

Expatriate Finnish Women and Finnish Transnational Social Networks in Copenhagen

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Copenhagen*

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Introduction

“I think Finnish community in Copenhagen is quite active and newcomers from Finland do not have to be alone when they move to greater Copenhagen area. Finnish community can be a great support for a new expatriate and adjusting to life in Denmark becomes much easier when one can ask information and tips from other Finns who have lived here for longer”.

Kaija, co-ordinator of a Finnish Mother-child group (‘perhekerho’) in Copenhagen in December 2008.

City of Copenhagen hosts thousands of foreign nationalities and more than thousand of them are expatriate Finnish citizens who have relocated to Denmark for personal and/or professional reasons. These Finnish migrants form a transnational Finnish community among other transnational and international communities. In Denmark, public discourse and transnational migration studies tend to focus on immigrant communities. For example, Connie Christiansen’s research on Turkish and Kurdish transnational villages in Copenhagen discusses development of HTA’s which connect these migrants to their home towns and villages. This project approaches Finnish transnational community in Copenhagen, which is built around loose associational and social networks. I consider Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen to be a fruitful point of departure for discussing challenges of expatriate Finnish women to see what roles these social networks have in their lives in Danish context where the social networks of Finns connect Finland and Denmark creating a transnational space. Transnational space refers to combinations of ties, persons, networks and organizations across the borders of at least two or more nation states (Faist 2004:11). My inspiration for this project is two-folded. It derives partly from Michael Peter Smith’s book *Transnational Urbanism, Locating Globalization* (2001) which places the urban city at the main stage where transnational processes and practices culminate. Smith also suggests to start transnational urbanism research with analyzing diverse networks situated in the social space of the city (Smith 2001: 174), which gave me an idea to investigate Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen. Another source of inspiration has been my personal background and experiences. My roots are in Finland, but I have been an expatriate Finn for the past nine years, and I relocated to Copenhagen two years ago with my husband and our young children. In Copenhagen, my first social contacts were other Finns that I met through Finnish social networks and events. These contacts turned out to be great information source and support for our family. Remembering this gave me a motivation to research challenges and coping strategies of expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen during fall 2008, and to find out what purposes Finnish transnational social networks serve for individuals as well as for the Danish and the Finnish societies.

Expatriate Finns

Finnish Ministry of labor has prepared in collaboration with the Finnish Expatriate Parliament a policy program for expatriate Finns for 2006-2011. In 1994, the Council of Europe issued a recommendation to the member states to create a program with legislative, political and administrative functions in order to improve the relationship with their population living abroad and Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen’s government undertook the

task for formulating an immigration policy program, which emphasizes work-based immigration. The policy program was created for the following reasons:

- Expatriate Finns provide a multifaceted resource for Finland.
- Expatriate Finns make Finland better known in the world.
- The network of expatriate Finns is beneficial to Finland's commercial, cultural and political life.
- Repatriate Finns bring back knowledge and skills they learnt abroad and integration of returning migrants is not associated with major problems in Finland.

Historically, Finland has been a country of emigration and most Finns have a relative or a friend living outside the borders of Finland as there are estimated 1, 3 million Finns living abroad. According to the program, preserving home country's cultural characteristics is beneficial to both home and host countries as acknowledging one's own cultural characteristics often supports integration to host country while active expatriate networks may benefit home country's economical, industrial, cultural and political life (Government Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns 2006: 42).

The first emigration flows from Finland started during the 15th and 16th century and were directed towards Sweden, Norway, North America, and Ingria. Finnish emigration was directed to the U.S. and Canada in the late 1800s, migration to Russia and later the USSR continued until the WWII, and emigration to Sweden and other European countries started after the end of the Second World War (Government Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns 2006: 42). Back then, most Finns emigrated due to economic and political reasons. The character of emigration from Finland has changed during the 1980's and 1990's when a more permanent form of emigration is represented by marriages abroad. Currently, emigration is often temporary. Today most Finns move abroad to study, to gain work experience, to advance career, to learn a foreign language, to be together with their loved ones or simply to get new life experiences. Also, Finnish emigrants today are better educated than emigrants in the past (Government Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns 2006: 43). The definition 'expatriate Finns' refers to native-born Finnish nationals who have moved from Finland to live abroad together with their descendants, regardless whether or not the descendants are Finnish citizens or born in Finland. Expatriate Finns share an awareness of Finnish roots, identity and need to maintain contacts to Finland (Government Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns 2006: 43).

Problem Formulation

Public discourse in Denmark stresses very little the various challenges that EU and Nordic citizens, in particular women, face upon relocating to Denmark. This project aims to examine why some expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen may have problems at the individual level despite a lack of legal barriers at the political level when entering to Denmark, and what purposes do the Finnish transnational social networks serve in this equation.

Project design

Project design provides a framework for this paper. Here I explain the structure of this project based around application of Thomas Brante's model designed for sociology research. Brante proposes an alternative strategy, which promotes theoretical and methodological pluralism,

focuses on causality and mechanisms, and involves analysis at the five distinguished levels (Brante 2000:12). I chose to use Brante's model because it enables examining Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen from multiple angles. Here I also present my three research questions and explain how I have conducted the analysis including relevant theories and methodologies. After completing these steps, I explain the interplay of the levels that create the base for answering my three research questions in order to explain why some expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen may have problems at the individual level despite a lack of legal barriers when moving to Denmark, and what purposes do the Finnish transnational social networks serve.

The levels according to Thomas Brante

Brante's model originates in Arthur Stinchcombe's¹ work entailing the idea of the levels and mechanisms with causal capacity. According to Brante, "the ultimate goal of sociology is to identify social structures harboring causal mechanisms that generate empirically observable effects" (Brante 2000:14). Brante stresses that mechanisms can be "defined as the *modus operandi* that makes a situation transform or not transform into something else" (Brante 2000:10). In other words, mechanisms can be understood as conditions and processes that create a background for a certain situation, for instance, for enabling gathering of the expatriate Finnish women at a Copenhagen restaurant to happen. Brante's approach comprises five levels: *international*, *inter-institutional*, *institutional*, *inter-individual* and *individual* (Brante 2000:12). These levels can be approached as *sui generis* in terms of theories, methodology and/or research focus (Brante 2000:19). Brante's discussion on the relativity of the levels shifts the focus to a more general viewing of the levels including **Overlying level (O)**, **Level of Interest (I)**, and **Underlying level (U)** (Brante 2000:22). According to Brante, social event (e) can be best explained by the equation $e = f(U, I, O)$ (Brante 2000:22). Level (O) refers to context, level (I) to structures and mechanisms, and level (U) to components (Brante 2000: 22).

I started my project with concentrating on the five levels suggested by Brante. I found the levels helpful in organizing and narrowing down my research agenda, and in choosing which level matching theories and methodologies to apply. Finally, I decided to focus my analysis at the general levels (O), (I) and (U) remembering Brante's warning of how this kind of division might easily lead to upward or downward reductionism in which one moves directly from macro to micro level (Brante 2000:12). In this project, I use Brante's model to identify mechanisms which may create conditions for and give rise to Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen, and which may be helpful in explaining life situations and coping strategies of expatriate Finnish women.

Applying the levels

The research questions are based around the application of Brante's three levels. There is one research question addressing analysis at each general level of (O), (U) and (I) in this order.

¹ Arthur Stinchcombe is Emeritus Professor at the department of Sociology at the Northwestern University. His areas of interest include law and society; science and technology; economy and society. His last book, *The Logic of Social Research*, outlines how to use historical, ethnographic, quantitative, and experimental methods to develop and test causal theories in sociology and other social sciences.

The first research question is aligned with level (O) and the second with level (U) as choosing this order supports my hypothesis that socio-political context at level (O) and level (U) at the individual level both affect Finnish transnational social networks at level (I), which is paired with the last research question. Next I explain how I seek to answer these research questions.

1. In what ways do the socio-political frameworks at international level and at national levels of Finland and Denmark create conditions and give rise to Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen?

This research question is aligned with Level (O). It aims to explain how socio-political conditions at international and national levels in Finland and in Denmark create conditions and give rise to Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen. The socio-political framework is analyzed by using official documents and reports. Based on this, one may argue that level (O) creates conditions and gives rise to Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen at level (I) while simultaneously impacting lives and strategies of expatriate Finnish women at level (U).

2. How does Thomas Højrup's Life-Mode Analysis apply to a study of life situations and coping strategies of expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen?

The second research question corresponds to Level (U) and expatriate Finnish women who took part in this project. Level (U) examines Finnish women's lives and coping strategies in light of Thomas Højrup's life-mode analysis. Here I seek to find out whether life-mode analysis is useful in explaining life situations and coping strategies of uprooted Finnish women in Copenhagen. Analysis at level (U) also contains a qualitative focus group interview of expatriate Finnish women along with a survey to include two active and relevant female members of the Finnish community to be part of this research. For research purposes, I have also developed a typology of expatriate Finnish women based around application of Thomas Højrup's life-mode analysis and Emile Durkheim's four typologies from his suicide studies. In this project it is not suicide, but vulnerable positions that are analyzed. By the use of the four typologies the project gives insight into different positions the interviewed Finnish women in the transnational space of networks by using degree of integration into Danish society on vertical and degree of regulation regarding civil society as well as strength of social ties to Finland on horizontal axis as meridians. One may argue that level (U) feeds up to level of Interest (I), which is the primary focus of this project.

3. What is going at the Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen and what purposes do these social networks serve?

This research question at level (I) entails the scope of Finnish transnational social networks and seeks to answer what is going on at Finnish social gatherings and what purposes these social networks serve. I approach this level by presenting social networks from theoretical point of view using works of T. Faist and E. Ozveren, M.P. Smith and N. Lin. I consider Faist's and Ozveren's contributions useful in explaining how nation-based social networks actually exist in 'transnational social space' and how the concept 'transnational social space'

translates to this project. I consider M.P Smith helpful in explaining what does transnational social agency in urban context mean as his ideas seem fitting and applicable to social networks of Finns in Copenhagen. I chose to use Lin’s ideas to explore importance of social networks as tools in individual’s capital building as he argues that “it is who you know” and “what you know” that can make a difference in one’s life in a society. Additionally, I use my field work as participant-observant at social event of *Finnish Ladies Night Out* and web-site analysis to enlighten what is going on in Finnish community and to answer what purposes Finnish social networks may serve. Here I also discuss ethical considerations regarding empirical fieldwork based on Marlene de Laine’s guidelines.

Table below presents Brante’s general viewing of the three levels and application to this project:

Overlying Level (O)	Context: political framework at international and national levels (Finland and Denmark) based on official documents and reports.
Level of Interest (I)	Structures (mechanisms): Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen (groups, clubs, internet) at institutional and inter-individual level in light of network theories, participant observation and e-research.
Underlying Level (U)	Components: individual Finnish women at individual level in light of Thomas Højrup’s Life-Mode Analysis, qualitative interviews and typology of expatriate Finnish women created for research purposes.

Towards the end

In the Concluding remarks, I argue for my thesis. In the Perspectives, I discuss and reflect this project from different angles.

Delimitations

The first delimitation is time, as I had three and half months to find a topic, research, conduct fieldwork, analyze and write this paper. This affected the depth of my discussion on the topic. Given a longer time-frame, I could have conducted more interviews and fieldwork. The second delimitation is my choice of topic. As a native Finn, I had an access to research these networks, but being part of the community may also limit my capability to examine these social networks from an outsider’s point of view. The third delimitation includes the focus group interview and the survey. They are both in Finnish language because project participants are Finns. Therefore, it is possible that some mistakes can be found and some nuances of the spoken Finnish language are missing as I am not a professional translator.

The level analysis

In this section, I apply the three research questions to this project. I approach each research question theoretically, methodologically and analytically in order to detect causal relationship and linkages between levels (O), (I) and (U). By the end of each level, I answer for the level specific research question and discuss the level in light of Brante. I hope to find out whether Brante's level ideology and mechanism create something new. In the end of the Level analysis, I present a graph that illustrates the interplay of the Brante's general levels and mechanisms with potential causal capacity reflected upon this project. I also hope to make a strong case as to why some Finnish women in Copenhagen may have challenges at the individual level despite a lack of legal barriers when they relocate to Denmark, and what purposes do the Finnish transnational social networks serve.

First, I am going to analyze and identify mechanisms with possible causal capacity at level (O), which create conditions and give rise to Finnish social networks in Copenhagen at level (I) and also either directly or through their spouses impact individual Finnish women at level (U). Then I am going to explain which mechanisms at level (U) feed up to level (I). Finally, I am going suggest that causal mechanisms both at level (U) and at level (O) are linked to and affect Finnish transnational social networks at level (I).

I: the Socio-political framework for Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen

1. In what ways do the socio-political frameworks at international level and at national levels of Finland and Denmark create conditions and give rise to Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen?

When examining Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen I argue that socio-political context creates conditions and give rise to Finnish transnational social networks to exist and operate. Creating a context also enables to examine a translocal Finnish community in the 'big picture' as one social network in Copenhagen among others. There is a wide range of transnational social networks in Copenhagen that are more or less established or permanent by character, but usually Danish public are not aware of them. There is also a number of international social networks such as on-line based community *Life in Denmark* and LINK (Ladies International Network Kobenhavn). Finnish community in Copenhagen consists of expatriates and their descendants who have moved to Denmark for personal or professional reasons.

First I explain how I have approach analysis at level (O) in terms of methodology. After, I briefly explore transnational migration from international perspective, which leads explanation of how EU-policy regarding free movement of labor creates ground for transnational migration between the member states. Then I outline Danish migration policy regarding Finnish citizens to show absence of legal barriers for expatriate Finns when they relocate to Denmark. I also provide statistics, which indicate the significance of the Finnish community for Finnish expatriates in Copenhagen. After doing that, I briefly discuss the 'Nordic Model' including Finnish and Danish labor and social policies as these policies can

have an effect on Finnish citizens when they enter labor markets in Finland or in Denmark. Finally, I argue that the socio-political frameworks do not create barriers for expatriate Finns or to Finnish social networks in Copenhagen to operate. Following Brante, my aim is to detect mechanisms at level (O), which create circumstances and give rise to Finnish social networks in Copenhagen at level (I) and either directly and/or through their spouse impact expatriate Finnish women shifting the focus to the second research question and identifying mechanisms at level (U).

Quantitative data

I have used relevant academic articles to explain how transnational migration and transnational social practices relate to this project. I have analyzed quantitative data in order to place Finnish transnational social networks and Finnish women in socio-political framework and to provide statistical information. I have also used Finnish and Danish official documents available on-line, related EU-policies and reports to create a context, in which Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen operate.

'Undressing' legal barriers for migration

Studies concerning immigration to Denmark often focus on ethnic minorities and 'integration business' phenomenon. Today globalization with transnational companies and 'open' borders within the European Union countries has made movement of high-skilled workers easier. As Ulf Hannerz puts it "*The world has become one network of social relationships, and between its different regions there is a flow of meanings as well as of people and goods*" (Ulf Hannerz, 1990: 237). However, it would be difficult to detect how globalization has possibly changed the character of immigration to Denmark regarding Nordic citizens. Nordic citizens have a long history of migration to Denmark. Emigration from Finland to Denmark is nothing new and has remained at the similar level over the past few decades. I suggest that instead of starting to analyze migration policies from global perspective, I focus the European and the Nordic contexts as these angles seem useful and relevant. In line, I consider Finnish transnational social networks and expatriate Finnish women in the realm of those networks to be more a result of transnational social practices than a product of global migration movements. Next I am going to explain how policies regarding EU-free movement of labor and Danish migration policies regarding Nordic citizens remove legal barriers for transnational migration between Finland and Denmark.

EU free movement policy

Denmark joined the European Union in 1973 and Finland in 1995. The EU freedom of movement and free movement of labor date back to the beginning of the European Union. The EU common policy of free movement of labor is a 'top down' policy, created at the EU-level and implemented at the national level. Freedom of movement is a guarantee under EU community law and one of the fundamental values of the EU. Since the Treaty of Rome (1957), and the Single European Act (1987), borders have dissolved within the member states allowing for the free movement of persons and commodities. In 1993 with the Maastricht Treaty, Europe became a single market and its four freedoms were established, as the free movement of goods, services, people and money became a reality. Free movement of workers

within EU member states is based on the Regulation “the free movement of workers within Community” from the year 1968. The core idea is to provide EU citizens equal access to labor markets in other EU countries. This right is laid down in Article 39 of the EC Treaty. It applies to nationals of the EU member states who wish to move to another member states in order to work. In sum, migration policies at the EU level do not create any barriers for Finnish migrants if they wish to enter Denmark.

Denmark’s migration policy regarding Nordic citizens

According to the Danish Immigration Service, citizens of the EU/EEA countries, Switzerland or the Nordic countries (i.e. Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Finland) can reside in Denmark according to special regulations. Nordic citizens are free to enter, reside, work and study in Denmark, so they do not need visa, passport or resident permit if they wish to relocate to Denmark. Nordic citizens can bring also their families if they are Nordic citizens. If they are not Nordic citizens, they can apply for a proof of registration or residence card under the EU regulations or apply for a residence permit under the Danish Aliens Act (The Danish Immigration Service, 2008). As Finns are considered Nordic citizens, they do not have any legal barriers if they wish to move to Denmark and enter the Danish labor markets.

Expatriate Finns in Copenhagen

Denmark’s SOPEMI report to OECD 2006 states that there were 6.362 EU-citizens who moved permanently (at least 12 months in DK) to Denmark in 2004 and only 223 of them were Finns, which indicates that the number of Finns who migrate to Denmark is low compared to other Nordic nationalities. In 2008, there are 1164 working age (15-64) Finnish citizens living in the capital region of Denmark; 352 of them are males and 812 females (Statistics Denmark, 2008). This statistic leads to an observation that a number of working age Finnish women in Copenhagen is over 50% higher than that of Finnish males. This statistics may partially explain why expatriate Finnish women have more activities going on within the Finnish communities than men. Also, a number of Finns in Copenhagen leads to a hypothesis that most of them have joined the Finnish mailing list *tanska-lista*, which has close to 1000 members.

The ‘Nordic model’

According to the Nordic joint-report, there is a ‘Nordic model’ regarding labor market and social policy from an international perspective, which is characterized by high public spending and strong public sector (Institution of Migration, 2007). Access to employment is vital for social cohesion as employment in most cases determinates whether people can enjoy a decent standard of living and contribute to the society in which they live (European Commission, 2004 from Institute of Migration 2007: 20). The report also states that employment rate in Nordic countries is high, and the labor markets manage to activate the labor force to a great extent in European perspective. Also, highly educated workers have the strongest presence in the capital region and metropolises in all the Nordic countries. The Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy’s official web-site states that there is a close European as well as wider international cooperation in employment related matters. Finland also has a close and regular collaboration with other Nordic countries in terms of

labor market, which is based on agreements (Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2008). Generally speaking, Finnish social security follows EU-policies, and Danish and Finnish policies are more similar than different.

However, there is one difference between the Finnish and Danish system, which could play a role when a family negotiates about an option to emigrate to Denmark. Under Finnish social security system, a Finnish woman can stay at home with her child who is under 3 years old and receive government subsidy, which covers a percentage of her salary. This also means that she is entitled to return her old workplace when the child turns three years (Kela, 2008). In theory, a Finnish woman can stay at home with her young children for several years presuming she always has a child who is younger than 36 months. This is also possible for Finnish women who live abroad with their spouses if he is working there as a sent employee. As a thumb of rule, Finnish expatriates are entitled to social benefits from Finland when they live abroad less than 12 months, or if they are sent employees or their family members. In some cases, it is also possible to receive Finnish government subsidies when person stays abroad longer than one year if he/she still belongs to Finnish social system. The right to receive family related subsidies is based on the parents' employment in a specific country rather than to a residency of a child (KELA, 2008). This aspect of social policy may in some cases have an effect on Finnish families who move to Denmark if the working spouse is sent employee with so-called 'expat contract', which means that after two or three years he/she is to return Finland. In line, a mother (or a father) who is on prolonged parental leave might be more likely to stay at home with young children because the Finnish government subsidy makes it economically possible. However, none of the project participants are in this situation and majority of the Finns become residents of Denmark when they move to Copenhagen that places them under the Danish system.

Level (O) mechanisms at play

I argue that Level (O) analysis shows how socio-political frameworks including migration, social and labor policies create a suitable ground and give rise to Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen. There are no legal barriers at the political level that would prevent a Finn to move and work in Denmark. One may speculate that if there are obstacles, they are likely to locate at the individual level being an indirect consequence of the social policy. Following Brante, mechanisms related social and labor policies may create causal effects as both countries are very similar in the respective areas making transfer from one to another easier. On the other hand, the character of the 'sameness' may also decrease potential Finnish migration to Denmark especially when emigrants move abroad to build a career. I would say that absence of legal barriers form a mechanism at level (O) with a strong potential causal capacity enabling those Finns who wish to immigrate to Denmark for personal or professional reasons to relocate. This mechanism then links the level (O) to level (U) making Finns in Copenhagen expatriates. Level (O) contains also another mechanism with moderate causal capacity; one may argue that it is the society that in concert with individuals set a framework to diverse life-modes (e.g. career path/life style: this is discussed in details in the next section) creating societal conditions that do not seek to prevent emigration of highly educated Finnish individuals and their families. Based on these arguments, level (O) may then be linked to level (I) as the context creates conditions for transnational social networks

at level (I) and to level (U) by removing legal barriers for migration. Following this logic, level (O) feed also level (I) through level (U) when expatriate Finns form social networks (see graph on page 36).

II: the Expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen

2. How does Thomas Højrup's Life-Mode Analysis apply to a study of life situations and coping strategies of expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen?

