really like to consider myself as European, rather than just Finnish or Italian”). Looking at the second group (“moderately”), FIN-5 affirms that “I feel a world citizen, but anyway I prefer European more than Finnish or Italian”. The “not so much” category regards 3 respondents: FIN-14 (“I feel just myself. Not a Finn, not Italian and not particularly European. Just only myself”), FIN-10 (“I consider myself much more Italian and Finnish than European”) and FIN-9 (“For me Europe is just a practical thing, more than a reference for people’s identity. I feel Finnish or just belonging to the western culture, but not particularly European”). Finally, only FIN-15 (“I don’t feel European at all”) cannot individuate any tracks “Europeanism” in herself. The position of FIN-8 looks quite strange:

after defining in negative terms the EU in the previous answer (“basically Europe means Euro, that is to say a lot of money thrown away in Brussels”), here the respondent affirms to feel “100% European”. In the other 3 cases in which Europe was described in negative terms (FIN-10, FIN-14 and FIN-15), instead respondents were very coherent, placing in the “not so much” or in the “not at all” category.

The last question of the block represents also the final point of the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to explain if this migratory experience has influenced their way to consider and “feel” the European spirit. This question – that was placed on purpose just at the end of the study – is a very crucial moment of the present research, since it helps to understand in which terms “new migrations” have conditioned the building of a new kind of identity.

(9C/*Italians*) - As for Italians, results can be summarized in the next table.

Do you think that this experience in Finland has been significant regarding your feelings about “Europe”? (Italians)

Very much	Moderately	Not so much	Not at all
8	2	1	3

Because of his unintelligible reply (“it has contributed to confirm my anthropologic opinions”), ITA-11 was not classified in the table. The most of respondents (8) consider the migratory experience in Finland as absolutely decisive to define their “European spirit”; other 2 respondents assign it a moderate weight. Taking these values together, 10 Italians out of 15 share a positive perception of the period spent in Finland in relation to the building of a European identity. Only in one case (ITA-5) the experience is considered “not so much” relevant in this sense, while other 3 respondents judge it not significant “at all”. Respondents belonging to the last category are ITA-8, ITA-13 (“No, I felt European also before than migrating”) and ITA-6 (“No, it has not changed the way in which I look at European Union”). All these 3 respondents, when asked to describe their opinions about Europe (question 9/A), they didn’t give negative comments. In this sense, their position can be interpreted as it follows: even if they have a positive perception of Europe in general, for some reason their “European spirit” has not been significantly touched by the migratory experience. The position of ITA-6 is very emblematic in this sense: in many occasions the respondent gave very good opinions about the period spent in Finland; then, replied to the 9/B question affirming to feel “moderately European”. The last given answer (“No, it has not changed the way in which I look at European Union”) is not in contradiction with the previous ones, as it simply indicates that the period spent in Finland has not modified the way of perceiving the European Union. The same interpretation can be extended to ITA-8 and ITA-13: in the previous answers they affirmed to feel “moderately” European, describing the EU in positive terms. So, the last reply cannot be considered as a reductive element of the migratory experience itself. A different interpretation is due to the words of ITA-5: after describing in positive terms the idea of Europe (“... a unique big country that is able to combine different values, cultures and history”), when had to explain the way to “feel European”, the respondent said that “I am not able to think at myself as a European citizen, maybe because I simply feel Italian”. In this sense, when asked to say if this migratory experience has had some special effects on the “European identity”, ITA-5 (that spent in Finland only the minimum period required) coherently replied “not that much”.

After clearing up the positions of respondents that answered “not so much” (ITA-5) or “not at all” (ITA-6, ITA-8 and ITA-13) to the last question, it is important to consider the relevant number of them (10) that valued as “very much” (8) or “moderately” (2) important the migra-

tory experience in relation with the process of “europeanization”. The second category includes ITA-14 (“It has been very useful to strengthen some ideas that I already had before”) and ITA-15 (“I have always considered myself as European, even before coming to Finland. Today, may be just because of my first concrete experience, I think that this feeling is even stronger”).

