

A Greasy-Skinned Worker
– Gender, Class and Work in the 20th-
Century Life Story of a Female Labourer

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Abstract

A Greasy-Skinned Worker – Gender, Class and Work in the 20th-Century Life Story of a Female Labourer

In this study, I examine the life narrative of a female factory labourer, Elsa Koskinen (née Kiikkala, born in 1927). I analyze her account of her experiences related to work, class and gender because I seek to gain a better understanding of how changes in these aspects of life influenced the ways in which she saw her own worth at the time of the interviews and how she constructed her subjectivity. Elsa's life touches upon many of the core aspects of 20th-century social change: changes in women's roles, the entrance of middle-class women into working life, women's increasing participation in the public sphere, feminist movements, upward social mobility, the expansion of the middle class, the growth of welfare and the appearance of new technologies. What kind of trajectory did Elsa take in her life? What are the key narratives of her life? And how does Elsa's individual narrative fit into grand narratives of the 20th century?

A life story, a retrospective evaluation of a life lived, is one means of constructing continuity and dealing with the changes that have affected one's life, identity and subjectivity. In narrating one's life, the narrator produces many different versions of her/his self in relation to other people and to the world. These dialogic selves and their relations to others may manifest internal contradictions. Contradictions may also occur in relation to other narratives and normative discourses. Both of these levels, subjective meaning-making and the negotiation of social ideals and collective norms, are embedded in life narrative.

I approach gender, class and work from an experiential and relational point of view. I consider the discursive power of social relationships and subject formations, but I acknowledge that experiences are also tied to the physical reality of the narrator's life, and I treat embodied experience and memories as one source and element in dialogic life storytelling. My analysis is based on the concept of the *intersectionality* of multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations and their cultural and historical contextualization.

The methodological approach that I employ in this research is *the ethnography of narration* which pays attention to both the *act* of narrating with all its cultural, social, communicative and emotional power and to the *narratives* themselves: their form, contents, meaning, function and aesthetics. Specific episodes in one's life and other significant events constitute smaller narrative entities, which I call *micro-narratives*. The analysis of micro-narratives embedded in the interview dialogues offers a methodological tool for studying the ways in which the narrator positions herself in relation to social changes and deals with the uncertainties created by changing ideals. Examining the conflicting voices within the narratives and between different narratives, and paying attention to the social interaction between the narrator and the interviewee reveals the factors that have affected the narrator's sense of self.

Keywords: Life narrative, life story, life story interview, dialogue, dialogism, micro-narrative, narration, subjectivity, experience, embodied experience, embodiment, ethnography of narration, gender, class, work, working class, intersectionality

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION: Understanding Her Life	10
Research Aims and Questions	10
Studying an Individual and Her Life Narrative	13
Elsa's Life Context	17
<i>The Life of Elsa Koskinen</i>	17
<i>Inha Ironworks – the Factory Village</i>	19
<i>Factory Workers' Families</i>	24
Previous Research	26
<i>Studies on the Everyday Life of Workers and the Working Class</i>	26
<i>Narrative and Narrators in Folklore Studies</i>	29
Perspectives and Conceptual Tools	32
<i>The Life Narrative as a Negotiation of Subjectivity</i>	32
<i>Narrated Experience</i>	34
<i>Cultural Master Narratives and Micro-Narratives</i>	35
<i>Gender, Class and Work</i>	37
2. METHODOLOGY: The Ethnography of Narration	41
Dialogism and Embodied Experience	41
The Life Story Interview as Method of Collecting Research Material	45
Interviews with Elsa	48
Studying a Relative	51
<i>Subjective Knowledge and Validity</i>	51
<i>The Challenges of an Inter-Generational Dialogue</i>	54
<i>Blind Spots</i>	57
<i>Research Ethics</i>	60
Classification of the Research Material	64
<i>Micro-narratives and Key Dialogues</i>	64
<i>Positioning: Actors, Time and Space</i>	66
3. A WORKING WOMAN: The Negotiation of Gendered Ideals	69
Family Dynamics, Generations and Gendered Ideals	70
<i>The Model of the Heroic Mother</i>	70
<i>The Working Mother as Homemaker</i>	76
<i>The Woman I Want (You) to Be</i>	80
Gender and Humour in the Factory Environment	83
<i>Dirty Work, Dirty Talk</i>	84
<i>Absurd Ideals: Working, Resting and Homemaking</i>	89
<i>A Female-Rebel</i>	91
Women in Manual Labour	97
<i>Strength and Self-Control</i>	98
<i>Embodied Femininity: Pretty Girls in Dirty Overalls</i>	100
Summary	102

4. SOCIAL CLASS: Identification and Distinction	104
Narrated Worlds: Social Dynamics in the Factory Community	105
<i>The Times of the Patruuna</i>	105
<i>The Stereotype of the Rough, Drunken but Genuine Worker</i>	112
<i>Youth, Communalism and Solidarity</i>	115
<i>Social Mobility: Making and Breaking Boundaries</i>	118
The Self Defined by Class	122
<i>Material Scarcity and Social Ranking</i>	122
<i>Relegated to a Lower Class – Dominance and Humiliation</i>	128
<i>Skills and Dignity: “I knew the job”</i>	134
<i>Worker Identity and “a greasy skin”</i>	137
Summary	141
5. CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN A LIFE NARRATIVE	143
Embodied Change: Experiences of Advance and Loss	143
<i>Modernizing Factory Work: Embodied Experience and the Worker Identity</i>	144
<i>An Easier Life = a Better Life?</i>	148
<i>Sites (Dis)Connecting People</i>	152
<i>Disappearing Landscapes – The Amputated Sites of the Factory Community?</i>	156
The Life Narrative and the Travelling Selves – Transformations	160
<i>Beginnings: The Solidarity of the Family and the Community</i>	161
<i>The Young and Wild Elsa</i>	163
<i>The Shy and Worrying Elsa</i>	170
<i>The Funny Elsa</i>	173
<i>Completion: The Humorous Storyteller</i>	175
Summary	177
6. CONCLUSIONS	179
Narrating Subjectivity: Continuity and Renegotiation	180
Reflections on Narrative Strategies, Social Change and Agency	183
The Potential of the Dialogic Approach and Micro-level Analysis in Life Narrative Research	186
REFERENCES	189
APPENDIXES	
1. Interviews	220
2. Key Events and Milestones of Elsa’s Life	221
3. Commenting Letter from Elsa (English/Finnish)	222
4. Index of Micro-narratives (English/Finnish)	223
5. List of Actors (English/Finnish)	231
6. Original Versions of the Quoted Interview Material (Finnish)	232
TIIVISTELMÄ	258

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1. INTRODUCTION: Understanding Her Life

“I worked. I said I have greasy skin. I am a greasy-skinned worker. Let others study. But I have done OK.”(Interview 10, 9, p.8)

Research Aims and Questions

The 20th century can be seen as an era of triumph for rational human thought, a period that has produced amazing technological and scientific advances. It can also be portrayed as an era of crises: ideological struggles and global wars. In both these perspectives, the 20th century involved changes which affected the lives of human beings. In the Western world, these changes are often depicted positively: work in factories and at home has become easier, and the frequency of illness and amount of backbreaking toil has diminished. In the Nordic countries, many 20th-century developments arose in connection with the construction of the welfare society. All these are culture-specific grand narratives of larger-scale social developments. But do these grand narratives correspond to the real-life experiences of individual people? How were social changes lived and experienced? What kind of story would you tell about your life to a representative of the younger generation? This study sets out to explore the grand narratives of social change at the micro-level, through the smaller narratives of personal experiences.

In this study, I examine the life narrative of a female worker who also happens to be my grandmother, Elsa Sanelma Koskinen (née Kiikkala). I analyze her account of her experiences related to work, class and gender because I seek to gain a better understanding of how changes in these aspects of life influenced the ways in which she saw her own worth at the time of the interviews and constructed her subjectivity. I chose to study Elsa¹ for a number of reasons. First, early on she expressed willingness to share her experiences with me. Trust, mutual understanding and the depth of our many years of interaction allowed her to open up to me, the interviewer, on such sensitive topics as social hierarchy, her family life and her sense of shame and dignity.² In

¹ I choose to call the narrator *Elsa* – and not my grandmother – to allow room for her subjectivity and personality and not limit them to a single dimension or role. The use of her first name also enables distancing and analytic thinking, both of which are needed in writing an ethnography and especially when the study is of one’s own a relative. In a casual everyday life setting, I call her *Mummu* (Grandma) or *Elsa-mummu* (Grandma Elsa). I myself appear in the interview excerpts in the first person as “P”. I chose this to indicate my position as both the interviewer and the interpreter.

² The sociologist Eeva Peltonen (1997, 103), who has interviewed her own mother about her experiences and interpretations of the Second World War, uses the term *perusuottamus* (basic trust) to describe the rapport that exists

addition, Elsa's life touches upon many of the core aspects of 20th-century social change: changes in women's roles, the entrance of middle-class women into working life, women's increasing participation in the public sphere, feminist movements, upward social mobility, the expansion of the middle class, the growth of welfare and the appearance of new technologies not only in industrial working life but also in daily life: the kitchen, the laundry room and the hospital. These complex constellations of socio-economic transformation have been designated "the process of modernization" (Felski 1995, 12–13). During the course of modernization in Finland, the number of narratives entering people's lives expanded via newspapers, literature, schoolbooks, popular culture and plays performed by civic groups and in school galas (Stark 2006a, 11–14, 17). Reading, writing, social movements and education encouraged modern citizens to reflect upon their own encounters with material novelties, new technologies, novel ideologies, developments and social changes. Many interesting experiences of encounters with these innovations are recounted in life stories of 20th-century Europeans. Individual life stories such as Elsa Koskinen's offer hundreds of smaller narratives for analysis.

My interest in life narratives and the folklore of worker communities began at an early stage of my academic studies, when I started writing my Master's thesis. In this thesis (2005), I focused on Elsa's life-story narration, her repertoire of narratives and her world view. In order to collect material for the thesis, I interviewed Elsa repeatedly during the years 2001–2004. In all, I conducted 12 interviews with her, although in my Master's thesis I analyzed only nine of these interviews. This study includes all 12 interviews (about 12 hours of audiotape). The issues I analyze in this study – gender, class and work – were prominent in the interviews, which together form Elsa's life story as she chose to tell it to me. During the interview process, Elsa told me about her life at the Inha Ironworks (*Ruukki*, as she still calls it).³ In the course of her life and working career, Elsa witnessed the heyday of the ironworks, when a traditional patriarchal style of management predominated in the metal industry. She lived through the transformation undergone by the factory community and its production due to the emergence of new technologies and modern practices of automation, increased supervision and the ever-spreading power of the global market economy.⁴

between relatives (on the establishment of rapport between interviewer and interviewees of different generations, see also Strandén 2009 and 2010).

³ The word *ruukki* comes from the Swedish word *bruk*, which means a "mill". In Finland, the word referred primarily to ironworks (Spoof 1997, 275). The word has a more old-fashioned connotation than the word *fabrik* (factory), which was first used in urban industrial settings (see Häggman 2006, 189).

⁴ The historian Kari Teräs, who has studied the social and organizational relations of the modernizing metal industry in Finland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, points out that the process of modernizing industrial working life was not a straightforward unidirectional development but rather a fluctuating trajectory, a mixture of different sets of options and agents that all influenced and determined the content and pace of developments (2001, 34).

Elsa also experienced changes in women's role in society and enjoyed a degree of social mobility and a dramatic improvement in her standard of living after the Second World War. It is important to note that these changes were neither unique nor did they signify merely the disappearance of old values and traditions. Moreover, it is important to remember that traditional patriarchal industrial communities such as Inha Ironworks were not static and harmonious communities. On the contrary, industrial communities have always existed in a process of transformation, development and uncertainty, depending on the economic situation and technological development (see Ahvenisto 2008; Kortelainen 2008, 25).

However, change is perceived differently when we look back at the past from the vantage point of the present. A life story, a retrospective evaluation of a life lived, is one means of constructing continuity and dealing with the changes that have affected one's life, identity and subjectivity (see Mullen 1992, 269; Löyttyniemi 2004, 49). In this research, I seek to analyze narrated experiences and to draw attention to the process of personal meaning-making and the negotiation of cultural norms and ideals. In narrating one's life, the narrator produces many different versions of her/his self in relation to other people and to the world. These selves and their relations to others may manifest internal contradictions. However, recurrent themes and key narratives or key dialogues reveal something important about the ways in which life is made meaningful, as Elsa Koskinen's narrative repertoire makes clear.

- 1) The research questions I seek to answer in this study are: How have gender, class, and work shaped the narrator's subjectivity? How does she narrate the changes which occurred with respect to these areas of her life? What are the things that create continuity in her life narrative, and what are the ambiguities that need to be renegotiated in the course of her life story telling? And why do they need to be renegotiated?
- 2) How can the study of an individual life narrative contribute to our general understanding of the power dynamics related to social change and to the role that narratives play in the construction of the self?

Examining Elsa's life narrative opens up a continuous process of dealing with past experiences which are not merely discursive but also rooted in her *physical* and *material* life as a working-class girl, a young woman, a mother, a homemaker, an active worker and a retired worker in the context of the present. This negotiation is an on-going process of positioning in which the narrator engages

in dialogic relations as much with the self as with the other (in our case me), also with other persons narrated within the story and with the possible readers of the finished study.

Studying an Individual and Her Life Narrative

Folklorists have long studied individual storytellers, so-called “tradition bearers”, talented performers and expert narrators living in villages and communities with rich oral traditions.⁵ My research, on the other hand, deals with a person who was not an extraordinary personality or a well-known *expert storyteller* with skills recognized by her/his community. That is not to say that Elsa is not able to weave a colourful story or captivate her listener.⁶ On the contrary, she is a good storyteller and has narrative competence (Hymes 1973, 47–49; also Pöysä 2012, 29). But only a few people in her closest circle have been able to enjoy her talent and repertoire, which has focused mostly on personal narratives, anecdotes and humour.

Everyday life, the perspective from the below, has long been the focus of ethnological studies which examine people as cultural beings.⁷ Since the 1970s, Nordic ethnologists have analyzed the forms and expressions of cultural identities: nation, gender, age, class, ethnicity and place (Arvidsson 2001, 9–12; Frykman & Gilje 2003, 9). In the 1970s and 1980s, Finnish folklore scholars studied local communities and their storytellers, examining local identities and the relationship between the individual and tradition.⁸ In the 1980s and 1990s, many folklorists were interested in the expressive traditions of women and the ways in which gender shapes culture and tradition.⁹ Moreover, folklore scholarship, which had earlier focused on a seemingly homogenous *common folk* and ignored class relations and antagonisms, began to pay attention to class relations

⁵ The Swedish folklorist C.W. von Sydow (1878-1952) called storytellers “tradition bearers” and made a distinction between active and passive tradition bearers (1932, 1948). Finnish folklore studies have tended to focus on active tradition bearers, the expert storytellers of certain communities such as Juho Oksanen (a storyteller studied by Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj’s [1989, English translation 1996]), a village eccentric called Heikan Jussi (the subject of a study by Tuija Saarinen [2003]), the Pastor of Kalkkima (studied by Päivi Rantala [2009]), a self-educated folklore collector called Heikki Meriläinen (Kurki 2002), or Marina Takalo from Viena Karelia, whose repertoire and worldview Juha Pentikäinen studied as early as 1971 (English translation 1987). Other related subjects studied in Finnish research have included the opposition between educated and non-educated persons and the marginal positions of healers, jokers and storytellers.

⁶ Folklorists have themselves criticized the concept of “the good storyteller”. Studies of expert storytellers and their oral performances can lead to overemphasizing the artistic nature of folklore and ignoring its role in everyday communication (Lehtipuro 1980; Peltonen 1996, 98).

⁷ Ehn & Löfgren 1982; Bringéus 1990; Frykman & Gilje 2003, 15; Snellman 2012. ‘Everyday life’ became a central concept when the focus of ethnology turned towards contemporary culture and when definitions of ‘folk’ and ‘folk life’ became problematic (Knuutila 1989, Säskilähti 1999, 151).

⁸ See for example Pentikäinen 1971; Siikala 1984; Knuutila 1984; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1988.

⁹ See for example Nenola 1986; Nenola & Timonen 1990; Apo 1995, Stark-Arola 1998, Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998.

and the oral traditions of the working class (see for example Knuuttila 1992; Peltonen 1996; Pöysä 1997).¹⁰

Ethnological and folkloristic analyses have been based on cultural and historical contextualization, situating the phenomena of everyday life in time, space and the social milieu (Arvidsson 2001, 24–27; Ehn & Löfgren 2001, Frykman & Gilje 2003, 36, 42). The contemporary cultural context can be ascertained and analyzed by means of ethnographic field work: interviews and participant observation. However, the *past* experiences of ordinary everyday life are difficult to study and trace by means of ethnographic field work. This is where the analysis of both document-based contextual information (archive material) and interviews (oral history) become crucial. However, reading these materials with attention to cultural meanings and symbols in oral and written expression is not as simple as it may first appear. Cultural and collective ways of acting and ascribing meaning are often subconscious and internalized, so much so that they can only be read between the lines (Ollila 1998, 12–13). Ordinary everyday life patterns and modes of thinking often become visible only through cases which are extraordinary, exceptional or marginal (see Stark 2006a and 2006b; Stewart 2007).

The reading of archival materials and the analysis of interview dialogues requires complex methodologies that can grasp not only the nuances of verbal communication but also the hidden, the unmentioned, the non-verbal and the non-communicated. The methodological approach that has inspired me in this research is *the ethnography of narration* (see Palmenfelt 2006b and 2007). The ethnography of narration pays attention to both the *act* of narrating with all its cultural, social, communicative and emotional power and to the *narratives* themselves: their form, contents, meaning, function and aesthetics (Palmenfelt 2007, 7).¹¹ Narratives, briefly defined here as “representations of events or a series of events” (Abbott 2002, 12), mediate what happened to whom and by whom, how and why, and they thereby establish a chronological and causal order (see also Siikala 1984, 22–23, 28). They are thus a means of understanding *lived* time and *processes* of change (Abbott 2002, 3–6). However, narratives do more than carry news and information; they reflect on the meanings of events, doings and sayings – in other words, on the morality of people’s behaviour (Riessman 1993, 3–4).

¹⁰ Olli Alho’s work on Ingrian serf poems (1979), in which he studied the expressive traditions of a subordinate group of serfs and their relations to their masters, was among the first to address issues of social inequality and socio-economic positions in Finnish folklore studies.

¹¹ Palmenfelt (2006 and 2007) calls the method “the ethnography of narrative”. I prefer the word “narration” as it implies the process of narrating. I also wish to distinguish this approach from “narrative ethnography”, which deals with the contextual organization and situational character of narrative production rather than its internal logic and structure (see Gubrium & Holstein 2008). In my view, “the ethnography of narration” covers both.

Life narratives are larger compositions of personal history and personal experiences.¹² They can be constructed to follow the chronology of a person's life or be built around certain *turning points*, personal milestones in life such as starting school, getting married or entering working life (see Linde 1993, 52–56; Arvidsson 1998, 61), or *periodizations* based on changes in historico-political environments or working life (see for example Snellman 1996, 15; Paaskoski 2008, 149). Specific episodes in one's life and other significant events constitute smaller narrative entities, which I call *micro-narratives*.¹³ They can be distinguished from other modes of talk such as descriptions, reports, opinions, etc. (Aro 1996, 65), because narratives are packages which not only inform the listener but involve explanations and interpretations of series of events and personal experiences (Gubrium & Holstein 2011, 6). This gives the narrator authority over the situation in which information and interpretations are exchanged (Arvidsson 1999, 24). But what exactly makes single life narratives and micro-narratives interesting? What can we learn from narratives of personal experience?

The oral historian Luisa Passerini points out that personal histories stimulate “references to the exceptional – to the things that make one individual different from another” (1988, 8). On the other hand, autobiographical accounts encourage subjects to present themselves as unique and irreplaceable and induce them to reveal their cultural values, and hence, paradoxically, throw light on stereotypes and shared ideas” (ibid.). Telling about how one has acted in different situations means portraying oneself as one would like to be perceived by others (Arvidsson 1999, 26). Thus the analysis of micro-narratives within a life narrative context can be a fruitful way to examine how the narrators see their lives in relation to cultural norms (Marander-Eklund 2011, 148).

¹² Life story telling can be both oral and written. Thus the theories and methodologies of studying narrated lives have developed within the framework of a close dialogue between literary studies and ethnography. The concepts and definitions (which are often confusing) vary from one field and researcher to another (see Bertaux 1981; Arvidsson 1998, 8). “Autobiography” refers primarily to a written text and “life story” or “life narrative” to orally transmitted material (see for example Arvidsson 1998, 8). In contrast to a “life history”, which is often characterized as an objective review by others, a “life story” and a “life narrative” emphasize the narrator’s own words (see Titon 1980; Watson & Watson-Franke 1985; Gubrium 1993; Chase 2005, 652). In addition to this division, many other differences in emphasis exist. According to the anthropologists James L. Peacock and Dorothy C. Holland, the term “life history” connotes that the narrative is true (1993, 368). In her study of Holocaust survivors, the folklorist Ilana Rosen (2008) preferred the term “life history” over “life narrative” because, in her view, “it keeps alive the ties between history and story” and offers a “balance between the individual and the masses that he or she is part of and inevitably represents”. In the context of this study, I use the terms “life story” and “life narrative” as synonyms when referring to my analysis of orally produced research material. I also wish to emphasize the connections between personal narrative and narrative models.

¹³ Folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund (2011) uses the term micro-narrative (originally *mikro-narrativ* in Swedish) to refer to personal narratives and anecdotes of written autobiographical material. In similar vein, micro-narratives have also been called “stories within a story” (Linde 1993). I have chosen to refer to them as micro-narratives because the term embodies the idea that they are produced within a larger framework of life narratives and in the context of life narrative interviews (see also Marander-Eklund 2011).

Societal changes taking place within the course of her life have made Elsa reflect on her place in the world. Throughout my analysis, I will place Elsa Koskinen's experiences against the larger socio-historical framework: the social conditions and circumstances in which she operated. I will analyze both the narrated world and the narrated self and thus explore the relationship between cultural meanings and individual understanding. In Chapters Three (A Working Woman: The Negotiation of Gendered Ideals) and Four (Social Class: Identification and Distinction) I seek to illustrate how the dynamics of class and gender within the family, the working community and the factory village appear in Elsa's life narrative. What did Elsa say about family and gender roles, women's place, the opportunities for education and her choice of career? How did she narrate the social dynamics of the factory community and position herself within its hierarchies and divisions? In Chapter 3 I also reflect on sexuality and femininity and their relation to classed position and age, since all of these play a central role in negotiating gendered ideals. Chapter 4, which focuses primarily on the classed dynamics and differences within the worker community, on the other hand, addresses questions related to social identities. In Chapter Five (Change and Continuity in a Life Narrative), I explore Elsa's reactions and reflect on changes that occurred within the social environment, working community, and everyday life. I will also analyze the transformation in Elsa's narrated self: the different selves at different ages, all of whom, interestingly, emerged in the context of narratives related to travel. Both of these seemingly different topics illuminate the use of narrative strategies in negotiating subjectivity and agency in the course of social change. Furthermore, they provide insights into the layers of spatiality and temporality of life narrative practice.

My intimate relationship with Elsa produced rich data in which Elsa reflects on confusing and painful experiences in her life. This research material, coupled with my knowledge of Elsa's life and personality offers insights into the complex positioning process of the individual in social transformations and the uncertainties created by social mobility, women's emancipation and technological progress – in other words, the process of looking for one's place in a changing world. The analysis of micro-narratives embedded in the interview dialogues will offer a methodological tool for studying the ways in which the narrator positions herself in relation to social changes and deals with the uncertainties created by changing ideals. Examining the conflicting voices within the narratives and between different narratives, and paying attention to the social interaction between the narrator and the interviewee will reveal the factors that have affected the narrator's sense of self.

Elsa's Life Context

The Life of Elsa Koskinen

Elsa Sanelma Kiikkala (later Koskinen) was born on the 26th of April 1927, the seventh of twelve children in a factory worker's family living in the factory community of Inha Ironworks (*Inhan Tehtaant*) in the municipality of Ähtäri, in Southern Ostrobothnia in western Finland. At the time of Elsa's birth, the family had temporarily moved to the centre of the municipality as a result of a lengthy strike and lockout of metalworkers that directly affected her father. Later in the same year, her family, the Kiikkalas, returned to their home in a small one-bedroom flat in a large wooden building owned by the Ironworks which was situated under the shadow of a tall smokestack next to the factory yard. The village of Inha Ironworks consisted of several housing areas and some farmland owned by the factory. Elsa tells how in her childhood, people gathered on the steps of the factory workers' multi-dwelling buildings to chat and exchange the latest news and gossip, and to listen to the tales told by the elderly people. This is how Elsa heard many stories and learned about the lives of older women and other worker families in her community.



PHOTO 1: Multi-dwelling houses in Hamarimäki, the residential area where Elsa's family lived in her childhood. Photo taken in the 1920s by Gustav Welin. Courtesy of the Archives of Fiskars Inhantehtaant Ltd.

In early-20th-century Finland, it was usually the fathers of worker families who were the wage-earners, while the mothers stayed at home to rear the children. Besides working in the factory, Elsa's father had to do various side jobs to support his family, and her mother was kept busy maintaining the household and rearing the growing number of children. All of the children,

including Elsa, went to school, but owing to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, when Elsa was 12 years old, her class never got to complete even the six years of elementary education which were compulsory at the time. Instead, Elsa had to start earning money. First she worked as a maid servant in local middle-class families, and then, at the age of fifteen, she began working on the horseshoe line at Inha Ironworks (see Appendix 2). After the war, Elsa, unlike her siblings, ended up staying in the Ironworks community, and she married a workman named Eino Koskinen. Elsa and Eino had four children, one of whom died in infancy. Thus Elsa was born into a family of workers. She learned about physical work at an early age, performing household chores, carrying firewood and water, cooking and cleaning, assisting her father at logging sites, biking long distances to buy food on the black market during the war and finally taking up factory work as a low-level assistant, or as she called it *sällin sälli* (a “dogsbodys dogsbodys”). In this way, Elsa assumed not only the social but also the physical identity of a worker, dressing in dirty overalls and performing hard physical labour carrying boxes of horse shoes and later operating the machines that formed, cut, and stamped iron products. However, times gradually changed, and so did her social position as the wife of a man who had climbed the social ladder when, in the late 1960s, the factory invested in new technologies. Machines replaced physical work, and new professionals were needed to design and use them. Elsa’s husband, Eino, educated himself through correspondence courses and became first a foreman and then a production manager. This meant that Elsa could have claimed the relatively high status as a manager’s wife who did not need to work. After the children reached adolescence, however, she made instead a decision to go back to the low-status physical work of the production line, working at first only in the summer but later full-time again. This corresponds to the prevailing situation: by the end of 1960s, the majority of married women had made their way to wage labour (Haavio-Mannila 1968). In my analysis, I analyze how Elsa represented her life in retrospect, how she viewed her life trajectory and possibilities, and how she justified the different choices she made.

Today, Elsa is a widow and continues to live in the municipality of Ähtäri in her own one-bedroom flat in the municipal centre, far away from the old ironworks. She has told me how she reminisces about the old factory village almost every day. She is a skilled narrator, and she tells colourful stories about her life at the ironworks, mostly to members of her own family, but if given a chance, she also shares them with other audiences such as doctors, nurses and home-care staff or visiting friends. According to Elsa, she began telling stories when she was no longer able to write. This happened when she was in her 70s and was diagnosed with breast cancer. Surgery and radiology left her right arm too sore to handle a pen. Until that time, Elsa had exchanged letters with

her sisters, recounting her life experiences and sharing various memorable events, strange situations, humorous accounts and high spots in her life. After writing became difficult, Elsa began telling about her life to me, her only female grandchild. I have been her main audience since 2001, when I decided to record her stories to use them in my academic studies.