This research question addresses expatriate Finnish women at level (U) and their life situations and coping strategies in Copenhagen based on Thomas Højrup's life-mode analysis and typology of Finnish women developed for research purposes. I start with Højrup's Life-mode analysis, which offers a strong theoretical background for analyzing life situations of expatriate Finnish women and for identifying potential causal mechanisms at level (U). Then I present, analyze and discuss my approach to capture how some expatriate Finnish women perceive their life situations and what kind of coping strategies they may have based on Højrup's theory. Here I also analyze and discuss the major themes brought up in the focus group interview. This is followed presentation, application and analysis of the three ideal types of expatriate Finnish women mainly based on Højrup's, and Durkheim's ideas. Then I discuss how useful Højrup's life-mode analysis is in explaining life situations and coping strategies of Finnish women. Finally, I am going to show which mechanisms detected via Højrup's Life-mode analysis and interviews at level (U) feed up to level of Interest (I) and social networks.

Life-mode analysis

Thomas Højrup's book *State, Culture and Life-modes, the Foundation of Life-mode analysis* presents a social theory building on the concept of life-modes and state-forms (Højrup 2003: 1). Højrup's Life-mode analysis seems a fertile theory for analyzing the lives of Finnish women, shedding light to dilemmas they may face here and hopefully offer some explanations how their life-styles are linked to existence of Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen. Life-mode analysis is written in Northern European context and the 1950s' ideal of the nuclear family, with the father as bread-winner and the domestic mother, is used as a starting point (Højrup 2003:13). In life-style analysis, Højrup considers the concept 'everyday life' problematic because it is often used as a general framework, which tries to define 'winners' and 'losers' regarding life quality and social equality in a society (Højrup 2003:14). Højrup suggests that instead of focusing on political differences or dividing population to sub-cultures, one should base the differentiation into life-modes (Højrup 2003:15).

The concept 'Life-mode' is a "complex unity of practices corresponding to its specific complex of conditions of possibility, therefore implying a universe of ideological concepts" (Højrup 2003:22). The unity of practices entails the objective world and the subject, whose identity and goals, the ways how to reach those goals and the causal relations the subject holds toward its surroundings, are determined by that unity (Højrup 2003:22). Højrup's understanding of a life-mode reflected upon this project refers to family structures, work culture and daily life of expatriate Finns. The subject includes Finnish population and Finns

in Copenhagen having both Finland and Copenhagen as the surrounding object. Finnish and Danish daily life, work culture and family structures help in determining how Finns and Finnish women in Copenhagen have ended up on their current life-modes.

The life-modes do not provide classifications for masses of life-styles nor are they attached to class-specific categories as they are meant to function as tools of analysis (Højrup 2003:41). In addition, it is good to keep on mind that there are many variants and sub-variants of the life-modes 1, 2, and 3 (Højrup 2003:41). Life-modes also exist only when they can be contrasted to other life-modes and these life-modes attain variant forms in diverse geographic locations (Højrup 2003:42). Højrup discusses the process of neoculturation of life-modes referring to how the bearers of the different life-modes struggle to maintain or create possibilities of their particular life-mode, and how people living different life-modes understand the world and concepts differently. This is why Højrup prefers using terms life-mode 1, 2, and 3 instead of life-modes of the *Self-Employed*, *the Wage-Earner*, and *the Career-Professional*. (Højrup 2003:28). Conceptualizing the different life-modes creates a background for the later analysis of the housewife praxis.

Life-mode 1: The Self-Employed

In life-mode 1, family is a production unit, in which ‘work’ and ‘free time’ are interrelated and work requires full commitment (Højrup 2003:22). The life-mode of the self-employed is the contrast to wage earner life-modes 2 and 3, in which ‘work’ is the opposite of ‘free time’ (Højrup 2003:22-3). In life-mode 1, wage is divided to ‘wage’ work and ‘free’ work, and activity is both *means* and *an end* (Højrup 2003: 30).

Life Mode 2: the Wage-Earner

In the wage-earner life-mode, an employee is “incorporated into a long and complex production process “ (Højrup 2003: 23) and work provides an income, which will increase life quality on his free time, and the meaning of life is not in work as it is the case for people of self-employed life-mode (Højrup 2003: 24). In life-mode 2, work symbolizes *a means to an end* (=free time) (Højrup 2003:32).

Life-mode 3: The Career-Professional

The career-professionals are highly paid employees who carry out research and develop new products or technology, and who are hired individually based on their qualifications. Free time does not really exist as the employee living career-professional’s life-mode tends to use it on developing qualifications and networking (Højrup 2003:25). In Life-mode 3, work is *means* without *an end*. Salary does not only provide an income, but is also used to maintain free time activities; life-mode 3 often entails life-style requirements determined by the industry, the function and one’s hierarchical status in it (Højrup 2003:39). A good example of this may be golf, which is rather expensive sport, part of business culture, and may symbolize certain status. Højrup explains how family can support many life-style related tasks of the career-professionals (Højrup 2003:39). “It is usually the wife who assumes the role of converting their income into suitable backing for the husband” (Højrup 2003:39) and family then becomes means for helping the husband achieve his career goals (Højrup 2003:39).

In his wife's shoes

Højrup explains that study of sex-role patterns in general sense can open up further conceptual specifications for analyzing diverse population segments especially among the bearers of life-mode 3 (Højrup 2003:40). At first glance, the wife of a career-professional may seem to equal to 'means' for the husband's career, but actually he is dependent on his wife when it comes to running household, family, and social life, which are the factors that constitute the meaning of life for her, but are impossible without the income and status of the husband's career provides (Højrup 2003:40). This illustrates how the career of the husband and the activities of the wife are intertwined in a complex manner, and how the wife and the husband complement each other in a life-mode 3 family setting (Højrup 2003:40).

Højrup has developed a female specific Life-mode analysis addressing women whose lives cannot be analyzed exclusively in the light of life-modes 1, 2, and 3. These female-specific concepts rely heavily on empirical data collected from the Scandinavian countries (Højrup 2003:43). Next I present Højrup's idea of three different types of spouse, which are also used later in this paper for creating typology of expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen.

The pure housewife

Højrup ignores full-time employed women because they can be the bearers of the wage-earner life-mode's *means-ends* relation between work and spare time focusing instead entirely on the pure housewife whose activities lie within family in life-mode 2 (Højrup 2003:48). The pure housewife obtains her existential conditions in her husband's praxis, which determines the kinds of 'means' she has and her praxis enters into the wage-earning husband's 'ends'. There are two forms of the pure housewife praxis, which each include two variants (Højrup 2003:49):

- 1) What is an 'end' for her is at the same time **a)** an 'end' for her husband or **b)** partial 'means' for him
- 2) What is a 'means' for her is **a)** an 'end' for him or **b)** a 'means' for him

The home-front woman

In life-mode 3, family plays a supportive role contributing to the career-professional's advancement (Højrup 2003:55). Nowadays it is possible that a woman is on the career path and that there are dual-career couples, which makes the division of home and professional fronts complicated as the attitudes about family's place and function are somewhat ambivalent (Højrup 2003:56). Home-front support can represent 'means' in many ways for the career-professional life-mode; teamwork in such a family requires that the career-professional's 'means' are 'ends' for the spouse at home (Højrup 2003:57). For instance, if the husband organizes fancy dinners at home in order to enhance his professional relationships ('means' for him), the preparatory tasks, such as planning the menu, by the wife are simultaneously 'ends' in the home-front.

It is the income that makes the home-front life-style in life-mode 3 possible, and enables the home-front woman to enjoy the benefits as long as her activities are aligned with the husband's career advancement (Højrup 2003:57). The home-front woman shows flexibility and avoids obstacles that may create barriers in case the career-professional gets a job transfer to another location (Højrup 2003: 58). The home-front wife may be applicable to

some spouses of the high-skilled career-professionals who relocate to a new place every few years with the company. In this case, recreating home again and again is a ‘means’ of the husband’s involvement, but an ‘end’ to the wife’s involvement (Højrup 2003:58). There are also exceptions to home-front woman. For example, the career-professional may have a wife who refuses or reluctantly exhibits the home-front praxis. In such cases, the pure home-frontier praxis cannot be articulated (Højrup 2003:60).

I assume that expatriate Finnish women have moved to Copenhagen for the following reasons: they are in relationship with a Dane, their Danish or Finnish spouse has a job here or they have relocated to Copenhagen in order to work or study. It is interesting to see which life-modes or their variants (if any) are applicable to this project and how Højrup’s Housewife-Praxis contributes to formation of explorative typology of Finnish Women in Danish context, which creates the basis for analyzing and positioning expatriate Finnish women within the Danish society, the Finnish community in Copenhagen and in Finland regarding social integration and regulation by civil society. Before delving into analysis and application of the three ideal types of expatriate Finnish women to this project, I explain how I methodologically approached Brante’s level (U) including description of the interview situations and presentation of the participants.

Interviewing expatriate Finnish women

Originally I intended to place expatriate Finnish women at level (I), but finally I chose to present individual perceptions and views at level (U) as I think it is the expatriate women whose words create an angle to approach Finnish social network analysis from the individual point of view. I chose to use qualitative methods of focus group interview and structured survey in order to approach expatriate Finnish women at individual level (U) and to better understand who they are, how they perceive and make sense of their current life situation and coping strategies, and what role do Finnish social networks play in their lives.

The focus group interview

The focus group interview is a qualitative research method of interviewing, which involves at least four interviewees and in which the researcher is interested in the way how individuals as group members respond to each other’s views and develop a view of interaction that takes place within the group (Bryman 2008: 473). The moderator guides each group interview session. I chose the focus group technique because it allows interviewer to conduct interview in less structured manner allowing the researcher to develop an understanding why people feel the way they do, to give participants room to bring up issues they consider important in relation to a theme and to give the researcher more realistic accounts of what people think as they are challenged by other focus group participants (Bryman 2008: 475). There also are some limitations mainly related to practicalities. For example, the interviewer has weaker control over the proceedings, transcribing process tends to be slow and scheduling the focus group interview so that enough people show up may be difficult etc. (Bryman 2008: 489). The question how many groups is needed in research ranges from 8 to 52, but some topics do not require such a diversity, in which cases smaller number of groups is sufficient (Bryman 2008: 477). This project includes one focus group interview due to small amount of actors and time constrains for conducting this research.

My goal was to gather 4-8 Finnish women to focus group interview and I stratified group participants based on age, gender, language, residency, nationality and to the fact that they have subscribed either to *tanska-lista* or to *Finnish Girls in Copenhagen* on Facebook. The table below portrays the composition of the focus group of expatriate Finnish women:

The modified focus group composition based on Bryman (Bryman 2008: 478)

Area of research	Finnish women's views of the meaning of transnational social networks for Finnish women in Copenhagen
Number of groups	One (due to limited target group and time limit)
Size of group	Seven
Stratifying criteria	Age, gender, language, nationality, residency
Natural groups?	Yes, all interviewees members of Yahoo-group Tanska-lista / Finnish Girls in Copenhagen on Facebook

The interview situation

I scheduled the focus group interview for Sunday, November 30, 2008 at 4 o'clock pm to take place at my home. I sent out a short email to members of *tanska-lista* and *facebook* on Tuesday, November 25, 2008; the message (in Finnish) included a short description of my project and my stratified target group, and an opportunity for 8-10 women to participate focus group interview at my home on the coming Sunday (See appendix). My goal was to get at least four people, nine signed up via email, two cancelled on the day of interview due to personal reasons, so finally I had seven Finnish women sitting around my kitchen table, drinking tea and ready to discuss their lives in Copenhagen, how they perceive Finnish networks and what role do Finnish social networks play in their lives. I had prepared personal information sheets for participants to be filled out, a focus group interview procedure sheet including a short introduction to this project and interview guide with semi-structured questions to help the moderator through the interview (See appendix) (Bryman 2008: 438). I had also prepared name tags for participants to make addressing each other easier.

After making sure everyone was comfortable I started the interview and asked permission for recording which was granted. I had decided to conduct the interview in Finnish, even though the project is written in English, so that participants could express their views without having had to translate their thoughts. I explained the interview procedure and provided a brief introduction to the project after which participants made some questions. My biggest stumble stone in the beginning turned out to be the language as I found it challenging to explain the scope of my project in Finnish. My role as a moderator required intensive concentration as themes were and still are very personal to me, so I had to remind myself not to express them but to leave my views for later. I also kept checking that recorder was on. The interview went smoothly and most participants were eager to share their experiences and views. It was interesting to observe power relations between participants and the flow of conversation. I stepped in a few times gently to redirect the discussion. I decided to turn off the recorder after 85 minutes. It was time for a free talk during which I took hand-written notes. I felt relieved because finally I could also talk more than limit my words to facilitation. Participants seemed happy and I heard they were still discussing interview themes on their way down in the corridor. Transcribing process was long and challenging as first I had to identify who was talking and occasionally participants would talk simultaneously.

Survey

I also used structured self-completion survey with open ended questions in order to include a dimension of twoexpatriate Finnish women who are in charge of the social activities targeted for the women within Finnish community. I got the idea when coordinator of the *Finnish Ladies Night Out* signed up for the focus group interview, so I decided to approached the chair of Finnish Association of Copenhagen (KSS) and the coordinator of Mother-child group personally via email. I prepared the questions using the focus group guide because I wanted them to answer questions from individual point of view rather than speaking for the group they are in charge of. I emailed the questions as attached word document (See appendix). I think survey participants provide relevant supplements at level (U) analysis and their responses are more articulated compared to material from the focus group interview. Next I am going to introduce the participants in this project and analyze how they perceive their life situations and Finnish social networks based on data from the focus group interview and the survey. This is followed by presenting the three ideal types that I have created for research purposes. I am also going to apply this explorative typology to projects participants and discuss in what ways the ideal types possibly help in making sense about lives and coping strategies of expatriate Finnish women. Finally, I identify mechanisms at level (U) and determine which mechanisms feed up to transnational social networks at level (I).

Participant profiles:

Some of the participants are presented with their real names whereas others have been given pseudonyms in accordance with wishes stated by participants.

Janina is 32 year old single and she has lived in Copenhagen since April 2007. Janina works as a customer service coordinator at an American company and she is also the coordinator of social event *Finnish Ladies Night Out*. Janina belongs to Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Marja is 33 year old single and she moved to Copenhagen in August 2008. Marja works as a pharmaceutical post doc research scientist at Copenhagen University.

Eeva is 38 years old, married to Finnish husband and they have two young children. Eeva has lived in Copenhagen since June 2008. Currently she works as a bookkeeper and her husband is a partner at an IT-company.

Emma is 26 year old single and she has been in Copenhagen since 2008. She is a graduate guest student at Roskilde University.

Milla is 29 years old and she lives together with her Danish boyfriend. Milla relocated to Copenhagen in June 2008. Her occupation is economist, but currently she is on sick leave. Milla's boyfriend works in IT-field.

Sari is 34 years old and married to a Dane. Their son is 1,5years old and she is expecting her second child in spring 2009. Sari has lived in Copenhagen since November 2005. She works as a management consultant at Accenture and her husband is a project leader at a large IT-company.

Hanna is 29 and she has been in Copenhagen since August 2008. She lives in co-habitation with her to-be-pharmacist boyfriend while in Finland. Hanna is a student and language teacher.

Kaija is 35 years old, married to a Finn and they have two young children. She has lived in Copenhagen since August 2006. Currently Kaija is a stay-at-home mother, but she is biochemist by profession. Kaija is also the coordinator of *Mother-child group*. Her husband works at a large IT-company.

Nanna is years 35 old, married to a Dane and they have three young children. She came to Copenhagen first to study in 1995 and in 1998 she has lived in Copenhagen. Nanna works as an analysts and communication consultant. She is also the current chair of Finnish Association of Copenhagen (KSS).

Finnish women talking

The participants of the focus group interview discussed about countless topics related to their lives, Finland, social networks and challenges in Copenhagen. I decided to identify central themes we discussed based on transcription to present the participants' views. Below I outline central themes:

- Moving to Denmark
- Work
- Challenges
- Connections to Finland
- Friends and Social Networks
- Future plans

Moving to Denmark

Moving to Denmark is one of the most common themes foreigners start conversation with when they meet a Dane, a Finn or another expatriate for the first time. These Finnish women have relocated to Copenhagen for professional and/or personal reasons. Janina and Marja got a job in Copenhagen whereas Emma and Hanna came here to study. Sari, Milla, Nanna, Kaija and Eeva moved to Copenhagen for personal reasons in the first place. Kaija and Eeva have Finnish husbands and young children; for both, the reason of move was either husband's job transfer or his new job at an IT-company. Sari and Nanna are married to a Dane. Both have young children, work full-time and their Danish husbands have also lived in Finland for some time. Hanna has a boyfriend in Finland. Janina, Marja and Emma are singles.

Most participants have lived in Denmark two years or less, which means that they are relatively new in the city. Marja, Hanna, Milla, Eeva and Emma have moved only a couple of months ago. Nanna has lived in Copenhagen the longest period, permanently since 1998, Sari moved three and Kaija two and half years ago. All participants have also lived abroad at some point of their lives prior moving to Denmark. Milla and Marja have both lived abroad with their Finnish parents as a child and others have spent at least one semester abroad during their studies. All participants and their husbands/boyfriends are highly educated or currently pursuing a degree at the university as Emma and Hanna are doing.

Work

"What do you do?" is another question that helps people to position the other in the society. As mentioned, Janina, Marja, Sari, Nanna and Eeva are working either full-time or part-time. Sari and Janina got a job transfer within the same company's Finnish unit to Denmark. Janina works at an American company and she revealed that economic situation has caused some lay-offs within the company, but Janina is optimistic. Marja shares her story of how she got the job as a pharmaceutical research scientist at Copenhagen University, which relocated her to Denmark " *I came here a bit suddenly without thinking what would I like to do after finishing my post graduate degree. Then my Finnish boss here in Copenhagen called to*

inform that they are looking for a scientist and that you should apply which I did, so I had not even had time to decide...I came here to think what i would like to do next” (appendix: Marja). Milla is an economist and she is on sick leave at the moment. Eeva moved to Copenhagen from Estonia where she was a stay-at-home mother. Recently, Eeva started to work as a bookkeeper and she is glad to be working when her girls are at school. Kaija, who is biochemist, is the only one staying at home with her children *“I have been stay-at-home mother during our stay in Denmark and I have enjoyed it. I hope to return to work life after some time, latest when we return Finland”* (Appendix: Kaija). I got a feeling that being able to work means a lot for the participants. They also discussed how working hours are shorter and working culture generally speaking more relaxed in Denmark compared to Finland.

The other work related issue was communication language at work place. Most communication at work place is in Danish, even though many employees are foreigners. They also discussed the different Scandinavian languages and how Swedes, Norwegians and Danes do not all the time understand each other. Nanna would like to work in public sector among refugees or unemployed, but *“ It is difficult to get a job at a Danish work place because many do not understand communication and rhetoric to be other than correct, written expression in Danish”* (Appendix: Nanna). This brings us to challenges these expatriate Finnish women experience regarding life in Denmark.

Challenges

One of the biggest challenges is Danish language, which I can personally only agree to. The only exception is Janina who grew up as bilingual in Finland *“I have not bothered to learn Danish, I speak Swedish and I can manage with that. I can read everything”* (Appendix: Janina). For most, whether they have lived in Sweden in the past like Marja, Emma and Hanna did, Danish language has given some headaches. Sari began to learn Danish when she moved to Copenhagen three years ago and today she can communicate in Danish *“I did not speak Danish at all when I started to work at XXX, but now I work in Danish. I also write and speak it. Last week I had the momentum when I gave a presentation to our clients in Danish”* (Appendix: Sari). Sari feels puzzled how to raise her children in Denmark so that they learn to communicate in Finnish as well. Therefore, she would like to hang out more with other Finnish families in order to expose her son to Finnish language. I know from my personal experience that the language question can be the most stressful when one lives abroad with children. As Eeva puts it *“Finnish woman thinks that we are going to speak Finnish in this house...”* (Appendix: Eeva).

The women appreciate that most adult Danes speak English, but sometimes in social situations Danes seem to forget that there are non-Danish speaking foreigners present. Marja explains how this works *“Well, one cannot force everyone to speak English. Early in the evening everyone speaks English for a while, then people get more intoxicated and noise gets louder, and all people start to speak Danish”* (Appendix: Marja). Nanna explains how she felt changing communication language from Finnish to Danish has been one of the biggest challenges for her *“It has been very difficult to give up my Finnish language environment as well as the fact that I cannot stop by by relatives and friends who live in Finland”* (Appendix: Nanna). Nanna’s statement leads to another challenge of creating social networks after saying good-bye to family and friends in Finland or at previous location. Kaija explains that when

they moved to Copenhagen, creating contacts and networks to new people took some time, required much energy and self-initiation. On the other hand, Marja says that her work at an international environment (KU) makes it easy to create social contacts to other foreigners. Marja and Janina both explain that understanding Danish taxation system has been very challenging. I think challenges depend much on one's life situation. Sari moved to Denmark with determination to master the language (which she eventually did), but she had develop a mental stress about it and now she is concerned about how to teach Finnish for her son. In the beginning, Kaija's challenge as a stay-at-home mother was to create social contacts, which is understandable as mother's life is often around home and most Danish mothers work during the day. Keeping connections to Finland may also turn out to a challenge while abroad.

Connections to Finland

The participants seem to have mixed feelings toward their home country. The discussion was around a sense of belonging or not to Finland, and how one lives in a way in-between the two countries while in Denmark. However, it varies how often and in what ways these women keep contacts to Finland. After two and half years in Copenhagen, Kaija still feels close to Finland *"I am in daily contact to my parents who live in Finland and I also keep in touch with my friends there several times a month. I read the Finnish news on-line on daily basis and I try to keep up with the current situation, even though I live abroad. Finland means a lot to me. I have started to think differently about some issues from the distance"* (Appendix: Kaija). Sari feels she cannot keep up with her old friends from Finland. Janina explains that her contacts to Finland are becoming less and less frequent, and she embraces existence of Facebook *"Fortunately there is Facebook. Otherwise I would not know a thing"* (Appendix: Janina). Eeva tells that she meets her old friends nowadays more because when she lived in Finland and had little children, most their friends were pursuing careers whereas now their friends in Finland are in the same life situation bringing life realities closer. Milla is afraid to loose her friends in Finland because she is not there *"I am afraid that in a few years I realize that I am being totally dependent on my spouse and his friends, and I do not have own life, hobbies or friends. And then I notice that I do not life either here or in Finland"* (Appendix: Milla). Emma and Marja also express their concerns about alienation from Finland. Nanna left Finland over ten years ago but she says that her roots and identity are rooted in Finland where she also has close relatives and friends. How to keep contact with family and what to do when parents grow old is also major concern for the participants. What is also interesting is that discussion was more around social relationships than politics or work. Most of these women feel that their closest and best friends still are in Finland.