Very significant words come from the other 8 respondents that were classified in the first category (“very much”): ITA-1 (“...the university life in Finland is for sure a great example of open and multicultural environment...”), ITA-4 (“It was just during my stay in Finland that I started to understand that the Italian borders were too limited for me. In Finland I began to develop a new personality, that nowadays I consider more open and available to diversity”), ITA-7 (“Very significant. Everyone that would like to understand better his own country, should try to go away and look at it from outside”), ITA-9 (“Yes, because I learnt to look at my country from outside, understanding that often many things we consider normal on the contrary are not normal at all...”).

The last two answers embody very well that principle of multiculturalism which stays at the base of the European spirit. Here, just the experience outside the national borders is valued as absolutely decisive to reach a better awareness of their own roots: “In Finland I have been living, studying and working very close to persons coming from different nations... and for sure this was very useful to understand different ways of being...” (ITA-10); “I had the opportunity to see the world from another perspective, understanding other reasons better than before... The European identity probably can be perceived much better throughout this kind of experiences. In this sense, I consider them more important than any commercial or economic agreements”.

These words are very useful to see that for young Italians migratory experience assumed such a relevant role for the acquisition of a European spirit, a sort of new civil identity concerning multiculturalism and opening to others.

(9C/Finns) - What about young Finns? The following table shows how they replied to the final question.

Do you think that this experience in Italy has been significant regarding your feelings about “Europe”? (Finns)

Very much	Moderately	Not so much	Not at all
9	0	2	4

Also in this case the most of respondents (9) give a decisive weight to the period spent abroad. Moreover, numbers are not far from the Italian ones. If in that case the answers included in the first category (“very much”) were 8, among Finns this value registers even a small increase (9). The same thing can be said for the “negative” answers: 2 Finns replied “not so much” (versus 1 Italian) and 4 “not at all” (versus 3 Italians).

Comparing these last replies with the previous ones, also among Finns it is possible to verify coherent positions: the 4 respondents that gave negative opinions about Europe, focusing on economic aspects, in the last question have defined the migratory experience as “not so much” or “not at all” relevant for the building of a European identity. They are FIN-10 (“No, really not”), FIN-8 (“No, it didn’t help me to feel more European”), FIN-14 (“Not particularly”) and FIN-15 (“Why should I feel more European?”); all of them were included in the “not at all” category. As for the “not so much” group, it concerns FIN-9 and FIN-13 (“More than Italy

itself, it was just the international job I got there to push me into different opinions and moods”).

The words of respondents (9) considering the Italian experience as “very much” important in this sense are quite significant: “Since I moved to Italy I feel much more European” (FIN-1); “Thanks to Italy nowadays I consider myself not only as a Finn, but also as an Italian and a European one” (FIN-2); “I feel more European and hope I can make this kind of experience abroad again in the future” (FIN-3); “Yes! I had the opportunity to know such a different world from mine” (FIN-4); “Very much! It is hard to know the world if you don’t live inside it! Italy is an extremely various country, multicultural, heterogeneous, and so it is very helpful in this sense” (FIN-5); “Yes, I can say that after my months in Italy my way of feeling European is grown!” (FIN-6); “Now I certainly feel more European because I realized that we are not so far and different even if living in Italy or Finland” (FIN-7); “Of course, because I could mix it up for the first time in my life such different elements of the European context: the northern and the southern side” (FIN-11).

A crucial element comes out of these analyses: both Italians and Finns express the wish of overcoming the differences, reaching the awareness of a common belonging, where barriers fall down and the new tracks are not fixed only by economic or commercial affairs. On the contrary, respondents recall a common universe of values that sees just in the new generations the best possible keepers. Thanks to this perspective, cultural barriers fall down as well, and young generations stop to feel only “Italians” or “Finns”, acquiring that new communitarian awareness embodied by Europe itself. In this sense, not only mental, commercial, political or geographical borders are destined to change: the same concept of nation turns upside-down, taking new meanings. But all of this is possible only in a new and enlarged context where, for the first time, as affirmed by FIN-11 in the last answer, even dimensions like north and south can find themselves a bit closer.