Inha Ironworks – the Factory Village

Industrialization began fairly late in Finland, in the latter half of the 19th century, but it advanced rapidly. Consequently, in the first half of the 20th century, Finland was an industrialized but predominantly agrarian nation (Soikkanen 1981, 445; Haapala 1986, 12–15).¹⁴ Unlike in certain other countries, where industrialization caused rapid urbanization and impoverishment, in Finland industrial labour offered – albeit inadequately – a stable living for some landless rural inhabitants whose numbers had been growing owing to a population increase that had continued throughout the 19th century and which the capacity of agriculture was unable to sustain. Along with the five largest industrial centres (Helsinki, Turku, Tampere, Kymijoki and Ylä-Vuoksi) and smaller industrial foci and towns, there also existed numerous small factory communities in the Finnish countryside, and Inha Ironworks was one such rural industrial unit. (Haapala 1995, 62–65.)

Inha Ironworks (*Inha Bruk*) was founded in 1841 on the shores of the River Inha.¹⁵ In the beginning, it was a small rural factory producing raw iron from scrap metal and lake ore. In addition to the ironworks, there was also a sawmill nearby. All this was typical for the industrial communities of the 19th century.¹⁶ In 1883, a railway stop was created in the nearby Inha village and in 1887, the railway station was opened (Viertola 1991, 23). The factories and the village increased in size at the end of the 19th century and drew people from surrounding areas. From 1884 on, both the ironworks and the sawmill were owned and run by a Swedish engineer named August

¹⁴ At the turn of the century, the majority of Finns lived off the forest and the land. Between 1890 and 1910, the amount of industrial workers increased from 35 000 to 128 000 (from 5 % to 12%) of the population/work force. In the 1920s and 1930s, the amount of industrial workers grew significantly (more than doubled). However, in 1940, farming still employed more people than industry (Alapuro 1980, 61, 78, 81, 87–88.)

¹⁵ The River Inha gave its name to the ironworks. Later, the name appeared in the names of two villages in the municipality of Ähtäri. The village that formed around Inha Ironworks is officially called “Inhantehta” on the map. The other village, which sprung up around the railway station of Inha, is located five kilometres away at the other end of Lake Hankavesi and carries the name “Inha”. The locals often call this other location “Inhan asema” (Inha station).

¹⁶ The first Finnish ironworks were established in the 17th and 18th centuries. Inha Ironworks was founded during the second wave of the Finnish iron industry when small ironworks were established in the lake areas of central and eastern Finland (Salokorpi 1999).

Nilsson Keirkner, locally known as the *Patruuna*.¹⁷ The *Patruuna* invested in new technology such as steam engines, and the factory started to process iron into bolts, spikes and horseshoes mainly for domestic markets.¹⁸

In addition to developing the industry, Keirkner also contributed to the life of the workers by founding a school in 1889 and constructing a generator for the village (*Rautainen tarina* 1991, 15, 30). The factory built several multi-dwelling houses for the workers around the turn of the century. These houses formed two residential areas on either side of the River Inha: Hamarimäki, which was adjacent to the factory yard, and Inhan puoli, which lay on the other side of the river. The workers had the opportunity to cultivate land and keep farm animals such as cows and pigs. Firewood for cooking and heating was cut directly from the factory-owned forest. The workers could do their shopping in the factory's shop (ibid. 31–32). Next to the factory yard, there was also a common baking house and two separate saunas for workers and members of the managerial classes. The workers could go to the sauna and bathe at the end of the working week before Sunday. The saunas at Inha were used collectively, and there were separate sauna days for women (Fridays) and men (Saturdays). Managerial-class families had a private bathing time scheduled for each family. The official history of Inha Ironworks as well as popular historical writings by local historians¹⁹ describe the old Inha Ironworks factory community and its activities with nostalgia, painting a picture of a harmonious and well-organized village. As in other industrial communities, the Inha Ironworks factory community was organized around a hierarchy that placed people in different categories. From top to bottom, those would be: the *Patruuna*, the upper management and office staff, teachers, storekeepers and shop assistants, blacksmiths, carpenters, foremen, workers, stockmen, and their

¹⁷ The Finnish word *patruuna* has no exact equivalent in English: it is used to refer to the typical 19th-century patriarchal and often paternalistic factory-owner.

¹⁸ In 1895, Keirkner ceased producing iron from lake ore and built a new Siemens-Martin steam furnace. In addition, he started nail and stack production lines (Hahne 1994, 51; *Rautainen tarina* 1991, 24–27). A new horseshoe line was started in 1901. In 1915, Inha Ironworks signed a contract to produce horseshoes for the Finnish Army. Finnish Railways ordered spikes from Inha factory starting from the beginning of 1920s (*Rautainen tarina*, 24; Hahne 1994, 76–77, 79).

¹⁹ The history of the Inha Ironworks community *Rautainen tarina* [The story of iron] (1991), is a brief history of the facility published to celebrate the 150th anniversary of its founding. It was produced by a company called Kynämies Kyriiri Ky, and the author's name is not mentioned. Historical writings by local amateur historians include a history *Inhan ruukkiyhdyksunta 1833–1964* [Inha Ironworks community 1833–1964] by Reino Hahne (1994) and the memoirs of Matti Ranta *Aikamatka ruukinelämään* [A journey in time into the life of the Ironworks] (2006). Both Hahne and Ranta were former employees of the Ironworks. Another text that concerns Inha Ironworks is the history of the local branch of the metalworkers' trade union *Inhan metallityöväen ammattiosasto 51 100 vuotta* [The Inha Metalworkers' Union, Branch no. 51, 100 years] (2009) by Irja Suihko, which I will henceforth refer to as "IMA".

handymen. In 1910, the number of residents in the area was the highest in its history, almost 900, of which approximately 450 worked at the ironworks (Hahne 1994, 16).²⁰

During the first decade and a half of the 20th century, when the semi-autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland was still part of the Russian Empire, the Finnish political system was passing through an unstable phase of democratization and modernization. The Finnish people had experienced a rapid growth in population, industrialization, improvements to the economy, and a rising standard of living. These changes caused growing economic divisions, which led to the rise of a widespread labour movement. At the beginning of the 20th century, the workers of Inha, too, organized and started to engage in various labour-movement-related activities in the fields of culture and politics. A worker's association (*Inhan Työväenyhdistys*) was founded in 1904, and a workers' hall (*Inhan Työväentalo*), often referred to as just “*talo*”, (“the Hall”), was built in 1907. In 1909, the Inha Branch of the Metalworkers' Union was founded (*Inhan metallityöväen ammattiosasto*), which at that time was the eighth oldest unionized sector in Finland (*Rautainen tarina* 1990 30; IMA 2009, 5).

The national awakening of the 19th century still resonated in Finland at the beginning of the 20th century. However, economic, social, and political divisions in Finland, mainly between the Whites (conservative nationalists, mainly landowners) and the Reds (socialists and communists, mainly crofters and agrarian and industrial workers), were deepening.²¹ The February and October Revolutions of 1917 led to the collapse of the Russian Empire during the last years of the First World War. Russia withdrew from the war, and the chaos that ensued in Russia itself brought about the end of the Grand Duchy of Finland and the collapse of the Finnish government, the armed forces, the economy and the social order (Haapala 1995, 151–156). In 1917, Finland declared its independence from Russia. The Whites and the Reds fell into disagreement and competed for leadership of the Finnish state. Both sides began forming paramilitary armed groups, the White Guards and the Red Guards. Finally, the turmoil led to a bloody civil war in the early months of 1918. The Whites won the war three months later, but not before approximately 40,000 people had perished. Most of the victims of the war died far from the battlefields, in mass executions or in war detainment camps. Three quarters of the dead were Red combatants and sympathizers. I have not been able to obtain a clear picture of what happened at Inha in 1918. No military action took place

²⁰ In 1910, Ähtäri had 5991 residents of which 9,9 per cent were industrial workers. During the years 1911-1915, Inha ironworks employed approximately 120–160 people (Viertola 1991, 18–19, 28).

²¹ The divisions varied locally. In rural Ostrobothnia, for example, many crofters who wished to become independent farmers supported the Whites (see Norrena 1993).

in Ähtäri, but because of their ideological views some workers at Inha Ironworks lost their jobs, and approximately ten worker activists were sent to prison camps.²²

Social relations over the next decade were marked by a deep division; there was bitterness on both sides, and the position of the losers, the Reds, was especially difficult. The boundaries between the Whites and the Reds were visible in everyday life: the workers representing the Reds, for example, bought groceries in consumer co-ops rather than white-owned shops, had their own cultural and sports activities and their own halls for cultural activities (see for example Peltonen 1996, 17–19; Peltonen 2003, 308). In 1923, *Inhan Taimi*, the Inha workers' sports club, was established. The members consisted of workers of different ages, from young working-class athletes to older union activists. The early years of the sports club were unstable: it was suspected of training Red Guards, one of the paramilitary units that earlier, in the years of the Civil War, had engaged in military actions on the side of the Reds.²³ Right after the war, trade unions had been abolished and their activities prohibited. In their place, "industrial councils" (*teollisuusneuvosto*) were established to negotiate terms between workers and employers.²⁴

During the First World War, *Patruuna* Keirkner fell ill, and in 1917 he sold the factory to Albert Lindsey von Julin (1871–1944), the Managing Director of the Fiskars group. The ironworks was turned into a corporation named "Inhan Tehtaat". Keirkner and his wife moved to Helsinki and devoted themselves to collecting art. He died soon afterwards in 1918 (*Rautainen tarina*, 34). Julin never resided in Inha. The era of the local factory *patruuna* had come to an end. After 1917, the factory was managed by Reinhold Amberg, Keirkner's former technical manager. At the end of the 1920s, there were approximately 120 homes and 600 residents in the Inha Ironworks village (IMA 2009, 15).²⁵ The cultural life of the Ironworks village in the 1920s was particularly active. Villagers could enjoy plays put on by the Inha Workers' Theatre (*Inhan työväennäyttämö*), the amateur actors and actresses of which were young factory workers. In 1920, the Inha Workers' Theatre engaged a director on a monthly salary and also began touring in the surrounding villages. In addition to visits by other theatre groups and musicians, a travelling cinema paid visits to Inha. The village received its own fixed cinema, *Bio Bio*, in 1925. In 1924, the workers' association bought a radio and invited villagers to listen to the news and the Sunday service on it. Other free-time activities included

²² Työväenyhdistys 25 vuotta. Text by Juho Kask. The Finnish Labour Archives / Inha worker's association (*Inhan Työväenyhdistys*) / folder 2. Despite this, 23 Reds were executed in Ähtäri (Viertola 1991, 45).

²³ The minutes of the meeting of *Inhan Taimi* 1923–1930 (Sport Archives / Inhan Taimi / folder 1).

²⁴ The number of the Inha industrial council was 24. In 1930, the council was abolished, and a new Inha Metalworkers' Union branch was formed, the number of which was 51 (IMA 2009, 13).

²⁵ In 1925, the average residential density in Inha was four persons to a room (IMA 2009, 12).

sewing bees, sports competitions (cycling, skiing), a male choir and children's parties (Hahne 1994, 138–139).

Politically and economically, the 1920s was a difficult time for most of the workers and their families. In 1927, a lockout followed a strike by the Metalworkers' Union and lasted over six months, as a result of which production was halted for 30 weeks. More than 9000 workers had joined the strike across 53 factories. During the lockout, sixteen factories evicted 1289 workers and their family members from their homes (Koivisto 1963), and 59 families were evicted from Inha (IMA 51 2009, 15). The first signs of the Great Depression began to appear in Finland at the end of the 1920s. The demand for timber decreased, and in 1930, Inha Sawmill was closed. In 1930 and 1931, the workers of Inha Ironworks worked only four days a week. The production of the Ironworks began to recover in 1932 (*Rautainen tarina*, 39, 41–42). At the end of the 1930s, the sudden outbreak of the Second World War brought changes to production in the factory as well as to the everyday life of the people living in the ironworks village. In 1938, war mobilization closed the village school. Young men were called up to serve in the Finnish Army on the Russian frontier, and women replaced them in the factory. Inha Ironworks served the war industry producing horseshoes and sled runners for the Finnish Army. The factory area was guarded, and its buildings, especially the foundry, were camouflaged with tree branches on the roofs to so they could not be detected by hostile aircraft. A significant number of the factory's young male workers died at the front in both the Winter War (1939–40) and the Continuation War (1941–44) (*Rautainen tarina* 39, 41; Hahne 1994, 86).

In 1943, the factory was absorbed into the Fiskars group, a large industrial corporation owned by A.L. von Julin. In 1942, Inha Ironworks celebrated its centenary. Owing to the ongoing Continuation War, the celebration did not take place until a year later. The festivities were held in the yard of Corps de logis, the manor house built by the former *Patruuna* Keirkner. A. L. von Julin was present, and workers who had served the factory for a long time were rewarded with medals of honour. After the war, manufacturing continued at Inha. Scrap metal was abundantly available at a low price. When the older methods of producing iron became unprofitable, the Fiskars Corporation decided to invest in new technology at Inha and to transfer there the whole production line of the Kellokoski factory in Tuusula. In the 1960s, modern steel and aluminium production lines were installed (*Rautainen tarina* 1991, 34; 41–43). New items produced by the Inha factory included hinges and thin metal products such as radiators and lockers. In the 1970s, the Fiskars Corporation moved aluminium boat production from the Kellokoski factory in Tuusula to Inha (ibid. 45). Along

with technological advances and automation, more women began to work not only on the production lines of *Inhan Tehtaat* but also in managerial positions.

Factory Workers' Families

Histories of ironworks and other factories are family histories. In many Finnish industrial communities of the 19th and early 20th centuries, factory companies provided not only income but also dwellings and other necessities for the entire families, including the children, of their workers.²⁶ This was also the case with the worker families of Inha in the early 20th century, including the childhood families of both Elsa and her husband Eino. Their fathers worked in the factory and their mothers were homemakers. The families lived in dwellings owned by the factory. Elsa's father Kaarle (Kalle) Kiikkala (1883–1948) had been born on a small farm in a village near the factory. His family had a large number of children, and the farm could not support all of them. Thus at an early age, Kaarle went to work at Inha Ironworks. In 1916, he married Hilda (Hilta) Hauta-aho (1892), the daughter of a land-owning peasant from the village of Ähtärinranta about 30 kilometres from the Ironworks village. By the time Elsa was born, Kaarle and Hilda already had six children. In the 1920s, Kalle Kiikkala worked in the foundry of the Ironworks.²⁷ In order to support his growing family, he also had to do side jobs. He worked, for example, as a cobbler mending shoes and harnesses.

The father of Elsa's husband Eino was Vihtori Koskinen (1888–1964). He, too, had worked at the Inha factory since his early youth. He had five children, three of whom, including Eino (1926–1989), were from his third marriage to Rauha Paananen (1891–). His previous wives had died in epidemics. Vihtori was known to be knowledgeable man. He had, for example, travelled to America, and was actively involved in the local Workers' Association (*työväenyhdistys*) and the trade union branch (*ammattiosasto*).²⁸ Vihtori was well-known and highly respected in the worker community for his diplomacy and negotiation skills. He was chairman of the Inha Industrial Council (*Inhan teollisuusneuvosto*), the institution that replaced the prohibited trade unions after the Civil War of 1918. He served as chairman of the Inha branch of the Metalworkers' Union from 1936 to 1944, and later became the first shop steward at Inha Ironworks (IMA 51 2009, 15). In

²⁶ The factories also depended on a skilled work force, so the relations between workers and factories could best be described as mutual interdependence (Koskinen 1993, 18; Kortelainen 2008, 162).

²⁷ There is a picture of Kaarlo Kiikkala and accompanying caption in Hahne 1994, 60.

²⁸ Vihtori was a member of the board of the Workers' Association for 35 years (1914–49), as secretary to the board in 1919–21 and 1929, and as president in 1922, 1930–32, 1936–40, and 1949. *Kertomus Inhan TY:n toiminnasta 50 vuoden ajalta*. TyArk: Inhan TY: kansio 2.

1942, he made a speech at the centenary celebrations of Inha Ironworks and received a medal of honour for his service at the factory. In 1960, Vihtori also received a gold medal from the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions (*Suomen ammattijärjestöjen keskusliitto, SAK*).



PHOTO 2: Vihtori Koskinen gives a speech in 1942 at the centenary celebrations of the Inha Ironworks. Courtesy of the Archives of Fiskars Inhantehtaat Ltd.

Despite the fact that both Elsa and Eino were born into factory workers' families, their backgrounds and especially their fathers' positions and the sizes of their families were different. Elsa's father was an ordinary worker, whereas Eino's father was an activist and a man who occupied positions of trust. Both Elsa and Eino started working in the factory at a young age and continued to live in the ironworks village. Together they started a family. Their careers, however, took different directions owing to gender roles, societal changes and personal choices. As already mentioned, worker's families typically lived close to the factories. This spatial intimacy continued until the phase of structural change in the 1950s and the 1960s, which in many communities were deindustrialized. Technology and society developed quickly when the economy recovered after the Second World War, and population growth, the increasing use of new technologies in agriculture and forestry, and rapid urbanization affected the rural factory communities and the countryside in general. The change was driven by the demands of the global economy and capitalism. Soon, many former industrial communities de-industrialized or were transformed into modern suburbs without a homogeneous social composition and common social activities, and Inha was one such.²⁹ Elsa Koskinen, her husband and their children lived through this change. Eino and Elsa worked at *Inhan Tehtaat* until 1984. Their daughter Raija (b. 1948) and their sons Asko (b. 1952), and Simo (b. 1959) moved away from the village to study. Raija was 16 when she started her studies in a

²⁹ For more on the process and experience of deindustrialization, see for example Koskinen 1987; Ahvenisto 2008; Kortelainen 2008.

commercial college (*Kauppaopisto*) in Vaasa. Elsa and Eino, who had thus far lived in dwellings owned by the factory, retired in 1984 and bought an apartment in the municipal centre of Ähtäri. Eino died in 1989.

Previous Research

Studies of the Everyday Life of Workers and the Working Class

Historical studies of industrialization recount the rises and falls of industrial communities, companies, and technologies. They also touch upon human lives, those of industrial worker families and individual people. In the 1960s, historians interested in “history from below” redefined and expanded the study of labour history to explore the agency and activity of working people in their jobs, in protest movements and in social and cultural activities. The historian E.P. Thompson’s study *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), in which he studied workers and their social life from an experiential perspective, has been regarded as an important turning point in this type of research and a key to understanding the working-class experience (Peltonen 2009, 13). Thompson defined the term “working class” in a new way, not as a structure, but rather as a process, something that is experienced in the social relationships of everyday life and created by those who experienced the structural divisions of labour. Soon after, a new type of social history, which included oral history and micro-history, arose from an interest in the everyday life experiences of ordinary subjects, whose perspectives had been excluded from official institution-oriented and document-based history. Oral history has given a voice to many marginal groups who have not previously been studied, including workers and the working class.³⁰ At first, however, the study of workers and the working class concentrated on those who were active in the labour movement. According to Luisa Passerini (1988, 6–7), the worker’s subjectivity was “thought of as automatically political and not liable to manipulation or ambiguity”. Furthermore, in Passerini’s view, interviews with working-class activists tended to concentrate on the political activities of these – often male – persons and neglected their private life, childhood, and family life. Feminist oral history has in part corrected this bias and has contributed significantly to studies of the private lives of both activists and ordinary workers (ibid. 41–42). In the 1970s, scholars of women’s studies and oral historians focused on interviewing women (Leydesdorff, Passerini & Thompson 1996, 5–

³⁰ The first oral history project in Finland was carried out by historian Jorma Kalela. His history of paper mill workers (Kalela 1986) was created in collaboration with the workers themselves and followed ideas from history workshops attended by British oral historians.

6; Tuomaala 2006a, 274). Their work, which continued in the 1980s, emphasized the subjective dimension of history and culture and recognized the significance of everyday patterns of behaviour, experience and personal feeling as important sources of information about the past.³¹

The discipline of ethnology was established to document the surviving features of the agrarian tradition and life style, in a word, *folk* culture. It was not until after the Second World War that the field came to include the everyday life of industrial workers and their culture. In Sweden, *Nordiska Museet* began to collect workers' written biographies in the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1970s, "the hidden history" (*den dolda historia*) of workers' lives became a popular subject of research among Swedish ethnologists and historians (Arvidsson 1998, 9–10) and in the 1980s, Swedish ethnologists conducted several studies on workers and the working class.³² Already in the 1960s, Estonian-Finnish ethnologist Ilmar Talve began documenting life and work in different industrial communities in Finland, especially in fields of industry that were about to vanish in the face of technological advances.³³ Since the end of the 1980s, several interesting ethnological studies have been carried out on various groups of workers in 20th-century Finland. Virpi Nurmi (1989) has examined occupation, community and lifestyle among glassworkers; Hanna Snellman (1996) has studied lumberjacks in Finnish Lapland, Sanna-Kaisa Spoo (1997) has examined the brickyard as a social and physical environment, and Eero Sappinen (2000) has researched the everyday life of working-class people. In these studies, workers narrated how they coped with social change, new life styles, innovations, mobility and urbanization. More recent ethnological studies have focused on the life stories of both skilled and unskilled forest workers with regard to changes in their occupations and education and gender and generational differences (Paaskoski 2008; Suopajarvi 2009).

As in ethnology, early folklore scholarship also represented folk culture and folk, the (agrarian) common people, as uncomplicated and apolitical, ignoring their involvement in political activism and failing to address the existence of possible conflicts between the social classes (Abrahams 1993; Salmi-Niklander 2004, 36). In Finland, folklorists and oral historians have studied the

³¹ In Finland, gender historians have made significant contributions to studies of the everyday lives of worker families and female workers (see for example Laine & Markkola 1989; Markkola 1994; Lähteenmäki 1995).

³² See for example Ehn 1981; Skarin Frykman 1987 and 1990; Frykman & Löfgren 1985; Arvastson 1987; Ambjörsson 1988.

³³ It is important to note that political and cultural attitudes towards working-class history changed in Finland in the 1960s. In this process, the legacy of the Civil War of 1918 came to be re-evaluated and the experiences of the losing side, the Reds, were given prominence alongside the earlier interpretations, which had been based on the perspective of the victorious Whites. One sign of the change was that several Finnish archives started collecting working-class people's oral traditions and experiences related to the Civil War of 1918 (Peltonen 1996, 14–18).

collective memories and traditions of the working class since the 1990s.³⁴ In her pioneering work on the narrative tradition of the Finnish working-class after the Civil War of 1918, Ulla-Maija Peltonen (1996) combined the perspectives of oral history and folklore studies in examining its memorial traditions of the working class in relation to the interpretations of the victorious White side, and discussed the proletariat's use of folklore as a counterculture and a form of argumentation.³⁵ Jyrki Pöysä (1997) studied the cultural categorization of the lumberjack, analyzing the representations of forestry workers in folklore and in popular culture. Pöysä demonstrated how the category altered along with changes in forestry. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander (2004) examined the literary traditions of working-class youth in Karkkila during the 1910s and 1920s. Analyzing the writings of young working-class activists in hand-written magazines, she identified the narrative strategies and gender-specific expression of male and female writers of this community.

In addition to studies of archived working-class culture, folklorists have also carried out interviews and ethnographic fieldwork among former workers. Taina Ukkonen (2000), who took part in a history project dealing with the labour movement in Turku, carried out her own oral history project on female shipyard workers who had taken part in trade union activities. In addition to personal interviews, Ukkonen conducted group interviews among the women and investigated the process by which they produced their own history both as a group and as individuals. Ukkonen's study sheds light on the personal experiences of female shipyard workers and their daily labours, work relations and workplace culture. Kaisu Kortelainen's (2008) study of the recollected narratives of workers at the Penttilä Sawmill in eastern Finland addressed the question of the reconstruction and reproduction of the community in memories and narratives. The Penttilä Sawmill was established in 1871 and closed in 1988. Kortelainen took an ethnographic approach to her subject: she visited the meetings of a club (*perinnekerho*) established after the closure of the sawmill to cherish local traditions, and interviewed a large number of local persons and families whose members of different generations had experienced life in the factory community at different periods of its existence. In addition, Kortelainen analyzed specific textual and visual materials produced by three former male workers. She examined the articulation of place and time in the factory workers' reminiscences and the roles of the different companies that owned the mill and the proletarian community in the lives of the workers of Penttilä. Kortelainen argued that meanings attached to

³⁴ By contrast, in the United States, studies of the workers' oral culture, which are often called "occupational folklore" or "labourlore" (the folklore of the labour movement), had already started to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s (McCarl 1997).

³⁵ Subsequently, the oral history of the 1918 Civil War has been studied by Outi Fingerroos (2003b) and Anne Heimo (2010).

places and worker's identities continued to be pertinent in people's lives even after the sawmill had closed down.

In studies of workers, working-class culture and factory communities, working-class people are often studied as a more or less homogeneous group who had access to similar possibilities and whose experiences gave rise to shared cultural significances. Many studies have been initiated as oral history projects aimed at representing the history of a professional group or a worker community (e.g. Ukkonen 2000; Kortelainen 2008). There are still very few studies that explore the individual lives and understandings of ordinary female labourers who were not activists of any kind and who had no special role in the community.³⁶ In this study I seek to understand broader historical changes in society from the perspective of an individual female worker. My assumption is that, by studying a so-called "ordinary individual" and everyday life experiences of ethnological interest such as changes of working life, mechanization, gendered dynamics and social hierarchies, this research can deepen our understanding of what it means (and has meant) to be a subject and in this case, a worker, in a changing society. Consequently, I hope that this study will shed light on the everyday life experiences of a female worker, and her experience of belonging to the category of workers, a category which was defined differently from the outside versus the inside, and was based on individual and collective identities.

Narrative and Narrators in Folklore Studies

In the past few decades, narratives have become popular as source materials and a subject of inquiry in different fields, even outside the human and social sciences, where narrative information has been central since the linguistic turn of the 1970s and 1980s. This shift in emphasis, which involved reflection on methods, interpretation and the discursive forms of language used to describe social reality, was a response to a particular historical "climate of antifoundationism, poststructuralism, and/or postmodernism – responses to the breakdown of transcendental truth-claims" (Kreiwirth 1992, 634).

Folklore scholars have long studied how narratives and narrative devices are used in different ways in everyday communication, in passing on oral traditions and beliefs (Klein 2006; Palmenfelt 2006a

³⁶ For exceptions, see Steel 2011 and 2013. By this I mean studies which set out to explore life narratives or biographies of one individual worker woman who was not politically active. Many studies which scrutinize the everyday lives of female industrial workers also introduce examples from the lives of ordinary labourers.

and 2007; Ukkonen & Koski 2007). For a long time, the *genre approach* was the central methodology of folklore studies. It served both theoretical and practical purposes: to define and classify folklore according to form, structure, style and function, all of which facilitated the archiving of research material. Although rigorous and mutually exclusive classification proved impossible and folklorist began to look for new approaches, the genre approach continued to be employed as a significant methodological tool in folklore studies (Ukkonen & Koski 2007).

Prior to adapting the narrative approach to qualitative social inquiry, the field of folklore studies had already experienced its own disciplinary crisis, or “turn”. This paradigm shift in folklore studies involved a change in emphasis from text to context. This shift made visible *the storyteller* or *performer* who actively engages in social interaction with other people, and it inspired folklore scholars to study the repertoires of individual storytellers and the specific cultural expressions of their communities.³⁷ In addition, the contextual approach and new *performance-oriented* methodologies, such as the ethnography of speech, which was developed in the 1970s, produced new topics and new non-traditional genres such as *personal experience narratives* (see for example Stahl 1977; Virtanen 1982). At first, genre-oriented folklore studies struggled with the definition of personal narratives. Sandra Dolby Stahl (1977) was one of the first scholars to define personal narratives, which she called narratives of personal experience: dramatic, truth-based and presented in the first-person. Other scholars were not as strict about the first-person form but rather underlined the personal significance of the narratives for the narrator.³⁸

The narrative turn has influenced folklore studies through the theories and methods developed by different approaches to narrative. *Narratology* is a branch of *literary* studies that focuses on the *theoretical* analysis of narrative and narrative *structures* (narrative texts) (see for example Bal 2009 [1985]).³⁹ The so-called *narrative inquiry of the social sciences* has explored in particular narratives of *personal experience*, their contents, themes and structures as well as questions related to the narrative construction of the mind and the self.⁴⁰ Lately, some researchers have taken an interest in narrative environments and in brief stories in everyday communication (see for example Georgakopoulou 2007; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008; Gubrium & Holstein 2011). In the 1980s, folklore scholars focused on distinguishing and defining narratives and also analyzed the

³⁷ See for example Pentikäinen 1971; Paredes & Bauman 1972; Siikala 1984; Briggs 1988; Bauman 1977 and 1986; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1989.