Friends and social networks

When I moved to Copenhagen two years ago, I had only one local number on my cell phone, which belonged to my Finnish childhood friend's classmate's best friend. It was Janina who brought up the importance of one's own social networks *"It is very important to get own network and here one should make Danish connections, but if it does not work, then one should try international networks"* (Appendix: Janina). Janina has also befriended with other Finns through international social networks such as 'meet-ups' in Copenhagen. Milla has noticed that it is easy to meet other internationals, but she thinks there is nobody but her

boyfriend to call in case of emergency at 1 o'clock a.m. Sari explains that it is easy as a foreigner to join international clubs and networks compared to Danes who move to Copenhagen from other parts of the country. She would like to have friends who also have little kids so that adults could chat while children play. In the beginning Sari did not want to hang out much with Finns because she wanted to speed up integration process. Eeva points out "Some (Finns) may not even want to deal with other Finns" (Appendix: Eeva). Janina tells a story about a Finnish woman who had not socialized with any Finns during the first two years of her stay in Copenhagen until one evening she showed up at *Finnish Ladies Night Out* and "After that she has been hanging out only with Finns!" (Appendix: Janina). Marja points out that abroad she gets to meet more people from diverse backgrounds than in Finland, both Finns and other nationalities. Kaija describes her social life in Copenhagen "My social circle is large and it includes mainly other Finnish stay-at-home mothers who also have small children. I have also met my child's classmates' parents who are Danes. I think this opens window also to a local daily life. My social life is more active here than it was in Finland. On the other hand, we also spend more time with our family" (Appendix: Kaija). Nanna tells that her friends are Danes and Finns and that some families have become like an extended family who celebrates important days with her family. This may be due to the fact that she has lived here more than 10 years. It seems that participants have social connections to Finnish, international and local communities in Copenhagen. In other words, these women like to socialize with other Finns and foreigners. Some of them are linked to Danish civil society through their Danish family or their children who could be considered as 'bridge builders' between Finnish parents and local Danish community.

Hanna says that most her Finnish friends are from the craft club. Nobody else had ever heard about that particular club, which indicates that there may be some 'private' clubs within Finnish community, which do not operate via public information channels. This shifted talk to KSS and to *Finnish Ladies Night Out*. Most participants had found information about Finnish social networks and events either on-line or via personal connections. Nanna tells that she went to Finnish events randomly until two years ago when she got an inspiration to become active within the community and today she is the current chair of the Finnish Association of Copenhagen. Kaija is the coordinator of weekly Mother-child group "*Mother-child group has given our family new friends and it is important part of our social life in Denmark. Finnish Association of Copenhagen offers something for everyone*" (Appendix: Kaija). Most participants have attended the social event *Finnish Ladies Night Out* and Marja had even heard about it from her little sister before moving to Copenhagen. Most participants agree that *Finnish Ladies Night Out* is a wonderful event. Eeva went to Mother-child group while she was staying at home with her girls and to *Pikkuleijonat* (sport for kids and their parents). Eeva is also familiar with the Finnish school in Copenhagen where her daughters go to every other Friday. Marja has made an interesting observation "*I have noticed that women are somehow more active in the community. Are there any Finnish men and do they have any action?*" (Appendix: Marja). Janina knows that there is men's *Suomipekat Kopiksessa* on Facebook who gather once a month at a pub. Milla informs that Nokia has its own group for Finnish guys who play soccer and go for drinks. Here participants do not only discuss the different social gatherings but also exchange information transforming the interview situation from research to social networking and I noticed this duality during transcription process.

I was interested in why these women get together with their compatriots in Copenhagen. Nanna explains that she is with other Finns because of *“the language. I have the need to speak Finnish and to be a Finn. I have gotten information from acquaintances, by taking part in social events and via mailists”* (Appendix: Nanna). The women agree that it is indeed the language why they need other Finns around them. Sari’s comments *“Before having a child, I never spoke Finnish (in Denmark) because there are no Finns at work. So that I can speak my own language”* (Appendix: Sari). There are also other reasons such as making friends or to network. In Kaija’s words *“When I moved here to Denmark, I felt it was absolutely necessary to create contacts to new people so that settling in to new country and city would go smoothly. I found information about Mother-child group and other events through tanska-lista. I went there immediately after having been only two weeks in Denmark”* (Appendix: Kaija). Participant were also discussing about certain Finnish character that is located in the backbone and how it is easier to talk with Finns about life in Denmark than it is with other people. It seems that these women perceive getting together with other Finns in order to speak Finnish, to meet new people, to gain information and to share their experiences about life in Copenhagen.

Future

Sari, Nanna and Milla think that they are going to stay in Copenhagen for now. Nanna reflects her future plans *“I live in Copenhagen for now. Life goes on. If there are good job offers from elsewhere, it may be that we all (the whole family) leave. It may also be that I am going to live here the rest of my life”* (Appendix: Nanna). Sari could also imagine that at some point she would move with her husband and children to some English-speaking country for a while, but that would also mean absence of support networks. Milla plans to stay at least a couple of years in Copenhagen, but she cannot picture herself living in Copenhagen for good. Janina wants to live abroad and is ready to return Finland only if her parents need her care. Marja does not know if she wants to stay longer abroad because her parents and her twin sister with a family live in Finland. Emma’s future is a big question mark *“I do not know. I do not have anything why I should or should not to go to Finland. I would rather like to go somewhere and stay there”* (Appendix: Emma). Eeva does not worry; she says that when they move, they move *“because of my husband’s job. Either we go back to Finland or we do not”* (Appendix: Eeva). Kaija tells that they are not in a rush and that they plan to stay in Denmark for a while living as normal daily life as possible. Only Hanna plans to return Finland in the near future because her boyfriend lives there. It seems that most of these women consider Copenhagen as their home right now. They have not forgotten Finland, but returning there is more an option than a must.

The ideal types of expatriate Finnish women

I have created three ideal types of Finnish women in order to analyze participants’ degree of integration into Danish society (through work) on vertical axis and their degree of regulation in terms of civil society (immediate family and local community) and strength of social ties to Finland on horizontal axis. The ideal types of Finnish women are a mixture of Thomas Højrup’s, Emile Durkheim’s and my own ideas constructing an explorative typology. The

purpose of the ideal types is to position the interviewed expatriate Finnish women in the social field of networks in transnational space they live in. I start with presenting theoretical grounding for this typology, which is followed by presentation of the three ideal types. Then I apply the ideal types to project participants and conduct analysis. Lastly, I present a graph based on the analysis which helps to visualize how the ideal types of expatriate Finnish women position in transnational social space using social integration and regulation as meridians.

Sociologist Emile Durkheim's *Le Suicide* (1897) portrays four types of suicide, which are based on the degrees of imbalance of social integration and moral regulation. *Egoistic suicide* results from people having too little social integration and social support. *Altruistic suicide* results from too much integration to social groups while self-sacrificed individuals lose sight of their individuality for the collective interests. *Anomic suicide* involves low degree of regulation involving imbalance of means and needs, where means are unable to fulfill ends. Durkheim divided *anomic suicide* to four sub-categories: *acute economic anomie* which decreases the ability of institutions to regulate and fulfill social needs, *chronic economic anomie* entailing long term decrease of social regulation, *acute domestic anomie* caused by sudden changes at the individual level leading to inability to adapt and *chronic domestic anomie*, which refers to marriage as an institution regulating the sexual and behavioral means-ends balance between men and women. The last type is a rare *Fatalistic suicide*, which includes people who live overregulated lives (Thompson 1982: 113). Højrup's Life-mode analysis including the housewife praxis has been presented in the beginning of this section.

- 1) **The Career-professional (C): *Anomic***
 - Progressive
 - Full-time job / full-time student
 - Active participant in social activities
 - Life-mode 3: single or in dual-career relationship
 - Strong ties and connections to Copenhagen through work
 - Weak social ties to Danish community
 - Weak social ties to Finland

- 2) **The Home-front woman (H): *Anomic- domestic anomie***
 - Conservative
 - Life-mode 3 through her spouse, supports husband's career advancement
 - The housewife or stay-at-home mother, may have a temporary job
 - Attends social activities randomly
 - Stronger ties to family than to Copenhagen
 - Weak social ties to local community (temporality)
 - Weak social ties to Finland

- 3) **The Pure housewife (P): *Egoistic***
 - Static
 - Life-mode 2 through her spouse
 - Working or non-working
 - Integrated home and family, activities within them
 - Rarely attends social gatherings
 - Strong or weak ties to Copenhagen through her spouse depending his nationality
 - Weak ties to local community
 - Weak ties to Finland

1) Career-Professional Woman (C) (life mode 3) has moved to Denmark to work or to study. This kind of women create strong ties to Copenhagen through their job as most social life includes hanging out with colleagues or with people from professional networks, which makes her lean towards *Altruistic* type of an individual whose life is all about work or studying. However, she is also considered to be an active participant at Finnish social gatherings, which means that she has some ties at least to translocal community ending her to be more *Anomic* in Durkheim's sense. Career-professional woman does not have many regulations as it is her who makes decisions whether she is single or in relationship. Due to distance, her social ties to Finland tend to be weak. One may assume that while Career-Professional Woman integrates to Danish society through her work or study, her integration to local Danish community is weaker as most her social contacts are work or university related. However, she is likely to attend Finnish social gatherings as her life is not regulated by family and connections to local Danes outside of work are few. I have labeled her as progressive. Janina, Marja, Hanna and Emma are career-professionals as they have moved to Copenhagen in order to work or study. Nanna, Sari and Milla are also career-professionals despite the fact that they either have a family or live in cohabitation; they all work full-time and may be considered to live in dual career relationship in light of Højrup.

2) The Home-front woman (H) (life-mode 3) has moved to Copenhagen because her husband got a job transfer and she supports his career by all means including running the household. She has stronger ties to her husband and family than to Copenhagen or to Finland), which both indicate high integration to Copenhagen through her husband's work. This may also include aspect of temporality, which makes creating strong ties to a place problematic as she often relocates due to her husband's career moves. She is closest to Durkheim's *Anomic-domestic anomie* as she may experience sudden changes and inability to adapt to new surroundings. Her life is more regulated compared to career-professional woman as the Home-front woman's marriage to a career man sets the course. She is likely to attend Finnish network's social outings with her children during daytime or in the evenings if her husband is in town or the babysitter is available. I have labeled her as conservative. Eeva and Kaija are closest to ideal type of Home-front woman. They have both moved to Copenhagen due to their husbands' jobs, which include aspect of temporality. Kaija is a stay-at-home mother and she attends social gatherings mainly at daytime. Eeva is working, but the fact that their family's next move is up to her husband's job makes Eeva to be more Home-front woman than career-professional.

3) The Pure housewife (P) (Life-mode 2 through her spouse) may have strong or weak ties to Copenhagen depending whether her husband is Danish (strong) or other nationality (weak). Most her connections to Copenhagen are created through her husband. She also has weak ties to Finland due to distance. Her life is strongly regulated as the most important thing for her is integrated and harmonious home and family. The Pure Housewife does not have much social life, even though she might be working full-time. The Pure Housewife could be *egoistic* in light of Durkheim as she has too little social integration and support. She rarely attends social activities operated by Finnish transnational community as she prefers to stay at home. Most likely the Pure Housewife has not integrated either to Danish society or to Finnish

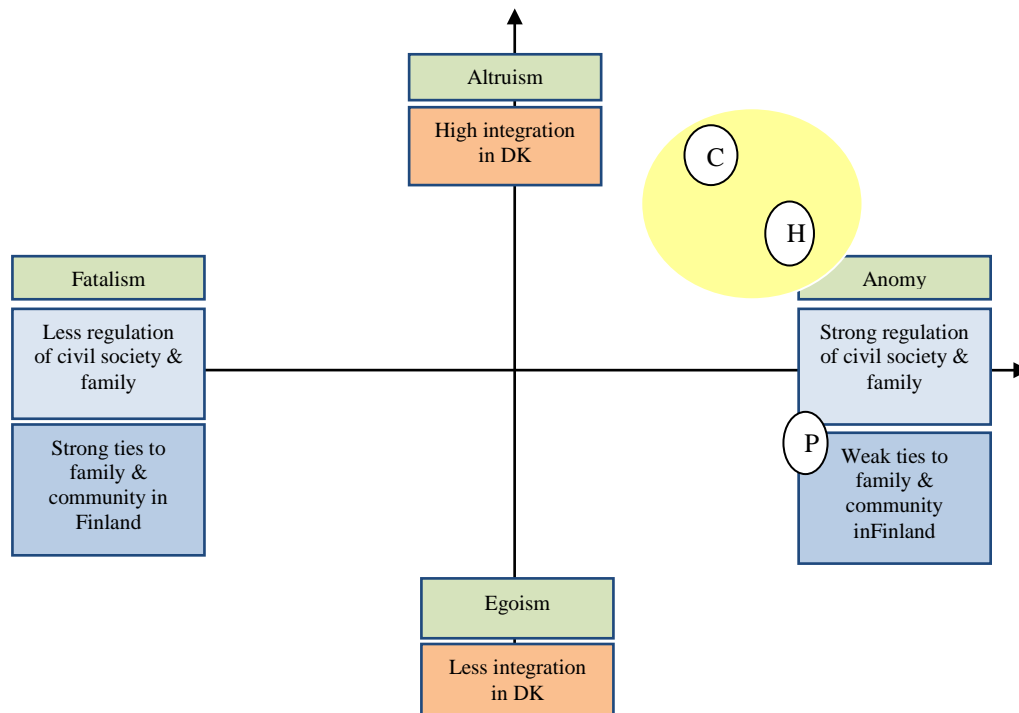
community. I have labeled the Pure Housewife static. None of the participants have characteristics of this ideal type.

Applying the ideal types to expatriate Finnish women

My analysis is based on transcription and on personal background information the participants provided at the interview situation or via survey. These ideal types are also theoretical and experimental as they have been developed in order to analyze how the interviewed Finnish women can be positioned in the field of networks and how their life modes dictate the degree of social integration and regulation in transnational space. The typology also entails degree of fluidity as one may be categorized as the Home-front woman during her first year in Denmark and later on she may transform into the Career-professional.

The participants can be categorized either as Career-professionals or as Home-frontier women as mentioned above. I think it is not surprising that none of the participants is the Pure housewife because the pure housewife would have not signed up to take part in the focus group interview as she prefers spending Sunday afternoons at home with her family. Based on this typology, one may argue that the women are either career-professionals/anomic or home front women/domestic anomic. Both ideal types position very close to each other on the graph below. The yellow sphere indicates the area of Anomy in which these ideal types position when degree integration on the vertical axis and degree of regulation of civil society on horizontal axis are used as meridians. Horizontal axis also indicates whether one has strong or weak social ties to Finland. The career professionals place slightly higher when it comes to degree of integration to Danish society through work compared to Home-front woman. In the former case, it is her own career whereas the latter integrates indirectly through her husband's job. Home-front women have a stronger degree of regulation of civil society (immediate family and local community) compared to career-women. Home-front women are integrated more to their immediate family and their task is to support husband's career moves whereas the Career-woman makes her own decisions. Both have rather weak social ties to Finland due geographical distance. One may then argue that there can be more than one position within *anomic* sphere, possibly several. For example, Eeva, who is labeled as the Home-front woman, is working full-time making her lean more towards realities of the Career-professionals as she is likely to have social contacts through job and feel integrated to Danish society not only through her husband's job, but actually through her own career. This also shows the rigidity of the typology as there are more nuances to them than categories. One may also argue that the participants live in transnational space somewhere between Finland and Denmark, uprooted from the environment where they grew up, which only exists in time and locality of Copenhagen in 2008.

The graph below shows how the ideal types 1) *the Career-professional* 2) *the Home-front woman* and 3) *the Pure housewife* can be positioned in transnational social space of networks



Wrapping up level (U)

Mechanisms at level (U) can be detected when analyzing expatriate Finnish women's life situations in light of Thomas Højrup's Life-mode analysis. Højrup's theory also creates a strong base for developing the three ideal types of Finnish women that facilitate understanding how participants' life-modes indicate their degree of integration to Danish society and to civil society along with strength of their social ties to Finland. I think Thomas Højrup's Life-mode analysis is useful in explaining the current life-modes of expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen. His theory also gives a starting point to analyzing what kind of challenges these women may have. Life-mode analysis is less useful in explaining what kind of coping strategies the participants have. It is the interview material that provides insights to different coping strategies; one of them is social networking that feeds up to level (I) analysis of Finnish transnational social networks.

Following Brante, I would say that career is a major causal mechanism at level (U). It is the career or life-modes of the participants, or that of their spouses, that connects these expatriate Finns to Copenhagen. One may also argue that career links all three levels; it makes moving of individuals possible, it determines her life-mode and through life-modes career affects social networks feeding up to level (I). Another potential causal mechanism at level (U) is the challenge. When expatriate Finnish women experience challenges they create coping strategies, which creates a linkage between level (U) and (I) as these women look for information within social networks at level (I). One may also argue that exchange of information has two directions: expatriate women (U) seek information (I) and actors within Finnish social networks (I) provide it to fellow expatriates (U) thus creating a circular movement (see graph on page 36). Next section delves into Finnish social networks at level (I).

III: What is going on at the Finnish social networks in Copenhagen

3. What is going at the Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen and what purposes do these social networks serve?

This research question at level (I) entails the scope of Finnish transnational social networks and seeks to answer what is going on at Finnish social gatherings and what purposes these social networks serve. Level (I) analysis opens doors to Finnish transnational social networks. I start by providing a theoretical perspective to social networks using works of T. Faist and E. Ozveren, M.P. Smith and N. Lin. Then I seek to explain the existing social networks and to create Finnish community life and function by providing analysis of the relevant web-sites. Lastly, I bring in my field work as participant-observant at social event of *Finnish Ladies Night Out* to enlighten what is going on at a social event in Finnish community. This includes discussion of ethical considerations related to conducting empirical fieldwork. I hope to answer to the question what is going on at the Finnish transnational social networks and what purposes these social networks serve. Level (I) analysis makes use of the level (O) and level (U). Finally, I am going to suggest that level (O) creates a context and how level (I) with Finnish transnational social networks serve as a ‘coping strategy’ for components at level (U).

Transnational social networks from theoretical perspective

Level (I) is grounded in Institutional analysis, which focuses on anything from networks and groups to families. This level includes interaction of the networks, families and individual actors within the scope of the research. Transnational migration research originates in the early 1990s U.S. when academics noticed that migrants with whom they worked had created transnational practices (Basch et al. 1994 from Levitt and Nyberg Sorensen, 2004: 2). Since then migration research wave shifted from inter-state interdependencies to study global civil society and linkages between migrants, groups, communities and non-state organizations, which scholars Smith and Guarnizo (1998) refer to transnational social formations and Pries (2001) has labeled as transnational social spaces (Faist and Ozveren 2004: 1). Michael P. Smith differentiates globalization and transnationalism in the academic field by explaining that “globalization discourse draws attention to social processes that are largely decentered from specific national territories...research on transnational processes depicts *transnational* social relations as “anchored in” while also transcending one or more nation-states” (Smith, 2001: 3). The focus of this project is indeed on transnational practices of Finland and Denmark anchored in contemporary Copenhagen. I view Finnish transnational social networks to be part of M.P. Smith’s viewing of transnational practices, which take place in transnational social space of Copenhagen.

Transnational social spaces are “relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across the borders of sovereign states” (Faist and Ozveren 2004: 3). Faist and Ozveren explain that transboundary expansion of social spaces is regionally specific determined by legal and political regulations. This project’s geographical region is Denmark

and Finland, and level (O) analysis shows that there are no legal or political barriers for Finns to enter and stay in Denmark. Transnational social spaces include transactions and ties and their contents, organizations and networks involving at least two nation states. Space denotes to the cultural, political and economic practices of individual and collective actors (Faist and Ozveren 2004: 4). According to authors, the term ‘social’ represents a series of personal transactions between individuals’ common interests, obligations, expectations and norms. These social ties may also entail symbolic ties, which connect people involved via common memories, meanings and expectations (Faist and Ozveren 2004: 4). Social and symbolic ties may reach beyond one-to-one communications to include people who speak the same language and who are members of the same class, profession, faith, ethnicity and nationality (Faist and Ozveren 2004: 4). One may assume that majority of Finnish women in Copenhagen are also citizens of Finland and speak Finnish as all the project participants do. This supports Faist’s and Ozveren’s statement that citizenship makes an example of an institutionalized tie between and among citizens and to their states as one may then argue that Finnish citizenship creates a common ground for the Finnish transnational social networks in Copenhagen.

Michael Peter Smith’s *Transnational Urbanism, Locating Globalization* (2001) offers a comprehensive discussion to theoretical field dealing with development of contemporary transnational networks of social action (Smith 2001: 166). Smith’s focus areas are the sociospatial agency of transnational social, economic, and political networks from the global to local level, the study of translocality, the role of a nation-state in the social construction of transnational urbanism and the comparative urban analysis of emergent of transnational networks situated within, between, and across the local sites (Smith 2001: 167). Smith sheds light to what does transnational agency of networks in urban context mean. His starting point is a city where as Faist and Ozveren transnational space or region is less specific. In Smith’s viewing, one may ask if Finnish social networks in Copenhagen are used as coping strategy for expatriate Finnish women enhancing integration to Danish society or do they foster Finland and encouraging Finns to ‘isolate’. Based on the interviews and ideal types developed for research purposes at level (U), one may lean more towards the former. Faist and Ozveren, and Smith construct a framework for the Finnish social networks in transnational space whereas Nan Lin’s network theory from *Social Capital* (2001) illuminates the meaning of networks along with the importance of using social relations and connections in order to achieve personal goals.