Looking back at the last replies, the answer of FIN-12 was not mentioned on purpose. This, because the words of this young “European” citizen (2 degrees and an important job gained after years of training and sacrifices in Italy) represent the best way to conclude our long travel. Words that not only reflect the spirit of this study, but that embody at the best even thoughts, needs and dreams of an entire generation.

“Of course my experience has been significant! All experiences abroad are very important. They make you feel more European, because you understand that borders are weak, just an illusion, and that the place where you are living is not so important, after all. You understand that a certain part of your identity, more than <Finn> or <Italian>, could rather be defined as <European>; so many things that you consider as normal and usual, some basic values, are defined by common roots, that more than Finnish or Italian are just European, and in this sense they are different from the ‘American’, ‘Asian’, ‘African’ or ‘Middle Eastern’ way. You understand much better so many things of your life, even regarding your own soul, things that you have always considered normal before... But when you change the language, the place and the town, even those small things can change, becoming a part of your <new> identity. The fact of feeling different, grown up, makes me think also to the capability of looking at the world in a wider perspective, trying to understand the reasons of those differences... It is so hard to divide your soul in different sides; which is the Finnish, and which is the Italian one?

That’s why I like to think at myself as European, a concept that includes different experiences and ways of being... There are specific tracks that determine the effective integration in a new reality. After the first period of <infatuation>, there is a second more critical one, which can vary from <refusal> to <elaboration>. If you are unlucky, you fall in the refusal and in the

consequent social marginalization. Sometimes, in order to set in the new one, you can also risk the negation and the removal of your old identity. On the contrary, if you are lucky, after the elaboration process you go straight towards integration... In this case, you see that it is not impossible to keep together both the different sides of your soul. I hope and believe that finally I was able to reach this stage: the integration and the elaboration of a new European identity”.

In conclusion, the study of new migrations in Europe looks like starting a long voyage inside the emblematic aspects of modernity, simultaneously revealing neglected features of the Finnish and Italian backgrounds. Even if the “Finnish-Italian case” hasn’t reached great interests yet, the special point of observation implied by “two opposite sides of EU”, has offered important anticipations of the next future tendencies for the whole European stage.

Conclusion

Europe and nations: enrichment or progressive loss of human resources?

The present study described two different groups of “new emigrants”. Besides some elements that distinguish the Finnish and the Italian case, it was possible to observe also a long series of aspects shared by both the groups. This gives to the figures of the “new emigrants” specific features, regardless of their nationality.

Looking at the questionnaire responses, the differences between Italians and Finns concern mainly with motivations and perception of the native and of the host country. In this sense, the block of questions about national identities was very significant: the critical positions of Italians seemed decisive to drive towards the new Finnish context, often perceived as an ideal solution for their problems. That’s why the so called “instrumental” dimension resulted so important to comprehend Italians’ motivations and needs. The same elements look quite insignificant for the Finnish respondents, and generally it was not possible to detect negative positions against their native country; so, they don’t look at the host country as an “instrumental solution” but are attracted mainly by cultural or personal aspects.

Considering only the economic and political sides, it seems quite hard to describe a “European generation”. On the contrary, Italians and Finns look much closer when dealing with general life ways, education, needs, dreams and ideals. These aspects are proper of both the groups and look like very concrete values to support a common sense of belonging.

Other important questions emerged from the study and deserve to be mentioned: how deeply new migrations can be considered as positive elements for the building of a European identity? Or are they only a sign of the growing social discomfort? This is an unsolved problem, and frequently it raises the attention towards the risk of progressive loss of human resources.

At the moment, new migrations can be described throughout two different visions, at same time opposite and complementary:

- European perspective/positive vision: new migrations as result of new kind of identities, communitarian and “over national”, oriented to extend the opportunities for sharing ideas, goods and cultures.

- National perspective/negative vision: new migrations as consequence of national problems and unbalances, favouring the progressive loss of human resources (A. Giddens, 2001).

It is very hard to give a definitive interpretation of this problem. Watching at the results of the study, it looks like new migrations represent the complex effect of both these phenomenology. The research has offered original key-lines to evaluate the problem, remarking the changing tendencies of two modern countries, both involved into the process of European integration and, at the same time, expected to face the urgent issues of globalisation.