³⁸ See for example Dégh 1995, 73–78, 131–132; Virtanen 1982; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1989, 11–113; Aro 1996, 50.

³⁹ Narratology was born in the 1960s under the influence of French post-structuralism and semiotics as well as the earlier work of Russian formalists.

⁴⁰ Narrative psychology, for example, has been interested in the role of narratives in the construction of the inner and the relational self (e.g. Polkinghorne 1988; McAdams 1993; Gergen 1991; Hänninen 1999).

styles and tendencies of individual narrators (see for example Siikala 1984; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1989). They also began to consider the relations between life, experience and narrative, and the ways in which personal identities are constructed through narration.⁴¹ For example, Patrick B. Mullen's (1992) work on the *life narratives* of elderly people, in which he explored the ways in which they use folk traditions to express themselves, draws its inspiration from the idea that folklore can function as a resource for expressing personal identities. In his study, Mullen presented nine narrators and analyzed their personalities, life narrative repertoires, life histories and place in their local communities. He identified the central themes and modes of expression that reflected the narrators' identities, engagement with their respective communities and the interviewer, and their attitudes to life. In Finland, the folklorist Laura Aro (1996) studied the *identity narratives* of six villagers whom she had earlier interviewed for a study that concerned the experiences of post-war changes in three different villages. In addition to analyzing the core elements of the identity narratives, Aro examined the emergence of narratives in the interview dialogue.

It has been argued that in Finland, the interest in narrative and narration has shifted the emphasis of folklore studies from analyzing structures and styles of expression towards biographical and oral history approaches (Ukkonen & Koski 2007).⁴² In that respect, it can be argued that the present study follows this trend, as my concern here is to explore how an individual person uses narratives to construct her identity and to communicate how she experienced a changing society. My research will, however, draw on both of the perspectives discussed above: it will analyze both the textual features of the research material (e.g. narrative structures and strategies, expressive language, the language of experience) and its contexts (e.g. the narrator's social environment and the interview situation). Thus both the ethnographic analysis of situational storytelling and the textual analysis of narratives are relevant for my research, which seeks to develop new methodological tools for the analysis of individual narrators' repertoires.

⁴¹ For example see Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1989a; Ukkonen 2000; Klein 2006; Ukkonen & Koski 2007.

⁴² For recent studies of narratives and narration using an oral history and biographical approach, see for example Latvala 2005; Haanpää 2008; Savolainen 2009; Heimo 2010.

Perspectives and Conceptual Tools

“Narrating constitutes some of the prime ways known to human beings to communicate their experiences” (Klein 2006, 9).

The Life Narrative as a Negotiation of Subjectivity

A life narrative is a process of reminiscing and interpreting: the formation of explanations regarding a person’s past life (Saresma 2007, 100). In this process, the narrator (re)constructs and interprets past experiences for and with the listener, using different narrative elements and devices that are characteristic of the narrator’s culture and social circles (Worthington 1996, 13; Aro 1996, 48; Saastamoinen 2000, 135; Stark 2006c, 84). Oral life narratives are endless, open to constant reformulation, and never complete. They can be told differently to different people and on different occasions (Mullen 1992, 15; see also Linde 1993 and Sawin 2004). However, in order to answer questions about human life, history, culture, society, etc., researchers capture these stories, interview people and assemble variants of the lives that are being retold. These encapsulated images projected by the narrator show how people see themselves and their lives and how they want others to see them (Mullen 1992, 7). In other words, life narratives portray us as the agents we want to be (Stark 2006c, 19). Thus, life narratives enable us to scrutinize both personal reflections as well as shared mentalities and help us to better understand the process through which people position themselves in relation to others (see also Ehn 1992, 216).

The role of life narrative in bringing together the life experiences from different life phases and in negotiating the meaning of one’s existence offers the narrator a chance to (re)define the self. This self-reflexivity is seen to be one of the defining elements of post-modern subjectivity, distinct from earlier predetermined, fixed social identities (Giddens 1990; Hall 2001). The new reflexive self is by no means freed from social forces but is rather embedded in them in different ways than previously, and is surrounded by a number of potential narrative models and discourses.

I approach the life story as a process of negotiating *subjectivity*⁴³, the conditions of being a subject formed by a history of lived experiences, varying social contexts and subject positions (Ronkainen

⁴³ It is noteworthy that in English, "subjectivity" can have two rather different meanings: 1) the state of being a subject and 2) the quality of being subjective (versus objective). I use the word in both senses. In this introductory chapter and in my analysis, I refer to subjectivity in the former sense. However, I use it in the latter sense in Chapter 2 to describe

1999, 30). I am interested in the ways in which lived experience, time and space construct the self and enable certain kinds of agency⁴⁴. The concept of subjectivity draws our attention to the performativity of storytelling in constructing the narrator's self and identity.⁴⁵ Feminist scholar Sidonie Smith (1998, 108–109) has suggested that instead of seeing autobiographical storytelling as expressing an already existing interiority, we should treat it as a means of constructing the self. Subjectivity would thus be understood as situated, momentary and fragmentary (ibid.). In the same vein, when talking about subjectivity or the self, I do not assume a coherent self. Some scholars emphasize the coherent self as an eligible and healthy subject agent (see for example McIntyre 1985). This view has been criticized, among other reasons, on account of the requirement of closure and oneness that it entails (see for example Löyttyniemi 2004, 69). Most researchers, however, agree that narrative form tends to construct coherence and offers an arena for negotiating contradicting life experiences and/or major changes and the passing of time (Ricoeur 1992). In doing so, life story telling helps the narrator to accept the chaos and fragmentariness of life (Löyttyniemi 2004, 68–70; Stark 2006c, 84–85). Often, life stories deal with some unresolved conflicts in a person's life and help to negotiate new meanings for her/his existence (see Mullen 1992, 16; Frank 1997; Shuman 2005, 9).

Instead of a coherent self, this study sets out to explore *the dialogic self*. In the act of telling, the self undergoes an internal division: the current narrating self and the past selves enter into a dialogue with each other.⁴⁶ At the same time, life story telling is integrative; it brings together the different selves establishing a continuum between life experiences. The narration of childhood experiences, for example, enables the current adult self to meet the childhood self. The concept of *narrative identity* has been created to express more precisely the aspect of the self as constructed in storytelling.⁴⁷ Narrative identity is about building a sense of self and personhood by means of narratives: in other words, “an adequate understanding of our own identity requires a narrative account of who we are and how we came to be that way” (Stark 2006c, 83). In my view, this narrative identity consists of different voices that at times may contradict each other (see also

the nature of my research material and process. The Finnish language distinguishes between these two meanings with two different terms: *subjektiviteetti* refers to the former meaning and *subjektiivisuus* to the latter.

⁴⁴ In this research, the term agency signifies two dimensions: positioning in relation to social structures and becoming a unique person/self. Agency is thus understood as an ongoing dialogue between relatedness and autonomy. In the context of this research, agency is primarily *narrated agency*, produced through language and narration (see also Saresma 2007, 192).

⁴⁵ Identity and self come very close to the concept of subjectivity. Identity emphasizes the public aspect of self-representation and belonging, whereas self refers to subject's own conception of his/her qualities. In my view, the process of negotiating subjectivity entails both dimensions. But unlike self or identity, subjectivity does not imply unity or sameness but rather highlights the multivocality and situatedness of the narrating subject.

⁴⁶ Olney 1980, 247; Komulainen 1998; Skultans 1998, 33; Tuomaala 2004, 313, 339; Saresma 2007, 105–106.

⁴⁷ Ricoeur 1991, 195; Widdershoven 1993; Aro 1996, 51; Löyttyniemi 2004, 17–18, 62–64; Sääskilähti 2012, 55.

Hynninen 2004). In my analysis, I pay attention to varying narrative strategies and agencies of the narrated selves.

Narrated Experience

The flow of events in individual lives can be understood, organized, and communicated through narration. In the process of narrating one's life, *lived experiences*⁴⁸ become understood, conceptualized and interpreted in and through language, which draws upon historically and culturally specific structures of knowledge.⁴⁹ Language and narrative not only mediate, but also shape experience.⁵⁰

Besides language, another dimension gives shape to experience: the material and corporeal world in which physical bodies live and act. Everyday life consists of cultural and embodied practices such as household work, daily labour, dressing and so forth which shape humans as social beings. Thus, contextualization of subjective experience in the socio-cultural but also material and physical environment is a key to understanding the experiences of individuals living in different times (see Frykman & Gilje 2003, 36, 42; Stark 2006b, 52–53).

Folklorist Alf Arvidsson (1998, 77–78) has pointed out that even though most life experiences of human beings are embodied, researchers have not paid enough attention to the corporeality of life narratives. This might partly be explained by the fact that narrators do not necessarily reflect on their physical existence unless it becomes problematic (Gallagher 1986; Stark 2006c, 152–152) like in case of illnesses (cf. Frank 1997; Drakos 1997 and 2006) or in relation to highly corporeal and dramatic life experiences such as childbirth (e.g. Marander-Eklund 2000).⁵¹ Recent studies on personal narratives and autobiographical texts have examined lived experience and embodiment and how these are expressed through narrative. Historian Saara Tuomaala (2004) has analyzed personal experience and embodied subjectivities of Finnish school children in the 1920s and 1930s. An approach focusing on embodiment allowed her to analyze the power relationships which

⁴⁸ Experience is a person's subjective relation to the surrounding reality and to the world in which (s)he lives (Laine 2007, 29). Experiences consist of perceptions which human beings structure through their consciousness.

⁴⁹ Scott 1991; Gergen & Gergen 1991; Koivunen & Liljeström 1996, 276; Vilkkö 1997; Shuman 2005; Saresma 2007, 89.

⁵⁰ Dialogic relation between the experience and its expression see for example Bruner 1986, 5; Bauman 1986, 10. Experiences can be analyzed at multiple levels such as action, discourse, emotion, morals/values. These levels are not separate but rather intertwined (Saresma 2010, 63).

⁵¹ Folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund, who has studied women's stories of childbirth, notes that in her research, corporeality is present on many different levels: in the topic itself (child birth), in the language being used in the narration, in the metaphors employed in the narratives, and in the paralinguistic level, in mimics and gestures (2000, 58–59). Embodied experiences are seldom reflected upon in relation to such corporeal phenomena as aging (Öberg 1996).

constructed children's subjectivities but also their agency and possibilities for challenging the authority of teachers and other adults. Sociologist Tuija Saresma (2007) has studied the performative⁵² aspects of autobiographical writings of Finnish people who described their relation to and experiences with art. In her work, Saresma combines two different epistemologies, post-structural constructionist views with the phenomenology of the body. Following Rosi Braidotti's views (1994, 154), Saresma reminds us that life narratives are contact surfaces of experientiality and language, corporeality and textuality. Although gendered positioning of the autobiographical texts are discursive constructions, they are based on lived experience and also have material consequences and conditions (ibid. 18, 59).

My study is based on the idea that embodied experience becomes part of the narrator's life history through language and narrative (Tuomaala 2004, 58; Saarikoski 2011, 118). I approach life narratives ethnographically, exploring *narrated experiences* in their socio-cultural and discursive but also experiential and material contexts. These contexts are not static but constantly changing. Each narrative reframes actors, scenes, and events, thus shaping the narrator's understanding of his/her past. We do not have access to lived experiences but can study the process of meaning-making through storytelling by approaching the narrator as, on the one hand, a socially constructed and embodied subject with a particular experiential history, and on the other, as a product of his/her time and culture. Biographical as well as narrative frameworks offer interesting material for the study of human experience, which must always be examined in the context of environment of fellow beings and shared feelings.

Cultural Master Narratives and Micro-Narratives

Narrating one's life can be seen as *epitome*, which means the organizing of life experiences according to different but conventional dramatic schemas (see Ricoeur 1984, 64–66; 1991). In other words, we adjust ourselves to the plots we have received from our culture while trying out the different roles assumed by the favourite characters of the stories. Thus life stories have a close relationship with narrative models, with culturally specific *grand narratives*, which are normative cultural patterns and ideas, available to the storyteller to accept, to reject, to approve, to adjust or to

⁵² The term performativity derives from Speech Act Theory developed by J.L. Austin (1962). Austin paid attention to the expressions which cause action in our social reality, in other words, which perform things. Philosopher and feminist theorist Judith Butler has used the concept of performativity in her analysis of gender development (1990, 1993). Butler sees gender as an act. Gendered identities are constituted in daily life through performative acts and repetition. Narrating and writing about one's life can be seen as performative acts that construct and shape subjectivity (see Kaskisaari 2000; Hynninen 2004, Hovi 2007).

transform (Gergen 1997 and 1999, 68–70; Hänninen 1999, 50–51). Here, I do not refer to grand meta-narratives⁵³ but rather to so-called dominant *master narratives* (see Andrews 2002; Shuman 2005, 12; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008) or cultural narratives (Phelan 2005, 8) which emphasize common interpretations of historical developments or shared values. They are thus collectively rendered by a society or a significant subgroup of society and often become formulas which underlie the personal narratives and storyplots of literature and films (Phelan 2005, 8). These master narratives come close to *cultural ideals*, such as national myths that larger groups and whole societies adhere to: for example, perseverance and guts (*sisu*) in Finland or the archetypal strong Finnish woman (see e.g. Markkola 2002). Different cultural master narratives often exist simultaneously and parallel to each other. They are connected to collective ways of remembering and can appear, for example, through rhetorical positioning such as the *we*-form.

The relationship between an individual's narrative and cultural master narrative may be supportive, ambivalent or even critical. Individual life narratives may contain stories that contest the grand narratives, and which can then be called counter-narratives (see Andrews 2002; Hynninen 2004). These narratives are articulated by an individual and from her or his point of view, but they may also have common intentions, for example, that of laying claim to a marginal position. The grand narratives that I analyze in the context of Elsa's life narrative have to do with the modernizing developments that shaped the lives of 20th-century people, and they are closely tied to the intertwined categories of gender, class and work. They include ideas and trajectories such as women's emancipation through paid labour, and social climbing as a way to personal success and technological progress as a way to an easier life.

In my analysis, I approach the fragmentary oral life narrative as consisting of smaller *micro-narratives* (see Marander-Eklund 2011). An analysis of micro-narratives, their contents, actors, spatiality, roles in the interview dialogue and their mutual relations can shed light on how narrators position their narratives in relation to other people and other narratives, including dominant master narratives. Any conflicts and ambiguities between actors or between different narratives are interesting from the point of view of master narratives. They reveal the creative strategies deployed by narrators in fitting their own lives within the larger frameworks of cultural ideals. In addition, instead of studying life narrative as an attempt to build coherence, the analysis of micro-narratives

⁵³ The grand meta-narratives of science include for example Enlightenment ideas such as rationalist thinking and human control of nature. According to philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, these meta-narratives have collapsed in the late 20th century. Lyotard proposes that metanarratives should give way to *petits récits*, "localized" narratives, which bring into focus a singular event (1984).

can provide us with new information about the ambiguity of different life experiences as well as confusing and even painful aspects of social change.

Gender, Class and Work

Gender and class are social and cultural categories that along with other markers of difference, such as age, ethnicity and sexuality, intersect in people's lives and form complex divisions and identities. Both gender and class are socio-economic, cultural, and historical divisions. Thus the inequalities and hierarchies based on these categorizations are produced socially and culturally, are maintained in everyday life practices and are learned through cultural imagery, roles and symbols (Nenola 1990, 11; Moore 1993).

Gender can be defined as a range of social and cultural characteristics used to *distinguish* between males and females, men and women, masculinities and femininities and between the attributes assigned to these categories (see for example Scott 1986). Social class, on the other hand, can be characterized as a set of hierarchical divisions that *divide* groups of people into hierarchical categories (see for example Skeggs 2004, 12; Williams 1976, 62–66).⁵⁴ Work, for its part, can mean the performance of physical or mental labour, household chores and also other tasks and duties. All forms of work tie individuals to society. *Wage labour* refers to a situation in which the worker sells her/his labour and the employer buys it on the basis of a contractual agreement between the parties. The work and labour that persons are expected to do, or which is available to them, is often gendered and connected to socio-economic status. In the context of this research, the social dimension of work is of particular interest.

In this research, gender, class and work do not function as conceptual tools but rather as topics of inquiry and objects of analysis. In other words, I do not take them as points of departure but problematize them as semantic concepts whose content must be re-examined in each new context. I approach them as lived and experience-based, relational and intertwined. My analysis of gender,

⁵⁴ I am aware of the weight and the complexity of the term "class". It is infused with political connotations and can be analyzed at different levels, for example, in terms of structures, identities, consciousness and action (Skeggs 1997, 6). Historically, the term is connected with the birth of wage labour societies and the worker movement. In the 18th and 19th centuries, industrialization and capitalism transformed the economic and social structures of Western societies; the working class emerged and formerly agrarian societies developed into wage-labour societies. In the late 19th century, the term "class" began to replace hereditary classifications such as "estates" as a means of organizing society into hierarchical divisions (Heikkinen 1997, 72–73). This corresponded to a general decrease in the significance ascribed to hereditary factors and increased the significance of wealth and income as indicators of position in the social hierarchy. Marxist theories emphasize the role of capitalism in shaping class relations. According to them, the capitalist stage of production consists of two main antagonistic classes: the bourgeoisie, the capitalists who own the means of production, and the proletariat or 'working class' who sell their own labour power to the capitalists.

class and work is thus empirical. I am interested in the ways in which the narrator, Elsa, understands her social position in relation to other people, how she describes different social groups and the ideals attached to them and how she identifies and defines herself. At the level of narration, the significances of gender, class, and work are produced through discourses and rhetorical moves (see for example Valtonen 2004). Gender is connected to ideals which are often bound to class differences. In my analysis, I consider how a female worker strives to fulfil divergent social ideals (good mother and homemaker, hard worker, etc.). Class, on the other hand, is a position which always exists in relation to others: to one's peers, social superiors and those deemed inferior. Class is an expression of forms of exchange and production (wage labour) but it also determines the resources available.⁵⁵ Thus class is both a relation *and* a position. Gender, class and work are also tied to the physical reality of the narrator's experiences. The corporeality of work, its routines and conditions, the dirt, and noise of the factory workshops and other sensory factors have left their marks on the autobiographical memory. Bodily practices such as dressing mediate the ideals related to gender and class.

I approach these issues of gender, class and work from an *experiential* and *relational* point of view, paying attention to *intersubjective* relations between individuals and between individual and society. I am interested in how gendered cultural ideals and norms of femininity and masculinity, gendered family roles and the gendered identities of female labourers are dealt with in the context of a life narrative. I look at gender, class and work as subjective and experiential, but I also consider the *discursive* power of social relationships and subject formations which are learned in socialization, played out publicly both consciously and unconsciously, attached and defined from outside and constantly negotiated.

My analysis is based on the notion of the *intersectionality* of multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations (McCall 2005). The theory of intersectionality derives from women's studies, especially from black feminism in the United States. The basic argument is that forms of differentiation are interrelated and create complex systems of oppression (Brah & Phoenix 2004, 78–79; Brah & Pattynama 2006, 187–188).⁵⁶ This idea is not, of course, entirely new. In considering the concept of gender in historical analysis and discussing the theories of

⁵⁵ Sociologist Alejandro Portes (1995, 12) has defined social capital as 'the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures'. According to him, the resources themselves are not social capital: the concept refers instead to the individual's ability to mobilize them on demand.

⁵⁶ The concept of intersectionality was first introduced into feminist studies in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a scholar of critical race theory. Some scholars have used the concept only in dealing with women of colour (and other attributes that can be assigned to them), whereas others have used it as a general term applicable to any group of people (Yuval-Davies 2006, 201).

patriarchy in relation to history, gender historians have long discussed gender in relation to other forms of social difference such as race and class.⁵⁷ Feminist anthropologists have also acknowledged the complexity of the category of “woman”: Western/non-Western, working-class/middle-class, etc. (see for example Moore 1993). It has also been noted that different social divisions have different ontological bases and organizing logics (Yuval-Davis 2006, 200–201), and that each prioritizes different spheres of social relations. For example, class divisions are grounded in relation to the economic processes of production and consumption, while gender is a discourse that relates to groups of subjects whose social roles are defined by their sexual difference (ibid. 201). The endless list of potential intersecting differences has also been criticized as rendering intersectional theory vague (see Butler 1990; Yuval-Davis 2006, 202–203). In my opinion, however, the concept of intersectionality summarizes what I find crucial to studying subjects and their experiences of social divisions and identities: that different dimensions of social life are not separated but intertwined, that they intersect in historically specific contexts and a variety of social situations, and that different combinations and intersections of identities produce unique and socially relevant experiences. The multiple axes of differentiation are processes constituted in and through power relations, and in particular social realms, or at certain stages of life, some divisions may become more important or relevant than others.⁵⁸ On the other hand, there are some social divisions such as gender, class and age that tend to shape the lives of most persons (Brah & Phoenix 2004, 76; Yuval-Davis 2006, 203).

The conceptual models of the gender system (*genussystemet*) and the gender contract (*genuskontraktet*) introduced by the Swedish historian Yvonne Hirdman (1988, 1990) have been influential in Nordic gender studies. Hirdman’s stance was that gender positions are not only dichotomous but also a hierarchical system of oppression in which men and the male are seen as the norm. Although Hirdman’s model has been criticized for being static and overgeneralizing, her original idea was that these systems are historically and culturally specific (Liljeström 1996, 121–122, 126). The theory of intersectionality presents gender as multifaceted and interrelated, even situational, and encourages the study of different femininities and masculinities in historical and culturally-specific situations. In my view, it offers a more flexible alternative than Hirdman’s gender system and may be fruitful in the analysis of an individual’s varying experiences in changing social circumstances over the course of one lifetime.

⁵⁷ See for example Scott 1986 and 1988; Moore 1993; Jordanova 2002, 121; Boydston 2008, 558; Laine & Markkola 1989; Markkola 1994; Lähtenmäki 1995, 11.

⁵⁸ In addition to issues of gender, class and work, this study also deals with *age* and different life stages which are significant dimensions of both social life and life narrative practice.

2. METHODOLOGY: The Ethnography of Narration

“No more elegant tool exists to describe the human condition than the personal narrative. Ordinary people living ordinary and not-so-ordinary lives weave from their memories and experiences the meaning life has for them. These stories are complex, telling of worlds sometimes foreign to us, worlds that sometimes no longer exist. They express modes of thought and culture often different from our own, a challenge to easy understanding. Yet, these stories are also familiar. It is just this tension, the identifiable in endless transformation – that is the currency of personal narratives, as they reveal the complexities and paradoxes of human life.” (Shostak 1989, 239)

Dialogism and Embodied Experience

This research draws on two broad theoretical approaches, which together form the epistemological basis of the study: *hermeneutics* and *embodiment*. In hermeneutics, knowledge production is seen as a process between the interpreter, the text and the context. Both the researcher and the informant have their own respective preconceptions of the world, which they bring to the encounter (i.e. the interview). The researcher’s understanding of the research topic sharpens and is transformed during the process of interpretation, which would ideally lead to a fusion of the researcher’s and the interviewee’s conceptions (Gadamer 1975). In this process, both participants reflect on their understandings. The researcher processes her/his knowledge on the basis of her/his intellectual and cultural preconceptions (Maranhão 1986, 299). The result of this *dialogic* knowledge production is thus *situated* with respect to particular epistemologies and methodologies.

Dialogism, the inter-subjective nature of knowledge production, builds on the idea that the dialogic is an essential facet of human nature. There is no way to reach individual minds outside one’s own self and no other way to get information about *the other*. Therefore, the only possible way to gain knowledge of another person’s experience is to turn to that person and to communicate and share her/his subjective ideas (Harré 1983). Dialogic epistemology is related to the representational crisis of the human sciences. In anthropology, *the dialogic approach* derives from the critical discussion of ethnographic practices and representation of the other that arose in the 1980s, the so-called *reflexive turn*.⁵⁹ Anthropologists, reflecting on the central problem of representing social reality in a rapidly changing world, wanted to make ethnographic description more sensitive to its broader

⁵⁹ See Clifford 1986; Marcus & Fischer 1986; Turner & Bruner 1986; Crapanzano 1990.

political, historical and philosophical implications.⁶⁰ Dialogic ethnographies better reflected the encounter than mere observations of the other (Maranhão 1990, 6).

Dialogism, as developed by the Russian literary theoretician Mikhail Bakhtin, is also widely used in literary studies. According to Bakhtin (1981, 1984), no individual voice can exist in isolation. Every person is influenced by others and by different voices embedded in their inner dialogue. In a life story, for example, the narrator both speaks to and listens to her-/himself, asks and answers at the same time. Thus even one person creates a dialogue. In a life narrative study, both the inner dialogue and communication with other people are crucial.

My material, life story interviews with Elsa Koskinen, was created in a dialogue between two different generations, namely between Elsa and me. Each of us speaks with several voices, addressing other dialogic partners including family members and people of the Inha Ironworks community, members of academia and even some distant outsiders like municipal doctors or acquaintances. In this study, dialogism extends even further. Orally transmitted material such as a life story can also be read as a “text” that contains intertextual and intercultural elements encoded in the storytelling, such as genres of the oral tradition, crystallized plots and narrative cultural patterns. These structures (texts) are an essential part of the life narrative dialogue and are a means of communicating life events and relating them to the cultural context. My analysis will not, however, be limited to the textual elements of narratives. Oral narration is also a physical act which draws from material resources and corporeal experiences. It involves sensual and auditory dimensions, looks, gestures, sights and laughter which all construct meanings in storytelling. Narrative performance entails emotions expressed through the language of experience which can be affective and concrete and which sometimes extends beyond words (Honkasalo 2004; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 2006; Laine 2007, 38; Saarikoski 2011, 117–118, 122–127). I am interested in the connections between language and experience, narrative and embodiment.

This study takes an ethnographic approach to life narrative and applies a dialogic methodology both in the interview method and in the analysis of the interview material. The folklorist Patricia Sawin (2004), who has examined the songs and life of female Appalachian singer and storyteller Bessie Eldreth (born in the 1910s), provides us with a brilliant example of this kind of ethnographic analysis. Eldreth had been interviewed and taped several times before Sawin started to collect oral traditions from her. In the beginning, Sawin did not expect to find herself engaged in the project of studying Eldreth and her self-representation. Sawin’s aim was simply to study Eldreth’s songs and

⁶⁰ Clifford 1986; Marcus & Fischer 1986; Crapanzano 1990; Vasenkari 1996; Vasenkari & Pekkala 2000, 245–248.

singing practice. During the research process, Sawin ended up using a dialogic methodology. Hearing more and more of Eldreth's life and listening to her multivocal stories, Sawin became interested in Eldreth's creation of a gender- and class-determined sense of self. Eldreth, who grew up in rural Appalachia, supported her family (a husband and eleven children) by doing various, often physical, jobs like farm work, cutting timber, cleaning and cooking. Eldreth constructs her subjectivity mostly around labour and gender. In her study, Sawin considers how Bessie Eldreth positions herself in relation to internalized societal discourses. Describing her research process and methodology, Sawin herself uses the term *the ethnography of subjectivity* and explains:

"My approach thus challenges the assumptions that underpin biography or life history, in that biography treats the subject as self-evidently significant, life history presents the subjective as representative of a group and both not only accept the subject as performed and self-consistent but also obscure the process whereby various bits of information drawn from multiple sources and originally inflected by multiple voices are melded into "the story" of a person's life. *The ethnography of subjectivity*, in contrast, locates significance in exposing the process through which the subject creates herself through interaction and in interrogating the traces from which we can track that process." (Sawin 2004, 2; Emphasis E.K-K.)