Lin’s main argument is “it is who you know” and “what you know” that can make a difference in one’s life in a society. Lin explores the significance of networks and social networks as tools in capital building. Lin explains that networks and institutions constitute the infrastructure of meso-level society and are the two main social forces guiding interactions between actors and structures (Lin 2001:184). Institutions primarily uphold individual and collective identities whereas networks tend to fill and link the gaps that exist in a society (Lin 2001:186). The Finnish School in Copenhagen could be categorized as an institution as its goal is to provide Finnish language teaching for children thus promoting the importance of the Finnish language and culture. Finnish social networks seem to align with Lin’s point of networks filling out the gaps as one may argue that they provide something for the Finns that Danish government and the city of Copenhagen cannot.

Lin writes that social networking and social ties provide individuals additional resources (Lin 2001:192). Many social networks are established because people have shared processes, shared experiences in institutionalization (e.g. alumni) and shared interests or experiences (Lin 2001:192). The question what purposes do Finnish transnational social networks serve is justified. Based on the interviews, expatriate Finnish women join a club or sign up to *Finnish Ladies Night Out* because they can speak Finnish, gain information, meet new people and share their experiences as Finns in Denmark. Lin writes that through social networks, individuals can via informal or formal ties reach beyond his/her own social circles and these socially embedded resources may transform to social capital that individual can use in order to achieve his/her goal, such as finding a job (Lin 2001:193). This theoretical background leads to presentation of Finnish social networks in Copenhagen, which is followed by my field work experience as a participant-observer at *Finnish Ladies Night Out*.

Finnish social networks in Copenhagen

Finnish community and social events for women are well represented in the Internet; there is Yahoo-group called *tanska-lista*, which is the mailing list with close to 1000 members. There are also two groups for Finnish women on Facebook: *Suomi-tytot Kopiksessa* (Finnish girls in Copenhagen) and *Suomi-mammat Tanskassa* (Finnish mothers in Copenhagen). In addition, *Koopenhaminan Suomalainen Seura* (KSS = Finnish Association of Copenhagen) has its own web-site with links to most sub-groups and social activities including the Finnish Church and the Finnish School of Copenhagen.

Tanska-lista: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/tanska-lista/>

Tanska-lista was established on July 30, 1998. Currently it has 946 members (December 4, 2008). According to the web-site, the purpose of *tanska-lista* is first and foremost to function as an information channel to Finnish people living in Denmark who can use it to transmit announcements and short messages. *Tanska-lista* is operated in Finnish and it is open for all Finnish speaking persons. In order to get an access to *tanska-lista*, one needs to send a subscription email to group administrator who then adds person to the mailing list. The mailing list was used to recruit participants for the focus group interview. *T*

Tanska-lista is the main information channel for the Finns in Copenhagen. It is used by individuals, private companies, Finnish embassy personnel, clubs and associations to transmit information and messages. I decided to see what kind of messages, how many and how often were transmitted via *tanska-lista* from September 2008 to November 2008 to show the significance of the mailing list for Finnish community in Copenhagen. I consider analyzing *tanska-lista* harmless from ethical point of view because it is open to public and I could not find any privacy statements which would restrict conducting research.

Activity on *tanska-lista*: September 1-November 30, 2008

Message content	September	October	November	In total
Selling/donating	6	7	4	17
Want to buy stuff	2	1	-	3
Renting out flat	3	-	1	4
Looking for flat	4	2	6	12
Job announcements	3	6	4	13
Baby sitter needed	1	1	2	4
Looking for job	1	2	4	7
KSS: events	3	3	3	9
Mother-child group	4	4	5	13
Social events/women	1	1	-	2
Open social events	1	1	-	2
Finnish cultural events	3	4	4	11
Question about life in Denmark	3	4	3	10
Service offers	1	1	1	3
Other	7	4	9	20
Mgs per month	42	41	46	129

Source: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/tanska-lista/messages/4506?viscount=-30&l=1>

Based on the table above, amount of the messages posted on *tanska-lista* has remained more or less the same with average 43 per month. This number includes only the posted messages because replying to messages happens elsewhere. Most popular messages are related to following contents: selling or donating personal property (e.g. cars, bicycles and furniture), people looking for a place to rent, companies seeking for Finnish speaking employees, meetings of mother-child group, information about Finnish cultural events in Copenhagen (e.g. concerts and art exhibitions), people asking questions about life in Denmark (e.g. taxation system) and other random messages (e.g. local elections in Finland). It is also worth to mention that most social events and meetings use *tanska-lista* as their information channel.

Kööpenhaminan Suomalainen Seura (KSS = Finnish Association of Copenhagen)

KSS was founded in 1904 and most its activities are concentrated in Copenhagen. It is under umbrella organization Suomi-seura ry (Finland Society: www.suomi-seura.fi) which has headquarters in Helsinki. According KSS' web-site, the purpose of the association is to connect Finns in Copenhagen and in other parts of Denmark, and to preserve Finnish language and culture (KSS, 2008). Other goals listed by KSS entail providing information about contemporary Finland and organizing activities for information and refreshment for its members. KSS also aims to advance and improve the knowledge about Finland in Denmark (KSS, 2008). KSS has currently approximately 250 members. One may become a member by paying the membership fee. KSS sends out membership mail to its members, but the same information also goes electronically to everyone on *tanska-lista*. Decisions are made by 8-member board, which meets once a month. According to web-site, KSS has several sub-groups. I could not open the window 'activities', so I decided to view their calendar in order to get a better idea of activities operated by KSS. These include:

- Pikkuleijonat (sport group for kids 2-7yrs)
- Sport groups: floor ball, mixed volleyball, yoga
- Finnish School (for children 6-12yrs)
- Various parties
- Fieldtrips
- Finnish Ladies Night Out
- Social club for adults (within KSS)

Suomitytöt Köpiksessä (Finnish Girls in Copenhagen)

Suomitytöt Köpiksessä is an open group on Facebook with three administrators and a group type is marked as 'global, just for fun'. The group is established for the Finnish girls living in Copenhagen. Currently *Suomitytöt Köpiksessä* has 123 members (04.12.2008) and some of them are males. The group wall has 40 posts related to life in Denmark, shopping, job announcements and to social events. In order to send a message to all members, one needs to contact administrators who will forward the message to everyone in the group. KSS' monthly event *Ladies Night Out* and event called *Drinks with Finns* (*Driksut Suomiporukan kanssa*) use *Suomitytöt Köpiksessä* on Facebook as well as *tanska-lista* to announce their upcoming social gatherings.

Suomi-mammat Tanskassa (Finnish Mothers in Copenhagen)

Suomi-mammat Tanskassa is a closed group on Facebook to which members must be invited or approved by one of the three administrators. I was invited to *Suomi-mammat Tanskassa* by a Finnish mother who used to live in Copenhagen, but moved back to Finland two months ago. In civil, I am also a mother, so my presence in the group is well justified. *Suomi-mammat Tanskassa* is listed under Facebook groups 'common interests – family'. It is established for Finnish mothers living in Denmark who cannot participate party nights of the *Suomitytöt Köpiksessä* due to family reasons (*Suomi-mammat Köpiksessä*, Facebook 04.12.2008). *Suomi-mammat Tanskassa* has 32 members. There are 62 wall posts (04.12.2008) including invitations to weekly meetings of *Perhekerho* (Mother-Child group) and questions and observations about child/baby products and foods. *Suomi-mammat Tanskassa* also utilizes Facebook's function Discussion board that currently has 15 topics ranging from 'for sale'-messages to cake recipes (04.12.2008).

As a participant-observer at *Finnish Ladies Night Out*

Internet is useful in order to map out the offering of diverse social clubs and events, but how to get involved and see what is going on those social gatherings turned out to be a personal challenge. I had randomly attended some social events in Finnish community, so I had some ideas which clubs and events may be relevant to my research purposes. I decided to attend KSS' *Finnish Ladies Night Out* as the event gathers a bunch of expatriate Finnish women to dine and chat once a month. I had a natural access since I have been on *tanska-lista* and Facebook for more than a year, I even knew some people in advance within the community and yet taking the role of participant and observer simultaneously continued to be challenging throughout the fieldwork. The idea of observing and analyzing my fellow compatriots, some of them I personally may know, drew my attention to ethics of fieldwork and Marlene de

Laine's *Fieldwork Participation and Practice, Ethics and Dilemmas in Qualitative Research* (2000).

Laine's book takes account confronting issues dealing with qualitative research focusing on the ethical dilemmas of fieldwork and offering practical means to solve those problems. Laine urges fieldworkers to consider "How will I be toward these people?", so I began to reflect how other Finnish women would view my presence after revealing my identity not only as myself but also as a researcher. Laine presents theories of various scholars who have created typologies of fieldwork strategies and observation techniques. One classical example is Gold's (1958) fourfold typology which includes roles of *the participant-as observer*, *the complete participant*, *the observer-as-participant* and *the complete-observer*. The participant-as-observer seemed to be best choice for this project as the role balances involvement with detachment, familiarity with strangeness and closeness with distance (Adler and Adler, 1978 from Laine 2000:104). Yet I hesitated long before my conducting my fieldwork whether I should openly tell about my role as a researcher. Finally I decided not to because revealing the fact I am observing Finnish women at *Finnish Ladies Night Out* would likely alter my table's behavior towards me and possibly biased description of what is going on at this social event.

I found James Spradley's view of the participant-observer supporting my strategy and goals. In Spradley's viewing, the participant-observer who enters a setting to do fieldwork is required to engage in appropriate activities for the situation, while simultaneously observing people, activities and physical aspects of the situation" (Spradley 1980:54 from Laine 2000:39). In other words, I would have to be as natural as possible while observing social situations in the field. Laine also points out that it is not sufficient for a fieldworker to act as a 'real' researcher, but one has to also be an active participant in on-going social interaction and express himself in a manner which creates confidence in others (Laine 2000: 38). According to Laine, the role of a researcher in the fieldwork is processual and everchanging (Laine 2000: 95). I experienced this several times during participant-observation at *Finnish Ladies Night Out*; one moment I would be very aware of my role as an observer, paying attention to what people said or how they interacted with each other and I would try to copy the image and the atmosphere as it was so that I could later paste it on the paper. The next moment someone I know approaches asking "how are your children?" switching my role from the researcher/participant-observer to that of an acquaintance.

I was also wondering how it is possible to approach expatriate Finnish women naturally while simultaneously gathering observations and data for my research. According to Spradley, the best approach to describe cultural scenes is to *participate*, *observe* and *interview* (Spradley 1972:45). This approach allows researchers combine everything what they wish to accomplish especially when time for conducting fieldwork is limited. I decided to follow Spradley's suggestion. In this project, participation refers to attending to mentioned *Finnish Ladies Night Out* and as participation observation method includes taking field notes, I recorded them in-between and immediately after conducting my fieldwork. Next I present my account of the fieldwork experience to illuminate what was going on at *Finnish Ladies Night Out*.

Finnish Ladies Night Out (based on field notes)

Where: Greek Restaurant in Central Copenhagen

When: Wed, Oct 29, 2008 at 6:30 o'clock pm.

Organizer: KSS, open invitation via *tanska-lista* and *Suomityöt Köpiksessä*

I arrived at a lively scene with my Finnish friend Maija five minutes past 6:30pm. The small Greek restaurant in the heart of Copenhagen was crowded and more than half of the tables were occupied by our company. There were at least 30 expatriate Finnish women ages 25-40 gathering to eat dinner! I did not have a choice to pick my seat as there were only two of them left; I was placed in the middle of a table of 14-16 women, very intimate setting as we barely had room to move. I recognized two faces and introduced myself to four or five people closest around me. Some of the women seemed to know each other at some level and later on, after the dinner people started to mingle and then I could observe some cliques and bonds between some of the women. There was lots of talking, laughing and smiling going on, very few moments of silence around my seat. I could not really observe what was going on at other tables, so I decided to pay attention to those sitting close by for I could hear what they say and later on I managed to take part in some other conversations as well. Perhaps I should start with what kind of women were sitting at my table. There were at least three mothers, only one single and everyone else has either a boyfriend or husband, Finnish, Danish or from another European country. Most women are working, looking for a job, studying or staying at home with children. Most are also relatively new in Copenhagen as many have been here only since summer 2008.

In the beginning there was lots of small talk. How long have you been here? What do you do? Where do you live? This intro was great as I could learn more about people around me. We discussed about moving around from one country to another, about family and raising kids in Denmark including public daycare system and how does it work. Then we discussed about Danish education and how do Finnish kids learn the language. Then we talked about grocery stores and prices, hair dressers and Danish royal family. Chatting became more serious when we started to discuss about work and who is working where, how to find jobs, how there are only few companies where one can work in English and from there we came down to Danish language. It turned out that some women are enrolled in Danish course and some were planning to start learning Danish in the near future. By now we had eaten the buffet dinner (there was a long line to fill up our plates, so we had time to chat) and I decided to take a bathroom/note taking break.

When I returned, women had started to mingle, went to greet their friends and acquaintances. It was interesting to observe that actually some these women knew each other and there seemed to be very few who had arrived alone to this event. Also, I realized that many had lived abroad prior coming to Denmark, but they were hoping to stay here for a while. I was wondering what motivates them. Around 9:30pm I went home and approximately half of the crowd was heading to an opening night of a new bar. The evening was Finnish Euphoria, lots of fun, but also exhausting. I felt a bit tense from time to time through my participant-observation, but I think nobody noticed as most were new faces. I had to remind myself constantly about keeping my observation senses open and to be a good listener. The weirdest thing was that my two years in Copenhagen seemed to give me a status of the 'Copenhagen expert'. This 'expert' status may have also impacted direction of our conversation to a degree.

What is going on at level (I)

The level (I) analysis is helpful in answering what is going on at Finnish social networks and what purposes these social networks serve, but it is interview material at level (U), which provides most insightful supplements to answering these questions. Based on the level (I) analysis, one of the primary functions of Finnish social networks is to transmit information to expatriate Finnish population in Copenhagen. Exchange of information takes place virtually via *tanska-lista* and Facebook. *Tanska-lista* also transmits job announcements and apartment posting, which may facilitate relocation or even integration of expatriate Finns to Copenhagen. *Tanska-lista* and Facebook also announce upcoming social events, which gather Finnish speaking people together around different interests. Through clubs and events Finnish transnational social networks give opportunities for Finns to speak their language, share experiences about life in Denmark, create social contacts to other people than colleagues and family members, and exchange information. Exchanging information seems to be on-going when expatriate Finnish women communicate in virtual or in real world. My fieldwork experience supports this as well when the focus group participants used the interview situation to exchange information related to strategies of how to learn Danish, how it is to raise kids in Copenhagen and what kind of social networks Finnish and international communities provide etc. Based on the previous, I suggest that Finnish social networks in Copenhagen can be considered as a coping strategy for expatriate Finns as being on *tanska-lista* and taking part in social activities allows them to achieve personal goals. This is also in line with N. Lin's view according to which social networks can be used to reach personal goals.

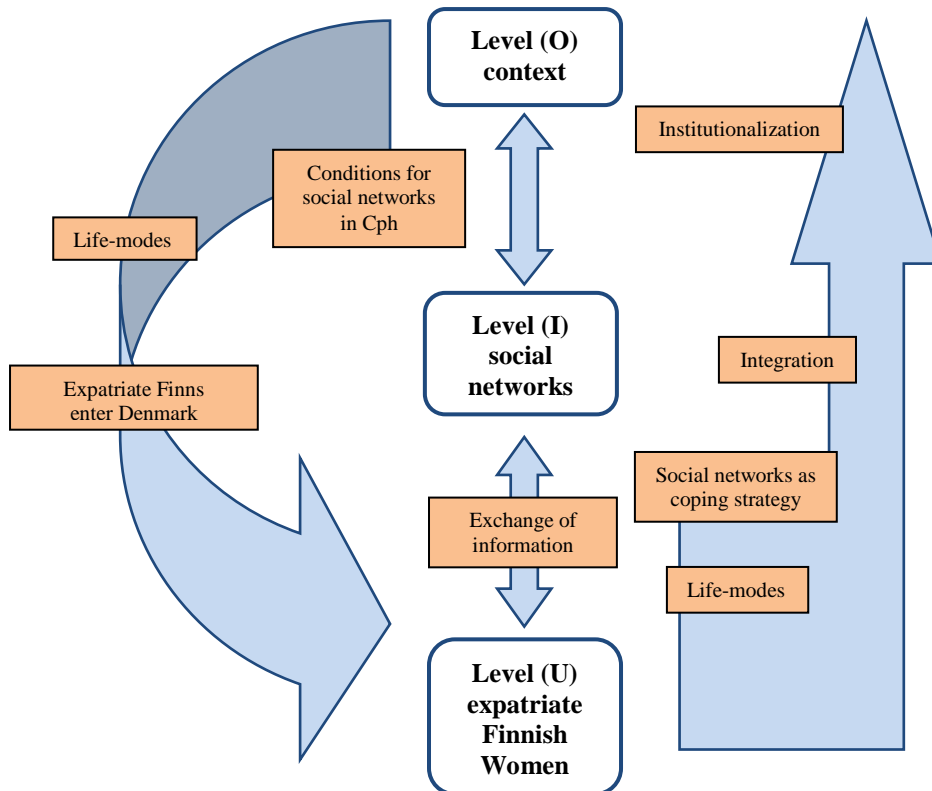
Reflecting upon Brante, the most powerful causal mechanisms at level (I) are the Finnish social networks themselves, which entail the various clubs and on-line interaction. These social networks can function as a coping strategy to gain information and make social connections for expatriates at level (U). This could also in the extreme case cause changes in one's life-mode (e.g. *the Home-front woman* transforms to *the Career-woman* via connections obtained through Finnish social networks). These social networks may also feed up to level (O) through process of institutionalization, in which a social network first develops into an organized unity and transforms to an institution. Finnish Schools in Copenhagen could be an example of institutionalization process as it is operated in collaboration of the Ministry of Education in Finland, KSS and Copenhagen's municipality. Transnational social networks at level (I) may also facilitate expatriates' (U) integration into Danish society at level (O). Lastly, I suggest that Finnish transnational social networks at level (I) may fill out a gap in Danish society at level (O) as there are no public agency that would support integration and well-being of expatriate Finnish women and their families (see graph on page 36).

Interplay of the Levels

Thomas Brante's sociology research model has provided a comprehensive approach to research expatriate Finnish transnational social networks from multiple angles. I think analyzing the levels meta-theoretically and methodologically has helped to create a 'big picture' of the research topic on canvas where interaction of the context, mechanisms and components becomes alive. Brante's model has also helped to position expatriate Finnish

women in urban Copenhagen in their niches and to examine why these women may have challenges at individual level in the absence of legal barriers at the political level when entering to Denmark. The graph below summarizes and illustrates relativity of Brante’s three levels as argued in the end of the each level analysis above. This graph shows the complexity of Finnish transnational social networks along with causal relationships and linkages between the levels.

The interplay of Brante’s general levels and mechanisms with potential causal capacity in this project:



Concluding remarks

Based on analytical and empirical research on this topic, I argue that despite the lack of legal barriers at political level, some expatriate Finnish women in Copenhagen encounter problems at individual level when entering to Denmark. The challenges of expatriate Finnish women are personal, time specific and partially connected to their life-modes in Højrup’s sense. The challenges or problems are related to adjusting to life abroad and in Copenhagen including stress of learning Danish language, getting used to cultural and societal norms, maintaining connections to Finland, raising Finnish children abroad, creating social life, finding information about practical matters and feeling uprooted. Most likely some of these challenges are going to diminish by time. The women’s life-modes and life situations along with personal expectations, goals and experiences likely affect how the participants have coped with adjusting to life in Copenhagen. I argue that Finnish transnational social networks

may and can function as a coping strategy for expatriate Finnish women when there is no Danish public agency addressing issues and challenges of these women. Finnish transnational social networks also fill out a gap in the Danish society by providing information and support to expatriate Finnish women as the official sector tends to focus more on challenges of immigrants in the Danish context. It is difficult to imagine how Finnish transnational social networks could be harmful for the Danish society and Copenhagen as their aim is to provide information and opportunities for Finnish population to socially interact with fellow Finns and to keep alive Finnish linguistic and cultural heritage.

Perspectives

Finnish transnational social networks in urban Copenhagen are self-organized and operated by volunteers within the community making it ‘migrant-led transnationalism’ in which migrants initiate practices and institutions that foster transnational social spaces (Goldring 2002: 57). *Tanska-lista* has nearly 1000 members, which means that most grown up Finns in the capital region have signed on. Social events tend to draw much smaller crowds. My participant-observation at *Finnish Ladies Night Out* and my earlier personal experience show that many expatriate Finns who attend these social gatherings are rather new to Copenhagen. This makes sense as ‘newcomers’ rarely have firmly established social networks when they relocate to a new place. Transnational social networks can provide a comfortable and familiar starting point to explore life in Denmark and gain insights from compatriots who in return like to share their ‘expert’ information. International social networks offer another alternative avenue especially for those who are international-minded, or one may combine the two as Janina has done.

Finnish social networks seem to function as a coping strategy to expatriate Finnish women who took part in this project. These women like to speak Finnish, share their experiences and knowledge while meeting new people. They also use social networks for gaining information as mentioned above. I would argue that exchange of information is the primary function of Finnish social networks, which is possible when there are people who are willing to share information and those who need it. It is also possible that there are many Finns who are signed on *tanska-lista* that have never attended Finnish social events. Transnational social networks seem to be slightly more important for those expatriates who live in Copenhagen with their families. Sari, Kaija and Eeva discussed extensively how it is to raise children in Denmark in terms of language, for example. I know this from my own experience; I became a mother several years ago while living in the U.S. where I joined the Finnish club for mothers that turned out to be an incredible information source as to how to balance life as a mother between the Finnish and the American cultures and norms. Since then I have always made sure that my children have Finnish friends to play with so that they become exposed to Finnish language and culture. I also think that the participants and expatriates do not spend much time to reason why they attend social events or what they may gain from it. It seems that it is mainly mothers who are very aware of the benefits as for others they are more a fun social outing where everyone speaks Finnish. This paper has demonstrated that Finnish social networks are more than that as they may serve also as

coping strategies for expatriate Finnish women and others within Finnish community in Copenhagen.