The only possible solution comes just from their words. The words of young emigrants that, even being so far and different from their forefathers, could find anyway motivations and courage to move till the opposite side of the continent. Simple words that have given a real soul to this story.

In the European context, they are writing the initial pages of a book that looks still far from its crucial chapters; anyway, the prologue itself presents original tracks that surely wait to be deepened.

“Italians have very different habits comparing with Finns: food, work, the way of having fun... everything! But generally, despite of all these differences, for some strange reasons, there’s a lot of mutual liking, a sort of special feeling among them”.

Just some chapters ago, one of the respondents pronounced these words. A sort of casual sentence but, “for some strange reason” the same thing has been perceived by everyone, both Italians and Finns. Yes, at the end everybody understood that there is just “something” up there: among Italy, the place where people are able to make even the chaos logic, and Finland, the land of courteous bus drivers and surprising digital farmers.

Appendix

A European writer discusses about topics as new generations, migrations and image of Finland abroad

Leena Lander and that island called Finland

“It’s not his fault, but only mine.
There’s something wrong about me. Always.
Some kind of *nostalgia*, that is surely part of my madness.
It is an harrowing wish to leave that breaks me at all times.
An urgent desire. To see new streets, houses,
landscapes, and breathe new perfumes.
To meet unknown persons, and open those doors
nobody knows what are hiding behind.
To close some other ones. Going away.
Looking for something.
Anything, but looking for it, always.”

Leena Lander, *May the storm come*, 1994

Parainen, September 2007

It is a nice day of late September in Parainen, a small island of the archipelago fronting Turku. Despite the autumnal atmosphere, temperatures are still quite good to walk around. There is a medieval church near the centre of the village. Around it, a graveyard and a wide lawn are covered by the yellow and red carpet of the Finnish autumnal leaves. A little bit farther on, a small river flows quietly among the grass, crossed by some wooden pedestrian passages, white coloured and flowering.

To be honest, I’m a bit nervous. Despite the sweet and melancholic climate of the Finnish autumn. Just a few minutes and I will meet one of my favourite writers. To while away the time, I decide to walk towards the small church overlooking the river. There is something special inside. As I am walking up the aisle I see the old 17th century altarpiece. By the side entrance is the magnificent 18th century chandelier. People have gathered here in joy and sorrow, to services and devotions, and time passes on... The iron hands of the antique clock hung near the main altar, run away very fast, and with their light tolls remind me that I have no time left to visit the surrounding cemetery. She arrives to our appointment 10 minutes early, and naturally finds me waiting already there.

They are such informal persons, these Finns. Probably I should give up being surprised about it all times. Without caring at all about her fame, she laughs about that “Mrs Lander” with which I start the conversation, and waits only one minute before inviting me at her home place. Few minutes later, in front of a hot *pulla* and a cup of tea, the writer tries to understand what she has to do with a research concerning Europe and new migrations.

I explain that after dealing with all these topics, I found it useful to conclude my study reporting the impression of an emblematic figure of the Finnish society. Being such a famous writer both in Finland and abroad, she can be easily considered as representative for a new genera-

tion of artists that, overcoming an historical isolation, are currently facing the European stage, getting popular even outside the national borders.

Nowadays, Leena Lander is the most successful Finnish writer abroad: her books are translated in 20 languages and in countries as Germany and France they are often included in the bestsellers' list. Besides the novels (4 of which have been translated in Italian), she wrote plays for theatre, radio and television. *Käsky*, on which just in these months they are taking a movie, represents the last stage of a sort of "quadrilogy", where the passionate implications of a family-saga bear the hopes and the tragedies of an entire nation.

Is it enough to explain what she has to do with my research? After my explanation, she smiles, looking very beautiful despite the long lasting career behind her shoulders. In spite of all the prizes and the prestigious rewards got in Finland and abroad, she looks quite surprised when I say "international writer". She shakes the blonde curls and takes another cup of tea.