The subject and aim of this study are parallel to Sawin's: to study the life story of one woman who is a skilled narrator, who has performed hard physical labour and who had situated herself as belonging to a lower rank in her social hierarchy. Sawin's intention to respect the informant and their relationship and her desire to seek a profound understanding of the other person are similar to my own, and called for a dialogic approach⁶¹. But the dialogic perspective she applies focuses on rhetorical analysis, which, in my opinion, is not sufficient for analyzing a life narrative from the point of view of gender, class and work, dimensions of life which all are all tied to material conditions and physical being in the world. ⁶² Sawin writes: "[I]ike pain and other bodily experience, the memory of hard labour does not linger in the flesh (Scarry 1985) unless it caused injury and disability" (2004, 66). I argue, by contrast, that many bodily experiences such as factory work or household chores do "linger in the flesh" and affect the ways in which a female factory worker negotiates her subjectivity and renders her life narrative. My aim is to include these "bodily experience" aspects in the study of life story telling. Studying the narrated experiences related to

⁶¹ Some folklorists and oral historians who have studied their relatives have also applied a dialogic approach to their analysis. Katherine Borland (1991), for example, who studied her own grandmother, negotiated with her about the interpretations she had made. During this process, Borland learned a great deal about feminist epistemology and feminist research practices.

⁶² Sawin has not totally ignored the material and physical dimensions of rural working-class people in her analysis. She has paid attention to the importance of doing things in Eldreth's life, to how much she talks about cooking, canning, cleaning, etc. and how she cherishes the memories of past toil. Sawin notes that Eldreth's activity was a warning to her "not to neglect the bodily, practical dimension of [Eldreth's] self-creation, not to mistake the songs and stories in which I had initially expressed interest for the *whole* of herself." (2004, 50, italics E.K-K.)

gender, class, and work – all of which are also very much embodied categories and phenomena – I cannot ignore the material dimension of narrated experiences.

Media researcher Mikko Lehtonen (2005) has noted that although scholars of cultural studies have become increasingly interested in bodies and embodiment, they tend to focus on the desires of pleasure-seeking bodies in contemporary consumer society. He calls for attention to the everyday needs and necessities of working and sensing bodies. Experiences of working bodies have also been mostly ignored in ethnological studies of workers and the working-class and their oral histories.⁶³

When Elsa told me about the work she did at the factory, she seemed to be at a loss for words. Her arms moved as if she were trying to show me what kind of work she did, what happened in the factory hall, and what she experienced there.⁶⁴ It seemed that her body remembered exactly how it felt to be in front of a machine in a noisy factory hall and to perform the monotonous movements of production-line work. These embodied memories were clearly part of Elsa's intersubjective existence and self-expression. Her body was in immediate contact with the factory environment, metal, machines, dirt and heat which, in addition to other qualities such as femininity, gendered practices of caring and household work, were all ascribed to her body.

In my study I wish to incorporate embodied experience into dialogic frameworks. Anthropologist Thomas J. Csordas argues that representations and being in the world are dialogic partners of knowing about the worlds (Csordas 1999, 147).⁶⁵ According to him, embodiment perspective should be integrated into ethnographic research practices. This does not require specific methods such as videotaping (cf. Young 2000), but is rather a methodological attitude that “demands attention to bodiliness even in purely verbal data such as written text or oral interview” (ibid. 148). Embodiment is not behavior or essence, but about experience and subjectivity, which are also the

⁶³ For exceptions see Eldh 1996; Modell & Hinshaw 1996; Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2009; Vodopivec 2010.

⁶⁴ Katherine Young (2000, 83) points out that “[g]estures flesh out words not merely by matching or illustrating them but amplifying or even contradicting them. Thus, gestures and words can disclose different aspects of the thoughts they jointly surface.”

⁶⁵ In theorizing the body, sociologists have highlighted its twofold nature: the body can serve both as a location for the effects of the society and as a source of social experience. Bodies have been seen as surfaces on which law, morality and values are inscribed and from which they can be read like texts (see for example Foucault 2002[1966]; 2005 [1975]). On the other hand, another perspective on the lived body has emphasized internal and psychich inscription, a body schema that contributes to the sense of self (see for example Bordo 1993; Sault 1994; Frank 1997). Combining of these two different epistemological perspectives, one based on cultural constructionism which sees knowledge and subjects as products of social contexts, and the other on phenomenology of the body which stresses individual experience and body as a the primary site of knowing is important in understanding the dynamic relation of body and culture in different historical and cultural contexts (see also Honkasalo 2004; Lehtonen 2005). The dialogic approach is an attempt to build a bridge between the two epistemologies and to conflate the opposition between body and mind as well as between experience and discourse. The dialogic relation between body and narrative means that experiences and life narratives, including the experience and narrative of the self, happen in and through the body (Löyttyniemi 2004, 250).

central components of life narratives. I find Csordas's approach fruitful: treating embodied experience and memories as one source and element in dialogic life storytelling and self-representation adds an important dimension to my analysis of Elsa's life narrative.

The Life Story Interview as a Method of Collecting Research Material

In qualitative research, interviews are one of the most common ways of approaching subjective experience. The interview process itself has, however, often been portrayed as straightforward and self-evident. In recent decades, growing sensitivity to agency, authority, reflexivity and representation in social inquiry have drawn our attention to the ways in which knowledge is constructed (Gubrium and Holstein 2003, 3–4). Interviews are seen as encounters where information is in the process of being created and where both parties influence its production. Interviewing people is one of the main methods of collecting data in the fields of folklore studies and ethnology. Unlike many social scientists, ethnologists often use non-structured or semi-structured interviews to gain access to people's own ways of understanding the world (Niskanen & Turunen 2007). This does not mean, however, that interviews between ethnologists and their informants are merely informal conversations. Rather, the aim of such interviews is to give space to the interviewee's understandings of the world as well as to the dialogue that is conducted between informants and researchers.

Interviews where the researcher asks the interviewee to tell about her/his life are called life story interviews. The life story interview is a method of collecting data that is used in a number of different disciplines. In cultural studies, it was first employed by cultural anthropologists interested in native cultures and the authentic experiences of people (Angrosino 2002, 37–38; Marcus & Fischer 1986, 57–59). Life histories served as a documentary device for representing the characteristic formative experiences of persons in particular cultures (see for example Mintz 1960; Lewis 1961); for presenting multiple points of view in the construction of a person's life history and life course (see for example Crapanzano 1977 and 1980; Shostak 1981); and for studying experiences of change (see for example Assmuth 1997; Huttunen 2002). Oral historians have also made use of this method since it has proved to be an effective way of representing the voices of previously silent groups and individuals (Thompson 1988). Many social scientists (sociologists and psychologist in particular) have also collected and studied life stories. Here, sociologists have followed anthropologists and the scholars of the Chicago School of the 1920s and 1930s (Chase 2005, 653; Tervo 2008, 54–55). Earlier studies were based on the idea of the life story as a

reflection of reality (see for example Bertaux & Bertaux-Wiame 1981; Roos 1987). After the emergence and spread of social constructionist thinking, life stories were seen as the medium through which persons constructed their versions of reality, an approach that put more emphasis on the process of data collecting and the choices made by the researcher over the whole research process, including the interpretation of the material (see Denzin 1989; Peacock & Holland 1993, 370).⁶⁶ Narrative and constructionist psychology, which developed in the late 1980s and 1990s, also deals with life stories and the narrated self (Bruner 1986; Gergen 1991; Josselson & Lieblich 1995). Such psychological approaches often ask the same questions as those asked by anthropologists, folklorists and sociologists today: How do people tell about their lives, how do they interpret and use their experiences to construct their narratives of self, and why do they tell about their selves in the way they do?

The feminist movement has been important in developing interview methods like the life story interview. In the 1980s, feminists emphasized the importance of listening to and analyzing women's personal narratives. Exploring women's personal experiences was seen to be central to the feminist critique of androcentric assumptions in social science. Access to women's experiences was gained by conducting in-depth, woman-to-woman interviews on an equal basis (Oinas 2004, 210–213). Later in the 1990s, many feminist scholars came to criticize the earlier romantic assumptions inherent in this type of interview and noted that no encounter between a researcher and an informant is ever free from the dynamics of power present in the creation of all scientific knowledge. Furthermore, it was noted that the mere fact that the participants were both women was not enough to create a common basis for the perception of reality: differences such as race, ethnicity, class and age all influence the interview framework (Oinas 2004, 220; Chase 2005). Feminist scholars did not, however, abandon the interview method, and they continued to emphasize the research ethics and questions of subjectivity related to it.

A common feature of most studies of life narratives is that the analyst carries out a series of in-depth interviews. This process makes the researcher more sensitive both to the interviewee's points and to her/his own assumptions (Chase 2005, 661; see also Polkinghorne 2007, 481). This is also what distinguishes oral life narratives from the written autobiographies solicited in contests organized to collect written essays and other textual materials, a method commonly used in Finnish

⁶⁶ Anthropologists James Peacock and Dorothy Holland distinguish two major approaches to the life story: one emphasizes "life" and the other "narrative" (1993, 368). These two poles reflect different ontologies: at one extreme, the narration is only a mirror of reality; at the other, the narration *is* the reality. Peacock and Holland indicate a third possible approach, the process approach, which is a synthesis of these two and emphasizes communication, the telling of life stories. According to them, processual approaches allow a multidimensional appreciation of the power of these stories as cultural, social and psychological constructions (Ibid. 369–371).

folklore studies and ethnology for eliciting life stories.⁶⁷ Written autobiography is a fixed mode of representation, which means that researchers do not have access to the process of creating (writing) the life story. The authors can choose the limits and style of their representation.⁶⁸ The oral life narrative, on the other hand, is interactive and open to negotiation. Typically, life narrative interviews are mixtures of chronological and descriptive sequences, narratives, free associations, question-and-answer chains and interviewer's comments (Oring 1988). Both the interviewee and the interviewer can return to earlier topics, ask for more detailed information and clarifications, and add to what has been said and offer new interpretations of it (Arvidsson 1998, 7; Pöysä 2006, 229).

It has been argued that in some cases, writing can offer people a means of reflecting on personal and sensitive issues which they would not normally share in interviews (see for example Helsti 2000, 31–32; Silvasti 2001, 51–52). This may be true of certain topics and intimate experiences related to realms of private life or taboo matters.⁶⁹ However, writing a life story requires special effort and motivation. Most people never write about their lives. Those who do, can therefore be considered special cases, and they constitute a minority (see Roos 1987, 30). Writing about her life experiences is not foreign to Elsa. I know that she wrote letters, poems and a diary frequently before writing became difficult for her. However, during the time I started my research process Elsa could no longer write a lengthy autobiography. I also doubt whether she would have answered to any request by archives or other institution or shared as much of her life with a person unfamiliar to her as she shared with me.

The revelation of self-explorations to others, even to someone with whom the interviewee already has an earlier trusted relationship, becomes possible only in a longstanding, in-depth interview process. Repeated interviews allow the narrator to present different versions of the same stories and

⁶⁷ From the 19th century on, Finnish archives have organized competitions to solicit materials which document oral traditions and knowledge of popular customs and beliefs. Since the 1960s and 1970s, Finnish archives have concentrated more on the collection of oral history materials. In the 1980s and 1990s, archives and researchers became more interested in the autobiographies of ordinary Finnish people (Peltonen 1996; Salmi-Niklander 2004, 38–39; Latvala 2005, 24–33).

⁶⁸ Here I do not claim that autobiographical writings are completely autonomous. They, too, are influenced by a more or less imagined audience. In the case of solicited writing contests, the audience of the texts is the staff of the archives, whose agenda and the questions asked in the inquiry necessarily direct the narrators' writings (see for example Peltonen 1996; Helsti 2000, 28; Latvala 2005, 29, 32).

⁶⁹ The ethnologist Hilikka Helsti has studied conflicts between maternity education and actual experiences of motherhood, analyzing, among other things, women's written reminiscences of childbirth. She has pointed out that, when they get the chance to do so, people are often willing to share intimate experiences, as this both helps them to organize their own experiences and allows them to give valuable information to today's people about the conditions of life in the past (2000, 28–32). According to Helsti, the writers in her study were inspired by the chance to participate in producing *popular, unofficial history* (see also Peltonen 1996, 282; Ukkonen 2000, 35–38).

to introduce multiple points of view. For example, heroic survival stories often collapse in the course of longer interview processes (see Rosenthal 1991; Peltonen 1997, 107).⁷⁰

Interviews with Elsa

I conducted all my interviews between the years 2001 and 2004 as an undergraduate student (see Appendix 1: Interviews). This means that the ‘here and now’ of my research material is the beginning of the millenium, not the present time. All of the interviews except the last one were conducted over a period of two years (2001–2002). Only the last interview took place in 2004, significantly later than the others. During the earliest interviews, I had not yet narrowed down my specific research interests, and the interviews concentrated on life and the oral traditions of the *old* factory community. This encouraged Elsa to tell especially about her childhood and youth as well as about the collective oral traditions. The first interview (105 minutes) was longer than most of the others, but it contained less reflection on her personal experiences than the other interviews. At the beginning of the interview, Elsa told me about conditions in which she was born. After that she clearly did not know how to continue, so I asked her numerous questions, some of which specifically concerned things that I expected to hear about. I had an intuitive sense of the topics she might had been eager to talk about, but I did not really know how to elicit these topics or give her space to formulate her thoughts.

Interviews 2 and 3 addressed topics of everyday life that were of general ethnological interest: Interview 2 concerned food traditions and Interview 3 shopping and the era of scarcity. In both interviews, Elsa soon ended up discussing other matters: experiences of factory work and the humour of her co-workers (Interview 2) and memories of the wartime (Interview 3). Interview 4 was the first interview which primarily concerned Elsa’s personal experiences and began with an open request to Elsa to tell about higher-class families and her work experiences as a maid-servant.⁷¹ These three interviews remained relatively short (30 minutes, 45 minutes and 60 minutes

⁷⁰ Oral historian Alistair Thomson (2010) has reflected on the confusing and conflicting versions of some elderly people’s life stories. . In the case of an Australian WWI veteran whom Thomson interviewed, the first versions of the narrated life experiences were distinctively patriotic. At the beginning of the interview process, this interviewee recounted a narrative about an experience that crucially affected his life, the story of how he was enlisted. This narrative was clearly directed at younger generations of Australians, to which that the interviewer belonged. However, direct questions and later discussion with the researcher produced different voices challenging the patriotic tone of the first version, which represented a kind of “comfortable story of the war”. Folklorist Anna Hynninen’s research on the written and oral self-representation of an elderly woman who has written about her life for several Finnish archives sheds light on the impact of different contexts on life story telling and illuminates the similarities and particularities of written and oral accounts by the same person (2004, 2011).

⁷¹ On open questions in life narrative interviews see Atkinson 1998.

respectively) and involved a large number of questions and much discussion. In Interview 5, I asked Elsa to tell me her life narrative. This time the interview was longer (90 minutes) and resembled a monologue because my intention was to let her narrate freely without interruptions. She recounted memories of her childhood and youth in the old ironworks community but provided very little information about her later adult life. After the interview had lasted for more than an hour, I asked Elsa about the time after her youth when the ironworks community changed (5/12, p. 12). After this question, the interview turned from a monologue into a dialogue and included fewer narratives.

The impetus for Interviews 6 and 7 came from hearing Elsa recount some narratives in an everyday setting, for example when meeting an old friend at the grocery store and reminiscing about shared experiences. In addition to telling about her youth and the companionship of other young ironworkers, Interview 6 involved narratives about her supernatural experiences and matters related to illness, health and healthcare. In Interview 7, Elsa discussed the regional dialect (the initial subject), her childhood family and childhood memories. At end of the interview, we engaged in a long conversation about social class. Interview 8 touched on Elsa's life as an adult and an elderly woman and the changes that had taken place at Inha and in her life. In this interview, she moved towards her present-day situation. At that time, Elsa was in her mid-70s and in relatively good health. She had just survived breast cancer. I, for my part, was in my early 20s, the same age as Elsa when she had married (see the Appendix 2: Key events and milestones of Elsa's life). My life as a student was thus very different from the life Elsa had lived.

In Interview 9, Elsa told again about her dreams and supernatural experiences, some of which had taken place recently. Interview 10 began with Elsa's reminiscence about her childhood family life and continued with her recollection of her youth. This interview is a good example of temporal movements between the past and present as Elsa suddenly jumped from describing her childhood experiences to the present day, to talk about her health and attitudes to life, and then goes back to recollecting the leisure time activities of her youth. In Interview 11, Elsa again recounted her childhood memories, describing the dynamics of her childhood family. Later she narrated her experiences of the times of the Second World War. In the last interview (12), Elsa addressed a topic which had earlier drawn my interest: gender relations and sexual humour in the factory community.

Altogether, the 12 interviews form Elsa's oral life narrative, which represents only a partial, temporary and by no means complete picture of her life narrative repertoire. On the other hand, the interviews do contain certain key experiences and *crystallized narratives* that are told several times in pretty much the same way. The 12 interviews contain 276 micro-narratives, some of which are

series of narratives on the same theme.⁷² Approximately one third of the micro-narratives are told more than once (see the figures above). Interestingly enough, some interviews are full of these variant narratives (such as Interview 5), while others, such as Interviews 8 and 10, lack them almost entirely. These two last-mentioned interviews deal with very different matters. The topic of Interview 8, the *transformation* of the worker community, had not been discussed before this interview. I decided to bring up the subject because Elsa had already briefly referred to these changes in previous interviews. In Interview 11, on the other hand, Elsa touched upon her favourite topics in her repertoire of life experiences: being young, enjoying leisure time activities with other young workers and performing with a gymnastics group at evening entertainments. The number of variant narratives is also relatively low in Interview 11, where Elsa dealt with her childhood family and a key experience of Elsa's generation, the Second World War. The low number of variants in Interviews 10 and 11 may imply that Elsa remembered, at least to some extent, what stories or topics she had narrated before in the earlier interviews.⁷³ The fact that I was a young woman who took part in the activities of student organizations and enjoyed the company of fellow students could also have encouraged her to tell about that particular life stage.

All of the interviews except for one (Interview 11) were made at Elsa's home. The interview sessions included casual talk, the exchange of news, chatting about daily routines and other people. Typically, I visited her on the weekend, and for the interview we sat down at her kitchen table, the place where we would have sat anyway. Some interview settings differed from others because of the presence of other people. In Interview 2, my mother Anneli [Elsa's daughter-in-law] also took part in the discussion, and in Interview 12, my husband Ilja [who was at the time of the interview my boyfriend] was present in the same room, but did not participate in the interview. Interestingly enough, on this particular occasion Elsa and I discussed gender relations and sexual humour in the ironworks community and the presence of a male listener did not seem to bother her. One interview (Interview 11) was made at my parents' home during a visit by my other grandmother Saima Kilponen (née Setälä, 1915–2009). Saima and five other family members were present at the time of the interview. In the interviews that feature other persons in addition to Elsa and myself, she interacted with the other listeners, sharing her experiences openly and trying to find a common basis and topic of interest for the discussion. Other family members and Elsa often confirmed each other's lines of thought and the dialogue flowed like a natural conversation. For example, together with Saima Kilponen, Elsa discussed her childhood experiences and life during the Second World

⁷² A story is usually repeated if it receives an appropriate response from the audience (Mullen 1992, 5). These *variants* can, however, be used in different ways on different storytelling occasions.

⁷³ This is a mark of a skilled performer (see Mullen 1992, 166).

War. From the beginning, Elsa led the discussion. At this point, she was an experienced interviewee and encouraged Saima, too, to share her experiences with us. At first Saima hesitated, but soon these two ended up reminiscing about the period of the Second World War, and in the end they even produced joint narratives.

Studying a Relative

Along with the linguistic and narrative turn in the humanities and social sciences, and the emergence and development of reflexive methodologies in anthropology, studies of one's own cultural background and even one's own family have become more common in folklore studies, anthropology, ethnology and cultural studies.⁷⁴ When the researcher is closely related to the informant, the research process necessarily involves self-reflection, which is one aspect of reflexive positioning, the realization and articulation of the partiality and subjectivity of all research.⁷⁵ Self-reflection often concerns questions related to the researcher's role and responsibilities: the pre-existing "silent" knowledge that shapes the researcher's understandings of the research subject, the researcher's role in the interview situation and the expectations of the researched community or individuals. All these questions affect interpretation (Haanpää 2008, 79). The setting of this research, the study of a close relative, has challenged me to reflect on what subjective knowledge and a pre-existing close relationship has meant for my research, the roles and perspectives both Elsa and I assumed during the research process and the motives that drove us in communicating with each other.

Subjective Knowledge and Validity

In her study on the oral histories of women of her own family, sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans (2004, 3) argues that the voices of white working-class females are not heard in contemporary gender studies. According to her, researchers are more likely to acknowledge race than social class. White working-class women's experiences are considered when researchers are interested in their

⁷⁴ For examples of studying one's own cultural environment and background, see Myerhoff 1978; Lawless 1988; Zerubavel 1995; and Ruotsala 1997; On studies of family members, family history and family narratives, see Suojanen 1978; Steedman 1994 [1986]; Stahl 1989; Wilson 1991; Borland 1991; Thomas 1997; Eskola 1997; Peltonen 1997; Jaago 2002; Finnegan 2006; Haanpää 2008; Rosen 2011.

⁷⁵ Reflexive positions should cover the whole research process. In addition to self-reflection, positioning involves reflection on the researcher's epistemological and methodological commitments, questions concerning the cultural context of the research and research ethics (Aro 1996, 28–30; Fingerroos 2003a; Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006, 40–41).

position in the labour market, in wage-earning or in labour activism. The private lives and domestic circles of such women continue to receive little attention.⁷⁶ Erdmans argues that ordinary lives are seldom studied because the category of “normal” does not generally attract the attention of researchers. However, using subjective knowledge and exploring stories close to us can sometimes produce fruitful research.

Carolyn Steedman’s study of the lives of two working-class women from two different generations (1994, orig. 1986) is a good example of how subjectivity can serve to produce knowledge about neglected but significant areas of the human condition. In *Landscape for a Good Woman*, Steedman analyzed two stories of working-class childhood: that of her mother, a weaver’s daughter born in Lancashire, and her own. Steedman’s childhood in the 1950s was characterized by an odd mixture of the absence and partial presence of the father of the family. Her mother’s childhood was characterized by scarcity and early domestic labour that she hoped to leave behind by migrating to London. In her new home city, she had two children by a man who worked as a heating engineer. From the time she was a small child, Steedman learned that she and her younger sister were regarded as a burden by their mother, who blamed them for not achieving her dreams of better material living conditions, modern commodities and pretty clothes. Steedman later found out why she blamed her children for her low position. Her parents had continued to live together in the same flat under an extraordinary arrangement: the father lived his own life, sleeping in the attic and only providing the mother with a minimal amount of housekeeping money, while the latter took care of the two children. After her mother’s death, Steedman found out the reason for all this: her parents had never married.⁷⁷ Her father had earlier been married to another woman, but they had never divorced. So he had another family. Because of this, Steedman’s mother could not obtain a legitimate social status as a married woman, the wife of an engineer. Steedman’s autobiographical writing reflects on how she learned and became aware of her mother’s working-class background, her family’s illegitimate status, her mothers’ ideas of a good life and how her mother’s social envy was transferred to her daughters in the form of passive and bitter consciousness. Through studying

⁷⁶ Exceptions to this naturally exist: e.g. Skeggs 1997; Käyhkö 2006. It is also important to note that Erdmans’ criticism does not fully apply to societies such as Finland, where most people share the same ethnic background. However, it has been argued that in the past few decades, Finnish social scientists and scholars of cultural studies have struggled with and avoided the concept of social class. The reasons for this have been sought from various quarters: some post-modern theories have claimed that class no longer exists. Furthermore, empirical research has demonstrated that class-consciousness has diminished. In addition, clichés such as ‘all Finns belong to one big middle-class’ have made ‘class’ an unpopular concept for analytical research. (Ruoho 2006; Tolonen 2008, 8–9; Erola 2010.)

⁷⁷ This piece of factual information prompted Steedman to study her mother’s life and her own memories. It seemed to function as a clue to larger social issues in a similar manner than in microhistorical research, which studies so-called *normal exceptions*: people with obscure, strange, and even dangerous qualities which are kept hidden from the outside world (see M. Peltonen 2006; Haanpää 2008, 42–43; Magnusson 2011).

her mother's stories and her own memories and emotions, Steedman demonstrates how personal and material inequality shaped the lives of her family.

In her study, Steedman gave voice to her mother's story, and in doing so she challenged the conventional ways of thinking about gender and class, about working-class families with strong father figures and about collective or individual activism as the basis of class consciousness. In my view, Steedman's study showed the relevance of subjective knowledge in academic research on working-class culture and its social history. Experiences of intimate relations such as those relevant to family life do not necessarily ever enter public documents. Steedman's story was one of children who earlier had been the potential key to a happy family life and who were then taught that they had failed to accomplish this task and had become a burden. In view of the power of cultural myths such as the idealized figure of the good mother who sacrifices herself for the well-being of her children, I doubt whether a story like this would ever have entered public knowledge in earlier times except possibly in the realm of fiction. Extending the boundaries of conventional sociological and historical inquiry, Steedman explored her mother's story by making use of her own memories and emotions to guide her analysis. In her research, subjectivity constituted the only valid means to reach an unresearched subject and to create new knowledge.

Steedman reminds her readers that her study is not about history, "a search for a past or for what really happened" (1994, 8). Instead, she argues, "it is about how people *use* the past to tell the stories of their lives" (ibid. my emphasis). In the same vein, this study examines how Elsa used the past in narrating her life to me, and I argue that my close relationship to Elsa and subjective knowledge of her life and personality is an essential condition and strength of this research. Elsa was unlikely to have been "found" by anybody else, nor would she have told about her life – her childhood and youth, the work she did, or her ambivalent experiences of upward social mobility – in a similar way to anybody else. The interpretations I present in this study result from our relationship, in which both of us have embodied multiple roles: two experts (narrator and interviewer/researcher), two relatives (grandmother and granddaughter), representatives of different generations and social positions, an uneducated female worker and a university student. These roles have directed her to tell about certain topics and to represent herself in specific ways: sometimes critical, sometimes nostalgic, sometimes in the role of educator.

The Challenges of Intergenerational Dialogue

Many people have told me how they regret not having taped the stories their grandparents told them. Elderly people's stories of their own lives describe worlds that are in many ways foreign and even exotic to us, yet many of their experiences are familiar to us, fun, touching and human. In addition to reflecting on life in general, these stories can teach us about traditions, changes and continuities in personal, family, local and national history, while at the same time offering us subjective views of the past. Like other types of folklore, the life stories and the personal narratives of people close to us are part of dining-table conversations, everyday life and social interaction.

Telling stories about one's life is not characteristic only of elderly people (Saarenheimo 1997; Mullen 1992, 3; Wallace 1992),⁷⁸ although older people have accumulated a vast knowledge of traditions, professional experience and experiences of universal life events such as human relationships, births, deaths, etc. (Mullen 1992, 3; Reinhartz 1992, 141).⁷⁹ In addition, elderly people who have already experienced their major life events and are approaching the end of their lives possess the material for *a life review*, a process of returning in their minds to past experiences (Mullen 1992, 16; Arvidsson 1998, 21).⁸⁰ However, not all older people like to talk about their past or feel any need to reflect upon their lives (see for example Saarenheimo 1997, 43, 46). In her research on elderly people's reminiscing, the psychologist Marja Saarenheimo (1997) found that many of her informants did not share the idea of reminiscence as a therapeutic healing practice. Instead, some of them regarded it unfavourably, explaining that they did not want to awaken any memories or reminisce. Often, however, they simply could not help memories of the past popping up to bother them. Some of these elderly people felt that in the middle of their lonely and featureless daily lives, they had too much time to think (ibid. 90–91).

⁷⁸ For example, people who have gone through hardships often tell about their lives in order to share their stories, to comfort co-sufferers and to facilitate the process of adjustment of both themselves and their listeners (see for example Frank 1997).

⁷⁹ Several folklorists have reminded us that we should not see elderly people only as the memory of the nation; they are still active experiencing subjects in the present (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1989b; Mullen 1992, 2–3; Vakimo 2004, 24; Heikkinen 2007, 34). This is important to remember since the work of folklore scholars and ethnologists is influenced by what is still generally regarded as its goal: the preservation of disappearing traditions, although these traditions often continue without us and our work (see Glassie 1982; Abrahams 1993). Traditions and stories are dynamic and constantly changing.