The project participants consider Copenhagen as their temporary home. They are connected to Copenhagen through their jobs, studies or families depending in which life-mode they live in based on Højrup. These women are relatively new to Copenhagen apart from Nanna who left Finland in 1998. They do not have an urge to return Finland. For them, Finland means family, relatives, friends, roots and mentality, but it is something they are willing to give up at least temporarily. They are aware of living in this in-between space that is not deeply rooted either to Denmark or to Finland, which Özveren and Faist have named as transnational social space. This transnational social space of Finland and Denmark also includes societal perspective to Finnish social networks in Copenhagen. One may argue that Finnish social networks fill out a gap that no local governmental, municipal or communal agency addresses. This gap entails individual challenges that one goes through when relocating to a new place. From gender perspective, there is an agency called Kvinfo in Copenhagen, which is an independent institution under regulations of the Danish Ministry of Culture (Kvinfo, 2008). Kvinfo also operates a mentor network that matches women who are either immigrants, refugees or Danes from ethnic minority with Danish women aiming to support, to help creating networks and to open doors into Danish society (Kvinfo, 2008). However, Finns are not considered as 'immigrants' in Danish context, which means that expatriate Finnish women are expected to manage on their own or to rely on support from other sources, and this is when Finnish social networks along with other international networks step in. On the other hand, Danish government and public are likely not aware of the various transnational social networks in Copenhagen. I think further research on transnational social networks in Copenhagen would benefit those who are employed in the cross cultural field either on public or private sector.

The government of Finland considers expatriate Finns as a resource for Finland who can spread knowledge about Finland, and who can enrich Finland's political, commercial and cultural life. The Finnish government also supports preserving Finnish culture and language among its expatriate communities abroad. I think it is remarkable that Finnish government has created a program for the expatriates with official goals and guidelines. Also, KSS in Copenhagen is under the Association of Finland Society (Suomi-seura) that is an umbrella organization for over 125 representatives around the world. These factors speak for the fact that Finland expects many expatriates to return. Ideally, this project would also include how families and friends of expatriate Finns who still live in Finland perceive the situation of having a family member or a friend living in Copenhagen. Personally, I have also thought of how my native family in Finland makes sense of having a daughter and grandchildren living abroad, and how this transnational dimension affects their lives.

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Appendix

The Focus group interview documents

Email sent to *tanska-lista* (25.11.2008)

utkimusprojekti: Suomalaisten sosiaaliset verkostot Koopenhaminassa

Tuesday, November 25, 2008 2:46 PM

From:

"Kirsi Varsa" <kirpitk@yahoo.com>

To:

tanska-lista@yahogroups.com

Hei Suomi-tyttö!

Lauantaina on Kaamos-bileet, sunnuntai-iltapäivänä on hieman toisenlaista ohjelmaa...

Tuletko mukaan kahvi/teekupposen aareen keskustelemaan mitä Tanskassa asuminen, suomalaisuus ja sosiaaliset verkostot sinulle merkitsevat? Teen parhaillaan tutkimusta transnationaalisista verkostoista urbaanissa miljöössä ja keskeinen osa tutkimuksestani liittyy sosiaalisiin verkostoihin yksilön/naisen näkökulmasta ulkomailla asuttaessa. Kiinnostuitko?

Ryhmähaastattelun ajankohta on **sunnuntai 30. marraskuuta 2008, klo 16-17.30** ja paikka on kotini (**Rorholmsgade 23,2. 1352 Kbh**), joka sijaitsee kavelymatkan etäisyydellä Norreportin asemalta. Haastattelu tehdään suomeksi (englannin kielinen tutkimusprojekti) ja osallistujien määrä on 8-10. Ilmoittautumiset **pe 28.11** mennessä sähköpostitse marja@ruc.dk

Aihe on minulle tärkeä myös henkilökohtaisesti (ei vain akateemisesti) ja siksi olen todella kiinnostunut sinun ja muiden suomalaisten naisten näkemyksistä & kokemuksista!

Terv. Kirsi Varsa

Finns in Copenhagen: Personal Information

NAME	
AGE	
NATIONALITY	
OCCUPATION	
IN DK. SINCE	
RELATIONSHIP STATUS	

Do you wish to be presented with your true identity?

YES ___

NO ___

Date ___/___/___ **place** _____ **signature** _____

The Focus group interview: procedure & introduction (30.11.2008)

Focus Group Interview Procedure

- Interviewer/moderator and interviewees (4-10)
- Place: interviewer's home, duration: app. 45 min.
- Interview is conducted in Finnish, analysis is in English
- Procedure:
 - Thank you for coming
 - Personal information cards
 - Asking for a recording permission
 - Introduction
 - Interview
 - Thank you & follow-up via e-mail if needed

Short introduction

This project is a case study of Finnish women and their transnational network building in urban Copenhagen limited to constrain of time and locality of fall 2008. The project aims to examine the role of Finnish social networks for individual Finnish women. I'm interested in what forces urge women to socialize with their compatriots, what is going on among the Finnish women in those social gatherings and what kind of information is exchanged. I'm also interested in how Finnish women perceive living abroad and in particular living in Denmark, and how does time abroad differs to their daily lives while in Finland. What kind of challenges Finns may have upon entering Denmark? In sum, this research aims to examine the role of Finnish transnational social networks at both societal and individual levels.

Focus Group Interview: Finnish Social Networks in Copenhagen

- Please share your story of moving to Denmark (Why, when, how). Do you have other relocation experiences?
- What is your occupation now? What did you do in Finland (or elsewhere)? What is your dream occupation?
- What kind of challenges life in Denmark has entailed? What has been easy?
- What kind of connections do you have to Finland? How has your perception of Finland changed during your stay abroad?
- Please tell a bit about your social life and social contacts in Copenhagen.
- Are you a member of any clubs/organizations/ networks in Copenhagen?
- What role do Finnish networks/clubs/organizations in Copenhagen play in your life?
- Please tell about your involvement in Finnish transnational networks. What urged you to join Finnish social gatherings? How did you find information about them?
- What are the pros and cons of Finnish community in your opinion?
- What's going on in Finnish social gatherings (e.g. Finnish Ladies Night Out) targeted for women?
- One may argue that Finnish translocal community is well organized --- why is that?

Survey documents and responses

Email sent to survey participants (01.12.2008)

Kyselylomake: Finnish Transnational Social Networks in Cph

Monday, December 1, 2008 1:00 PM

From:
"Kirsi Varsa" <kirpitk@yahoo.com>
To:
"kirsi RUC" <marja@ruc.dk>
Bcc:
XXXX@gmail.com, XXXXXX@mail.dk

Message contains attachments

Questionnaire.doc (34KB)

Hei vaan,

Ajattelin kysyä jos ehtisit vastata projektiin liittyvään kyselylomakkeeseen ja mailata sen takaisin minulle viim. sunnuntaina 7.12.2008? Kyselykaavake on englanniksi mutta voit tietenkin vastata suomeksi ja vastauksien pituus on sinusta itsestäsi kiinni eli voit kirjoittaa enemminkin. Loppuun saa lisätä omia kommentteja. Kiitos paljon jo etukäteen. Mukavaa päivää!

Terveisin Kirsi Varsa

Carpe Diem!

The attached survey:

Survey: Finnish Transnational Social Networks in Copenhagen

This project is a case study of Finnish women and their transnational network building in urban Copenhagen limited to constrain of time and locality of fall 2008. The project aims to examine the role of Finnish social networks for individual Finnish women. I'm interested in what forces urge women to socialize with their compatriots, what is going on among the Finnish women in those social gatherings and what kind of information is exchanged. I'm also interested in how Finnish women perceive living abroad and in particular living in Denmark, and how does time abroad differs to their daily lives while in Finland. In sum, this research aims to examine the role of Finnish transnational social networks both at the societal and at the individual level.

Directions:

*Please answer to open-ended questions below in your own words, save the file and email it to marja@ruc.dk preferably by **Sunday December 7, 2008**. You can write your answers in Finnish as other interviews related to this project are conducted in Finnish as well.*

1. Please provide an introduction of yourself: name, age, nationality, occupation, relationship status/family etc.
2. Please tell your story of moving to Denmark (Why, when, how). Do you have other relocation experiences?
3. What is your occupation now? What did you do in Finland (or elsewhere)? What is your dream occupation?
4. What kind of challenges life in Denmark has entailed? What has been easy?
5. What kind of connections do you have to Finland? How has your perception of Finland changed during your stay abroad?
6. Please tell a bit about your social life and social contacts in Copenhagen.
7. What role do Finnish networks/clubs/organizations in Copenhagen play in your life?

8. Please tell about your involvement in Finnish transnational networks. What urged you to join Finnish social gatherings? How did you find information about them?
9. What are the pros and cons of Finnish community?
10. What's going on at Finnish social gatherings?
11. One may argue that Finnish translocal community is well organized --- why is that?
12. What are your plans regarding Denmark?
13. A part of this research, do you wish to be presented with your true identity/your own name?

Kiitos Osallistumisestasi!

Profiles of the expatriate Finnish women in this project

Some of the participants are presented with their real names whereas others have been given pseudonyms in accordance with wishes stated by participants.

Janina is 32 year old single and she has lived in Copenhagen since April 2007. Janina works as a customer service coordinator at an American company and she is also the coordinator of social event *Finnish Ladies Night Out*. Janina belongs to Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Marja is 33 year old single and she moved to Copenhagen in August 2008. Marja works as a pharmaceutical post doc research scientist at Copenhagen University.

Eeva is 38 years old, married to Finnish husband and they have two young children. Eeva has lived in Copenhagen since June 2008. Currently she works as a bookkeeper and her husband is a partner at an IT-company.

Emma is 26 year old single and she has been in Copenhagen since 2008. She is a graduate guest student at Roskilde University.

Milla is 29 years old and she lives together with her Danish boyfriend. Milla relocated to Copenhagen in June 2008. Her occupation is economist, but currently she is on sick leave. Milla's boyfriend works in IT-field.

Sari is 34 years old and married to a Dane. Their son is 1,5years old and she is expecting her second child in spring 2009. Sari has lived in Copenhagen since November 2005. She works as a management consultant at Accenture and her husband is a project leader at a large IT-company.

Hanna is 29 and she has been in Copenhagen since August 2008. She lives in co-habitation with her to-be-pharmacist boyfriend while in Finland. Hanna is a student and language teacher.

Kaija is 35 years old, married to a Finn and they have two young children. She has lived in Copenhagen since August 2006. Currently Kaija is a stay-at-home mother, but she is biochemist by profession. Kaija is also the coordinator of *Mother-child group*. Her husband works at a large IT-company.

Nanna is years 35 old, married to a Dane and they have three young children. She came to Copenhagen first to study in 1995 and in 1998 she has lived in Copenhagen. Nanna works as an analysts and communication consultant. She is also the current chair of Finnish Association of Copenhagen (KSS). Her husband works in IT-field.

The focus group interview transcription

This focus group interview took place on November 30, 2008 at 4 o'clock pm at researcher's home in central Copenhagen. Duration of the recorded interview was 84 minutes and it was conducted in Finnish. Transcription is made by the native Finnish speaking researcher.

Participants:

- **Interviewer = I**
- **Sari = S**
- **Janina = J**
- **Eeva = E**
- **Emma = EM**
- **Milla = MI**
- **Marja = M**
- **Hanna= H**

I: Te olette täyttäneet nämä henkilökohtaiset informaatiolaput eli nyt mä laitan tämän nauhottimen ja mulla sen takia tämä tietokone taalla, mä en kato sitä mutta mä nauhoitan tän mun lapparilla. Joko se tai MP3 on aika hyvä. Eli te ootte täyttäneet nämä henkilökohtaiset informaatiolaput ja sitten mä kysyin teiltä luvan nauhottaa ja seuraavaksi mä kerron teille vähän suurpiirteisesti mitä tää tutkimus, vaikka te näitte siitä sähköpostista, mistä on kyse. Mutta tää tutkimus on suomalaisista naisista ja heidän transnationaalien eli Suomen ja Tanskan välisen verkostojen syntyminen ja niiden funktio Tanskassa ja myös Suomessa, ja myöskin yksilön kannalta eli naisten kannalta...Mulla on tässä sukupuoli..mä keskityn naisiin. Mä olisin voinut ottaa siihen sekä miehet että naiset mutta mä keskityn naisiin.

MI: Missä sa opiskelet?

MI: Mä opiskelen Roskilde Universitet, taalla eli Roskildessa jos tiedätte

All: joo

MI: mikä on paine?

I: Pääaineenä on julkishallinto. Mulla on...se on julkishallinto mutta tää on kulttuurien tutkimus/antropologian laitoksella koska mulla on kaksois, taalla harrastetaan sellaisia kaksoistutkimuksia tai tutkintoja.eli mulla on Euroopan Unioni, on toinen pääaine ja toinen on kulttuuriantropologia. Joo, eli, periaatteessa, ohm, mä kiinnostaa tosi paljon eli et minkä takia naiset verkostoituu, mikä takia on sosiaalisia verkostoja olemassa ja tää on Kööpenhaminassa...tää kuuluu transnationaalisen urbaanin, "transnational urban studies", semmoseen kokonaisuuteen. Mutta kannattaa tietysti, voi olla vaikka toinen vaihto olla vois olla vaikka Turkkilaisten yhteisöt Tanskassa ja nyt mä keskityn suomalaisten yhteisöön. Ja sitten mun mielestä kiinnostaa mitä, minkälaisia kokemuksia teillä on ollut ulkomailla olemisesta (???) ja olemisesta suomalaisena jne.? Ja siten minkälaisia ehkä haasteita teillä on ollut Tanskaan muuttaessa tai mikä on ollut vastaavasti helppoa? Ja sitten me voidaan aloittaa. Ensin mä ajattelin me voitais aloittaa niin että, tota, että jos me kaikki vuorotellen kertoisitte keta te olette ja kuinka te olette, minkä takia te olette muuttaneet Tanskaan ja milloin? Jos vaikka sieltä E aloittaisi?

E: Okei, mä muutettiin puol vuotta sitten, miehen työn perässä, koko perhe ja mulla on kaksi lasta, ja puol vuotta ollaan oltu ja (???)...

MI: Mä olen Milla Rajala ja viime vuonna mä olin, mä työskentelin Sampossa (???) ja Nordealla. Sampo-firmalla, työnantajalla on asiakas...ja silloin mä tapasin myös tanskalaisen poikaystävän ja sitten mä päätin tai me päätettiin, että mä muutan tänne tota heti kun mä saan taalta toita. Mä sain ensin toita Nokia-projektilla mutta sitten, se nyt on ollut ihan liian teknistä mulle, tavallaan niin se (???) Mä oon itseasiassa tällä hetkellä tota sairaalomalla, mulla murtu ranne, mutta ota...nyt mä olen tavallaan sitten etsimässä uutta projektia. Tällä hetkellä...niin.

I: Halusin kysyä teiltä yhden vielä: oletteko te aikaisemmin asuneet ulkomailla?

E: Joo, Eestissa.

MI: Mä asuttiin silloin perheen kanssa kuusi vuotta Etelä-Amerikassa ja sitten mä olen ollut (???) Venezuelassa, keski-Amerikassa ja sitten vähän vuosi Floridassa. Ja tota yliopiston kautta mä olin vaihdossa puoli vuotta Irlannissa.

M: Joo, Mä oon Marjo. Mä oon ollut taalla nyt vähän kolme kuukautta (???) Tulin ihan oman tyoni takia eli mä vaittelin Suomessa Takussa (university in Finland) ja olen taalla nyt sitten Post Doc:ina (Research scientist). Mulla on kaksi, melkein kolme-vuotinen projekti tänne, mutta katotaan sitä kua viihdyn mutta toivottavasti...ja sitten on taalla ja Suomen työtilanteen huomioon ottaen niin todennäköisesti koko kolmevuotta

MI: Joo...kunka kauan?

M: Ma oon ollut kolme kuukautta ja tota...Oon ollut ulkomailla aikaisemmin. Lapsena perheen kanssa Chilessä 1,5 vuotta kahteen otteeseen ja sitten vasta (???) Vuoden verran oon ollut Ruotsissa pariin otteeseen opiskeluaikoina ja ollut Uudessa-Seelannissa...

I: Vau (laughter) entas Janina?

J: Janina! Tulin työn takia tanne, muutto oli reilut 1,5 vuotta sitten. Tulin samasta firmasta Suomesta eli tiedän siitä (???) Somebody's cell phone ringing)

I: Ootko asunut aikaisemmin?

J: Ei, en oo. Olin Singaporessa kolme kuukautta komennuksella...mutta se oli lyhyt aika, en oo...

I: No, mitas Sanna?

S: No, ma olen ollut taalla nytten kolme vuotta ja ma tulin tanne tanskalaisen miehen kanssa, ja me mentiin, hän on Nokialla toissa ja me asuttiin Suomessa viis vuotta ja kun mies sano, että nyt, nythan riittää niin...ja sitten se näytti olevan ihan fine, vuoroin vieraisa ja sit me muutettiin tanne. Ja tota, ma oon nyt sit ollut, jenkeissa vaihto-oppilana sillon lukioaikana sen vuoden verran ja sitten kesä ulkomailla mutta en muuten asunut...taa on ihan (???) nakonen maa.

E: Ma olen Emma, ma oon ollut kans kolmisen kuukautta taalla (???)...sit viime vuoden Ruotsissa ja sita ennen Kambodsiassa...

I: Hei, sopiiko, että ma katon akkia (sms from the last missing participant who asks whether she can still join the interview, even though she is late. We agree yes.) Ja toinen asia myös, että jos teillä on jotain kysyttävää jollekin toiselle niin saa keskeyttää. Se ei ole vaan minä joka puhuu, taa ei oo mikään inkvisiitio (laughter) Eli mennään sitten eteenpäin! Mitas luulette...jos voitte kertoa mitä teette nytten, ja onko se, mitä teitte Suomessa tai missä tahansa aikaisemmin olitte ja mitä te haluaisitte tehdä "isona"? (laughter)

M: Mennaanko aina samassa?

I: Kuka ehtii ensin!

E: No, Suomessa ma olin toissa, mutta sitten kun me muutettiin Eettiin niin jan lasten kanssa kotiin. Me oltiin siellä reilut vuos ja nyt ma oon taas reilut puol vuotta ollut lasten kanssa kotona. Mutta ma alotin työt viime viikolla...ohm...

I: Niin mitä sa teet nyt?

E: Toimisto, toimistotoita..talleen. Ma oon tehnyt taloushallintoa Suomessa vaikka ma olen puunjalostusinsinööri

J: oho!

E: ja tota, nyt ma teen ihan basic-hommaa niin ku...ma oon ilonen kun paasen toihin, pois kotoa! Ma oon varmaan...tytöt nyt kun on koulussa niin ei enää tarvi koko ajan ...

I: Niin, sa varmaat kerroit jo (to MI), mutta mitä sa teet aikaisemmin? Mitä sa haluaisit mahdollisesti tehdä tulevaisuudessa?

MI: Niin no, Suomessa ma olin toissa . Ma oon ollut tota pankissa (???) eka Nordealla ja Nokia-tuotannossa ja sitten taa viimeinen projekti (???) Nyt varmaan, seuraavaks haluan toita ja oppii kielen...

I: Tanskan kielen?

MI: Niin

S: Tuuneks saa (???) Ollin?

MI: En ma sillain...

M: Mitas maa. Viime vuodet oon tosiaan ollut yliopistolla tutkijana, vaitoskirjaa oon tehnyt, apteekissa siinä sivussa (???)...ma on proviisori. Tota, ohm, niin mitä ma kuvittelen..Tulin tanne vahan sillain yllätten ajatellen, miettimättä mitä ma haluan vaikkarin jälkeen tehdä ja sitten takalainen pomo, joka on suomalainen soitti, että oooko huomannu, että ne hakee tanne ihmistä ja kannattas hakea ja sitten ne täyttää tan paikan aika pian, liian pian, joten ma en ollut edes ehtinyt päättää...Ma tuun tanne miettimaan mitä ma seuraavaks haluan tehdä. Ma

voin ihan hyvin olla taalla vuoden, jonkun aikaa ja ottaa edes pienen (???)..Aivan, tavote on aina, vaikka ma oon yliopistolla menna teollisuuteen pain (???) laaketeollisuuteen. Mutta laaketeollisuuden tilanne on vahan se...(???) mutta Tanskahan on hyva...

S: On se!

M: Taa on paljon parempi kuin Suomi. Taalla on paljon teollisuutta. Joo, enemmän kun..ykskin, kaikki tutkimukset Suomessa on yhella alalla...Kaotaan nyt mitenka ...

J: Ma olin samassa firmassa toissa Suomessa ensin vuoden ja se oli vaan maara-aikanen sopimus, ja ma en viihtynyt ollenkaan, ma halusin pois siita. Kun on allerkirjoittanut niin se on siina...niin,oli pakko olla siella ja sit ne tarjos mulle taalta paikan. Siis se oli oikein hyva tulla tanne. Ma oon ollut Suomessa Helsingissa, Helsinki on tosi pieni paikka, suomenruotsalaisilla varsinkin...

M: Ainakin niilla varmaan kylla...

J: Kylla, siella tuntee kaikki ja (???)...oli aika tiukkaa ja suhde loppu ja kaikkee tammosta, ja oli aivan loistavaa tulla tanne.

M: Joo, nakee, etta helpottaa...

J: Kylla, kylla. Tai se on hyva syy pistaa huono suhde poikki.

M: Niin tai paatos lahtea on sillai (???)

J: Joo, oli oikein ihana lahtea...

I: joko sillai tai sitten sen suhteen takia...

J: Niin, jo joo. Just taa. Joko jompi kumpi (???) Ei, ei , ei. Mut kyll taal on todella hauskaa, ma voin kertoa sen (laughter) taal on paljon elamaa...

M: niin varmaan onkin

J: kylla, joka paiva on jotain.