The last novels she wrote – and that I improperly defined "quadrilogy"- run through the troubled events of different generations of Finns. But the real strength of these stories is not limited to their introspective or familiar moods: the typical intimate features interlace with evident historical, ethical, political and social aspects. Just this year, Finland celebrates the 90th anniversary of independence, a long thrilling period passed through a bloody civil war, the Second World War, the scare for Soviet Union, big migrations, international isolation, economic crisis and impressive recoveries. Everything till nowadays, when the new protagonists of the scenery are technological growth and European integration, Nokia and globalisation of markets.

I ask her in which way the novels reflect this long route of changes and contrasts concerning "the first 90 years".

"It is quite strange to say, but except the tragedy of the Second World War, may be for Finland it was just the first year as an independent country to be crucial for the successive events. The civil war of 1918, the fratricide fight between Whites and Reds has left a lasting sign on the life of the following 4 or 5 generations. The civil war is always a terrible page in every country history, but in Finland it caused so many splits and wounds that they have not been healed yet. Times when neighbours and members of the same families could kill each other. Times characterized by irremediable lacerations, which destroyed entire communities. Even if this looks so far nowadays, I'm convinced that it has permanently marked the identity of Finns".

Leena Lander plays with time and history, dismantling them and proposing to readers a series of images where lots of characters move their own lives, in all cases fostering some kind of "secret". Secrets that every time look like hanging to the narrow threads of memories and to the dark recalls of nature and spirit. The author is able to create a sort of winding path, metaphorically reflecting the image of life and time, where feelings as love and purity are strictly connected to the idea of sin, fear and secret. And it is just on this path that justice and iniquity, secrets and truth walk together, silently protected and slowly revealed, always being capable to cover with a narrow gloss each actor of the novel.

But it's also the secret of human history, embodied in the entire country's secret, gone almost destroyed by the tragic consequences of the war and, later, by the disturbing presence of that worrying "red shadow" outside the national borders. It's the same secret brought by everyone that looks unable to keep the past inside without revising it. So, we should not be surprised if the "quadrilogy" ends just with the "beginning", the real origin of the nowadays Finnish background.

“To comprehend what kind of country is Finland today, it is necessary to look back at those times. My last novel, *Käsky*, represents just a return to the civil war, to the origins of good and evil.”

“There were great losses on both sides. Not only for the victims, but also for everything that this war represented: Finland was born just there. Then, we had for years the permanent threat of Soviet Union beyond the borders, followed by the Second World War when people, in front of a common enemy, had to react together removing the bad memories of Whites against Reds. And it will be like this also in the next years, when this shadow burdens as an unsustainable weight on the only western country at the Russian borders. When asked to fight for the survival of their country, Finns understood that no matter if their fathers were Reds or Whites, they only had to overcome all divisions, fighting all together against a common threat. As a united country, precisely.”

The end of the wars determined the birth of a new age for Finland. Laid down the arms, a different enemy attacked the real soul of the nation.

“After the payment of war expenses to Russia, that included the loss of Eastern Carelia, unfortunately Finland was overwhelmed by a new kind of ideology, which found just in the economic development the only way to recover the country. But this process of <economisation> had a double effect: if by one side it brought to that remarkable industrial and technological growth whose interests are very evident nowadays, on the other side it provoked a sort of wound in the genuine soul of Finnish people, more linked to nature and traditional moods than to the frantic dimension of the contemporary world. This crazy run slowed down only in the early 1990's, when the economic crisis surprised everybody. The main effect of the recession was to uncover hidden discomforts, which had very deep roots and found loud manifestations in the terrible growth of suicides, in the alcohol abuse and in other kinds of social and psychological problems”.

The economisation and urbanization of society, together with the frantic run for technological development, eroded the spirit of people that for centuries had been living very close to the silences and rhythms of nature. According to Leena Lander, this enormous collective effort, aimed just to the modernization of the country, left only ruins behind.

“In my novels I try to underline that the history of the country has left evident tracks on personal and familiar routes: individual destinies are just consequences of the entire age troubles. In this sense, the <quadrilogy> is not only a narration of the Harjula's epics, but represents a long travel inside the first 90 years of my country”.