⁸⁰ Psychiatrist Robert Butler introduced the concept of *life review* to gerontology in 1963. In his view, advanced age is characterized by a naturally occurring, universal mental process of return to past experiences and particularly to unresolved conflicts. Even if there has been a lot of criticism of the age-specific nature of reminiscence, it is important to note that Butler's ideas, namely, his positive attitude towards reminiscence, has significantly changed views on elderly people's reminiscing, which was earlier seen – at least in the American context – as a sign of degeneration (Saarenheimo 1997, 33–34).

Like oral life narratives and life itself, a person's identity is not fixed, not even in case of elderly people (Mullen 1992, 277–278). In her study of a community of elderly Jewish people in an urban ghetto in California (1978), anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff draws attention to the constant process of identity formation. The elderly Jews were continually engaged with the question of what it meant to be a Jew. Myerhoff notes that being a Jew also works as a metaphor for being human (ibid. 20, cf. metaphors of life Vilkkko 1993). Her elderly informants, who immigrated to the United States around the turn of the 20th century, had lived through hardships such as immigration, poverty and alienation, but had avoided the Holocaust. These elderly people needed an audience for their stories, but could not find anybody other than their peers to listen to their experiences of their past lives and to bear witness to their life as Jews. Most of them were from very poor backgrounds. The cost of their rapid social ascent and the freedom they could offer to their children in the New World created social and cultural barriers between them and their children (ibid. 17).

In Myerhoff's case, she, the researcher, who shared the same ethnic background but represented a different generation, offered her informants the audience that they were longing for, someone who would make their story heard (see also Skultans 1998, 51). Elsa's life history does not involve losses as dramatic as leaving behind one's own home and culture. However, Elsa's social and physical environment changed significantly during the course of her life. The old iron industry gave way to more modern steel and aluminium production, education replaced family background as the factor directing people's lives, the standard of living rose, and more and more women found their way into working life. At the same time, these changes also affected small villages like that of Inha Ironworks: workers who were made redundant moved to urban areas or to Sweden to find jobs; new office staff were recruited, but their families moved to municipal centres and in consequence services disappeared from the villages and from the countryside. One by one, the old multi-family dwellings of the factory workers, including Elsa's former homes, were demolished. In the end, Elsa too, left the factory village. In her narratives, Elsa builds bridges between her experiences in the old ironworks community and today's world and seeks to make these experiences understood by me.

Some researchers have pointed out that the dialogue between grandparents and grandchildren can be easier, less charged and less complicated than that between the two sequential generations of parents and their children owing to the fact that grandchildren cannot claim authority over the experiences of a period when they were not yet born (see for example Peltonen 1997).⁸¹ I am thus

⁸¹ The Finnish sociologist Eeva Peltonen has analyzed the differences between two generations of Finns in their interpretations of their experiences related to the Second World War (1997). She has noticed that she writes her research for two different audiences: the patriotic generation of older Finnish people who lived through the war years and an

less likely to challenge the way Elsa tells about past events than, for example, my father, whose version could be different and who could challenge his mother's truth. I have noticed that talking about social class, for example, is much more difficult for the members of my father's generation, who – unlike me – spent their childhood in what was still a very hierarchical factory community and who themselves experienced social mobility. In many cases, this generation has had to struggle to make its way upwards and in doing so has needed to distance itself from its past.

One of the challenges of intergenerational dialogue is indeed the fear of being misunderstood or ignored. The psychologist Marja Saarenheimo, who studied the reminiscences of elderly Finnish men and women, noted that her female informants suspected that representatives of younger generations would not understand them or believe them when they told about their life experiences (1997, 100–101; see also Virkkunen 2010, 31). Saarenheimo suggests that this kind of assumption reflects elderly persons' fear of being neglected and of marginalized in our current future-oriented and rapidly changing society. Elsa, too, thinks that people of today would not believe what life was once like. She often emphasizes the differences between the past and the present by referring to “the people of today”, whose lives are easier, who would not have coped in the kinds of circumstances she has had to face, and who never seem to be satisfied with anything. In Elsa's view, the people of today are not capable of understanding the conditions of her childhood and youth and the kind of work she has done, since the world they live in is so different, so full of material goods and unlimited choices. In my view, however, this is not a personal criticism of any actual individuals. The category “the people of today” rather functions as a *rhetorical other*, serving to underline the uniqueness and authenticity of the narrated experience:

E: *People of today* don't understand these things at all. When the shops are full of all kinds of shoes...

SK: [Saima Kilponen, my other, maternal, grandmother]: I think that people of today, they can't understand what it was like. And when they can't understand it, they think it isn't true, just stories.

E: They don't *believe*, they think these things didn't exist to start with.

I: They do believe.

E: Who believes?

I: I do, for example.

E: Well, you're a different matter (11/12, p. 17)

academic audience, who, in Peltonen's view, represent a counter-voice composed of people who were young in the 1960s and in 1970s and who wanted to distance themselves from their parents' legacy. Peltonen herself belongs to this radical generation. After interviewing people of her mother's generation and reflecting on her own reactions, Peltonen understands better the attitudes of both generations. According to her, a dialogic relationship is possible only if the parties can acknowledge the possibility that the other party might be “right”, and if both parties can communicate the reasons behind their thinking (ibid. 98–99). Peltonen believes that later generations may succeed in analyzing the war experiences of her mother's generation more deeply and from a more dialogic perspective (1997, 132–134).

Blind Spots

The advantages and disadvantages of insider/outsider perspectives have been widely discussed in ethnographic research.⁸² The insider's status, which often is inherited, is no longer seen as something that would prevent the ethnographer from taking an analytical and critical attitude towards her/his topic or assuming a researcher's role in the field. Although it could be argued that my kinship and close relationship with Elsa makes me an insider, I would claim that in many ways I am an outsider who explores an "other", a person who has lived in a different culture, at a different time and under very different circumstances. Both of these statuses, insider and outsider, affect the power dynamics of the research and open up different perspectives on the interview material.

It is important to note that even the use of categorizing concepts such as class can easily set the researcher outside the studied group and lead her/him to romanticize the *folkness* of the studied person. In his book *The Man Who Adores the Negro* (2008), folklorist Patrick B. Mullen reflects on race relations and the practice of folklore research. Analyzing his own experiences and attempts to carry out collaborative research with Jesse Truvillion, a son of the African-American folk singer Henry Truvillion, Mullen came to notice some crucial differences between himself and his informant. Both men, Mullen and Truvillion, grew up in southern Texas, came from working-class backgrounds and had moved upwards in the social hierarchy through higher education. However, their racial positions and different intentions towards the studied subject, the songs of Jesse's father, placed them in almost opposite positions and led to the end of their collaborative relations and friendship. Analyzing the reasons that led to the unresolved conflict, Mullen realized that they both shared a common attitude towards what he refers to as working-class "folkness": admiration, appreciation and a romanticizing search for authenticity, as well as a sort of identity crisis resulting from their upward mobility (Mullen 2008, 178–192). However, Jesse Truvillion felt that Mullen did not have a right to the legacy of the Truvillion family's tradition and to the culture of black people in general.

I never had to struggle with a similar kind of question concerning whether I could claim any rights in relation to the subject of my research. Nevertheless, Mullen's reflexive attitude reminds me of the danger of romanticizing the research subject's cultural background, the working-class, which is, as I have noticed, also embedded in both Elsa and me. Although we are representatives of different times and generations we tend to romanticize our backgrounds from a very different basis.

⁸² For an insider perspective, see for example Suojanen 1978, 22–25; Ruotsala 2002; on the insider-outsider dichotomy, see Reinharz 2011.

Especially at the beginning of the research process, I had a black-and-white view of the class differences and divisions within the ironworks community of Elsa's childhood and youth. In the first interviews, I exaggerated the class differences between the worker community and the ironworks' upper classes through my questions and comments, as in the following excerpt in which Elsa describes her routines and duties as a maid servant in a higher-class family:

E: I had to clean and take care of it so that I could serve the lunch at noon when the master came to eat. He came for lunch, and I had to prepare it. The lady of the house helped me. They always had potatoes and sauce for lunch. Sometimes it was lard source, sometimes mushroom sauce. And there were the side dishes...

I: Yes. Did they cook fancy food?

E: Well...just ordinary food. But when they organized a dinner-party and invited the doctors and nurses and pharmacists...

I: Invited?

E: Yes, they were invited, and also Mister Illman and his wife were there. They were exciting events for me. I was only a girl from a poor family. I was so nervous, I had to stay in the kitchen until they called me, change the plates when I heard the bell ringing.

I: Yes.

E: But it went fine.

I: Were they friendly to you?

E: Yes, they were really friendly, especially the lady of the house... (4/12, pp. 2)

I asked Elsa questions that clearly emphasized the social distinctions and distance between Elsa and the higher-class family. Why did I do so? Was I seeking a distinct, *authentic* working-class experience, a strong self-identification and even a politicized worker identity? Certainly, I had not expected that social class would be such a complicated and contradictory matter. Another example of my one-sided thinking has to do with women's roles, a subject that particularly interested me during the interview process. In addition to asking leading questions, I also offered Elsa feminist interpretations:

I: Did women tell any stories, or was it men who told them?

E: Men mostly, women didn't...

I: Elderly women, did they tell stories? Any narratives?

E: They had their own problems, and they told about their own lives. People of today could not live like they did.

I: How?

E: How they lived. Men in those days, they did not do anything for women, women were only...

I: *Servants*?

E: Servants. Yes, men would not do women's jobs.

I: No.

E: Men went their own ways (1/12, p. 16)

In this case, she seems to accept my suggested value-laden word (“servants”) and my interpretation. In later interviews, she presented other, to some extent contradictory views on gender relations which I will discuss in more detail in the analytical chapters.

Folklorist Katherine Borland’s (1991) analysis of her grandmother’s narrative offers an illuminating example of divergent views on women’s role and place in society. Borland interpreted her grandmother’s narrative from a feminist perspective. When she asked her grandmother to comment on the text, Borland found that her views regarding the narrated event differed significantly from her own interpretation. In Borland’s interpretation, the narratives of her grandmother concerning incidents that happened at a horse race reflected a struggle for autonomy in a hostile male environment and presented her grandmother’s father as a representative of the patriarchal order. Her grandmother expressed strong disagreement in a letter she wrote commenting on the interpretations. Explaining that “the female struggle” had never bothered her and emphasizing that she had grown up in a loving family with a strong but warm father figure, the grandmother claimed that the narrative was no longer her own. Borland’s article made a deep impression on me and influenced the ways in which I began to look at my own research material and my interpretations. It is important to note that in some cases, the perspectives chosen by the researcher may force the research material into directions other than those wished for by the narrator or may end up simplifying the complexity of the narrated experience.

There is also another kind of romanticizing that can be found in Elsa’s narratives. Occasionally, they take on an idealizing nostalgic tone as in the following example, where only shortly earlier we had been talking about class dynamics and how they bothered Elsa:

E: I don’t know, but I miss those times. Everybody misses those times we had. Many people who left to go somewhere, and who I’ve met in the cemetery, they ask if I remember what a wonderful time it was. *Everybody was like a sister and a brother to each other.*

I: Yes, it was...

E: We sat on a rock and talked late into the night. In the summertime... the summers were warm, not like these days. It was always warm, but it was not hot.

I: Hm.

E: And when it rained, it was warm, too. [Laughs, and seems to understand the obvious nostalgia] It was so nice, so warm. I don’t know why it seemed so. Barefoot, we would run across the streams.

I: Yes.

E: The water [of the streams] was not cold. But now, when it rains, it is so cold. But when you are a child, it’s all so different.

I: Hm.

E: Of course, the life there [at the ironworks village] changed little by little (7/12, p. 16)

Here, Elsa seems to be aware of the nostalgic character of her childhood memories. There were also situations, in which I pointed this out and challenged her nostalgic recollections, as in the following dialogue:

E: There were a lot of us, there was a nice group of us there. It was like that all the time, we had fun. We joked and...told jokes. It's not like that for young people anymore, I think.

I: Yes it is.

E: I don't think it is.

I: Well, you should come with us and see how we spend time together. If we have nothing else to do, we go to somebody's place, we go to sauna and then we sit at the table after that and...

E: Yes.

I: And we tell jokes and talk and just sit there at the table.

E: Yes, yes.

I: We are not doing something special all the time either.

E: But we did. We would find a warm place, like the guard's shed, the old men were so friendly, they would let us in. They said we could come in to get warm again. We had no other place to go. (6/12, pp. 4–5)

When I analyzed this particular dialogue, I realized that what Elsa was trying to say here was not that she believed that young people of today are incapable of having fun outside the realm of organized activities and mass culture but that she appreciated and longed for the communality that existed between the young people – and the older ones – of the ironworks of her youth. Situations in which the past is clearly romanticized or in which we challenged each other's views are interesting and important in the analysis of the narration and presentation of the self. In my analysis, I have tried to point out these blind spots in our communication and to reflect on the deep underlying assumptions that guided my interaction and initial interpretation in the interview situation. The temporal distance between the interviews and the analysis has helped me in this evaluation.

Research Ethics

According to feminist scholar and oral historian Daphne Patai (1987), the possibility of the interviewer's exploitation of the narrator is built into every research project. Indeed, going deep into another person's life raises a difficult question: Do I have the right to do that? According to the ethical statement of the American Folklore Society and the ethical code of the American Anthropological Association, informants should be informed about the aims and also the anticipated consequences of the research (A Statement of Ethics for the American Folklore Society 1988). The ethical starting point for the present study was that Elsa was willing to talk about her life to me and

gave me permission to study her life narrative. By doing so, she exposed herself and her life story to the interpretations of me and other people who would read my text. We might ask and wonder whether she knew what she was doing when she started to tell me her life story. The answer is perhaps both “Yes” and “No”. At the time when I started my fieldwork, I had a somewhat idealized vision of conducting ethnographic research. I wanted to make Elsa my co-researcher (see Honko 1992; Reinharz 1992, 33) and engage her in the research process. Elsa, too, was very excited about recalling her past. She started writing down memories of her life at Inha Ironworks as they came to her and told me about new things she had remembered whenever I visited her. I asked her to read some studies such as *Marina Takalon uskonto* by Juha Pentikäinen (1971; English version *Oral Repertoire and World View*, 1978) to see how folklore scholars have used and analyzed different kinds of oral materials. After reading Pentikäinen’s work, Elsa told me she had skipped the theoretical parts but had been drawn to read the informant’s own descriptions of her life. Elsa felt that she could easily identify with the informant (Marina Takalo), who like herself had performed hard physical labour.

Elsa knew from the beginning that she was telling her story to a wider audience.⁸³ At first, she hesitated to talk in the presence of a tape recorder. I had to ask various questions, none of which she ever answered. Moreover, she spoke more formally than usually. Surprisingly quickly, however, Elsa became used to the recorder. In the last interview sessions, she did not even notice it and did not try to avoid my questions. Interestingly enough, all the interviews contained some additional information, mostly in the form of asides that were often self-evident to me. This differs from the notions of Sandra Dolby Stahl (1989), who studied her mother’s narratives and reflected on the influence of their close relationship on the content and interpretation of the narratives. Dolby Stahl pointed out that narratives and the meanings embedded in them can be understood on the basis of shared contextual information. The closer the relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer, the more allusions – references to shared contextual knowledge – can be found, and the more opaque the narratives are to outsiders (ibid.8–9). Throughout our interviews, Elsa continued to make comments and provide additional information, which, in my view, demonstrated that she was always aware of the presence of the tape recorder and thus of the on-going production of research material (see also Pöysä 2012, 231). She would not talk about matters that she did not want other

⁸³ On talking to a future archive researcher, see Palmenfelt 2006a, 113; for more on the presence of other audiences, see Yow 2006, 66.

people to hear about and avoided mentioning the names of some people who were still alive at the time of narration.⁸⁴

I made one important decision with regard to the limits of the research process and my close relationship with Elsa which had started before this research process and which continues as the research ends: I have analyzed only the taped material. I have not included any narratives in the text that Elsa told me outside the taped interviews even though some of her stories would have shed more light on the matters analyzed. At the beginning of the research process when I wrote my Master's thesis, Elsa commented on my texts and interpretations. She read the paper I presented at a Master's thesis seminar in January 2003 and wrote me a letter with her comments (see Appendix 3). In it she explained her motives for narrating her experiences. First and foremost, she wanted to use her experiences to educate me (and other people). In studying life stories of elderly American people, folklorist Patrick B. Mullen noticed that in order for the elderly to be recognized and respected in their own communities and a rapidly changing world, one of the roles available was that of the teacher (1992, 25–42). Most of his informants viewed the past as a golden age characterized by moral uprightness, communality and hard work and wanted to pass on these values to the following generations. Elsa's commentary ("*aika kultaa muisto*" [Memories grow sweeter with time]) demonstrated that she was aware of the nostalgic power of reminiscence and the retrospective point of view of the life narrative. At the time, I was relieved by her commentary not only because she expressed her acceptance of my work in general but also because it demonstrated that she had understood my role as the researcher who interprets her words.

To write in another language, a language other than the informant's native tongue, is part of the larger issue of the ethics of representation. In analyzing the research material, I have operated in two languages, Finnish and English (I will deal with the process of analysis later in this chapter). However, most of my scholarly works are published in English, and so is the present final account of this research. There were several factors supporting this decision. At the very beginning of the research process, Elsa gave me permission to study her life story. When I later told her about my plans to write a PhD dissertation based on this material, Elsa told me that she hoped that the study would not be "easily accessible to her neighbours to read". I suggested to her that I could write it in English, which she thought was a good idea. Writing in English, therefore, is a way of respecting

⁸⁴ The names of many of the villagers – including my relatives – appear in Elsa's stories. In cases where a person might take offence, I have chosen to replace their names with pseudonyms. I have indicated this in the quotes of the interview material. In other cases, such as the case of factory owners and managers, I have used the names Elsa mentioned. In the context of a small community, individuals are in any case easily recognized from their position, style of speech and other contextual information.

Elsa's wishes. It does not solve all the ethical dilemmas, however: because this text is written in English, a language Elsa does not know, it is now impossible for her to read the final result. Continuing the interaction and including the informant in the process of interpretation is a principle of *reciprocal ethnography*, evolved and recommended by Elaine J. Lawless as a more ethical research strategy (1992).⁸⁵ Unfortunately, due to Elsa's desire to protect her life story from the scrutiny of her peers and contemporaries, I am not able to fulfil the requirements of a reciprocal ethnography.

In addition to the language barrier, there is yet another problem hindering Elsa's active participation in the research process. Over the last couple of years, her health and other faculties, especially her memory, have deteriorated. In June 2010, she was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. Sad as it is, she does not remember that I am writing this study of her life story. For this reason, I have not asked her for any additional information or negotiated with her about my interpretations since the first clear symptoms appeared in 2008. Despite the tragedy of memory loss, dementia has also brought along new perspectives to the whole issue of life story telling. I have noticed, for example, that certain key narratives continue to be important or even crucial to Elsa's self-representation and communication with other people. In addition to using some of the crystallized narratives I have taped and analyzed, she continues to create new narratives. The narrative structure seems to help her to remember things. In addition, she has still kept her humorous attitude to life. As a result of her illness, I am no longer able to discuss ethical problems or interpretations with Elsa. In many cases, other family members have provided me with valuable contextual information. I have not, however, included them to the process of interpretation by discussing or showing them my research material. In my interpretation, that is not what Elsa would have wanted.

As anthropologist Ruth Behar (1993) has stated, the academic examination of intimate material such as life stories is hard to justify: to take away somebody's story, to analyze it and to twist it, is an act of violence. Behar doubts whether her informant would have wanted to have anything to do with the book she finally published. Remembering and telling about the past is always a selective process. In this research process, I have further selected and left out many parts of Elsa's life story. Over the years, I have forced Elsa's stories of her life into chronological order, transcribed her oral

⁸⁵ The oral historian Joanne Bornat criticizes studies in her own field for valorizing the narrators' voices while often leaving them out of the interpretive process (2006, 465–466). Examples of practices that allow the dialogue to continue after the actual interview situations have been introduced in the context of, for example, community projects (on the notion of *shared authority*, see Frisch 1990) and feminist oral history (see Borland 1991). Following these examples, Bornat considers that the outcome of the research process should be a “partnership which both includes and controls academic powers” (ibid. 466). Bornat's ideas are very close to the principles of reciprocal ethnography.

expressions into textual form and translated them into another language.⁸⁶ I would like to believe, that, as in childbirth, something constructive and beautiful has emerged out of this seemingly violent and painful process.

Classification of the Research Material

Micro-narratives and Key Dialogues

The main analytical tool of this study is the micro-narrative, a short narrative entity that can be distinguished from oral reporting (see Arvidsson 1998, 30; Johansson 2005, 122; Marander-Eklund 2011, 138). Micro-narratives are dense formulations, in which events follow a time line. They express and dramatize important matters in the narrator's life (Marander-Eklund 2011, 148). I have distinguished micro-narratives from the interview dialogue on the basis of two main criteria: 1) micro-narratives involve *structural components* of narrative, sequential segments or episodes (beginning, middle and ending, or set-up, conflict and resolution) which build up *narrative tensions* of cause and effect, problem and solution (Arvidsson 1998, 29); and 2) they contain *narrative keys*, markers that point to important meanings such as signs of emotion, emotive or value-loaded words, or silence, metaphors, quotations (reported speech), humour and irony (Marander-Eklund 2002, 113 and 2011, 148).

In the first phase of my analysis, I identified and named the micro-narratives of Elsa's life narrative (see appendix 4).⁸⁷ Narrative performances often begin with an opening expression. Examples of such opening expressions used by Elsa are "I always remember how..." as "Yes, and once...". Markers of this kind indicate the beginning of a narrative, shifting the authority and power (if only temporarily) into the hands of the narrator and forcing the interviewer to listen (Arvidsson 1998, 25). Folklorist Dell Hymes (1975) coined the term "breakthrough into performance" to describe such moments. Sociolinguists William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1967) presented the key sociolinguistic features of *personal narratives* that serve a communicative function: orientation, complication (action), resolution (the result of the action), evaluation (the point of the story) and

⁸⁶ My strategy in translating the excerpts from the interview transcriptions has not been to give a literal, word-for-word rendering of the original speech but to normalize and streamline the text in order to render what I interpret to be the gist of Elsa's words in linguistically correct, comprehensible and readable English. This means that many of the hesitations, false starts, non sequiturs and the like that are characteristic of natural speech have been omitted in the translation, although I have tried to preserve the colloquial and vernacular tone of the participants' speech.

⁸⁷ I designate the micro-narratives with the number of the interview, the number of the narrative in the listing and the page of the transcript (e.g. 1/12, 1, p.1). If the quoted example has been defined and listed as a micro-narrative, it also carries a title. Those parts of the interview dialogues that are excerpts of descriptive reporting or conversation are only marked with the number of the interview and the page of the transcription.

coda (which returns the narrator to the current moment). These features form an ideal composition of personal narrative. They are not all necessarily present in all narratives, neither do they always follow each other in this order. However, they can be useful in distinguishing micro-narratives from the interview dialogue.

The use of both verbal and non-verbal expressions to dramatize the narratives continues throughout the narrative performance. The means used by Elsa in her storytelling included shifting the tense of the narrative from past to present form, varying her tone of voice (changing the timbre, whispering, shouting) and the use of short words that indicate turning points in the narrative (“then”, “you see”, “Oh my God”, and so on). The focus of the narrative can depend on a small detail or tone of voice.

Sometimes micro-narratives manifest themselves as *small narratives*, stories which are familiar to the listeners and thus need not be recounted in their full length and detail. According to narrative scholars Michael Bamberg and Alexandra Georgekapoulou (2008), these stories occur in everyday life communication and are important in identity formation, a dynamic process in which both narratives and identities are ‘in-the-making’ or ‘coming-into-being’. Arguing that the smallness of everyday talk is ignored by autobiographical methodologies which study “fully-fledged stories”, Bamberg and Georgekapoulou suggest that, rather than seeking to recognize narratives by their structural/textual features, researchers should concentrate on their interactional functions, the “narrative orientation to the world” (ibid.). The concept of the small narrative can be useful in analyzing oral narration within a larger narrative frame such as the life narrative. Short narratives in-the-making also draw our attention to the fact that narratives may have different cycles: they might be told for the first time, have a crystallized form or exist in a large number of variants (Abrahams 2005, 78; Heimo 2010, 54–55).

In the context of the life narrative, it is crucial to analyze single micro-narratives not only in relation to each other but also for their significance and meanings with regard to the larger life narrative framework. This is because within the life narrative context, certain narratives receive more emphasis than others (see Arvidsson 1998, 62; Johansson 2005). These narratives can be called *key narratives*. Some of these narratives are repeated in various different contexts, but their message and form remain the same. In other words, they are crystallized. Some key narratives may be told only once, but they summarize something that was said earlier and clearly emphasize meanings important for the narrator and her/his life trajectory and identity. By this, I do not mean only dramatic turning points in life, or epiphanies as Denzin (1989) calls them, but rather key dialogues or *core episodes* that draw together certain experiences of different times and life stages (see

McAdams 1985; 1993; Hyvärinen 1994). Interestingly enough, the key narratives do not always create coherence or build bridges between different experiences; rather they often point to unresolved ambiguities and contradictions between past experiences (and past selves) and the contemporary narrating self. Narrative scholar Varpu Löyttyniemi calls such narrative entities *core dialogues* (2004, 100). In my analysis I will consider the micro-narratives from this point of view and seek to identify the key dialogues of Elsa's life narrative that relate to her experiences of gender, class and work, their relation to the experiencing self, the narrating self and the narrated self. Key dialogues are especially interesting with regard to social change: How do these dialogues represent dynamic social contexts, norms and ideals, and how does the narrator position her/himself? How is the narrator's experience set in a dialogue with the dominant master narratives? Does the key narrative challenge or support grand narratives or follow universal narrative structures? I use micro-narratives and key dialogues as the main analytical tool for analyzing Elsa's life narrative and experiences of social change.

Positioning: Actors, Time and Space

According to the narratologist Mieke Bal, the basic elements of narrative comprise the actors, events, time and space (1988, 3–13). These elements can be presented from various points of view. Life story interviews produce narratives recounted mainly in the first person "I". However, people often narrate other people's experiences, use their points of view to highlight important issues in their own lives and incorporate narratives from the collective oral traditions to their life narrative repertoire. Portrayals of other people and social groupings and categorizations are important for my analysis because the experiences and points of view of other people can shed light on how the narrator sees herself in relation to others.

Since my aim was not to analyze only the narrative form but also the act of narrating as communication, I wanted to examine the positioning of the teller in the narratives. The narrative scholar Susan Chase states that "rather than locating distinct themes *across* interviews, narrative researchers listen first to the voices *within* each narrative" (Chase 2005, 663, original emphasis). According to Chase (ibid.), that can be done by identifying different narrative strategies such as use of the first-person voice or other forms, positionings of the self and others, juxtaposing contrapuntal voices and navigating the disjunctions between discourses. Interestingly enough, in Elsa's life narrative, the first person plural form "we" is common, especially in narratives concerning her childhood and youth. In her life narrative, Elsa tells numerous stories about central figures of the

village of Inha Ironworks, her family members, older workers and her female colleagues. I am interested in her relation to *significant others*⁸⁸ and also to seemingly random other persons whose roles seem to be of minor importance but who might represent a group that is significant for some aspect of her identity or collective identification ('us'). Sometimes, of course, these other persons simply represent outsiders, *others* or *them*. In my analysis, I have identified the actors of the narratives in order to gain an understanding of Elsa's social world and its different social roles and relations (see the appendix 5).

Patricia Sawin characterizes the role of others in Bessie Eldreth's storytelling by assuming: "The often-heard or feared voice of local social criticism sounds more loudly in her ears than my recent questions" (2004, 58). According to her, many of Eldreth's remarks make more sense in the past historical, social and moral context than in the interview situation. Indeed, it is important to note that narratives cross boundaries between different times and transport lived experiences into a new context, into the present communicative interview situation. The folklorist Katherine Galloway Young (1987) has studied the phenomenology of narratives and distinguished between three realms that narratives draw upon: the conversational realm (in this case, the interview dialogue between Elsa and me), the story realm (the narratives and Elsa's narrating "I" in the interviews) and a tale realm (the world of the narratives and Elsa's experiencing "I").