I: entas tulevaisuus?

J: Emma tieda, ma otan paiva kerrallaan. Ma oon taalla niin kauan kun mulla on hauskaa. Katotaan nyt. Tyotilanne voi olla vahan hassu sitten kohta, mutta taalta (in Copenhagen) loytyy kylla...ihan mita vaan ja...

S: On niita pahempiakin uhkiakin kuin (???)

J: Joo, ne just keskiviikkona, yks irtisanottiin ja Helsinginkonttori lakkautetaan kohta ja kaikki...ja sit ne puhuu, etta siirretaan Puolaan (laughter)

I: Mika firma taa on?

J: Se on semmonen jenkkifirma (???) sita ei tarvi tietaa. Me myydaan vaahto (???) teollisuudelle, muovipakkauksia elintarvikkeille...Mut tosiaan, ei sita nyt vielä, kuukauden tai kahen pasta vasta, ehka jossain vaiheessa. Saas naha muttaen ma sinkkuna mee takas Suomeen, se on ihan varma! (Loud laughter)..Se on ihan varma. Sita saa naha mut ei se Suomi jotenkaa (???)... Tanne tai sit johonki muualle mut taal on helpompi. Ma en nyt oo kielta oppinu, viittinyt opetella. Ma puhun ruotsia, ma parjaan silla, ma osaan lukee kaiken...

All: mmm...

J: Joo sita tanskalaiset sanoo, etta pistat yhden (???) valiin, ei sita "fragaa" vaan "sporgee" sitten...

M: Kylla se olis parempi tietysti sita samaa yrittää...

J: Mut se on mun (???)...

I: Puhutko sakin ruotsia (asking M)?

M: En, ma oon ihan suomalainen, tota, mutta...ma on ollut Ruotsissa vuoden verran (???) ensin kolme kuukautta ja sitten kahdeksan kuukautta, tein gradun. Mut tota, sillai ma huomaa, et ymmarran niin ku, et mun periaatteessa piatis osata ruotsia mu ma en oo moneen vuoteen kayttanyt sita. Niin en ma sita enaa...

J: Sopivasti puhu!

E: En makaan.

J: Otetaan kielikylpy vaan!

M: Mut kyl ma sit kaikki tekstit mita ma luen ihan...

MI: (To J)Kauan sa oot ollut taalla?

J: Reilut 1,5 vuotta, mut periaatteessa melkein kaksi vuotta tulee tayteen niin kun ma asuin melkein kolme kuukautta ensin hotellissa vikolla ja sit ma lahin viikonlopuks kotiin...Periaatteessa kaks vuotta

I: Niin.

M: (???) Oothan sa ollut taalla...

J: Niin mutta ma en haluu laskea sita kun asuu hotellissa ku ei oo mitaan sosiaalista, sa et voi niin ku...ei tuu edes mieleen mitaan. Ei, mul ei ollut puhelinta, mu lei ollu pankkikorttia, ei, mulla ei ollu mitaan. Vahan vaikee pitaa kavereita hotellihuoneessa (general laughter)

S: Joo,ne varmaan alkais ihmetteleen respassa...

J: Joo, joskus oli jotain, mut anyway. Sit (???)...samat kyltit, joulukuusi ja...siit on jo vuos.

I: Aika menee. Kukas meista on ollut kauiten taalla?

S: No, ma oon ollut kolme (years).

I: Joo, ma oon ollut kaks. Tulee just kaks vuotta tayteen. Nyt, tulee ens viikolla.

S: Ma oon ollut, tota, sitten kohta 11 vuotta samassa firmassa toissa eli Accentura mika on tammonen konsultointifirma ja...mulla kavi sinallaan hyva tuuri etta ma sain siirrettya mun tyopaikan (???) Koopenhaminaan. Se oli kauheen kiva, silla aen ollut yhtaan paivaa ilman firman toita. Mut kylhan se oli hirveen, niin ku mun ensimmäinen projekti oli Jyllannissa, et ma olin kaytannossa viis paivaa Jyllannissa ja sitten vaan viikonloput Koopenhaminassa, ja sit samaan aikaan kavin kielikurssilla.Se oli hirveen vaikee toi alku, vaikka sinallaan firma toimii ihan samalla lailla kuin Suomessa tai siis niin ku siihen projektiin oli hirveen helppo menna koska se projekti...kun taa on globaali firma nii kaikki ne tyo (???) on ihan samat, et sinallaan siin ei ollu niin ku mitaan mut olihan se tietty kun ma en yhtaan loittaessani puhunut tanskaa ja nyt ma teen tyoni tanskaks. Ja aika paljon kirjoitankin ja sit ihan puhunkin (???)

MI: Kauan sulla meni (kielen) oppimiseen?

S: Tota, se meni sillai vaihteittain, etta se varmaan...ensimmäiset yheksan kuukautta meni siihen, etta ma toissa, ihmiset tietty puhu mulle tanskaa mutta ma puhuin englantia. Ja sitten tota, ma olin aitiyslomalla ja kun ma tulin aitiyslomalta takaisin niin ma, sit ma olin ollut Tanskassa niinku yli kaks vuotta, niin silloin ma alotin silleen, et aitiysloman jalkeen ma puhuin pelkkaa tanskaa toissa. Et siihen meni semmoset kaks vuotta ja kaks kuukautta. Et sen jalkeen ma olen puhunut kaikkien tanskalaisten kanssa pelkkaa tanskaa.

MI: ja alotitko, miten sa puhut miehesi kanssa (to S)

S: Joo, itseasiassa miehelle ma alotin puhumaan tanskaa ensimmäisen puolen vuoden jalkeen, et se oli sillee ratkaseva tekija...Ehka se oli mulle niin ku helpompi mut niin ku se etta kuitenkin mun toissa konseptina pitaa olla niin eksperti, niin mulla vei se kylla se kaks vuotta ja kaks kuukautta, etta ma...et pystyy puhuun silla tasolla, ettei kuulosta 7-vuotiaalta (general laughter)

I: Aivan.

M: Sama mun mielesta...

S: Joo, ja viime viikolla mulla oli semmonen suuri hetki kun ma pidin tanskaksi nin ku esitelman a ihan niin ku meidan vieraille asiakkaille. Ehka, tottakai matein sen niin, etta etta kohta ma oon asunut taalla kolme vuotta ja tulen Suomesta mutta tota mielellani pidan taman tanskaks jos vaan teille passaa. Ja se meni hirveen hyvin ja ne ymmarsi ku mahan puhun hirveen selkeesti koska Suomessa puhutaan niin..

I: Niin.

S: Mutta tota, se meni, musta se meni oikein hyvin. Mulla oli itellakin oikein semmonen hyva filis ettei ollu koko ajan semmonen ohohoh (hesitant)...vaan ihan niin ku rennosti ja kun ne kyseli nii pysty oikeen niin ku vastaamaan.

I: Voitto?

S: Nii...

EM: Ma oon syntynyt Suomessa eli mulla on (???) Ma olin toissa ja mut ei se sit tuntunut niin hyvältä, ja sit ma menin Ruotsiin ja jatkoi opiskelua ja ei se sitten tuntunutkaan hyvältä. A sit mul oli vahan sama kun Marjalla, etta se oli oikeestaan vahinko etta ma tulin tanne, etta mulla oli itseasiassa vaihtoehtoina myos Norja ja sitten Helsinki. Mut sitten kaikki (???) ja mun tulevaisuuteni. Siis mun tulevaisuuteni on talla hetkella, etta mulla on projekti tammikuuhun asti. Eli sit ma saan tietaa jaaks ma tanne (Koopenheiminaan) vai siirryks ma johkin muualle...(???)

I: Paiva kerrallaan.

S: Kuitenkin sa voit jaada kaupunkiin vai?

E: No, ma haluaisin mieluiten jaada tanne.

I: No entas sitten, mua kiinnostaa mikä teidän mielestä on ollut haastavaa ja helppoa Tanskaan muuttamisessa?

J: No yhtään ei oo ollut vaikeeta mun mielestä.

I: Ei mitään?

J: Ei.

M: Sull on varmaan kieli helpottanut(???)

J: Ai joo, yks asia on ollut hankala. Se on siis tota, tietoja verotuksesta, auton verotuksesta. Muuten ei oo ollut mitään.

M: Mun suurin haaste liittyy kans tohon työpaikan tai tohon verotukseen, ja esimerkiks siihen, et mulla meni kaksi ja puol kuukautta ennen kuin ne makso mulle ensimmäisen palkan...koska ma kuulun taalla siihen kun on vaiteltyt niin taalla paasee (???) kunnallisverosysteemiin, jonka työnantaja hoitaa. Niin, no sehan on hyvä juttu.

S: Niinko?

M: Joo, työnantajan pitää hakea sita. Ja työnantaja sitten on hakenut sita vasta nyt sitten marraskuun puolessa valissa. Eli multa pidatetaan talla hetkella 60% koko ajan veroja. Ja ei toi yliopistotoimintoihin liittyen, ei taa on aivan naurettavaa touhua (???) Ja sitten kun vielä hakee (???) eika niilla on kauheen hyvä englanninkieli...Mut muuten taalla mun mielest toimii kaikki ihan hyvin...Suurin ongelma, mul on hirveen kansainvalinen työyhteiso niin sillai ei oo ongelmaa. Voisin kuvitella jossain muussa yksikossa työskenneltaessa eli on aika paljon sosiaalisia kontakteja...(???)

S: Musta on ollut kauheen vaikee toi kieli. Et ku jotenkin ma koin tanne tullessa etta Accentura on kansainvalinen yritys niin hirveen tanskan kielinen ja kaikki niin kun sisäinen viestinta mikä on Suomessa (???) Tottakai niita pystyy lukemaan niin kun mutta mua arsytti se, etta ku me ollaan niin kansainvalinen ni ei nyt tanska (kieli) voi olla se...

M: Joo, sama yliopistolla. Kaikki viestit tulee tanskaks. Ma en ymmarra ja yliopisto on kansainvalinen...

S: Niin sit vielä mulla on paljon norjalaisia ja ruotsalaisia kollegoita. Me puhutaan sit niin ku tanskaa, norjaa ja ruotsia jaei, ei ne kaikki tanskalaisetkaan aina ymmarra ruotsia ja norjaa. Sit mua valilla vahan arsyttää kun ne ei kaikki puhu vaan englantia kun (???) Varsinkin ne tanskalaiset, jotka tulee Jyllannista. Nin ei ne oo niin tottuneet puhumaan ruotsia. Ja sitten ihan alussa mua, ma jotenkin koin, etta niin ku, se oli vahan noloa kun ma en puhunut tanskaa ja vaikka ma, mikas siina on kun me tanne...Jotenkin ma koin se, etta se on hirveen noloa, etta jotenkin en kokenut, etta ma yritin puhua tanskaa alusta lahtien niin ku vaik hirveen huonosti, mut ma en jotenkin englantia, vaikka englanti on, ma puhun sita taysin sujuvasti, ma en jotenkaan sita osaanut kayttää. Aika hirveeta toi. Tuli semmonen henkinen stressi.

I: Mmm.

S: Et ma en niin ku halunnut vaivata ihmisiä, et ne joutus puhumaan englantia...ja sillee ku kaikki miehen, sil on kaverit taalla, niin tottakai ne puhuu aina tanskaa, et ma jotenkin koin,

et...tottakai kun ne kaikki kavi yliopistokoulutuksen ja tottakai puhuu enkkua. Mut jotenkin ma koin eten haluu vaivata ja kaikki kuitenkin mieluummin puhuu sita aidinkieltaan. Niin ni sitten mulle se on ollut hirveen tarkee, et ma oon pystyny...

MI: Se on jotenkin noloo...

M: Kun ei voi ikaan kuin pakottaa kaikkia puhuun englantia ais sitten vaan, alusk alkuillasta kaikki puhuu vahan aikaa englantia, alkoholin maara lisaantyy ja meteli varmaan kasvaa ja kaikki alkaa puhuun tanskaa.

S: Ja sit mua tietylla tavalla huvitti se, et me ollaan asuttu yhdessa viis vuotta (tanskalaisen miehen kanssa), han ei vaivautunut yhtaan kun kaikki joutu aina puhuun englantia hanelle, vahempaa!

I: Niin.

S: Niin, se on toi eri kasitys, oliskohan se toi mies-naisasetelma ja suomalainen, ei mun takia tartte kenenkaan vaivautua...

J: Ma voisin, ma mietin vaan sita, etta ma oon aina kasvanut siina e ma oon aina ollut se minoriteetti

S&M: Nii...

J: Ma en oo sen takia mua ei niin ku haittaa se ollenkaan, etta pitaa vaihtaa kielta. Mulla on se aina ollut, koko mun elaman. Ma oon aina ollut...sama juttu. Aina kun tulee yks suomalainen ryhmaan niin vaikka siella olis kymmenen suomenruotsalaista ja yks suomalainen niin me vaihdetaan suomen kieleen.

S: Suomenkieleen. Aivan.

J: Joo. Painvastoin, joku jolla on vahan eri juttuja

S: Niin ja sit sa kuitenkin pystyt puhuun suomea vaikka julkisesti sun aidinkieli on ruotsi. Se on niin ku, erilainen tilanne...

M: Ehka ma, yks mika niin ku on, yksi on taa kun naa, taa on liian samanlainen kuin suomi. Ma en koe olevani ulkomailla kuin ma koin kun menin Uuteen-Seelantiin. Joten nyt on vahan tossa, talvi on melkein (naurua). Mutta tavallaan on melkein kun kaikki puhuu englantia, tosi niin ku mut, et koska ma en tunne olevani taalla ulkomailla nin ma huomaa myos, et ma en myoskaan naa sita vaivaa smalla lailla kun jos muualle menee ulkomaille, mika on ero (???) Jotenkin arki on niin samanlainen.

(Door bell rings, we take a short break as the last participant arrives very late and introduces herself to others)

E: Nii onks sulla lapsia (to S)?

S: Joo, mull on yks nyt ja toinen tuloillaan.

I: Onneks olkoon!

S: Kiitos. Tota joo.

M: Tota, onks sun lapset oppinut ensin (???) Mull on yks suomalainen ystava joka on naimisissa tanskalaisen kanssa ja hanella on kaks lasta, kolme ja toinen, tota on puol-vuotias. Anna vaan sano, et ne on hirveen, se on kauheen vaikeeta koska on kuitenkin kotona heidan kanssaan puhutaan tanskaa ja...

S: jotenkin mul on ollut hirveen helppoo kun siis mun poika on 1,5 vuotta. Ma oon kylla ihan puhunut hanelle suomee. Se on tota, se kylla tuntuu hyvin luontevalle (???)

M: mutta kunlapsi mene tarhaan niin tanskan kieliesta tulle vahvempi? Siis miten sita pakotta toisen puhumaan suomee?

S: NO mul on vahan sillei (???) mut aiti joka ei puhu mitaan kielta, niin kyl ma, hyvin outoa...(???) Mutt as vaihees tuntuu, ets e on kylla semmonen kynnyskysymys...

E: Taa on varmaan semmonen maa, ma oon muutamaan muuhunkin suomalaiseen, se on vaan. Suomalainen nainen ajattelee, etta meilla puhutaan suomea...yks nainen kertoi just, etta siina vaiheessa kun, se etta kun hanella on tanskalainen mies ja osaa myos tanskaa, ja lapset puhuu tanskaa. Se on puhunut niille suomee muta siina vaiheessa kun ne oli Japanissa, niiden

kotiapulainen oli japanilainen, ne kavi englantilaisessa koulussa ja puhuttiin suomea, niin siin vaiheessa meni kuulemma niin hankalaksi suomee puhua.

I: Niin. Sanotaanko hei Hannalle? Eka meille muille valaistukseksi. Ehka sa voisit kertoa, onko sulla mitaan sita avastaan etta nauhoitetaan?

H: Ei.

I: Hyva. Ja jos sa voisit kertoa via, et kuka sa oot ja kuinka sa oot paatynyt Tanskaan. Ja mita sa teet?

H: Hanna. Ja oon vajaa kolmekymppinen ja mun ei pitanyt enaa ulkomaille lahtea, mutta ma sain harjoittelupaikan kolme kuukautta Pietarissa ja sitten se loppu. Ja ma olin hakenut harjoittelupaikkaa (???)

I: Muutitko sa Suomesta tanne?

H: Joo.

I: Ootko sa aikasemmin asunut ulkomailla?

H: Joo. Ma oon asunut Tukholmassa ja...

I: Mita sa teit siella?

H: Toita. Ma opiskelin myos siella.

I: Mistas me puhuttiin? Me puhuttiin siita, etta...sa voisit jatkaa vielä tasta, etta mika on ollut haasteellista Tanskaan muutossa, mika on ollut helppoa? Omia kokemuksia?

H: Mull on varmaan ollut se etta mun ruotsi (kieli), ma ajattelin et ei se varmaan paljoa eroo (tanskasta) ja mun vuokranantaja oli heti, ma puhuin sen kanssa ruotsii (???) Mun pitaa oikeesti nyt vaan puhuu tanskaa (???)

I: Tuntuu silta, etta monella meista kaikki menee tahan kieleen. Hei tota, mennaan sitten eteenpain. Entas sitten, minkalaisia yhteyksia te pidatte koti-Suomeen?

J: Vahemman ja vahemman koko ajan. Eka puoli vuotta oli koko ajan todella intensiivista. Kaikki tuli kaymaan ekan vuoden aikana ja nyt, katotaan nyt, onneks on facebook. Muuten ma en kylla tietais mitaan.

I: Entas se idea Suomesta? Onko Suomi vielä samanlainen?

J: Nyt sinne menee vaan kun on pakko. Jouluna ja...ainakin mulla on semmonen fiilis

M: No sa ootki jo pidempaan ollutkin...(???)

J: Joka toinen kuukausi ma kayn Suomessa ainakin.

S: Ai sa kayt niin usein kuitenkin?

J: Joo, tyon takia. Mut nyt meil on matkustuskielto niin nyt pitaa ite maksaa lennot...jotenkin nyt viime kerralla tuntu silta, etta on todella kasvanut pois sielta.

MI: No sita varmaan ma pelkaan, etta ma kasvan, etta mulla on kaikkein (???) et vaik taal onkin toita, niin tota sita kun oon aina aikasemmin ollut ulkomailla rajallisesti...nyt kun ei tieda milloin palaa niin sit odottaa million kaverit kaikkoo. Nyt on jo huolissaan million nana, tietyt kaverit (Suomessa), joiden kanssa pitaa yhteytta...Ma ehka sita pelkaan, etta muuaman vuoden paasta havahdun, etta ma oon taysin riippuvainen mun miehesta ja sen ystavista ja mulla ei oo sita omaa elamaa, omia harrastuksia, omia kavereita ja sillalailia. Ja sitten ma huomaa, et mul ei oo taalla omaa elamaa eika mulla Suomessa enaa jaljella. Et se on tavallaan mun suurin pelko.

I: Niin.

EM: Mulla on kans sita samaa koska mulla on koko ajan semmonen olo ja mulla ei oo koskaan (???) et ma oikeesti muutan sinne, tavallaan tiedostan, etta se paattyy. Et tavallaan, ma vieraannun Suomesta kun ma oon poissa mutta ma en ikina kuulu mihinkaan muuhun paikkaan.

M: Joo, must tuntuu kanssa, etta sita leijailee (???) Jo, toi on totta. Suomalaisten kans, ma oon todella huono pitaan yhteytta (???) Ne ihmiset on tosi rajattuja kenen kanssa tulee pidettya yhteytta

J: Mun mielesta on se, etta huomaa, etta nyt on se, etta sulla on ne muutama

M: Joo

J: Niin on sanottu, että sulla on niin ku viis parasta...

M: Joo, ma tiesin ton aikasemmin

J: Sillon ma oon huomannu, et se riittaa tosi hyvin. On perhe, sit sehanon ana siella (Suomessa). Ja sit on naa muutammat laheiset, ma en oikeesti tieda...

M: Joo

J: Se tuntuu tosi hyvältä ainakin mulle nyt kun on nain (???)

E: Mut sit voi kayda myos ninku tietylla tavalla niin ku meidan kaveripiirissa Suomessa kun ollaan siin vaiheessa, et kaikilla oli pienia lapsia niin voi sanoo, et nyt (kun asumme Tanskassa) me nahaan niita enemman kuin silloin kun oltiin Suomessa. Tietylla tavalla intensiivisemmin, etta kun asutaan vierekkain niin se on aina vaan "no joskus sitten", kun jokainen on niin siin arjessa kiinni niiden pienten lasten kanssa omassa kotelossansa. Tavallaan se oma koti (???) Me luultiin, et me rampattais koko aika...kun on lyhyt matka mut se oli lahella

S: Liian lahella!

E: Joo, mut valist tuntuu, et nytkin mun menee Suomeen niin saattaa olla etta kavereita nakee ihan yhtä paljon.

M: Se on ihan totta! On toi sillai, tota niin ku kaikennakoset kavereiden meilit missa on mukana (Suomessa) on mukana niin huomaa, etta jaa kun menee itse Suomeen ettei siina ehditty, ne on ehtiny tassa kerran valissa naha...

S: Niin, niin, aivan. Ma oon huomannut sen nyt kun sai lapsia, niin on tullut hirveen tarkeeksi se kontaktin pito omaan perheeseen. Hirveen tarkee mun yks sisko ja aiti niin tota, et mun laps niin ku oppii tunteen niita. Ja silloin kun ma olin aitiyslomalla, niin ma kavin Suomessa ku meian aiti on vahan huono matkustaan. Tottakai hanen on helpompi tulla tanne kun menna lapsen kanssa sinne mutta tulee kaytya Suomessa (???) Mut silloin normaalisti ma kavin kolmen kuukauden valein, mut nyt ma oon toissa niin se jaa sitte vahan jouluun ja paasiaseen. Ja sit kavereiden kanssa, ne on ne, molemmat, tavallan niin ku kahessa ryhmassa. Toiset niin kun hyvät ystavat ja toiset sitten joihin pitaa sillei ja joihin oitaa varmaan viiskyt vuotta yhteytta. Ja sit kerran niin ku kaikenlaisia niin ku tuttuja, niita on kauheen mukava nahda, aina ku nakee niin on kauheen mukava niin ku, et mita (???) Ne jaa, ne jaa.