Leena Lander travels over reality from a "meta-historical" perspective, stroking spirits and blowing softly on the prismatic and ambiguous world of humans and nature. This, till approaching the nowadays society, a new world where multiculturalism, integration and European Union have taken the whole stage. A new world where the ancient Europe, gone devastated after wars and nationalisms, seems at the beginning of a new age. Leena is 51 years old, and was direct witness of such kind of changes.

“When I was young in practice there were no foreigners in Turku. I remember that once, around 30 years ago, I saw a black man walking in Kauppatori. People that were standing around fell silent, like they had seen a Martian. But this was normal, at those times. Black men or Chinese were known only through American movies. They were perceived as belonging to a very far world. Today everything's changed. Especially European countries look more and more similar each other. Walking around Helsinki or Milan is not so different like 10 years ago. They use to call it globalisation.”

What does it make about Finland such a special and unique place, despite globalisation? Special and unique. I don't miss the flash that crosses her eyes when I pronounce these words.

"For the most of its history Finland has been a kind of island... For a long series of reasons concerning history, politics and geography, this is the image that my country has ever had, and shown, about itself. This metaphor is quite usual in my books. I like to speak about islands, and the way in which people, communities and also entire nations can embody this image. Currently, I am very happy that my country is getting an international dimension, opening to the world. The European Union has been a good way to build new bridges with the rest of the world, exceeding the old condition. But anyway I am convinced that nobody, neither men nor entire communities, can completely remove what is inside their own nature. Islands, precisely".

European integration has caused a lot of changes in the social and economic structure of Finnish society. The first to take the effects of these changes are just young generations. Besides being a successful writer, Leena Lander is also a mother of 3 children.

"Young people were very different once. I think that this opening to Europe, completely unknown to my generation, has been changing them more than everyone else. May be new generations are less <islands> than we were. Probably just because of Europe, they feel to belong to something bigger. Then, they look more open to diversity and to the new things. They have never felt that sense of collective isolation that has conditioned the life of last generations. For long years Finland has been the first frontier between western countries and Soviet Union. Nowadays we ceased to have such difficult role. For this and for many other reasons, it is very hard to find another country where differences among old and new generations are so strong. I can see this when I speak to my children. May be they are small islands too, but anyway I like they have so many opportunities to meet different persons, languages and cultures".

Through her novels, Leena Lander was able to cross linguistic barriers and political borders. Recently "The black butterflies' house" has been translated in Arabian. It is just the first case of a Finnish novel translated straight in that language. After that, Leena was invited to promote her book in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. Starting from this favoured position, does she think that literature has played an important role in the process of globalisation and, in the present case, for European integration?

"Thanks to the progressive opening of markets, there is a growing circulation of cultural products. For many reasons, today it is much easier to translate, present and distribute an edition even in distant countries. Literature is a very concrete way to tell about places, dreams and problems of persons. In my books I speak a lot about Finland, and the fact of being read abroad is a very useful way to make persons and places closer to my country. This improves the mutual knowledge, builds bridges and makes islands closer and closer".

What about the image of Finland abroad? In which way it has been changing in the last years?

"I am aware that the growing popularity of my country is mainly due to the technological sector and to Nokia. For long years Finland has been a sort of unknown and far place... I've even met many persons abroad that were convinced it was a part of Russia! Of course things have changed a lot nowadays. Everybody knows that it is a modern and developed country. Thanks to the European Union, of course, but also the increasing circulation of culture has played a very important role in this sense. Anyway, I'm sure that the decisive element was just the economic one."

The island has been able to build its own bridges, little by little, and even if for many aspects Finland still looks like a "*sui generis*" country, nowadays many roads lead just towards the

one that we called “the opposite side of Europe”. Along our research, the first pages of a Finno-Italian story came clearly to light. And it is enough to mention the word “Italy” that soon the writer’s glance shines again. Another cup of tea, and the same flash in her eyes.

“For Finnish artists Italy is a very important destination. I think that in Finland there are no writers, poets, painters, musicians or sculptors that don’t consider your country as a decisive passage for their professional route.”

Looking at my struck expression, Leena feels the need to explain better her surprising words.

“It’s because Italy has got something special, and artists are always the first to perceive these things. The architectures, the way of living, the whole spirit that animates your country: these things are an irresistible goad for the artists’ souls.”