The folklorist Ulf Palmenfelt has developed Young's analysis on narrative realms. Palmenfelt calls these realms "narrative dimensions" and adds emotional and spatial (geographical) dimensions to them. This allows him to analyze the temporal-spatial patterns and mental/emotional landscapes of personal narratives and thereby obtain fruitful perspectives on teller-listener interaction and the creation of meaning in the narrative performance. Palmenfelt points out that the analytical strength of Young's model lies in its ability to provide links between text-centred and performance-centred analyses, especially with regard to the roles taken by participants during different phases of the narrative event: "While talking, participants in any conversation perform a complicated game of positioning themselves, as well as trying to determinate the position of others, in relation to these fields" (Palmenfelt 2006b, 105). This positioning includes movements between different times, locations and emotions, creating narrative orientations and strategies such as idealization, nostalgia, or distancing. Analysis of spatial and emotional dimensions of the narratives can thus indicate how the narrator negotiates meanings within the interview dialogue. Other specific analytical concepts

⁸⁸ In psychology and sociology, significant others are those persons who are of sufficient importance in an individual's life to affect her/his emotions, behaviour and sense of self. Significant others play an important role in the development and maintenance of identity.

related to categories of actors as well as spatial and temporal dimensions and their metaphoric expressions will be introduced later in the text.

3. A WORKING WOMAN: The Negotiation of Gendered Ideals

The period between the First and the Second World War brought changes and developments that carried far-reaching implications for the lives of working-class women. In Finland, the number of married female industrial workers grew significantly during the 1920s and 1930s (Lähteenmäki 1995).⁸⁹ At the same time, the nation-building and national unity policy of these two decades emphasized gendered ideals of female citizenship that were based on motherhood and new ideologies of homemaking.⁹⁰ These ideologies promoted the importance of a balanced family life and the mother's role as a homemaker by appealing to the physical, social and emotional well-being of the children; women were to function as the moral and emotional foundation of the family (Sulkunen 1989b; Markkola 1994, 229). Female labourers, especially those who had to contribute to the family income, were in a disadvantaged situation, and numerous women's associations discussed the question of working mothers during this period (e.g. Ollila 1993, 271; Markkola 1994, Nätkin 1997).⁹¹ Different women's organizations had differing opinions regarding social policy, but all of them agreed on the important role of the mother and supported the idea that a woman's place was in the home (Nätkin 1997; Ollila 1994, 53).⁹²

At the beginning of the 20th century, health and morality were closely intertwined and connected to social class. It was thought that the lower-classes, especially working-class people, needed to be controlled and "civilized" by the upper classes. Working-class women were advised to improve their living conditions, hygiene and diet (Helén & Jauho 2003, 19). During this time, a new international image of the modern woman appeared: independent, fashionable and urban, a flapper who smoked, drove cars and sought entertainment (Vehkalahti 2000). Finnish women of the 1920s and 1930s, by contrast, were expected to embody moral purity and to orient themselves towards motherhood, and the qualities ascribed to modern independent women were seen dangerous for young unmarried working-class girls employed in factories and had free time and money to spend on entertainment.

⁸⁹ It is important to note that in the 1920s and 1930s, all areas of industry grew and an estimated 100 000 new workers were hired. Many of these were women (Hjerpe et al. 1976, 43–44).

⁹⁰ Sulkunen 1989; Kaarinen 1995; Helén 1997; Nätkin 1997; Tuomaala 2004; Vehkalahti 2000.

⁹¹ At the end of the 19th century, the concept of modern citizenship for Finnish women was oriented towards "societal motherhood" (*yhteiskunnallinen äitiys*),⁹¹ meaning that the ideal role of middle- and upper-class women was to take part in social movements and to participate in public life and political decision making in areas that came within their sphere of responsibility, namely education and social policy. Thus women came to be active in the temperance movement, religious organizations and in women's and youth associations (Sulkunen 1986; Ollila 1993, Markkola 1994).

⁹² In the process of creating a civic society and the Finnish nation, the "home" was made into a centre of both middle-class and working-class ideals (see Saarikangas 1993; Markkola 1994, 230; Rojola 1999). Similar developments also happened in other Western countries such as Sweden (e.g. Åström 1985; also Löfgren 1987, 79).

In this chapter, I address the question of how Elsa narrated her experiences of gendered practices, norms and ideals at different stages in her life: her childhood in the 1930s and her youth and early adulthood in the 1940s. What kind of behaviour was expected from a Finnish working-class girl living in an agrarian factory community in the 1930s and 1940s? What models did Elsa follow or reject, and what choices could she make? How did she view her past life in relation to the roles and ideals of her youth juxtaposed against new ideas about emancipated women? In the first part of the chapter, I analyze how Elsa reflects on gender roles, good motherhood and the normative expectations concerning the proper behaviour of female labourers. In other words, I am interested in examining her reflections concerning the place of women. In the second part, I concentrate on exploring gender roles in Elsa's working environment. How did young girls who were not yet adults cope with the masculine factory environment and working culture? My intention is to study narration about both factory work and workplace culture as it is portrayed in Elsa's narratives.

In this chapter I also scrutinize different types of narratives: namely 1) true-life experience-based narratives and 2) humorous narratives, some of which can be characterized as jokes. In both types of narrative, Elsa evaluates her own life and contrasts her situation with that of with other women such as her own mother and fellow workers. The humorous narratives touch upon sensitive issues and taboos that are not addressed in personal experience narratives, including male-female relations and the sexual norms that prevailed at the work place. The humour, in which these matters are exaggerated, parodied and turned upside down, calls into question some of the most obvious aspects of social dynamics which might otherwise be taken for granted.

Family Dynamics, Generations and Gendered Ideals

The Model of the Heroic Mother

Parents often belong to the significant others whose meaning and importance is discussed in life narratives.⁹³ The mother and the father can be given the role of either good characters, with whom the narrator identifies, or bad ones, from whom s/he seeks to distance him-/herself. Elsa grew up in a large family of twelve children. Gender roles in the family were clear and sharp: Elsa's father worked outside the home, earning an income for the big family, while her mother stayed at home to rear the children, cook food and do the laundry. Elsa respected her parents, especially her mother

⁹³ Many researchers have drawn attention to parental figures in life narratives and autobiographical writings; see for example Passerini 1988, 23; Määttänen 1993 and 1998; Vilkkö 1997; Roos & Rotkirch 1997; Komulainen 2001; Latvala 2005; Rosen 2008.

Hilda, whom she described as a silent and industrious woman. Elsa's father Kalle was an authoritarian figure who often aroused fear among his children.⁹⁴ He raised the children of the family through intimidation and discipline and required that his orders be followed without questioning. Elsa's descriptions of her father portrayed him as ruling over the home with an iron hand:

Stuck in the Arm with an Awl

So our father was strict. He often did side jobs, he was a shoemaker, so he repaired shoes that neighbours or somebody else brought round. And we were not supposed to go anywhere near his corner, especially when he was sewing the bottom of a shoe with tar thread. He pulled it a long way back, and he had an awl in one hand and he had one in the other. So he had two awls. He made a hole with one and then pushed the end of the tar thread through it, the same way as a sewing machine. And I happened to pass by him right then, I didn't watch out. And the awl came towards me like this when he pulled on it. And so when I went by, I got stuck in my arm. They didn't comfort me; I cried, but I wasn't even supposed to cry. My father was so strict, he said "You won't ever come here again; remember you're not allowed to." [...] He stood up and had to interrupt his work. And it was my fault that I had gone there even though I was told not to. (11/12, 3, p. 1)

Compared to her strict father, Elsa's mother's character was different. According to Elsa, her mother was quiet and calm, although she was always busy. When I inquired whether Elsa's mother had told the children stories or played with them, Elsa laughed at my question and explained that her mother had been too busy feeding the large family:

Mum's Discipline

I: Was she the kind of mother who would tell you stories and play with you?

E: Well, she [laughs] kind of bustled around, and we children played around her legs...

I: She must have had work to do...

E: ... she did all the household work. Yes. There was a huge tub for dough when it was baking day and ...

I: Yes.

E: And we had big saucepans, a pot for boiling potatoes on the stove. And the sauce was prepared, not in small portions like we make it.

I: No.

E: So, she had no time. We could play there, and sometimes we played pretty wildly. We, that is Aino, Aili and me – Helena was small at that time. So she didn't play with us, but she was under our feet. Sometimes we made hats, fine hats for our heads.

⁹⁴ The authoritarian conception of parenthood of the first half of the 20th century based on distance and inequality: children were supposed to respect their parents, know their place, behave well, be silent and, above all, obey the rules. They were expected to stay out of the way while the parents took care of their daily duties (Ruoppila 1954; Korkiakangas 1996, 42; Tuomaala 2004, 84; Latvala 2005, 206). The strict rules often had to do with practical issues such as security (Korkiakangas 1996, 256; Tuomaala 2004, 84). Children showed their respect for their parents by using the formal form of "you" (the equivalent of the French *vous* or German *Sie*) when addressing them. In Elsa's family, the only exception was made for the youngest child Sointu, Elsa's little sister, who according to Elsa was pampered in other ways as well.

I: From what?

E: Whatever we could find. We wrapped it around our heads...

I: Yes.

E: And we laughed. She [mother] was tired then, of course. All she did was come over to us and clap her hands over our heads [Elsa demonstrates this by clapping her hands] and said "*lits, läts*". We knew we had to stop. We had to be quiet. She never hit us. She just did this [claps her hands]. It was funny, I still remember how she did it, she came to me and clapped her hands over my head.

I: Yes.

E: And she went back to her household chores. We didn't say anything.

I: Hm.

E: We accepted it. We knew it [the game] was over. We didn't insist. We just went quietly to another room and stayed there thinking to ourselves. (7/12, 7, p. 11)

Parents whose hands were full with work did not have time to play with children (see also Korkiakangas 1996, 243). As becomes clear from Elsa's response, the children understood their mother's situation: she constantly had a baby to nurse, and her hands were full trying to feed the big family, keep the house clean and do the laundry in a flat which lacked running water. She could not rest even when she would have desperately needed to, nor did she ask others for help under such circumstances. For instance, Elsa recounted one story in which Hilda went to the outhouse without assistance just a few hours after giving birth:

The Heroic Mother

E: My parents were both over 30 years old when they got married.⁹⁵

I: Over thirty?

E: Yes,

I: OK.

E: And every one-and-a-half years they had [laughing] a child.

I: Yes.

E: Well, I couldn't follow in her footsteps like that. No way.

I: No.

E: She was pregnant all the time. I never saw her having periods.

I: No,

E: You see, they never had time to start.

I: No.

E: And the old workers of the ironworks once said to me that my mother was brave, since she had just had a child [...], and there was the world's biggest outhouse. *Yes*.

E: So they saw her out there [going to the outhouse],⁹⁶ and asked how come Hilda is here, and she having just given birth. She just told them that she's going now, when her stomach is empty [when she was no longer pregnant]. She'd been pregnant all the time. So, so when her stomach is empty, off she goes [to the outhouse].

⁹⁵ Elsa's father was 33 years old and her mother 24 when they married.

⁹⁶ The reason the other workers could see Elsa's mother going to the outhouse was that her home was right next to the factory yard, and anytime anybody went to the outhouse, they had to cross the factory yard.

I: That was pretty tough.

E: It was.

I: Certainly brazen, but sort of [I + E together:] gutsy.

E: Yes, it was. And then because the river was close by, you see, she didn't have time to lie around on her confinement bed.

I: No.

E: She went and washed the laundry there.

I: Goodness.

E: The old people were really as tough as old tree stumps.

I: True.

E: People of today couldn't do that sort of thing. No way. The office staff also saw her, because the office was by the river bank. They wondered why Hilda was washing the laundry when she'd just given birth. And nothing happened to her. (7/12, 5, p.8–9, variant 11/12, 2, p.1)

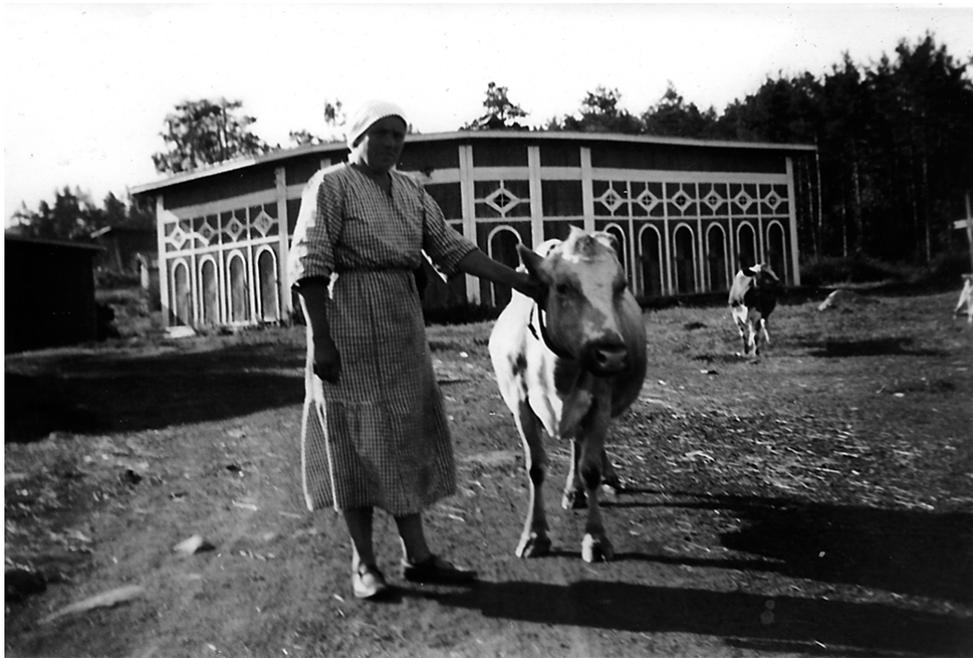


PHOTO 3: The communal outhouse that served the worker's families who lived next to the factory in the residential area called *Hamarimäki* was a red building beautifully decorated with white wooden ceilings. It was variously called the Worlds' Biggest (*mailman suurin*), Europe's Biggest (*Euroopan suurin*) or the World's Most Beautiful (*mailman kaunein*) outhouse.

During the interview, I commented on Elsa's narrative with murmurs of wonder and admiration. Elsa, for her part, simply underlined her mother's strength by describing how other people had commented to her about her mother's situation. These other people, who were "old workers of the ironworks" and members of the white-collar office staff, admired her mother's strength but also worried over her health. In my view, Elsa used these mixed reactions to portray her mother as a heroine of everyday life.

In discussing the concept of heroism in everyday life, historian Ilona Kemppainen (2010) wonders whether an uneventful life can offer any opportunities for heroic deeds. Kemppainen, who analyzed written responses to a questionnaire regarding Finnish people's perceptions of heroes and heroines commissioned by the Finnish Literature Society's Folklore Archives in 2002 and 2003, found that the heroines mentioned by the Finns who answered the questionnaire were often the respondents' own mothers (ibid. 199). According to Kemppainen, one way of becoming a hero was to cope under harsh conditions, to persevere, to overcome the odds. This kind of heroism was not seen as a choice but rather as the result of circumstances that left a person no option but to carry on. In this sense, designating someone as a hero may hide other, less admirable, sides of the person, may draw attention away from the question of why s/he ended up in a particular situation in the first place, or may help to highlight and understand the circumstances under which the person lived (ibid. 203–204). Elsa felt respect but also pity for her mother. In the preceding narrative, she states that people living today, including herself, could not have lived like her mother. Elsa's mother Hilda had no choice but to take care of her numerous children and do all of the household work herself. She had no means of controlling the number of children she had, nor did she have enough help available to be able to rest sufficiently.

Kemppainen also points out another interesting reason for celebrating heroic female figures: the sacrifices of women are often underlined by contrasting them with the less heroic behaviour of men (2010, 210–213). This is also true in Elsa's narratives, which portray a strict and cranky father and a calm, hard-working mother. Elsa's narratives include some references to the severe tensions in her family caused by her father's drinking problem, which affected both the family's economic situation and their emotional well-being. For example, in the narrative I have entitled *Real Santas* (1/12, 35, p. 23, quoted in Chapter 5, p. 162), Elsa told about one Christmas during which her father had been away from home drinking heavily with other men. Interestingly enough, she never recounted in detail any of the instances in which her drunken father came back from a gathering of male workers who had just been paid their salaries and began to behave aggressively. On these occasions, Elsa mentioned that her mother and the children had to escape from the house into the dark night, but none of these horrific experiences ended up being taped even though I and other members of the family have frequently heard such stories from her. Elsa, for example, described to me how her mother advised the children to put on warm clothes when they went to bed in order to be able to make a quick getaway from the house if their father returned home and became aggressive.

The overconsumption of alcohol among adult males was a typical and serious problem in working-class families, which according to ethnologist Orvar Löfgren (1987) adversely affected their well-being. Using the term “working-class respectability”, coined by historian J. Robert Wegs (1982), Löfgren argues that workers fought a two-front battle “against the middle class and against the lowest proletariat”.⁹⁷ Thus there were “good worker families”, whose fathers did not drink on a daily basis and whose mothers took good care of the family. But even if the home was tidy and safe, working-class children could get themselves into trouble, drink alcohol and engage in criminal or other morally suspicious activities. Worker families lived in a constant fear of losing their footing in society (Löfgren 1987, 84). Although Elsa’s father had various side jobs and was the major breadwinner of the family, he was also the one who wasted money on drinking and playing cards. The drunken, and unpredictable and sometimes aggressive father stands in sharp contrast to the heroic and calm mother, who was constantly pregnant and had to take care of the needs of a large family.

While Elsa’s narratives do not offer any direct moral judgments on her father’s drinking, she represented her mother as a heroic figure who managed to remain stoic and calm in the face of her struggles to maintain a large household despite the threat posed by her husband’s alcoholism. But what purpose did these stories about her mother (and father) serve in Elsa’s life narrative? How did her family background affect her life? By depicting someone as a hero we not only show respect for that person but also construct ideals and set standards against which we can compare other people’s achievements (Kempainen 2010, 209). In telling about her mother’s constant pregnancies, Elsa identified her mother with the older generation of persons whose lives were difficult and full of toil but who were nevertheless strong and persevering (see E. Stark 2011, 253–254). Celebrating the endurance and strength of women in the past is one way in which the stereotype of the hard-working Finnish woman is constructed. Ethnologist Hilikka Helsti (2000) has studied cultural knowledge and experiences related to childbirth in early 20th-century Finland and particularly the image of the hardworking Finnish superwoman who gave birth without assistance in the midst of her agrarian and household chores and shortly thereafter returned to work. Helsti points out that these stories of heroic mothers in the agrarian communities of 19th-century and early-20th-century Finland are understandable in a culture that extolled the virtues of the hard worker.

In my view, Elsa’s narratives about her mother can be interpreted as both supporting and contesting this idea of the strong and hard-working Finnish woman. Her narratives discussed the ideals and

⁹⁷ For more on the notion of respectability in analyses of social class, see Skeggs 1997.

harsh reality of the women of her mothers' generation, but Elsa's life was different and easier compared to the circumstances of these women. Nevertheless, Elsa, too, had to find a balance between her own desires and the ideals of the hard-working woman and the sacrificing mother, albeit in different ways. Her life trajectory included other kinds of work, paid labour in a factory and home-making. Despite the challenges presented by these different kinds of work, Elsa acquired the necessary skills for both.

The Working Mother as Homemaker

Elsa's school career, which began in 1934, was brief. In 1939, military mobilization closed the school at Inha Ironworks. One morning, Elsa woke up and looked out of the window in her white nightdress and saw a soldier staring her in the face. Terrified, Elsa called her mother, who told her to close the curtains and be quiet. Troops had arrived during the night. There were more soldiers in the yard; they had come to ask if they could buy some coffee.⁹⁸ The school building began to be used as a training camp for non-commissioned officers of the Finnish Army. When the school was closed, Elsa, like other children, had to contribute to the family income. She began working part-time as a maidservant in the family of a teacher who lived and worked at the nearby Tuomarniemi Forestry Institute, and she later took up employment in a family whose head, Ove Amberg, the son of Reinhold Amberg, the former general manager of Inha Ironworks, worked as a technical engineer in the ironworks.⁹⁹ While she was serving in these families, Elsa became familiar with middle-class ways of doing household work and rearing children.¹⁰⁰ Elsa's work as a maidservant was a position of apprenticeship that gave her many skills that turned out to be necessary in her future life as a married woman. She told about both the positive and the negative experiences that she encountered in these jobs, which will be the subject of a later analysis. Here, however, I highlight Elsa's narrative about one of her employers, the lady of the house Mrs. Amberg, who advised Elsa in her

⁹⁸ Elsa's narrative *Soldier at the Window* (6/12, 1, p. 1).

⁹⁹ Reinhold Amberg was the general manager between the years 1917 and 1938. The next general manager was his son-in-law Birger Illman (Rautainen Tarina 1991, 42).

¹⁰⁰ Until the 1910s, the most common occupation for females working outside the home was that of maidservant (see Vattula 1981). This was true even of women from farming families. Working-class girls often served in middle-class households. Elsa's eldest sister Aura, for example, worked as a maidservant for the stationmaster of the nearby Ähtäri railway station. In 20th-century Finland, agrarian maids were young. If they were really young, that is under the age of fifteen, they were not necessarily even paid for their work, but were only offered food and board. In the 1920s and 1930s, there was a lack of servants especially in the cities, and during the whole interwar period most of the maids in the cities were relatively young. In official documents from the year 1928, young servants in the cities were called either maidservants (*kotiapulainen/apulainen*) or nannies (*lastenhoitaja*), whereas more experienced maids were household assistants (*talousapulainen*), housekeepers (*taloudenhoitaja*), matrons (*emännöitsijä*), or cooks (*keittäjä*). After the Second World War, domestic work was more common among adolescent women than among adults, and the shortage of maids continued to grow. (Rahikainen 2006, 228–229.)

tasks and whom Elsa clearly admired. The ideas of Mrs. Amberg provide insights into the attitudes and expectations regarding the future of a working-class girl:

The Perfect Household

So, yes, it was quite a nice place. The lady was really nice, she gave me friendly advice and they had a perfect household. She always said to me: “Elsa will remember that we have a perfect household, and Elsa will bear in mind how to do things so when she has her own home, she can keep it in order.” So, that’s how right from the start there I got guidelines for a slightly better life. (4/12, 3, p.3)

At the beginning of the 20th century, the upper classes saw it as their duty to teach and civilize the lower-classes.¹⁰¹ Middle-class housewives were expected to provide a model for working-class women such as maids from working-class backgrounds. The working classes admired the upper-class life style, the “better life”. In order to obtain this better life for herself, Elsa needed to learn how a middle-class household was organized. She assisted in cooking, cleaning and ironing, carried firewood, served meals and washed dishes. At the same time, she learned about table manners, proper dress, and socializing.

When Elsa worked as a maidservant, she was still a child. Confirmation classes were considered to mark the boundary between childhood and youth and were understood to be a clear step towards full adulthood with its concomitant rights and responsibilities (Järvinen 1993, 117; Ruoppila 1954; Tuomaala 2009b, 61).¹⁰² After completing confirmation classes at the age of fifteen, Elsa began full-time work at Inha Ironworks in 1942. This was due to a war-time law passed that year, which obliged all citizens above the age of fifteen to perform productive work.¹⁰³ Girls could also sign up for voluntary work camps (Saraste 1990; Sysiharju 1997).

Inha Ironworks served the war industry, and workers were sorely needed.¹⁰⁴ Elsa related: “we, the girls of the ironworks were lucky, because we got work at the factory. If we had not received that, they would have taken us somewhere, to work on the wetlands or on logging sites cutting firewood” (5/12, p. 2). Here, Elsa was referring to the duty of providing the state with a certain amount of firewood (*mottivelvollisuus*), an obligation which concerned all adult citizens (Saraste 1990). Elsa

¹⁰¹ E.g. Sulkunen 1989a, 37–44; Ollila 1993, 47; Markkola 2002, 221–227.

¹⁰² Another factor in determining the transition from childhood to adolescence was basic education. When primary school was made obligatory in 1921 and extended to age 16 instead of age 14 as before, the boundary between childhood and youth shifted. (Tuomaala 2004, 99–155; Tuomaala 2009b, 61.)

¹⁰³ The obligation to work had already been enacted for adults in 1939. In 1942, the law was extended to include young people above the age of fifteen (Kirves & Näre 2008, 66–68). A similar kind of legislation determined the wartime lives of women in Britain. In particular, this affected young unmarried women, whom the state saw as free agents and a mobile work force (Summerfield 1998, 45).

¹⁰⁴ Approximately 70 000 women served the war industry in Finland during the Second World War. These women were not trained or used to this kind of work, which sometimes led to accidents (Lähtenmäki 2000, 159)

was happy to have a chance to stay at home in a familiar environment, despite the fact that it meant harsh physical labour in rather unpleasant circumstances:

Then I went to work [at the factory]. I got more money there. But it was the kind of work that today's people wouldn't do. You know, they burned coal there. We heated the furnaces and... It wasn't a clean job. It was heavy. (4/12, p. 7)

Elsa's narrative highlights the dirt and arduousness of the work but at the same time celebrates the fact that she managed to cope with it.

In the 1930s and 1940s, work in factories was divided into men's and women's jobs. Men carried out the most physically demanding tasks, but also those that required the most training and professional knowledge. Mechanization and the lightening of the workload opened up more opportunities for women (Lähteenmäki 1995, 55). At the ironworks, women worked as handymen, packers and production line workers, while men operated and repaired the machines, rolled iron, and fed the coal furnaces. The gendered division of labour changed during the war when women had to replace men in the factories. Statistically, however, the proportion of Finnish women in the industrial work force during the Second World War did not radically increase (Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2009, 142). The significant change was that women, including young women, now had to do – or had a chance to do – more demanding tasks, in other words, *men's work*. Through this work, many women gained self-esteem and valuable working experience during the war.¹⁰⁵ Although some women gave up their wartime jobs and returned home to rear the children and to take care of the household after the men came back from the war, many women continued working. Elsa was among these women who were able to stay on at work – at least until she married in 1948.

Social policy historian Ritva Nätkin reminds us that the discourse pertaining to the double burden of working women and their need to juggle between work and family was introduced only very recently. Motherhood was long considered to be a straightforward matter, a natural part of the life of female citizens, and it was portrayed as the mission of all women (Nätkin 1993, 165–166). Elsa did not question the period in which she stayed at home to rear her children. Her repertoire of narratives nonetheless includes very few narratives dealing with her role as a mother and a homemaker or her experiences of being at home with her children. When I asked her directly about her daily life at home with her children, her answer was interesting:

I: What was daily life with the kids like at the ironworks?

¹⁰⁵ Satka 1993, 1994; Lähteenmäki 1994; Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2009.

E: Well, I wasn't working then. I kind of filled in as a sort of replacement during the summer holidays. They asked me then because there were some things still running there. (5/12, p. 15)

Thus, instead of reminiscing about the years when her children were small, Elsa told me she was not working full-time but was a summer replacement worker. It seems to have been her choice to portray herself in these interviews as a worker and not primarily as a mother. She might also have thought that I was interested in learning about factory work and life in a factory community rather than childrearing, a sphere of life potentially too mundane to be worth telling about. However, I was able to find some narratives that touched upon her experiences of childrearing.

On two different occasions (Interviews 5 and 6), Elsa told about encounters with health care professionals in which she disagreed with them on issues related to childcare and family size. One of the narratives concerned a situation in which a district nurse who had recently begun to hold appointments at Inha Ironworks paid a visit to her house to see how she was doing with her first child:

Inconsiderate Advice

Then, you see, this nurse appeared. She had an office, an empty room out of the way, and she started to hold [appointments] every day for a short while. And she came to see me and asked me whether I should start thinking about having another child. I said "Listen, if I could just first get this one raised till it's big enough to walk." So she apologized. Yes. (6/12, 23, p. 15)

At the beginning of the 1930s, birth rates decreased in Finland, which alarmed population policy-makers (Nätkin 1993, 167; 170–171; Helsti 2000, 225). The state began a major promotion of childbearing. Motherhood continued to be a central issue in policies that were pursued during the Second World War and the period of post-war reconstruction.¹⁰⁶ In the wartime and post-war periods, the Finnish state and many women's organizations were worried over the welfare of families, children and mothers. In 1941, the Family Federation (*Väestöliitto*) was founded to improve the living conditions of families with children. In its early years, the Federation promoted a family model of at least four and ideally six children per family (Satka 1993, 60; Nätkin, 1997, 82–83, 89).