J: Just sita, etta sillon kun sa naat ne, niin se on niin ku fine, mut

S: nii, mut mul on osittain just se ku osa on tyonkautta ja mulla on se, etta ma en niin ku naa niita ikina (muita Suomen tuttuja). Et ne jaa sit tosiaan kokonaan jos ei vahingossa tormaa Stickalla (tavaratalo Helsingin keskustassa) niin ne sit jaa, ei oo mitaan sellasta yhdistavaa. Nii, mut taytyy ajatella, etta tietyt ihmiset kuuluu vaan olla hetken elamassa...

J: Juu

E: Juu, et sil on se tarkotus, et sa et voi kaikkii...

S: (???) Ne jotka kay vaan muutamassa paikassa, nii saa et voi pitaa kaikkiin yhteytta. Ja mulle silleen, mulle oli sillai erilaista kun ma tuln tanne ehka jaadakseni siis sillei, et mul...niin ku, et ma luen Hesarin (suomalainen paakaupunkiseudun sanomalehti) joka paiva, jos ma katon vaan Hesarin kotisivut, niin jotkut jotka on ollut kauemmin sanoo, etta jossain vaiheessa se jaa. Sit taytyy niin ku kaikessa pitaa kontaktit Suomeen. Mulla on viela niin ku, en ma kato Politiken:ia tai Berlingske:a (kaksi tanskalaista sanomalehteä), ma katon uutisia telkkarista, en ma lue lehtia. Ma katon niita kuvia. En ma lue lehteä. Aina kun ma luen lehden, se on Hesari. (General laughter)

I: Ma itseasiassa tipahdin, oiskohan ollut sillon kun ma olin asunut viis, kuus, seitteman vuotta ulkomailla. Ma oon ollut tosin yhdesan vuotta pois Suomesta itse.

MI: Missa?

I: Ensin Jenkeissa ja nyt taalla. Mut nyt mulla kavi se just sillee, 5-7 vuotta...ma muistan mun miehelle kavi se, mies on unkarilainen. Hanelle kavi se pari vuotta, koska han on asunut Saksassa ja Suomessa mun kanssa, vielä kauemman aikaa, ni ma muistan kun hanelle tapahtui se ja kysyi kuka on paaministeri (Unkarin). Ma olin vaan, et ei voi mutta kylla. Aika janska.

H: Mulla on taas, etta mulla ei oo oikein ikava kavereita, mut se on suomalainen tapa, et ei pideta yhteytta kn on lahella niin (???) niin kaverit sen takia...

J: Mut se ois tosi tarkeeta saada semmonen oma verkko ja taal on se viakin, etta pitaa saada tanskalaisten kanssa yhteytta. Sillon menee niin ku, se on vamaan todella hyva idea mutta mielummin vielä jos ei onnistu niin kansainvalista. Taal on niin paljon kansainvalista porukkaa, sillon sul on ainakin jotain. Ma oon saanu niin hyvia kavereita taalla tan 1,5 vuoden aikana, et jotkut on parempia kavereita tai ainakin nyt tuntuu. Nii, tai sitten enemman niin ku tassa iassa kun tekee, saa kavereita, niin sita on ihan eri tavalla...Niin tosiaan, taal on tekemista vaikka joka illalle jos vaan jaksaa kayda. Nii se vaatii...

S: Nii, kuka vaatii automaattisesti sita, etta pitaa jaksaa ja nahda se vaiva hakemaan niita...

MI: Ei, ma oon ainakin huomannut tan puolen vuoden aikana, etta kun oon ollut naisa kaikissa kansainvalisissa verkostoissa ja kaynyt niissa, niin niiden kautta on tullut, et mul on hirveesti tai niin ku pari, ei sellasii jotka oon tuntenut ala-asteesta lahtien. Kylla ma uskon, etta aina loyty kavereitamut sitten ystavia...sellaisia joille voi soittaa vaikka yhelta yolla, nii semmosia, onks mul ketaanmuita kun mun mies? (???)

J: Mut se kestaa. Siihen menee aikaa. Sit tulee muutama semmonen. Niin kuin jos tapais joskus (???) antais heille, mahdollisuuden olla niin ku ystava sulle tai jotenki niin ku...Ma oon huomannut, et sillon kun ma en enaa ajatellut sita, niin kun oli jo jotain kavereita kun ei tarvinnut olla enaa yksin niin sillon rupes kaikki avautumaan

S: Mut se on niin ku, se elama ulkomaalaisena antaa sulle niin ku helpon mandaatin tulla sisaan kaikkiin verkostoihin. Et niin ku tulee ulkomaalaisena nii loytyy vahan viittii nahda vaivaa niin loytyy kaikenmaailman verkostoja. Mun tota, miehen veljen tyttokaveri muutti tanne Jyllannista ja sem voi olla jopa vaikeempi loyttaa mitaan yhteisoja, ei taalla oo mitaan jyllantilaistenpiireja ole (naurua) tai mista mina tiedan! Mutta sillalaila kun ulkomaalaisena sa loudat erilaisia tallasia blo-blo(???) liittyvia verkostoja, joihin voi vaan mennä, etta "Terve!". Et mul sillalaila, tottakai se vie, se "step" etta susta tulee jonkun kanssa ystava, se on eri juttu mutta iahn vaan sillein jos vaan kaipaa vaan esim. Jutteluseuraa ja nain, niin ulkomaalaisena on hirveen helppo loyttaa. Toi on kauheen kiva. Ja just niin ku, pienen lapsenkin kanssa loytyy kaikkii sellasia...

J: Ootsa mukana siina "meet-up mama":ssa?

S: En, ma oon ollut itseasiassa sillon aitiyslomalla niin ma olin LINK:issa (kv-naisten yhdistys). LINK:illa ku niilla on, niitten kautta tai siis joka viikko olin siella, niilla on viikottainen ryhma.

I: Mites tanskalaiset? Silloin kun olit kotona?

S: Juu, tota, ylipaansa mun mies on Koopenhaminasta kotoisin niin sen perhe ja se on aika pieni perhe ja suku mutta anyway. Me ollaan kauheesti tekemisissa mun appivanhempien kanssa ja sitten sillai muutenkin kun se asui kuitenkin Suomessa yli viisi vuotta, niin ei sillakaan tietty niita hirveen aktiivista ystavaverkosta ole mutta ehka tuttava, kolme-nelja tuttavaperhetta meilla on. Niista lapsista useat on vanhempia kuin meidan lapset ja mita ma oikeestaan kaipaon on, olis pikkulapsiperhekaveria! Siis sellaista, etta vois vaan niin ku viettaa paivia yhdessa kun lapset telmis. Se lasten viihdyttaminen on mulle joskus vaikeeta mutta olis silleen niin kuin etta vois vaan hopista omia. Niin sellasta kontaktia mulla ei oo. Se on sellanen mita ma kaipaon. Ja sitten ma tietty haluaisin sen kielen takia suomalaisista koska ma haluaisin nin ku exposata sita mun lasta niin paljon kuin mahdollista (???)...Tota.

M: ihan kuin mun kaverilla Annella. Niin, tavallan niin kuin suomenkielen oppikavereita!

S: Ei ku ihan oikeesti. Taallahan onkin suomenkielistä lapsitoimintaa niin ku mutta ne on pikkusen vanhemmille lapsille. Ja sitten tietysti semmonen kerho, se on ehka paivalla ja siksikin vaikea mennä... ehka sitten kun ma jaan aitiyslomalle sillon maaliskuussa. Iin ku tota, sit ma aion mennä sinne.

E: Toimiks sa suomalaisittain vai tanskalaisittain tai otaksa ton vanhemman lapsen pois paivakodista?

S: Ma en ota, ma en tia...Suomessahan ainakin se riippuu pikkasen kunnasta mutta, mutta Suomessa toisinaan on vahan niin ku pakko ottaa vanhempi lapsi pois paivakodista

E: Paikasta riippuen...

S: Nii, voiko pakottaa. Sita kutsutaan niin sanotuks pidikepaikaksi eli et jos olet kerta kotona niin sitten sun pitais ottaa lapset mut ma teen niin ku tanskalaiset! Ekan lapsen kanssa ma olin niin oikki, heras joka toinen tunti, etta en ma voi kuvitella miten ma viihdyttaisin kaksivuotiasta pitkan paivan kun ei oo yolla nukkunut niin ku

M: Siis maa, ei oo mitaan jos kerran joutuu perustelemaan sitten hyvin vahvasti jos en otakaan sitten lasta pois paivakodista (Suomessa), et se kyl on niin ku...

S: E oli musta hirveen hyva, etta taalla on neuvola, joka pitaa selasen ensiaitien ryhman joka toimii tietysti taysin tootalisesti mutta siihen tulee, menee alunperin kuus naista ja sit asutaan lahella. Ma asun Valbyssa, sitten aina tavattiin toistemme kodeissa. Ja tota, sita tehtiin viikottain siloin kun oltiin aitiyslomalla ja sit tottakai, joss a et paasyt meneen niin so what mut ma yritin mennä niin, et ma...kun ensinnakin, tulee tanskalaisia kontakteja ja sitten on sita, kun aitiyslomalla on joskus tylsaa. Mut meilla on kiva kun siita porukasta, nii meita on nelja jaanyt sillei, et me tavataan vielakin aina joskus sunnuntaisin. Joukossa on sitten sellasia tanskalaisiakin ystavia niden lasten kautta, etta en ma niiden kanssa kahestaan lahtis mihinkaan vaan se on mun lapselle. Mut se oli hirveen hyva neuvola.

MI: Se on varmaan sama Suomessa?

S: Joo, semmonen ensiaitien kerho. Kun aatteli ettei aikonaan ollu ...(???)

I: No, onko tota, mitas suomalaisten verkostot teille merkitsee? Ootteko te kuinka tekemisissa suomalaisten kanssa? Jos miettii sosiaalista elamaa taalla Koopenhaminassa?

H: Mulla ainakin, ne ottaa mukaan mua monet (???) mita me nyt sitten tehdaankin...

I: Niin?

H: Kasitoita (naurua)

J: Ma luulin, etta me tiedettiin jo kaikki. Siis harrastekerho?

H: Niin.

I: Mista sa loysit sen?

H: Ma tyopaikan kautta sain tietaa siita (???)

E: Onkohan se se mita me sillon kerran Suomikoululla mietittiin? Kasityo/marttakerho?

H:...Niin, ma en tieda. (???) Mita taalla on sitten olemassa, Suomi niin kuin kaikenkaikkiaan?

I: Suomi-seura. Janina, sa voiist ehka kertoo vahan?

J: No siis, on se Suomi-seura (KSS) ja sitten se ravintolaillan jarjestamista. Oo ja sitten meilla on nyt (???) Suomi-tytot Koopenhaminassa ja sit me ollaan yritetty jotain (???)

E: Sitten on se aiti-lapsi...

J: Nii, niista ma en nyt tieda mitaan

E: Mut et kerran viikossa

J: Kirkolla...

E: ja se vanhempi-lapsijumppa on suomi-seuran se pikkuleijonat oli, ja sitten on sahly ja lentopallo.

M: Onks kukaan kaynyt pelaamassa sahlya?

E: Ma en tia keta siella on...

M: onks se niin ku miehet ja naiset. Sillon ma pistin meilin niille ja kukaan ei vastannut. Ja sitten joku avstasi etta se on muuttunut ja laita tahan mailia ja ei vastannut. Ma en oo mikaan todellakaan hyva mutta meilla on vaan kaveriporukka jonka kanssa kaytiin pelaamassa (Suomessa) (???)

E: Aina sia varmaan pelaa miehet

M: no niin, miehet, neon niin kauheen vaikee, kovaa pelaa...

J: Juu tota, toi Kirsi Yrjola pelaa, siis se on tosi...se pelaa jossain liigassa.

M: Mut en ma oo niin hyva.

J: Ei sekaan ollut, mut ne tarvii pelaajia. Ei sekaan ollu pelannut kahteen kolmeen vuoteen ja se meni heti liigaan.

MI: Tommoset vois olla hauskoja, niin ku miehilla on jalkapallo.

J: Mut toi Suomi-seurahan on nyt tosi avoin kaikille ja tota nehan yrittää jotain, niillahan on halliaikoja tiedossa. Se niin kun puhuttiin, Tanska-lista on tosi tehokas. Kun pistaa yhden viestin niin... (???)

I: Ootteks te kayttanyt kuinka paljon, ootteks te kayneet naissa suomalaisjärjestöjen, niin sa kerroit kasityökerhosta ja sa kerroit etta oot kaynyt siella aiti-lapsiryhmassa. Ootteks te muut kayneet?

M: Naisten ravintolailta on tosi hyva. Mun pikkusisko asu taalla viime vuonna ja iesin sen tapahtuman jo ennen kuin tulin tanne mut se laitto mulle ensimmaisena viestin. Joo,oli kiva kun ma olin pari paivaa ollut taalla (Koopenheimassa) (???) Joo, se on ihan ehdoton!

I: Minka takia?

M: No oli kiva paasta a) tutustuun muihinkin kuin tyokavereihin, kiva etta paasee puhuun suomee valilla...

J: ja ihmiset luulee, et ne on vanhat tadit mutta eihan se niin oo.

S: Ei, siella on kaikenikaiset, monen ikaista.

M: Kun aina ma mietin onks ma vanha sinne jos siel on kaikki kaksikymppisia opiskelijoita mutta ei se mitaan, ma oon kattomassa. Ja eika se haittaa kun sa sa olet ulkomailla niin mita valia silla on. Suomessa jotenkin. Se on janna aina ulkomailla kun silloin sa oot ulkomailla tutustut ihmisiin paljon enemman erilaisista lahtokohdista ja sosiaalisista ryhmista ja taustoista kuin ikina Suomessa.

MI: Suomalaisia?

M: Nii, Ulkomaalaisiinkin mutta suomalaisiin varsinkin. O plajon sellasia ihmisiä joiden kanssa Suomessa, on vaan tekemisissa hyvin samantyyppisten ihmisten kanssa...

S: Nii, et sa niin ku tutustu kehenkaan

M: Niin se on hirveen hauskoja kun ihmisilla on niin erilainen tausta.

E: Nii, etsa nyi ketaan hihasta kirpputorilla..."Asutteks te taalla? "

I: Niin, nain ma tapasin Eevan!

E: Niin, samanikaisia tyttoja! Onkohan ne taalla? (naurua) ja sitten on Suomikoulu tietysti, eiko?

S: Joo, mites se toimii ihan lyhyesti?

E: Taal on kaks eri Suomikoulua. Toinen on Hellerupissa ja se on vissiin kerran viikossa, ja se n maksullinen kun joku puhui Me ollaan kayty tassa lahella joka toinen perjantai. Siella on pienemmille ja vanhemmille erikseen.

I: Se on vahan kuin koululaisille niin ku. Ja se Heelerupin on vahan niin kun englanninkielisille jotka on englannin kielisessa koulussa ja taa on niin ku Tanskan kielisille, suurin osa lapsista?

S: Joo.

I: No, tota, entas mitas luulette minka takia suomalaiset liittyy tai hakeutuu, viettaa aikaa muiden suomalaisten kanssa? Se voi tietenkin kayda mihin tahansa kansallisuuteen

mutta...Mitka te luulette ovat sellasia pohjimmaisista syistä miksi te itse tai muut menee mukaan toimintaan?

S: Mita Marja sanoi jo, ihan vaan kieli. Koska mun, ennen lasta ma en puhunut suomea koskaan paitsi Suomeen. Ei meilla toissa ollut ketaan suomalaisia tai sillee. Niin se, etta saa puhua omaa kieltaan. Paitsi nyt kun tulee ihan koko ajan kotona niin se ei oo enaa ihan (???). Ja sit mun mielest se, etta vaikka Tanska mun mielesta kulttuurallisesti on aika lahella suomea, et ma en oo tietylla tavalla yhtaan kokenut, etta ma oon tai kayttaydyn eri lailla

M: Munkin mielestä taa on tosi lähellä...

S: Sitten kuitenkin taa Suomalaisilla on taa vaikka me tullaan ihan eri puolelta maata ja blaablaa, niin meil on kuitenkin semmonen tietty oma suomalaisuus joka istuu tuolla jossain selkätymessä...

M: Niin tulee vahvemmin esiin ulkomailla

S: Exactly. Muuta ma en tieda kun et meil on kuitenkin "ai jaa, nyt ne tekee tollai ja " ja sillee niin ku, ja sellasta vahan niin ku osittain romanttista mutta osittain haukkua Tanskaa siina mielessa, etta sita ma en viitti kotona tehdä koska mun mies on tehnyt sita ihan tarpeeks jo Suomessa. Se niin ku ulkomaalaisten kavereitten kanssa on haukkunut Suomea ja ma oon kuitenkin sen verran patriootti, etta mun mielesta se oli aina kauheen vaarin. Vaik ma ymmarran, et Suomi ei ole taidellinen maa ja meil on paljon epakohtia, niin (???) ma en halua heti kuulla (???)

M: Se voi olla, etta...

MI: Jos nayttais, mun tanskalainen mies itse se ajattelee Suomesta, niin ma otan sen jotenkin henkiloakohtaisesti. Sitten ma puhun kaverin kanssa ihan samasta aiheesta, ihan samalla lailla, sit se on ihan jees. Mut sit jos ma puhun (???) Se on aika janna, et kyl oli sitten suomalainen, suomalaisen kanssa puhuu tai sitten toisen ulkomaalaisen kanssa on helpompaa puhua tavallaan....

M: Kun se minka takia niin ku aina kun on ulkomailla niin monet asiat Suomessa tuntuu olevan hyvin mitka mua normaalisti arsyttais (???) Mutta taa jotenkin, kattoo ehka vahan Suomea niin sanotusti ulkopuolisen mutta kyllahan sita arsyttaa niin monet asiat...

E: Mikas taa nyt oli? Tehottomuutta (Tanskassa). Onks se Suomi nyt oikeesti sitten niin tehokas, onko siellakaan nyt niin tehokasta vai kuvitteleks ma vaan? Muisteleks ma vaan? Ma mietin kun sentaan Eestissa, sillen se, tavallaan Tanska, tietylla tavalla ma oletin, etta Tanska on ihan samanlainen kuin Suomi Eestiin verrattuna mutta taa on selvasti vahan etelamaalaisempi. (nauraa)Niin, taal on se meininki vahan semmosta... (???) tai nyt sita vaan muistele ja tavallan asiat toimi sit.

MI: Mut noi ainakin kokee, noi...kyllaenemman ainakin tuntuu Saksa tai Ranskan meno siita

E: Nii

M: Keski-eurooppaa

E: Nii, taa on vahan etelampana, heti se meininki etta...Ei sita voi aloittaa etta on kiire tai joku sanoo, etta okei sa voit aloittaa perjantaina (uudesta tyopaikasta). Ei nyt voi kun taa on vahan huono mut sitten joo.

M: Joo, taa naitten tyoyhteiso, Minka verran aikaa naa viettaa toissa naa ihmiset? Ma en ymmarra miten lyhkasia tyopaivia naa (tanskalaiset) tekee?

I: Kuinka lyhyita?

M: No, meilla (yliopistolla) on ainakin nii lyhyita. Puolen, puolen paivan jalkeen alkaa porukka katoamaan, viimestaan, ihan viimestaan neljalta ja perjantaisin nyt ei kukaan kollega (???) Ihan kasittamatonta!

E: Pakko pasta kauppaan kun kaupat menee nii aikasin kiinni.

M: Nii, ma luulen, et toi on semmonen perustelu, et aika hauska etta jos on vaan kaunis paiva niin sit vaan lahtee johonkin kahville tai kaljalle. Sellaista voi tehdä kun taalla maksetaan niin paljon veroja, etta (???) Se on ihan oikein, kompromisseja ja lahtee, ottaa sitten semmosia

pikkusia vapauksia...Nii, et en tiia. Ehka yliopisto maailma, emma tieda miten taalla on yrityksissa, poikkeavaako

J: meil on kyl semmonen tati joka istuu siella (???) Joo, nyt on niin ku viis vaille nelja kun se on kylla siis, kaikki ohjelmat menee kiinni ja sitten tasan neljalta paasee ulos.

I: Nii, onhan se sitten erilaista...

M: Kylla mun mielesta Suomessa tehdään pidempia paivia, se on sit eria asia mita tehdään tyopaivan aikana mutta...

S: Kyll naa on mun mielesta...

MI: Niin kyll makin oon kokenut sen, et se on varmasti yks juttu mita ne tekee, et onko kriteerina , et onko parempi istua vai sen takia etta on (???) kaikista. En tieda jotenkin arvostetaanko tai haluaako vapaa-aika enemman sitten jotenkin enemman.

S: Meian firma kyl toi firman kulttuuri lyo kaikki kansalliskulttuurit. Meil (???) et en tia tekeeks se kun oon ollut sia kuitenkin niin kauan...

M: niin taal on(???)

I: Tuli muuten mieleen kun sa oot ollut aitiyslomalla niin miten taalla noi aitiyslomat?

S: Niin, tota. Hyvin erilailla. Meil, tai anteeks, ei nyt hyvin erilailla mut tietysti voi hoitaa kotona 15 kuukautta. Kauheen moni kysyy, et eiks sita nyt paivakotipaikkaa aikasemmin saa vai miks han oli niin kauheen vanha.

M: Luulis, etta 15-kuukautinen on ihan normaali jos ei nuori lahteen paivakotiin!