Leena stops for a while. Now her glance is far away. When did I hear these words already? From a novice student, probably, or may be just reading the answer of a young emigrant, decided to move so far to make one dream come true. Now, the same words pronounced by a famous writer.

“Despite globalisation, I am convinced that Italy has never lost its true spirit, due to a great history and to an impressive cultural heritage... May be this is the real reason why it is so special for Finns...”

Special? When I hear her pronouncing the last words I understand that my interview is finished. May be, my whole research is very close to the end. I’ve found everything I was looking for.

I stand up, and while she answers the telephone, I walk around and have a look of her studio. In her secret drawer, Leena hides the fifth novel, the one that will conclude the Harjula’s saga. But at the moment it is better that those papers stay in her secret place. The story that they report is much more autobiographical than the previous ones, and so, at least for the next future, she prefers to keep them waiting, dedicating her attentions to new plays for radio and cinema. And then, hopefully, to travel somewhere.

Just upon her writing-desk it appears a wide window, from where spring up the red and yellow colours of the Finnish autumn. Under the window, a small river flows quietly, pointing straight towards the sea. The *sea*, and the *water*. “When I am writing, regardless of the place where I stay, I always need to see the water”, she said in an old interview that I read before our meeting. And now, there it is the water, that blue stripe whose sounds and colours are able to inspire a great writer. I always wondered how it was like, and now, there it is.

The sea is always present in her novels. Dark, mysterious and haunting, but at same time clear, quiet and enchanted as the long and bright nights of the Finnish summer, when sun takes long hours to set and all the world around appears like new and purified. Then, there are the graveyards, looking so different from those gloomy and ghostly places to which we are used. In the Lander’s novels they are just the concrete signs of the past, the memories of a story that despite being gone is still present somewhere. In the hidden case of memories of antique and futureless persons, or may be inside the secret drawer of someone important, whose name runs restless on the book-covers of the entire world. Or just behind an unknown church from the Finnish countryside. In the middle of an island. I only need to look carefully.

Her telephone call is over. Also my interview is close to the end. Leena is smiling again in front of me.

Once I've said her good bye, I remember that small graveyard surrounding the medieval church. Among the tombstones, I see an infinite gallery of names, flowers, dates and memories. Days, months and seasons take the shape of antique and proud faces, completely unaware of the coming future. In the extremely cold winter of 1940, the Finnish army, sheltering in the white lands of Lapland, was able to beat back the Russian invaders. Faces and names of young and old ones, of women and kids flow restless in front of my eyes like a silent and colourless movie. Someone died during the war. May be just while defending the country among those white lands. Some others instead died only few years ago, among the reassuring house walls.

I take my copy of *Käsky*, whose cover-book is enriched by a dedication that only a couple of months ago looked like a chimera. I try to translate the mysterious Finnish words drawn on the title-page by the delicate hands of the writer.

I have only few days left before concluding my long stay in Finland. Then, I will have to leave the island and move back to the mainland. I look at the yellow leaves of the autumn and cannot believe that the long and bright nights of the summer are already so far. Just in a few weeks winter is coming over here. Then, all the tombstones will be covered by snow and for long months darkness and silence will reign everywhere. The primordial silence of nature, the same one that is still able to shake the souls. Even the river will stop its gurgling, clasped by the touch of the ice. Then, after some months, while in Italy, on the other side of Europe, they open back the first beaches, restaurants and sun-umbrellas, the ice here will be just melted away, and everything will start again.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all persons and institutions that helped me to complete this research: Elli Heikkila and Sirkku Wilkman (Institute of Migration of Turku), Professor Luigi de Anna (Department of Italian language and culture – University of Turku), Heli Hurme (International Office – University of Turku), Nicola D’Orazio (Abruzzo nel Mondo), the writer Leena Lander and all the boys and girls that participated to the questionnaire. This project couldn’t be realized without their precious help.

A special thank goes to all the other friends from the Institute of Migration of Turku, that have welcomed me as one of them; to Cristina S., which was the first, 11 years ago, to drive me into the special world of Suomi; finally, most important, to my wife Angela, that has been lovely and patiently waiting for me during such a long trip.

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