The general atmosphere of Elsa's youth during the wartime and the post-war period encouraged young women at all levels of society to become mothers and homemakers. The wartime period taught young Elsa household management skills through her work as a maidservant, but it also gave

¹⁰⁶ The wartime period increased the value placed on motherhood and maternal sacrifice. Mothers were crucial for the reproduction of new citizens and for safeguarding patriarchal values on the home front (see Satka 1994; Kemppainen 2006b; Hytönen 2011). Motherhood was also a uniting factor for women of different social backgrounds (see Olsson 2005, 58–59).

her access to men's work at the ironworks. Thus during her lifetime, Elsa experienced both homemaking and factory work, but not simultaneously. She stayed at home to rear her children during the period of post-war reconstruction, and went back to work when her children were older. Engaging in factory work or staying home to rear her children were not choices that Elsa questioned in her narration of her life. Rather, she presented these two life stages as representative of her generation. However, going back to factory work and thereby avoiding the life of a middle-class housewife was a conscious choice that Elsa made. These became the crucial themes of her narrative, and through them she renegotiated her role as a woman and her own place in the world.

It is important to note that Elsa made her choice during the time when married women, including middle-class women, made their way into wage labour and when wage labour became a norm for *modern* women. In 1950, 29.4 per cent of wage earners were women. In 1960, the percentage was 38.5 and in 1964, 39.8 per cent (Haavio-Mannila 1968, 57–58). It could be thus argued that Elsa's choice followed this trend.

The Woman I Want (You) to Be

The following narrative, which I have titled *Back to Work*, is one of the key dialogues that feature in Elsa's life story, although it is not repeated in any other of the interviews, and has no crystallized form (see Chapter 2). The narrative is full of meanings and emotions and of contradictions. At the beginning of this long narrative, Elsa describes the situation in which she ended up after raising her children at home for several years:

Back to Work

They studied at the same time, Raija [Elsa's daughter, the eldest of her three children] in Vaasa, and Eino [Elsa's husband] studied at home and took his exams. So I had to go back to work. I worked, and my life was kind of, well, Raija studied upstairs and the old man downstairs. [...] I had to be quiet. Simo and Asko [Elsa's sons] were doing their own things outside [playing and practising sports]. Many times I went outside crying. [...] I couldn't do anything, no household work or anything. So my life was like that. But on the other hand, our financial situation became better when he [Eino] graduated. (8/12, 1, p. 1)

Elsa's husband Eino studied to earn a technician's diploma through a correspondence course. At the same time, Elsa's eldest child, her daughter Raija, had started her studies at a vocational college. It is most likely that Elsa and her husband were paying for their children's studies and financially supporting them since their children – unlike working-class children in their parents' youth – could receive and were expected to undergo secondary vocational education after primary school. By

continuing to work in the factory and thereby securing the possibility for her children and husband to study, Elsa gave up her space and her activities in the home, at least temporarily. However, Elsa, who acknowledges that these arrangements contributed to the welfare and income of the family, describes herself as feeling subordinated and powerless in the face of these changes, which affected her life at a social, personal and emotional level.

E: [...] It was so that I shouldn't even have worked after Eino graduated. And I've always been a "greasy-skinned worker", as they used to call people who did dirty work. I was one of those. And then my husband was there among the white-collar staff. So I suffered from this, too.

I: So, was it so that the grandpa [Eino] didn't want you to work?

E: No, he didn't. (8/12, 1, p. 2)

Having educated himself, Elsa's husband had obtained a better position at work and had risen in the social hierarchy. At this point, he would have wanted Elsa to stay at home. Through this narrative, Elsa touched upon issues that were central to her sense of self, expressing her worker identity with a colourful expression, which I will analyze in more detail in Chapter 4. The following episode was a turning point in which Elsa's feelings culminate in emancipatory action:

I: So he was better than you?

E: Yes, and we talked about it constantly, because I wanted to [go back to work], as our sons were already studying. They went to Vaasa, both of them, Simo and Asko. They were at the technical college. At the same time. They were there at the same time, although Asko was already married, he had a family, or not a family, but a wife. They were, they lived there. And Simo went there as well; he was staying in a student flat. And think about it, we needed money, and it was difficult for me at home alone. So I talked about it. I said I would go to Tuomarniemi [the Forestry Institute] to ask for a job. My husband forbade it strictly. "You won't go there." And I said nothing to him, when I heard that some other women had got jobs [at the factory] when their husbands were taking courses. I thought that since my husband had been studying and was still studying, I could go and ask. So I went to the engineer, and I told him who I was, and I told him that I'd thought about this, and that I'd heard that women whose husbands were studying or went taking courses could get a job. So I asked if I had a chance. He said "yes" right away. So I got work, and we didn't discuss it anymore. I just plucked up courage and went there.

I: All by yourself, without permission?

E: Yes, without permission. (8/12, 1, p. 2)

At first, I interpreted this narrative as being told by "an emancipated working woman claiming her rights" (see for example Koskinen-Koivisto 2008). This was perhaps due to my interest in studying paid labour connected to agency (cf. Markkola 2002). Later, however, after looking it again, I noticed that what Elsa had actually said was that she had followed the example of other women in similar circumstances. Furthermore, her narrative contains a contradictory follow-up:

E: Yes, I did, without permission. But at that time, a wife was almost like a man. Men were men in those days, in my opinion. Compared to nowadays. They [people of the past] lived according to what men decided. There were the old folks, I followed them, they were at home. Men earned the money, and very few women worked. Then it started to change, the factory expanded. It started producing hinges and lots of other things, so the workers were no longer the same, they said, and since hinge production was suitable for women...

I: Yes, steel.

E: Yes, all the steel objects. So there were many other wives of white-collar workers there. But the fact is that they [the other workers] looked down on us a bit, they didn't talk about everything when we were there.

I: Hm.

E: And I suffered from that. I thought I was still the same working woman as the others were. I hadn't been to school. I just had the skills to do the hard work. (8/12, 1, pp. 2–3)

In most ironworks and steel industry communities of the mid-20th century, the man's role as the breadwinner was the norm.¹⁰⁷ If a man could not meet his responsibilities and a wife had to work outside the home, the husband experienced shame (Modell & Hinshaw 1996; Lappalainen 2008, 71). This norm might explain why Elsa's husband did not want her to work.¹⁰⁸ But how to explain Elsa's confusion and feelings of ambivalence about, on the one hand, being proud of her independence but, on the other, being nostalgic about the days of *real* men? In my interpretation, the issue of social climbing and class identities are keys to understanding Elsa's situation and her later reflections. In Elsa's case, her husband was neither irresponsible nor lazy. Rather, through studying and obtaining a higher position, he had delivered on the expectations of a male breadwinner who was the responsible head of his household. Perhaps, Elsa's nostalgic longing for real men and traditional masculinity expresses her feelings about the *real* manual labour of the genuine working class? Had her husband's abandonment of manual labour and a working-class identity caused her to lose respect for him?

Folklorist Patricia Sawin has emphasized the fact that changes in gender roles – even when these roles are flexible – require negotiation (2004, 59). Sawin's informant, Bessie Eldreth lived in a hierarchical and patriarchal Appalachian mountain community. Her husband did not fulfil his responsibilities as the breadwinner of the family, and in addition to rearing eleven children, Eldreth had to work outside the home in various low-status and physically demanding jobs. Sawin notes

¹⁰⁷ The idea of the husband as the primary breadwinner has its roots in bourgeoisie ideals and wage labour society (Häggman 1994, 89; E. Stark 2011, 194–199). In the agrarian society, the work force of both men and women was needed and the physically demanding work was divided between men's jobs and women's jobs (Stark-Arola 1998, 87). When capitalism and industrialism brought about the wage labour economy, rural Finnish men – also landless and lower-class men – could earn money for themselves and their families. This development, along with industrial wage labour and modern mechanized agriculture, created a gendered division of labour in which men became breadwinners for their families.

¹⁰⁸ For other examples of situations in which men who had become foremen did not want their wives to work outside the home, see Lappalainen 2008, 71; Steel 2011, 115.

that in representing herself, Eldreth often used reported speech, especially men's authoritative arguments and positive evaluations of her actions. During the several years of dialogic ethnography between Sawin and Eldreth, the narrator seemed to develop and become emancipated as a speaker. This, according to Sawin, enabled Eldreth talk back to her unsupportive husband although after he had passed away (2004, 25). Following Sawin's logic, it could be argued that when recounting the critical moments of her own life Elsa, too, moves closer to today's values of female emancipation. Interestingly, Elsa does not use reported speech or anybody else's voice but talks from her own perspective. Perhaps the process of reflecting on her experiences to me enabled – or forced – her to present a more emancipated narrated self. However, it is important to note that Elsa also expressed ambivalent feelings about her experience of this change. By educating himself, Elsa's husband had lived up to the new ideals and possibilities of individual improvement. Elsa – like many other women of her time – did not get a chance to change her life in the same way. By going back to work, Elsa chose from among the few possibilities available to her, and in doing so she undermined the patriarchal power within the family and acted according to new gendered ideals of equality, albeit not necessarily consciously. Decades later, when recounting her life to her female grandchild, Elsa was aware of this shift in expectations. Despite her emancipatory experiences, she partly longed for the good old days, when social divisions were clear and she was treated with respect as the worker she felt herself to be.

Gender and Humour in the Factory Environment

Humour is used for a variety of purposes in everyday social interaction. It serves, for example, to express solidarity and friendliness, thereby creating a sense of community (see for example Pöysä 2012), but divisive humour may accentuate power differences and give rise to exclusion (see for example Lappalainen 2008). Humour plays a central role in Elsa's life narrative. She learned to appreciate joking during the monotonous labour at the production line, to experience relief in the absurd jokes that poked fun at the hierarchies and the toil of everyday life, and which indirectly derided the ridiculous expectations of the social environment. As an elderly woman, she often views her past experiences as funny, and makes fun of her own current situation. Humour has come to characterize Elsa's attitude to life.

Dirty Work, Dirty Talk

During the era of modernization, Finnish women were regarded as having a crucial role as the moral heart of the family and the nation.¹⁰⁹ According to Löfgren, gender roles in everyday life practices such as drinking patterns and forms of socializing were often quite rigidly defined among the working classes (1987, 86).¹¹⁰ Men went to work and participated in public activities such as politics, sport and cultural events. Drinking and playing cards were also common male pursuits (cf. Anttila 2000; Salmi-Niklander 2004, 241–242). Women, for their part, not only took care of the household and reared children, they also kept up the family's reputation by staying at home, keeping the house clean, teaching the children good manners and dressing them well. And even when they did take part in public events and worked outside the home, they were still expected to perform their domestic duties. Expectations regarding the behaviour of young working-class girls, future mothers, and housewives, were accordingly rigorous and somewhat contradictory. As working-class girls, they worked in the male-dominated factory spaces and were given some freedom to move outside the home, but the morality of their behaviour was nonetheless carefully monitored.¹¹¹ Elsa's narratives of erotic joking among men and women shed light on the ways through which both older and younger workers, male and female, communicated their ideas about sexual morals and respectability in the working environment.

According to sociologist Gary Alan Fine (2009), the experience of humour often depends on two elements: the perception of a normal pattern and the perception of a violation of such a pattern.¹¹² Humour thus plays with the boundaries of normativity and their violation. In such cases, humour can serve as a way of negotiating power within the social structure (Fine & DeSoucey 2005, 6, 11; see also Tuomaala 2004, 335). This became particularly clear when Elsa told about the sexual humour of the factory environment. As an insecure young woman, she had to learn the double meanings of the factory jargon and to understand the verbal arts expressed by both male and female co-workers. Young female workers had to learn to handle the less pleasant and less ordered aspects of working life – dirty work and dirty talk – with humour. It was important to be able to talk back and fight fire with fire.

¹⁰⁹ See Ollila 1993, 46–65; Häggman 1994, 223–224; Helén 1997, 317–324.

¹¹⁰ Löfgren's study is part of a larger research project that studied culture and class in 19th- and 20th-century Sweden. Instead of examining separate groups such as workers or the middle-class as such, it focused on relations between such groups.

¹¹¹ Middle-class girls, too, gained more freedom and independence through education and white-collar jobs (see for example Pohls 2001). The morals of female teachers, post officers and shop assistants were, however, controlled by employers (see for example Hentilä 2001, 171).

¹¹² On incongruity theory, see for example Oring 2003, 1–12.

Humour, since it is closely tied to situational as well as to cultural contexts, is not readily intelligible to everyone. In studying occupational folklore and working-class culture, folklorists have emphasized that worker communities such as lumberjacks and metal workers have their own rules and specific cultural codes for regulating gendered and sexual relations and that some of these codes are expressed through humour and joking (Lappalainen 2008, 60; Pöysä 1997, 69). Newcomers joining these occupational groups have to learn the relevant hidden and double meanings in order to be able to react in a socially acceptable manner. Many of Elsa's humorous narratives are difficult to translate into English. A good example of this is a story of a man who worked at the rolling mill of Inha Ironworks. This place was known as *valsvärkki* or simply *värkki* (the name originates from the Swedish word for rolling mill, *valsvärk*). In Elsa's anecdote, when the rolling mill stopped running for some reason owing to problems with the machinery or the furnace, the man decided to go to see his wife, who was washing laundry in a nearby building. The man told her that the rolling mill had stopped functioning by saying: "I came because the mill is at a standstill" (*Tulin tänne kun värkki seisoo*). Since the word *värkki* can also refer to male genitalia and the verb *seisoa* has the double meaning of to "be at a standstill" and to "be erect, to stand straight", the man's statement had a sexual connotation that could be immediately understood by Finnish-speaking listeners. According to Elsa, the other women who heard the announcement burst into laughter, and the man left. Later, Elsa and other members of the community often used this same line within the factory community. Another example of language games was the inside joke between the young working-class girls who often went to dances in the factory community. Elsa mentioned that the girls invented code names for the men who came to dance with them:

Floppy Hat

I: What were they like?

E: One was Floppy Hat. [They laugh]. He had one, and he was a really good dancer and a sharp dresser. He had a white hat with a curvy brim. So we called him Floppy Hat. (10/12, 17, p.13)

Elsa's repertoire of narratives confirms what has been written about female workers who, generally speaking, did not remain a passive audience in the face of male humour. In the factory environment, especially older female workers indulged in sexual joking, for example when trying to embarrass their male co-workers.¹¹³ Folklorist Niina Lappalainen, who has studied the humour of Tikkakoski factory workers (2008), claims that in small industrial communities and within the factory work environment, women were expected to take part in and to be able to respond to crude sexual jokes.

¹¹³ Kinnunen 1988; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1998; Bergholm & Teräs 1999, 114; Teräs 2001, 47; Lappalainen 2008.

Another strategy was to learn to put up with the dirty talk, to let it go and not take it seriously. Most of the women interviewed by Lappalainen, as well as she herself, who had lived and worked in the community, did not suffer from their exposure to sexually-oriented jokes. On the contrary, female workers not only accepted the joking culture of sexual innuendo but also felt that it created a sense of group affiliation. Age, however, is a significant factor in the joking culture. Young people, due to their inexperience, were easy targets for teasing and practical jokes (see Lappalainen 2008; also Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1998.) In the factory where Elsa worked, humour played an important role in socializing new workers into the working culture. By teasing the young girls, the older workers, both men and women, taught them not only the factory work but also how to cope in an adult world and in the masculine working environment. In addition to learning how to run the machines, young girls needed to know the meanings embedded in the humour that was typical of the worker community.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Elsa's narratives illustrate how a young woman might also have felt extreme discomfort when confronted with sexual innuendo:

You've Been Getting Some

E: I knew nothing about those things [sexual relationships].

I: Hm.

E: And after some weekends, there were several holidays in a row, the furnace men started teasing me and said, "You've been getting some." And I said that I hadn't got anything. They said that they could see it from my nose and my eyes. [Interviewer laughs.] My God. I got angry, and I said: "You're lying. I haven't got anything on my nose."

I: So?

E: So, they just laughed so much, the stokers. They also said that it's obvious that you've had some. So I asked the other women what they meant. And they told me not to mind their talk. Let them just gabble on. We don't care. And Annikki [name changed] had been there all the time that I was there. And then some men came there and started to argue about something. I understand it now, but at that time I had no idea. [She laughs.] It was about hard-ons – how men's tools are so funny when they're up.

I: [Laughs] What did Annikki say, she just laughed?

E: She argued with them.

I: About that?

E: Yes. The men said it wasn't like that and that she didn't know anything. But Annikki said "I know. I'm engaged." [Interviewer laughs.] And I wasn't then. Tiina said to me "Isn't that so, Elsa?" And I said, "I don't know. I expect men know about their own things best." (12/12, 3, p. 2)

For young girls, it was embarrassing to display total ignorance of the sexual world but also dangerous to express any knowledge of it as well. In this example, the possibility of responding

¹¹⁴ Testing newcomers with language games and jargon was often part of factory workers' informal initiation (cf. Teräs 2001, 45). Knowing the working culture and its humour ensured group membership and increased a worker's social competence.

properly to her male co-workers' teasing was very limited. If Elsa had shown any knowledge of the matter, her reputation as a morally respectable young woman could have been compromised. From this perspective, her response reveals some quick thinking.

In addition to direct questions, there were other humiliating ways to test a young girl's knowledge of sexual matters. For example, Elsa described how she ended up in a difficult situation as a result of one of these "tests". Elsa was told to ask her father if he had seen the "black fox" the previous night. Without knowing the erotic connotation related to the expression, she went and asked her father, who lost his temper, almost beat her and shouted: "You need to learn what they mean...!" In the old Finnish folk tradition the fox, the bear and the wolf were all associated with the creation of the female genitalia (see L. Stark 2001, 6–7).

This teasing and joking sometimes approached what we might call today sexual harassment. However, it is important not to anachronistically apply modern interpretations to phenomena existing in the narrator's lifetime. For example, the following practical joke did not seem to bother Elsa very much:

Handprints on Your Backside

...when we had done the laundry over the weekend [and had clean light-coloured overalls on us], on Monday morning we went with [the older men's] greasy hand prints all over our arses [laughing]. You see, they patted our tight bums as they went past. They were all greasy from mending the machinery.

I: Yes.

E: It really made you furious, since they [the stains] were difficult to get out.

I: I'm sure they were.

E: Yes, but there was nothing you could do about it, except ask them if they really had to mess them [the overalls] up again. (12/12, 8, p. 5; *variant* 2/12, 6, p.10)

Laughter, in this case, is not necessarily a sign of humorous pleasure, but is a reaction to a confusing situation that violates social conventions (see Thomas 1997; Tuomaala 2004, 333–338). In addition to the obvious sexual dimension, this anecdote is also about the boundary between "dirty" and "clean" in the work context, and the tensions surrounding this boundary. According to ethnologist Gösta Arvastson (1987, 19), dirt is a symbolic marker that characterizes the working class. In his view, it is not exclusively a negative marker, but is also a sign of belonging to a respectable group that performed hard work. Perhaps the older men were trying to embarrass the girls not only sexually, but also because the girls were trying to remain clean in a working environment that celebrated dirt in carnivalistic fashion?

According to Elsa, the adults she knew rarely explained or spoke directly of anything related to sexuality. They did, however, make fun of it openly and did not hesitate to tell sexual jokes in front of children, which appears to have been characteristic not only of Finnish folk tradition but also of Finnish working-class culture more broadly.¹¹⁵ Sexual jokes and teasing were common in Finnish agrarian communities, especially among older women (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1998). Having heard many sexual jokes as a child and young woman, Elsa was used to dirty talk. Despite this, she was hesitant at first to talk about the sexual humour, and on some occasions, as in Interview 4/12, mentioned that the men talked dirty, so dirty that “one ought not to tell about it”. I often tried to encourage her, as in the following dialogue, to provide me with some examples, but she did not do so and changed the subject:

Jesus, It's a Whore

I: Did they [the older workers of the Ironworks] tell stories?

E: Well, they were kind of dirty.

I: So it was OK to tell them?

E: Oh yes.

I: That's a kind of folklore genre.

E: You know, I didn't always get them then...

I: Hm.

E: But now I understand them fully.

I: And you remember them all?

E: Yes, I do. For example, there was a long house just next to our home. There were flats for seven or eight families there, and the building had two floors. And there were funny old men who called out all kinds of things...

I: Yeah?

E: And there was one man... Can I say his name?

I: Yes, you can say his name.

E: He was Ville [name changed]. One of his legs was shorter [than the other]. It had been like that since childhood. And he took snuff a lot – at that time they did – and we always sat on the steps, like on the handrail. And he did too, and it was Saturday night, and there was dancing at the Workers' Hall. And young people came there from the nearby villages and from the centre of Ähtäri in those days [sighs], when all that was there was the church village and the railway station. And they had electric lights there when the sawmill came. And we were curious and wondered what it meant when this old man looked at the women who passed by on their way to the dance and shouted: “Jesus, who's this?” [Interviewer laughs.] And if they didn't answer, he shouted: “Jesus, it's a whore!” [Interviewer laughs again]

I: He shouted at them...

E: Yes, I don't know if they heard. They just walked on. (1/12, 2, p.2)

Elsa thought perhaps that the man's shouting was a kind of warning: if you are not known to me, if you do not greet and introduce yourself to me, and especially, if you are a woman going alone to a

¹¹⁵ For more on agrarian communities see for example Stark 1998; for more on lumberjack culture see Pöysä 1997.

dance, there is a reason to suspect your moral behaviour.¹¹⁶ By narrating her experience and giving examples of the sexual morals of her childhood and youth to a younger woman like me, Elsa was, in turn, acting as an educator. The education related to gender roles and ideals that she offered was subtle and indirect, and she did not explicitly talk to me about chastity or the ideal of motherhood, for example. However, she educated me about the conditions in which she grew up and in so doing, addressed sensitive issues such as sexual morals and taboos.

Absurd Ideals: Working, Resting and Taking Care of the Home

Work-related, collectively shared humour is often performed by a few active jokers, talented raconteurs of the group, who specialize in certain types of stories and humour (Lappalainen 2008, 63). This also seems to have been the case at the factory in which Elsa worked. Even if she told many jokes related to her own life, it often became clear that she was not the person who had originally told the jokes. In her narratives, Elsa often mentioned two female co-workers, cheerful women who constantly joked with their female colleagues and thereby created a relaxed atmosphere. These two women are often mentioned by name in different stories and described as persons with a sense of humour. Both of them were good friends of Elsa. One was the same age as Elsa, while the other was much older.¹¹⁷



PHOTO 4: Women of Inha factory outside of the factory hall in 1962. Courtesy of the archives of Inha Metalworkers' Union 51.

¹¹⁶ On women's reputation and the use of the word *huora* (whore), see Saarikoski 2001; Olsson 2007.

¹¹⁷ Both women are long deceased. I chose to let these two women remain anonymous. In some of the interviews, Elsa does so, too, but on some occasions, she mentions them, especially the friend of her own age, by name. In these cases I have used a pseudonym.

Eeva-Liisa Kinnunen noted that women's humour, particularly humour performed at work places, often takes the form of *parody* and *self-irony*, in which women make fun of themselves and their own lives (1996; 1998, 424–425.) Self-irony plays with the possibility of misunderstanding: only insiders can always interpret it as it is intended to be understood (Hutcheon 1994, 43; Salmi-Niklander 2004, 154 and 2007). In Elsa's stories, the female workers make fun of the middle-class ideals attached to housewives, who, in addition to cleaning and decorating their homes, were supposed to even have time to enjoy themselves and relax during the day. The following parodies were performed by Elsa's older fellow worker, a single mother of several children. Elsa enjoyed the ironic comments she made at work to entertain her co-workers.¹¹⁸ Elsa recounts (2/12, 8–10, p. 11) how her colleague Maija (name changed) came back to work one day, ironically announcing that she had just had a light lunch – with wine and music. She said she had left her mentally disabled daughter to tidy the hallway. She said that all the work had been done except the flower arrangements. This narrative indicates how ironic inside humour works. The woman did not express her concerns to her co-workers directly, but rather made fun of her difficult situation. Ethnologist Tytti Steel, who has studied female longshoremen, states that working women who had small children felt not only worried but also ashamed when they had to leave the children at home alone (Steel 2011, 125). In some cases, however, they did not have any choice but to play their part in earning the family income, and to fall back on other people's help in looking after the children (ibid. 110).

The series of absurdly humorous comments by Elsa's co-worker continued with another piquant anecdote:

Pickled Gingerbread

When the women were talking about [all the things they had to do before] Christmas and what they'd been baking, gingerbread and so on, she came in saying: "That's nothing. I've already pickled my gingerbread." She would make fun of everything. She was hilarious. It would have been much harder without her. (2/12, 11, p. 11; *variant* 6/12, 3, pp.3–4)

I interpret the purpose of these ironic comments as both entertainment and criticism of the prevailing ideals and expectations related to, for example, the role of wives and mothers in preparing for seasonal festivities and holidays such as Christmas: working mothers did not have much time to spend on their homes and households.

¹¹⁸ Elsa narrated these stories for the first time in Interview 2/12, during which my mother Anneli was also present. When Elsa introduced a series of narratives in which she described her co-worker, my mother announced that she, too, knew the person.

In a later interview, Elsa relates a funny story by the same woman about her visit to a doctor. The doctor, who had started to visit the factory once a month, examined the woman and told her that she had to take it easy and that she should eat well and rest. But her co-workers knew that she could never rest; she had children, and she had to work all the time. But after a while she went to see the doctor again. He commented that she seemed well and asked why she was so cheerful. She told him that she had rested, eaten well and led a peaceful life as she had been told to. The doctor started laughing. He, too, realised that this had never happened. She had to go to work and look after the children. The other workers laughed when she told them this story because they knew what her life was really like. (6/12, 23 p.15)

Elsa narrated this story about her co-worker after describing her own experiences with health-care workers. The narrative poked fun at the middle-class doctor while presenting the workers as agents of their own lives. Doctors and health-care workers were expected to help and cure factory labourers but not to advise them, since the workers thought that such medical staff knew nothing about their lives and backgrounds (see also the narrative titled *Inconsiderate Advice* earlier in this Chapter, pp. 69–70). The doctor had expressed a naïve ideal of a worker's wellbeing that was far from the everyday reality of a poor single mother. The fact that the doctor also laughed made him look less ridiculous in the eyes of the quick-witted female worker.

Parody, self-irony and absurd remarks can be interpreted as a way of negotiating the conflicting ideals encountered in the everyday lives of working women. But why did these women simply not hide their weaknesses instead of openly making fun of their situation? Gary Alan Fine (2009) has stated that the unspeakable is dangerous. Humour addresses taboos and other issues that are too complex to articulate. The social hierarchy is one such issue about which people avoid talking directly (see for example Lappalainen, 2008, 60; Lappalainen 2010). In my view, by making fun of themselves and participating in the rough joking culture, female labourers took away the weapons of moral judgment that might possibly have been wielded against them by others. Self-deprecating and absurd black humour also created a group identity among female labourers of different ages.

A Female-Rebel

One of Elsa's co-workers was also known to be an excellent actor who often imitated other workers and mimed their comical features. In the following narrative, Elsa described how this worker made fun of the traditional expectations of decent mourning:

If I Became a Widow

Sometimes we just talked nonsense and laughed so much. Once she started by saying, if she became a widow, she would dress in black during the day and grieve. She'd go to church, but when night came she'd dress up in her finery. She showed us how she would move and said she'd go to parties, and we laughed our heads off at her antics. (2/12, 12, p.12)

This parody of a virtuous widow was related to gendered norms of behaviour. Elsa reported that this episode of deriding the virtuous widow was also heard by the male workers nearby, who thought it was shameful that these women talked “nonsense” and laughed loudly. But why should these women, who were expected to take part in dirty talk and other humorous social practices of the working culture, not have been allowed to make fun of traditional (gendered) practices such as mourning? If women were seen as the moral heads of the community, perhaps this sort of humour was perceived as threatening to fundamental norms. Perhaps the men who overheard the women talking were afraid that some of the foremen would hear them, misconstrue their dark humour and accuse them of immorality.