S: No ei meilta kysyta, et mika teidan (???) Elika taalla, median firmassa on tays palkka 6 kuukautta, sen jalkeen paivarahalle ja se paivaraha on niin ku...oliskohan se, ehka 12000 tuli tilille kuukaudessa ja sitten tota mun mies sai Nokialta kymmenen viikkkoa isyysvapaata ja sitten me tehtiin, koska me haluttiin pitaa tata lasta kotona, niin (???) siihen 15 kuukauteen, niiin mun mies oli kolme kuukautta, se oli yhteensa pos seitteman kuukautta ja siita seitsemasta kuukaudesta oli (???) viikkkoa ilman palkkaa, ilman mitaan tukee. Tota, me, taa dagpenge, tata saa vaan vuoden verran, et sita voi kylla sitten jotenkin jakaa miehen ja naisen valilla, sil ei oo mitaan valii mut ma kerkisin kayttaa sen sillee, et mun mies oli melki kolme kuukautta ilman palkkaa mutta se oli meidan valinta.

(???) (Problems with quality)

S: Suomessa jos laitat vauvan paivakotiin nii se on vahan niin ku onks sun ihan pakko. Ja taalla (Tanskassa) on vahan niin ku (???)

I: Eeva, kun sa sanoit aikasemmin, et...Joku saattas vaittaa, etta suomalaisten taalla, tanskalistat ja muut on aika hyvin jarjestaytyneita niin minka takia, mita luulet miks?

M: No se on parin aktiivin ansiota...niin onhan se tietty aika aktiivinen (???) Mutta ei oo mikaan missa ma olen aikasemmin ollut nain jarjestyneita

MI: taa on ensimmäinen paikka jossa...

M: Tai on mulla ollut yks paikka. Sillon kun me asuttiin lapsena Chilessa niin siella oli hyvin aktiivinen Suomi-toiminta.

E: Sekin on varmaan just tietylla tavalla mita kauemmaks menee, niin sita vahemman siella on suomalaisia ja aktiivisia nimeomaa. Ensinnakin Tallinnassahan se oli hajalla ihan totaalisesti. Se riippu siita jos oli oikee tuttu. Muuten siella oli kaks kilpailevaa kauppakamaria, sit naisten illatkin oli erikseen: Suomirouvat, erikseen semmoset jotka kavi toissa, et siella oli suomalainen koulu...

MI: Samalla lailla, kun mun vanhemmat oli, kun ne asu kaukana, oli tietysti Suomiyhteiso.

M: Uudes-Seelannissa, ma kyl tiedan, no meit ei ollut siella, oliko meita viis suomalaista, et niita ei kauheesti yhteyksia pystynyt pitaan

S: Niin, niin. Taalla kylla on hirveen paljon, et sillei vaikkei, et usein kun ollaan kauempana niin ollaan tiiviisti yhdessa mutta on ollut kiva huomata, etta vaikka taalla on paljon suomalaisia, silti meille on paljon yhteista kaikkee, hyvinkin kokee...

M: No tota, ma oon kyl huomannut, naisilla on jotenkin paljon aktiivisempaa toimintaa. Onks talla suomalaisia miehia ja onks niilla jotain? (naurua)

S: Oikeesti!

I: Toi on hyva kysymys.

MI: Mut eiks Nokialla oo oma miesten ryhma ja mieheton, ainakin mita nyt on kuullut, nii firman kautta niin ku (???) naita Nokian kautta kaljailtoja ja Nokialla on ehka 35:kin suomalaista

S: niin ku firmojen?

MI: Nii, firmojen kautta. Et ma muistan sillon kun mun isa, vanhemmat asu pari kertaa ulkomailla, nii meidan isa niinku tutustu muihin suomalaisiin ja aina ne oli firmat, vaikka ne oli eri firmat ...nii tavallaan ne firmat otti vastuun siita etta sulla on hyva olla.

E: Eli oletus on se, etta miehet tulee toihin...

M: Niin!

E: Ja naiset tulee kotiin. Tai tarvii itse jarjestaa se.

J: Mut nyt taas mieltii, etta(???) on Pekat in Copenhagen missa Jani on vetajana.

I: Ma en tiennyt!

J: Ja ne kay kerran kuukaudessa, mut niil on todella hauskaa aina (???)

I: Kuinka te ootte loytaneet informaatioo niin ku sillon kun te muutitte Tanskaan nii mist ate saitte tietaa suomalaisten toiminnasta? Koska jotenkin te olette tannekin tulleet tanaankin nii kuinka te loysitte informaatioo?

(tasta lahtien vain ne haastattelun osat, joita on kaytetty projektiin on purettu aikarajoituksen vuoksi)

S: netin kautta, tanska-lista tuli jostain esille

H: Mulla oli suomalaisia kavereita taalla

M: mulla oli tuttu joka oli ollut Nokialla toissa Suomessa...

J: sanoisin yhden pointin vaan tassa kun on naita kansainvalisia ryhmya, niin ma oon niidenkin kautta saanut suomalaisia ystavia ...meetp-up:in ja in the nation:in kautta..Malmossa on itseasiassa kaksi ryhmya, siella on paljon suomalaisia.ja sitten on naa kaikki muut Life in Denmark ja Expat in Denmark. Mutta siis niddenkin kautta kun jotkut suomalaiset loytaa ensin ne ja sitten sita kautta

E: Niin osa saattaa tulla tanne etta ne ei halua olla tekemisissa muiden suomalaisten kanssa

All: Niin!

J: taalla on paljon semmosia...yks semmonen hyva pariskuntakaveri joka oli ollut taalla jo kaksi vuotta ei ollut saanut ketaan suomalaisia. Sit taa tytto tuli kerran, ihan vaan muuten vaan Naisten ravintolailtaan niin me tavattiin siella. Sen jalkeen, pelkastaan suomalaisia! (naurua)

S: Tanska-listasta, ma en niin ku tajunnut lahtemaan sita kontaktia. Ehka se oli sita kun halus integroitua niin se...niin ku ensimmäiset kaverit kun ma sain, ne tuli niin ku kielikoulun kautta ja ne oli siis muita ulkomaalaisia. Ma olin ekan kerran ravintolaillassa vasta vuosi sen jalkeen kun ma olin tullut.

I: Teidan tulevaisuuden suunnitelmia?

J: Ma jaan kylla jonnekin muualle (kuin Suomeen). Suomeen, jos pitaa hoitaa

I: Omia vanhempiaiko?

J: Niin. Mulla on aivan ihanat vanhemmat mutta ne on hemmetin vaativia. On avian ihanaa kun mulla on oma elama taalla...mute is e nyt oo via ainakaan 20 vuoteen (kun tarvitsee huolehtia vanhemmista). Voi olla, etta jotain tapahtuu ja se on ainoo syy miks ma menisin takaisin Suomeen

I: Ma olen kans miettinyt plajon tota vanhempien ja isovanhempien...kun asuu ulkomailla niin vuodet menee niin nopeesti...ma kayn niin harvoin (Suomessa)

M: Ma entieda, ma kuvittelin, etta oon taalla ja palaan Suomeen mutta toisaalta kun kaikki naa (ulkomaille muutot) on tullut niin yllattaen, etta en tieda. Mutta pidempaan ulkomailla, mun vanhemmat on yksityisyrittajia ja mun kaksoissisko on Suomessa, niin .ja Annan lapsia tulee aina ikava.Mut taa on niin lahella. Ma en osaa sanoo.

S: Mulla olis varmaan hyvät mahikset jaada tanne loppuelamakseni mut on on hirveen vaikee ajatella sita. Ut ma haluaisin vielä asua Suomessa kun mun miehen on helppo menna toihin Nokian kautta ja nimenomaan lasten kielten kehityksen kannalta..mutta ma mietin sita, etta ihan hyvin vois menna johonkinkolmantee maaha...neutraali, mut sit siina tulee kaikki naa kielihommat...sit jos se olis englannin kielinen maa, se nyt olis ihan ok.

M: Luulis, etta olis vaikeempaa?

S: Niin ku sitten ei olis mitaan verkostoo...mun appivanhemmat asuu Koopenhaminassa ja se on avian ihanaa. Me saadaan taalla enemman sita verkostoapua kuin Suomessa.

E: Ei mitaan tietoo (tulevaisuudesta). Katellaan. Todennakoisesti miehen tyo perassa sitten. Joko mennaan takaisin Suomeen tai sitten ei menna.

I: Mita sa ajattelet siita?

E: En ma nyt sinne Suomeenkaan juokse mutta sehan olis lasten kannalta helpointa.

H: No, mulla on poikaystava Suomessa...Se on se lahto aina vaikeeta

E: Mekin ajateltiin silloi lahdettii, etta nyt ei tai koskaan.

M: Se mika siina (perheena ulkomailla elossa) on hyva, etta perheesta tulee vahvempi

J: Niin, sen pitais olla pakollista kaikille (muuttaa ulkomailla) jostain koulusta lahtee ulkomailla vahaks aikaa. Siina oppii paljon enemman, oppii itestaan ja oppi tekeen asioita yksin.

E: Suomessa ei kukaan saata 7-vuotiasta lasta kouluun, johan ne nauraa mulle (Eestissa ok). Sillon kunlapset onpienia, niin se on ok olla kotona lasten kanssa, 3-4-vuotiaan kanssa...ulkomailla voi tehdä semmosta mita Suomessa ei voi kun siella tuntuu, etta yhteiskunta rajoittaa ja katsoo sen peraan. Niin ku taallakin. Ulkomaalaiset voi pitaa lasta kotona mutta tanskalaiset ei varmaan voi...Tietylla tavalla se nataa vapauksia kun on ulkomaalainen (Tanskassa).

MI: Mullakin on varmaan niin ku Sannallakin, etta on kauheen vaikee ajatella, etta vois taalla niin ku aina olla...Kylla me tassa muutaman vuoden ainakin ollaan.

EM: Ma en oikeen tieda. Ei mulla oo mitaan etta pitais tai ei pitais paasta Suomeen...lahinna ma haluaisin menna johonkin tai jaada johonkin....

Survey Responses

Survey: Finnish Transnational Social Networks in Copenhagen

This project is a case study of Finnish women and their transnational network building in urban Copenhagen limited to constrain of time and locality of fall 2008. The project aims to examine the role of Finnish social networks for individual Finnish women. I'm interested in what forces urge women to socialize with their compatriots, what is going on among the Finnish women in those social gatherings and what kind of information is exchanged. I'm also interested in how Finnish women perceive living abroad and in particular living in Denmark, and how does time abroad differs to their daily lives while in Finland. In sum, this research aims to examine the role of Finnish transnational social networks both at the societal and at the individual level.

Directions:

*Please answer to open-ended questions below in your own words, save the file and email it to marja@ruc.dk preferably by **Sunday December 7, 2008**. You can write your answers in Finnish as other interviews related to this project are conducted in Finnish as well.*

1. Please provide an introduction of yourself: name, age, nationality, occupation, relationship status/family etc.

Kaija, 35 v., suomalainen, biokemisti/kotiäiti, naimisissa, 2 lasta (6 v. ja 2 v.)

2. Please tell your story of moving to Denmark (Why, when, how). Do you have other relocation experiences?

Olemme asuneet perheeni kanssa Kööpenhaminassa Tanskassa elokuusta 2006 saakka. Muutimme Tanskaan mieheni työkuvioiden perässä. Muutto oli yhteinen ajatus ja erään ”unelman” täyttymys. Olen viettänyt myös vaihto-oppilasvuoden USA:ssa lukioikäisenä.

3. What is your occupation now? What did you do in Finland (or elsewhere)? What is your dream occupation?

Tanskassa asuessamme olen ollut koko ajan kotiäitinä ja nauttinut työstäni. Suomessa toimin biokemistinä. Toivon mukaan palaan työelämään jonkin ajan kuluttua, viimeistään palatessamme Suomeen.

4. What kind of challenges life in Denmark has entailed? What has been easy?

Yhteyksien ja verkoston luominen uusiin ihmisiin vei alussa oman aikansa ja vaati paljon omaa aktiivisuutta ja energiaa, mutta alkukankeuksien jälkeen elämä Tanskassa on ollut onnellista ja antoisaa.

5. What kind of connections do you have to Finland? How has your perception of Finland changed during your stay abroad?

Olen päivittäin yhteyksissä vanhempiini Suomeen, samoin useasti kuukaudessa yhteydessä ystäviini ja läheisiini. Luen netistä päivittäin Suomen uutiset ja yritän pysyä ajantasalla ulkomaillakin asuessani. Suomen asiat ovat edelleen minulle tärkeitä, tosin suhtautuminen joihinkin asioihin on saanut uudenlaisia näkökantoja tarkastellessani niitä etäisyyden päästä.

6. Please tell a bit about your social life and social contacts in Copenhagen.

Ystäväpiirini Kööpenhaminassa on laaja ja koostuu lähinnä muista suomalaisista kotiaideistä, joilla on myös pieniä lapsia. Lisäksi olen tutustunut useisiin koulua käyvän lapseni luokkakavereiden vanhempiin, jotka ovat tanskalaisia. Näin uskon saaneeni kuvan myös paikallisesta elämästä ja arjesta. Sosiaalinen elämäni on vilkasta, ehdottomasti aktiivisempaa kuin Suomessa asuessamme. Toisaalta myös perheen kanssa tulee vietettyä enemmän yhteistä aikaa täällä ollessamme. Yhteyden tunne on suuri, sekä perheen, että täällä olevien ystävien kesken.

7. What role do Finnish networks/clubs/organizations in Copenhagen play in your life?

Toimin tällä hetkellä suomalaisen perhekerhon vetäjänä. Kokoonnumme kerran viikossa vapaamuotoisesti vaihtelevalla osanottajamäärällä. Perhekerho on tuonut minulle ja lapsilleni useita uusia tuttavuuksia, ja on tärkeä osa sosiaalista elämäämme Tanskassa.

Suomalaisen yhteisön toiminta Kööpenhaminassa on monipuolista tarjoten kaikille jotakin (esim. Naisten ravintolaillat, Perhekerho, liikuntatoiminta sekä aikuisille että lapsille jne.).

8. Please tell about your involvement in Finnish transnational networks. What urged you to join Finnish social gatherings? How did you find information about them?

Muuttaessamme Tanskaan koin ehdottoman tärkeäksi luoda yhteyksiä uusiin ihmisiin, jotta kotiutumisen uuteen maahan ja kaupunkiin sujuisi mahdollisimman luontevasti. Kööpenhaminan suomalaisen seuran ylläpitämältä Tanska-listalta löysin mm. informaatiota perhekerhosta sekä muista suomalaisten kokoontumisista, joihin osallistuinkin heti toisella Tanska-viikollani.

9. What are the pros and cons of Finnish community?

Kööpenhaminan suomalainen yhteisö on mielestäni melko aktiivinen, eikä kenenkään Kööpenhaminaan ja sen lähiseuduille muuttavan suomalaisen tarvitse jäädä täällä yksin. Suomalainen yhteisö toimii parhaassa tapauksessa erittäin hyvänä tukena uudelle maahanmuuttajalle ja alkuun pääsy uudessa maassa helpottuu suuresti, kun voi kysyä vinkkejä ja neuvoja täällä jo pidempään asuneilta suomalaisilta. Haittoja on mielestäni vaikea

kuvitella, kunhan pitää mielessä, että Tanskassa asuessaan on tietenkin hyvä tutustua myös paikallisiin ja oppia heidän kulttuuristaan.

10. What's going on at Finnish social gatherings?

Osallistun aktiivisesti perhekerhon toimintaan, jossa lasten vanhemmat (pääasiassa äidit) ja lapset kokoontuvat viikottain yhteen vaihtamaan kuulumisia, leikkimään ja laulamaan.

11. One may argue that Finnish translocal community is well organized --- why is that?

Informaatio suomalaisten välillä kulkee luontevasti Tanska-listan kautta, jota käsittääkseni käyttävät useat Tanskassa asuvat suomalaiset. Toiminta on aktiivista, oma-aloitteista, innostunutta ja hyvin järjestettyä.

12. What are your plans regarding Denmark?

Tarkoituksenamme on asua Tanskassa vielä ainakin jonkin aikaa ja elää mahdollisimman normaalia arkea tanskalaisin maustein. On mukava huomata, miten hyvin kahden vuoden jälkeen sulautuu tanskalaisten joukkoon ja omaksuu paikallisia tapoja ihan vaivihkaa. Täältä ei ole kiirettä pois...

13. A part of this research, do you wish to be presented with your true identity/your own name?

En halua tulla esitellyksi tutkimuksessa omalla nimelläni.

Kiitos Osallistumisestasi!

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Directions:

*Please answer to open-ended questions below in your own words, save the file and email it to marja@ruc.dk preferably by **Sunday December 7, 2008**. You can write your answers in Finnish as other interviews related to this project are conducted in Finnish as well.*

1. Please provide an introduction of yourself: name, age, nationality, occupation, relationship status/family etc.

Nimi: Nanna, ikä: 35, kansalaisuus: suomi, ammatti: puheviestijä

2. Please tell your story of moving to Denmark (Why, when, how). Do you have other relocation experiences?

Muutin Tanskaan opiskelemaan ensimmäisen kerran 1993, olin asunut sitä ennen reilun puolivuotta Ranskassa. Hain Tanskaan opiskelemaan, koska opiskelupaikan saaminen Suomessa oli epävarmaa. Sain opiskelupaikat sekä Suomesta että Tanskasta. Seikkailunhalu oli kova, sain vuoden lykkäystä Suomesta ja aloitin opinnot Kööpenhaminan yliopistossa. En tuntenut ketään, en osannut kieltä, ei ollut asuntoa, vain reppuselässä ja tyyny kainalossa. Alku oli hankalaa, mutta palkitsevaa. Palasin Suomeen, mutta Köpis oli vielä mielessä ja päätin tulla stipendiaattina puoleksi vuodeksi. Suunnitelmat muuttuivat, kun tapasin nykyisen mieheni syksyllä 1995. Pari vuotta vierähti ennen kuin olin taas Suomessa vuoden verran yhdessä mieheni kanssa. Muutimme takaisin Tanskaan mieheni työn takia syyskesällä 1998.

What is your occupation now? What did you do in Finland (or elsewhere)? What is your dream occupation?

Teen töitä analytikkona yritysten kansainvälistymisprosesseihin liittyen ja keikkaa viestintäkouluttajana. Unelmatyö olisi kouluttajana julkisella puolella, esimerkiksi pitkäaikaistyöttömien tai maahanmuuttajien parissa. Minun on kuitenkin vaikea saada töitä ihan tanskalaisesta työpaikasta, koska monet eivät ymmärrä viestinnän ja retoriikan olevan muuta(kin) kuin virheetöntä kirjallistailmaisua.

3. What kind of challenges life in Denmark has entailed? What has been easy?

Omasta kieliympäristöstä luopuminen on ollut minulle vaikeaa, samoin sen, ettei voi vain poiketa pistäytymään suomessa olevien sukulaisten ja kavereiden luona, ihmissuhteita Suomessa on hoidettava suunnitelmallisemmin. Kööpenhaminaan on kuitenkin ollut helppo asettua ja täällä on helppo asua. Ihmiset ovat kohteliaan ystävällisiä, mutta samalla sopivan välinpitämättömiä, tunnen asuvani suuressa kaupungissa.

4. What kind of connections do you have to Finland? How has your perception of Finland changed during your stay abroad?

Suomessa on läheisiä sukulaisia ja hyviä ystäviä, kielellinen koti ja kulttuurisen identiteettini juuret. Olen yhteydessä Suomeen myös työni puolesta. Kuvani Suomesta ei ole juurikaan muuttunut. Ehkä olen ottanut vähän enemmän etäisyyttä suomalaiseen kansallisromantiikkaan.

5. Please tell a bit about your social life and social contacts in Copenhagen.

Ystäviä on sekä ajalta ennen kuin tapasin mieheni sekä hänen kauttaan tulleita. Molempien kaverit ovat pääosin sulautuneet yhteiseksi verkostoksi, myös suomalaisista ympyröistä tuleet kaverit ovat yhteisiä. Entisistä tanskalaisista naapureista ja muutamista täällä asuvista suomalaisista perheistä on tullut "oma sukumme", jonka kanssa vietetään juhlapyhiä, merkkipäiviä ja autetaan arjessa puolin ja toisin.

6. What role do Finnish networks/clubs/organizations in Copenhagen play in your life?

Suomalaisilla ryhmillä ei moneen vuoteen ollut minulle suurta merkitystä, vaikka olinkin 90-luvun alussa yksi aloiteen tekijöistä Köpiksen suomalaisten opiskelijoiden tapaamisille. Olin mukana jonkun aikaa, mutta melkein kymmenen vuotta osallistuin suomalaistapahtumiin vain satunnaisesti. Pari vuotta sitten jonkinlaisessa kollektivisuuden puuskassa lähdin pyynnöstä mukaan suomitoimintaan. En ole katunut. On kivaa puhua suomea aikuisten kanssa.

7. Please tell about your involvement in Finnish transnational networks. What urged you to join Finnish social gatherings? How did you find information about them?

Kieli. Halu puhua suomea ja olla suomalainen. Tietoa olen saanut tutuilta, olemalla mukana ja sähköpostilistoilta.

8. What are the pros and cons of Finnish community?

Suomalaiset auttavat toisiaan, vetävät yhtäköyttä, mutta tietynlainen kateus tai kyräily pulpahtaa helposti pintaan.

9. What's going on at Finnish social gatherings?

Verkostoitumista ja vapautumista, saa olla ihan suomalainen.

10. One may argue that Finnish translocal community is well organized --- why is that?

Mielestäni suomalaiset eivät ole erityisen järjestäytyneitä esimerkiksi muihin pohjoismaalaisiin verrattuna, mutta jos suomalaiset ovat hyvin järjestäytyneitä, johtuu se varmaankin kulttuurimme pienuudesta ja kielellisestä erikoisuudesta. En tiedä.

11. What are your plans regarding Denmark?

Tanskasta en tiedä, Kööpenhaminassa asun toistaiseksi. Elämä etenee painollaan. Jos työtarjouksia tarjoutuu muualta, voi olla että lähdemme koko perhe jonnekin. Mielellään

Suomeen. Voi myös olla, että elän täällä loppuun asti. Kuljen vanhana mummona päiväenkin järvien ympäri, ruokin sorsia ja naukkailen portviiniä penkillä.

12. A part of this research, do you wish to be presented with your true identity/your own name? Ihan sama :)

Kiitos Osallistumisestasi!