In some cases, humour was shared by both female workers and the foremen. In the following narrative, Elsa describes a funny incident that happened to her just after she began working at the factory:

Asking for a Raise

E: Once, I'd only been working there for two weeks, and I'll never forget what happened. We were working, and one girl who'd been there a long time, said that we should go and ask for a raise in wages. To the laboratory. And there he was, Amberg [the head engineer] and Suutela, in that laboratory, and we went there. The men at work said it wasn't going to work, but we went there to ask. I was there in the front row since I was one of the smallest and skinniest, and there were some big girls. There were a lot of us, and the tallest were at the back, and the girl who had spoken was next to me. And Amberg asked what we girls wanted. And she said that we thought we might get a small raise [laughing].

I: How did he take it?

E: [laughing] It was so funny, we all laughed.

I: Well?

E: There was one tall woman at the back, in the back row. She whispered something. And he said “You should get back to work”. He thought that our salary was enough. There was complete silence for a moment, and then we heard a whisper from the back row: “Fuck you.”¹¹⁹ Everybody burst out laughing, Amperi [Amberg] laughed too, and we others started laughing and we ran out. And the men were curious to find out what had happened. We told them, and they were angry. They said that they were always having to feel ashamed of us [laughing].

I: Was it a prank going there in the first place?

¹¹⁹ The original Finnish version of this exclamation adds an extra feature of humour: Fuck you (*Haistakaa vittu*) was addressed to the main engineer using the formal form of address (equivalent to the French *vous* form).

E: Going there?

I: Asking for a raise?

E: It turned into a joke. You know, she was just whispering, no-one was meant to hear it. But everybody heard it because it was so quiet in the laboratory. I'll never forget it, my goodness And I'd had only been there two weeks [laughs].

I: It wasn't a serious atmosphere then?

E: No, it wasn't. (4/12, 17, p. 10–11, *variant* 12/12, 13, p. 7)

For Elsa, this account was both funny and absurd. She told the narrative twice in a very similar way, the other time in Interview 12 (12/12, 13, p. 7). I was not sure how to interpret this anecdote in the storytelling situation. Was Elsa telling me a funny story? Were the girls seriously trying to get a wage raise, or were they only joking in the first place? Was it appropriate or even possible for them to express such a request?

In my view, the narrated scene was a parody of some sort. Elsa's narratives involve other comic situations built around the workers' use of vulgar language before their social superiors. Similar kinds of story plots can be found in the oral tradition of the working classes (see for example E. Stark 2005, 39–40). The gender aspect is also interesting. According to Elsa, the *male* co-workers were angry and ashamed of the behaviour of the young girls. Could it be that the girls were poking fun at the patriarchal labour union's wage negotiation practices? According to Lauri Koski, a former activist of the Inha Metal Workers Union who was interviewed for the publication of the union's 100th anniversary, the engineer mentioned in Elsa's story, Amberg, also swore and used profane language when he sat down to negotiate with the union (*Inhan metallityöväen ammattiosasto 100 vuotta* 2009, 42). The colourful and rude language could have been a way to create a more equal encounter between the classes but it can also be seen as a performance of masculinity.

According to historian Kari Teräs (2001), who has studied metal workers' occupational culture and organizational activities in the early 20th century, the practices related to the wages of industrial workers varied according the field of industry and the factory concerned. Foremen typically set the starting wage, but later it was possible to negotiate one's wage personally with the management (ibid. 69). Teräs also analyzed the occupational culture of male metal workers in the early 20th century, emphasizing that ironwork units often had their own rules and norms of solidarity and their own forms of carnivalistic behaviour. *Eigensinn* is a term coined by historian Alf Lüdtke (1989) to describe the workers' own culture, their relation to the labour they performed and the conditions under which the labour was performed. The word can be translated as the *self-will* or *stubbornness* of the workers, and is it manifested in the creative ways through which they individually or

collectively managed to stake out a space for themselves in working life, to handle things their own way and to assign their own meanings to employer-defined norms of discipline and power relations (Teräs 2001, 84, 87).¹²⁰

Other forms of exhibiting *Eigensinn* in the factory environment included the open contestation of rules and orders. In the following event narrated by Elsa, the girls did not go back to work when their co-workers called them:

Hiding at Work and the Big, Big Boss

E: The men didn't mind [us singing]. They enjoyed it when we had a chance to sing. And sometimes we went a little bit too far away, so they had to come and find us. And once we were there when they'd built a box, for the horse [to pull the sludge out of the outhouse], and they'd made a new box for the purpose [of collecting the sludge], from new wood. It was Saturday night and they were repairing a machine, and we went into the box, lay there and closed the lid. There were a lot of us girls but we all fit in that box, it was so big. And we sang there, all the songs, dance pieces. It was wartime, so wartime songs like *Eldankajärven jää* and *Iltaähdet* and all the songs they used to sing then. And some big bosses were coming. The big bosses were coming and the fitters of that time, I don't remember what we called them, they were fitters...

[The tape ends, and the story continues on another cassette] Well, the men couldn't find us but they could hear us singing. [Interviewer laughs.] And they walked back and forth and they shouted "God damn it, women, where are you?" We just sang louder and louder, and they didn't realise that we were in that box in the yard.

I: No

E: So finally they found us, and they said: "Hurry up and get to your machines, there are some big bosses coming." And the big bosses came and they were really big. One of them was so fat that the others had to carry a chair for him so he could sit down once in a while. He was so fat.

I: Hm.

E: It [his appearance] was striking. Yes, [sighs]. But we got back to the machines before those bosses arrived in the workshop. (1/12, 14, p.11)

The girls' absence didn't matter until the higher managers and guests appeared. In the narrative, Elsa underlined their position by describing the external appearance of one of the guests.¹²¹

In another story that was narrated twice, the foreman tried to chase the girls back to work but did not succeed:

¹²⁰ According to Lüdtkke, *Eigensinn* should not be regarded as a dichotomy between us and them, but as the individual agency of workers who balance between the contrasting demands of their foremen, fellow workers and their own need for space. Finnish researchers (Teräs 2001; Suodenjoki 2010) have used *Eigensinn* to represent a collective form of contestation (Torninoja-Latola 2011, 65).

¹²¹ The stereotype of the "big fat capitalist" has been common in Finnish films and cartoons since the 1940s. It was common in the political caricatures of Kari Suomalainen in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. It has also recently appeared in the political campaign of the Social Democrat party of 2007.

Different Levels of Authority: Cutting Firewood

Once, they were repairing some machine again. And one girl started singing alone. She sang *Punertaa marjat pihlajan*, and she sang loud. And our foreman came there and asked if the girls would please get to work. She just raised her voice and sang louder. None of us looked at him, and then the technical engineer, Amberg, comes, and he asks: “Girls, don’t you fancy working? Would you rather go into the forest to chop wood?” We would have had to go and do logging work. Well, we got a move on then (1/12, 16, p.11; variant 4/12, 15, p. 10)

Niina Lappalainen has pointed out that defying orders and talking back to the foremen were often accepted behaviour in the factory environment, especially in relation to work (Lappalainen 2010, 236). The work and roles at the factory could be seen as a form of play that included a competitive dialogue between the workers, who could openly mock the bosses. The foremen were expected to tolerate this banter (ibid. s. 237). In this narrative, the girls did not stop singing until they confronted a higher authority, the engineer Amberg. The girls’ behaviour towards their foreman could be described as passive resistance, a form of subtle contestation (see also Kortelainen 2008, 172). It also included an activity that was typically performed in their free time outside work: singing. This resistance inverted the hierarchical order between the experienced older male foreman and the inexperienced young female workers.

The narratives of hiding at work can be interpreted as part of a workers’ *counter culture* or *culture of contestation*, a disposition to oppose the hegemonic values of the work place (see Lombardi-Sattriani 1974; Knuuttila 1992; Peltonen 1996). Anthropologist James C. Scott uses the term *public transcript* to describe the open, public interactions between dominant and subordinate individuals and the term *hidden transcript* to refer to the covert criticism of power that occurs offstage, which the power-holders do not see or hear and which happens within the oppressed group of subordinates (1985, 1990). In Scott’s view, it is possible to study these systems of domination and cultural hegemony by paying attention to what lies beneath the surface of the ostensible public behaviour. It would, for example, be interesting to analyze these narratives as emancipating attempts to refigure the factory environment by narrating and thereby winning female space in what was otherwise a masculine and controlling factory environment (cf. Passerini 1988). In her analysis of the behaviour of working-class girls in the classroom of an agrarian state school, Saara Tuomaala has drawn attention to the performativity of their acts (2004, 337). One of the female narrators she interviewed described her school memories of a classroom where the girls created a coffee table, their own space, in the classroom, and joked about only missing a coffee pot. Tuomaala noted that even if the girls’ behaviour, an attempt to take over the classroom space defined by middle-class professional

adults, were to be interpreted as agency, they were also performing and thereby reinforcing gendered ideas about female activities and female spheres (ibid. 337 ff.).¹²²

Elsa also recounted many situations in which the young girls of the ironworks escaped, hid or somehow tried to fool the foremen so that they could take advantage of all possibilities to get a few moments to rest, relax and have fun.

Rude Names for Places

I: Did you then have breaks during the working day? What did you do then? Did you have a good chat?

E: Yes we did. Those breaks were such fun. They don't have those breaks anymore.

[...]

I: So what did you do during those breaks?

E: The old men taught us to work, and when a machine broke down and it had to be fixed, we went somewhere to sit down far away, and I tell you straight, that it was difficult to get cigarettes, but somebody always found some. We took deep puffs. [We found] a place where it was warm, there was no heating anywhere. But the backs of the furnaces were warm. So we sat behind the furnace of the rolling mill, but that place had a rude name... [Laughs.]

I: What was it called then?

E: It was called the "arsehole".

I: Ah.

E: You see, there was a hole for cleaning the furnace.

I: Yes.

E: Yes, there we sat until the mechanic came to get us. (1/12, 13, pp. 10–11; *variant* 4/12, 14, p. 10)

In the first interview I asked about these breaks, moments of free time in the middle of the working day that Elsa had often told about. She called the breaks *hitsinväli*, a word that is awkward to translate into English and even somewhat difficult to understand in Finnish.¹²³ According to Elsa, everyone could take a break when a machine broke down, which allowed the machinists to stop the work. This gave everybody, including the lowest dogsbodies, a moment to take a short rest. Time used by workers during the workday for their own personal activities is a tactic which philosopher Michel de Certeau (1984, 25–26) calls *la perroque*. According to him, *la perroque* "re-introduces 'popular' techniques of other times and other places into the industrial space".¹²⁴

¹²² Folklorist Ulla-Maija Peltonen has stated that counter-culture, the culture of contestation, is always connected to the dominant culture in that the nature of contestation is only understandable in the context of the dominant ideas (1996, 21).

¹²³ The second part of the word, *-väli*, means a break. The first part *hiti-* is a word that can mean "weld" but also "damn" or "hell".

¹²⁴ Philosopher Michel de Certeau (1984) created the terms strategy and tactics to describe the invisible practices which shape our everyday lives within power relationships. Strategies are practices located in a place or institution whereas tactics practiced by the weak do not assume a place but are situational and momentary, events turned into opportunities (ibid xix-xx).

In Elsa's narratives, power hierarchies are founded on intersecting categories of gender, class, and age. Elsa described what the girls did during these breaks, how the girls violated the boundaries of expected behaviour by behaving like male workers, smoking and using vulgar physical language.¹²⁵ In so doing, they pushed the limits of normative behaviour and challenged the ideal of sober and innocent girls. But were the young inexperienced girls really in a powerless position? Elsa described many actions that can be seen as expressions of resistance such as escaping and hiding, in other words turning their backs to the monitoring gaze. I have wondered whether this kind of behaviour was allowed because these girls were still considered children or because their presence in the factory was a result of the exceptional circumstance of the wartime obligation to work. What is interesting in these performative acts is that the girls also challenged the ideal of girlish behaviour: instead of being silent and obedient, modest and innocent, they laughed, smoked, talked dirty and were loud-mouthed.¹²⁶ The factory environment and the exceptional circumstance of wartime seem to have offered the girls some form of agency as well as an opportunity to transgress the boundaries of proper behaviour.

Women in Manual Labour

Women have worked in factories since the early years of industrialization. However, men and women have typically worked at different tasks and in different areas of industry. In Finland, as in other countries, the textile industry was one of the major branches that offered work for women in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Women also found jobs in the foodstuffs industry, sawmills and plywood production, the paper industry and construction work (Lähteenmäki 1995, 49–61). The traditional metal industry, ironworks and steel manufacture had long been regarded as a male-dominated and hierarchical sector. Blue-collar working culture has also been known for its

¹²⁵ In the 19th century, smoking was a common and respectable activity among male metal workers. The idea of a woman smoking, on the other hand, was considered totally inappropriate (Teräs 2001, 95). Smoking women were despised and suspected of having low sexual morals. Literature and magazines in the 1920s warned young girls against ruining their reputation by smoking and drinking alcohol. The disapproval maintained a clear distinction between a respectable and a fallen woman (Vehkalahti 2000, 142, 146; also Häkkinen 1995, 29–33). In the countryside, on the other hand, some women smoked pipes and roll-your-owns from home grown tobacco. Agrarian children were not allowed to smoke until they could earn their own money and thus afford to buy tobacco. Therefore, smoking was also a symbol of adulthood (Korkiakangas 1996, 61–63).

¹²⁶ For ideal concepts regarding the behaviour and education of girls in first half of the 20th century, see for example Vehkalahti 2000; Korkiakangas 1996, 257; Olsson 2007, 219, 221, 222. The ideal of a good woman as humble and obedient is common to the Finnish fairy tale tradition (Apo 1990, 255). The ideals have persisted through the centuries, and some of them are still extant in the education of Finnish girls today (see for example Ojanen 2011, 189).

masculine orientation and masculine customs.¹²⁷ At the beginning of the 20th century, all the skilled labour force of the metal industry was male (Teräs 2001, 45). Most female workers in the industry did unskilled jobs or non-productive tasks: they worked as assistants, porters, cleaners, packers, and only later on the production line, which was regarded as providing suitable work for women who were deft with their fingers (Arvastson 1987, 111–115; Alho 2011, 85–86). Even if the most physically demanding tasks were usually performed by men, many of the auxiliary jobs were also heavy, dirty, and monotonous.

Strength and Self-control

Elsa's recounted how she experienced of demanding tasks and heavy working conditions with a mixture of bitterness and pride. Young girls who took over men's work during the wartime were expected to have good physical health, stamina and humility:

You've Eaten, Haven't You?

And it was a demanding job gathering the horseshoes. [...], you would just throw a horseshoe onto a pile on the floor when it was ready. So [at the end of the day] there was a huge pile a horseshoes on the floor. Two people at a time took care of them. There were four of us, so every other morning we had to go to work early to weigh the shoes. And you can't imagine, the box where we put them was so full, nearly fifty kilos. One of us grabbed one end [of the box] and we had to carry the box next to the window and load it on top of another one. And, believe me, it was hard work. But we did it. We had grit. Yes, it had to be done. We couldn't start working before we did it. I often think about this, how on earth we were able to do that. If you didn't feel strong enough and you told the master [the foreman], he would say: "Go on, lift it. You've eaten, haven't you?" He just said that and walked away. So we just had to do it. It was no good saying anything. We built up our strength doing it. (12/12, 15, p. 8)

In earlier interviews, Elsa had emphasized how the older male workers were generally very friendly, helped the young girls, and taught them how to work in the factory. Elsa had also told how the girls occasionally escaped and hid from the foremen whom Elsa also called "masters."¹²⁸ The narrative above differs from these recollections of the workers' own culture and unity and reveals the reality of daily labour and the social order: the girls were paid to work and were expected to be up to it. Foremen were there to ensure that it happened.

¹²⁷ See for example Arvastson 1987, 111; Löfgren 1987, 83; Kortteinen 1992; Modell & Hinshaw 1996; Lappalainen 2008 and 2010.

¹²⁸ The word "master" could refer to the highest manager of the working unit or to the closest foreman. The roles of foremen often varied according to specific location (Teräs 2001, 109–110).

Elsa often wonders how she, as a small young girl, managed the heavy workload. She seems to have assumed the cultural ideal of gutsy perseverance, of never giving up. But although Elsa's narratives emphasize the physical challenges encountered by the teenage Elsa, they paint the picture of an adult woman who had a strong nature, whose behaviour was disciplined and who held her head high despite the hardships and subordination she encountered. This self-respecting ideal emerged in the encounters between the workers and the foremen. Elsa twice recounted a situation in which a foreman forced Elsa and her friend to work under intolerable circumstances, in a freezing factory hall. According to Elsa, she and her co-worker were the only ones working on the night shift one Saturday night. Everyone else had gone home. It was winter and very cold. All the furnaces had been put out, so there were no sources of heat. A man who was able to light the furnaces happened to come to where they were working, and they asked if he could light one of the closest furnaces, which he did. As it happened, the foreman came to check up on things, and when he saw that one furnace was lit, he put out the fire and scolded the women. Elsa recounts what happened next:

My friend Pirkko [name changed] burst out crying. I didn't, not even then. I thought that he can shout and scold us as much as he wants but that was what work was like then, there wasn't any labour welfare officer then, nothing. So he went away when I said to Pirkko: "Shut up. Don't say anything. Let's just be quiet and listen to him." He left when we didn't protest, and I told Pirkko not to give them the satisfaction of crying because that's just what they wanted us to do. You see, she was sensitive, it was cold, and we had to file those heavy long iron bars. (9/12, 23, p. 12; *variant 2/12, 14, p. 12*)

In this narrative, Elsa describes a situation in which the workers are dependent on their foreman who forces them to work under horrible conditions in a cold factory hall. Elsa and her friend go against his wishes. By ordering the furnaces to be shut down, the foreman, in my interpretation, subordinated the workers' bodies to the interests of the factory and to its patriarchal hierarchy. Interestingly enough, Elsa told her friend not to show her disappointment and exhaustion by crying in front of the foreman but instead to control herself. Anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod has noted that the socially weak tend to try to protect themselves and avoid confrontations that would emphasize or make explicit their dependent position (1986, 234). Elsa's self-control might also have involved a gendered aspect. Crying could be interpreted as a sign of emotionality and lack of self-control, a *female* weakness, which women performing manual labour in a masculine working environment might have wished to avoid.

Embodied Femininity: Pretty Girls in Dirty Overalls

Elsa remembers how she, as a child, wondered why the snowy wintery landscape of the factory yard was divided by black paths that dissected the glistening white snow (Black paths 5/12, 6, p. 4, the interview in which Elsa tells her life story). Soon, she learned that it was due to the dirt, mainly the soot that came from the coal burned in the furnaces, which hung in the air of the factory halls and was tracked there with the shoes of workers. In all the narratives concerning work in the factory, Elsa emphasizes that it was truly *dirty*. She often highlights the dirtiness by stating that people of today would never do the kind of work she and many other young girls had to do (4/12, p. 7; 5/12, p. 2; 7/12, p. 23).

From the very few descriptions of the actual work processes at in the handwritten magazines of young people of Högfors Ironworks in Karkkila, folklorist Kirsti Salmi-Niklander discovered that the representations of industrial work and workers of the early 20th century tended to be poetic and even mythical in nature, often employing strong and colourful images of Hellish furnaces and slaves tied to machines, in which the workers' bodies are described as being exposed to awful conditions, becoming permanently marked by dirt and being debilitated by the toil, the heat and the sweat. In these writings, the dirt and the sweat have become part of the workers' personality and identity (2004, 304–205). As discussed earlier, female workers were socialized into the dirty joking culture, learned to handle it and to use it for their own purposes. But how did the masculine imagery of workers and working-class culture shape and influence Elsa's views on femininity and herself as a woman? How does her narration depict (young) women – including herself – as part of the dirty, noisy, dark factory environment?

In the following narrative, Elsa told me how the girls who worked in the dirty factory hall did not want to be seen in their filthy overalls:

How's the Hammer Doing?

E: It was really a nuisance when they had the wrestling competitions at the [Workers'] Hall. We had to work then on Saturdays, we worked long hours at that time, also on Saturday, and if you were not on the day shift, you worked the morning shift from half past six to two o'clock and then the night shift from two or three to eleven o'clock. And the wrestlers, the lads came from all over the country to take part in the competitions.

I: Yes.

E: And they came to the factory to see what the work was like. [Laughing] You can imagine how upset we were when we couldn't get away from the machines. And they recognized us when we went dancing. One lad came to ask me to dance with him. And he asked me how the hammer was doing [laughing]. I asked him: "What hammer?" And he said: "The hammer. I saw you, miss, earlier working with a hammer." You see, it was a press and they thought it

was a hammer because it looked like one. I told him that it was a press, not a hammer. They really were a lot of fun. But we were so upset that we would really have liked to run away. They were teasing us. They were good dancers. But we were good too, even if I say so myself. The girls of the Ironworks were beautiful and good dancers. That's what they said. (4/12, 13, p. 9, *variant* 12/12, 11, p. 6)

The factory yard of Inha Ironworks was an open area which anybody could enter and see how the workers performed their daily labour of processing iron: taking turns at warming up the furnaces, rolling, shaping and pressing the iron into horse shoes, railway spikes and nails, carrying around boxes in the dark factory halls. The working girls, whose faces and hands were sooty and who wore dirty overalls, could not escape this outside gaze. In this case, the gaze was also a *male* gaze. Even though the wrestlers who came to see the girls were also working-class, the young women would rather have appeared to them with their nice, feminine, clean, and maybe even new and fashionable evening outfits, in dresses rather than in trousers. The idea that the men saw them in their dirty overalls made them uncomfortable, even *ashamed* (a word Elsa uses in the variant of the above narrative in Interview 12/12).¹²⁹ Elsa's narrative, even if told with irony and self-deprecating laughter, reveals the fear of being despised by the young men, the outsiders, as marked by the dirty work. Clean, feminine clothes were, after all, a sign of a good woman (Aikasalo 2000, 119–120, 157). Therefore, clothing was not only seen as a practical matter for the girls. When outsiders, especially young males, entered the factory environment, the factory worker's uniform became undesirable for young female labourers.

Femininity was especially vulnerable under the male gaze. Elsa emphasized that even if the girls of the ironworks worked under conditions of dirt and sweat, they dressed well in their free time. She once told in an amused way how some men had later confessed to her that they did not dare to invite the girls of the ironworks to dance, since they looked so elegant. She mentioned how difficult it often was to get nice clothes owing to the rationing, and vividly describes how she managed to get some fine fabrics (see Chapter 4, p. 126 in this study). However, she did not like the way the boys of the ironworks made fun of the girls' attempts to look nice. The boys had a saying: "Cotton is cheap, but girls are beautiful" (11/12, 19, p. 19). This hurt Elsa, who tried to avoid looking cheap. Girls who dressed up in fashionable new clothes, put on makeup and went to evening parties easily

¹²⁹ In her study of discussions of women's trouser-wearing in women's magazines 1889-1945, ethnologist Arja Turunen (2009; 2011) argues that trouser-wearing was seen as a symbol of the new independent, active woman. In Finland in the 1930s, trousers were still not an everyday garment for women but were recommended mainly for those women who performed physical activities such as skiing. During the Second World War, Finnish women were encouraged to wear trousers at work, but leisure time clothing was nevertheless always a skirt or dress (ibid. 345–353).

became the targets of moral admonitions and warnings against the bad influence of sexually active and degenerate women (see, for example, Vehkalahti 2000 and Tiihonen 2000).

In her analysis of the discussion surrounding women wearing of trousers Finnish women's magazines, ethnologist Arja Turunen notes that during the Second World War attitudes towards working-class women's dressing changed (Turunen 2011, 358). Earlier, working-class girls had been accused of bad taste or wearing loud or too fancy clothes, whereas during the war they were used as models of frugality, simplicity and modesty. Turunen suggested that the wartime need for a general feeling of unity might have affected the ways in which these magazines portrayed young working-class women. During the war women's wage work was needed and encouraged. The fact that young women did men's jobs and managed under physically demanding and materially poor conditions might well have inspired this kind of sympathy; in general, the shared struggles of the Finns during the Second World War brought people both of different classes and of different ages closer together. Elsa's narratives of her youth do not indicate any negative attitudes towards young working-class people on the part of the upper classes or older people. The girls, however, wanted to look good in the eyes of their peers, and especially young male workers, whose opinions and admiration they considered most important.

Summary

The analysis presented in this chapter has addressed the gendered norms and ideals that Elsa discussed in her life narrative. These ideals and norms were also related to social class. In her childhood, Elsa witnessed her parents' struggle to provide for the basic needs of their large family. Her narratives represented their characters as opposites: the behaviour of the authoritarian and distant father was contrasted with the calm and diligent mother, who worked hard for the wellbeing of the family. Elsa admired and respected her mother but did not wish to follow her example. In the 1930s and 1940s, working-class girls were expected to become homemakers like their mothers although women's paid labour, especially industrial labour, had become more common among married women. During the Second World War, the obligation to perform productive work sent young girls to the factories. Suddenly, they had to learn to cope in a new social environment. They were newcomers who were supposed to work under the surveillance of foremen and more experienced elderly male workers. According to Elsa, the young girls were teased with sexual humour and practical jokes, but also received help and advice. Interestingly, the young women contested the control of the foremen, for example by hiding away from the monitoring male gaze to

create occasional moments of freedom for themselves. In doing so, they tested the boundaries of proper behaviour and at least momentarily challenged the prevailing gender (and class) ideals.

This chapter has further highlighted the important role that humour plays in the process through which class differences and gender roles are negotiated, challenged or made bearable. Humour became essential in situations in which women could not attain the ideal of femininity or that of middle-class motherhood and respectability. Young girls were vulnerable when their morals were called in question, even if only through humorous teasing. They had to learn to talk back to men. Women's self-deprecating and absurd humour eased the tensions and showed how these ideals were bound not only to gender but also to class positions. Elsa's work in the factory had a significant impact on her life and identity. In the beginning, she could not choose a career but was nevertheless satisfied that she could stay at home and continue living in the familiar environment of the ironworks community. She became part of the community of workers and internalized its symbolic order and practices. Later, after she had raised her children, Elsa was able to decide whether she wanted to stay at home and be a housewife or go back to work. Elsa's weighing up of this choice and her own life reflects the dilemma of the woman's place in the society of the time.

4. SOCIAL CLASS: Identification and Distinction

”Kulturella konflikter förekommer inte enbart mellan samhällsklasserna utan också inom varje människan, hennes värderingar av gammalt och nytt, bättre och sämre.” (Arvastson 1987, 13–14)

*”Cultural conflicts occur not only between social classes, they also occur within every person and her evaluations of the old and the new, the good and the bad.”*¹³⁰

At the beginning of the 20th century, factory communities were not only hierarchal and patriarchal but also communal and intimate. The members of a factory community grew to learn the dynamics of the social order and acquired a sense of community and belonging. In addition to distinguishing between different groups within the worker community, research into studies of the hierarchies and dynamics of factory communities have shown how different symbolic borders between “us” and “them”, workers and their superiors, or between the outsiders and the insiders of various groups of skilled labour are established.¹³¹ Some of these borders were marked by materiality, and the built environment in the hierarchical order of dwellings and everyday life practices and access to objects of wealth such as nice clothing and good shoes. The boundaries and statuses became obvious in encounters between people who belonged to different social categories.

The issue of social class is one of the most prevalent features of Elsa’s life experience. Elsa was born into a factory worker’s family of many children. As mentioned in the first pages of this study, she started factory work at an early age, married another worker and even went back to work on the production line later in her life. Elsa’s worldview is based on a dichotomy between the gentfolk (*herrat*) and the workers (*työläiset*)¹³² which she represents in her narratives about the old factory environment. Her category of gentfolk is rather broad. In addition to the hierarchical positions of the factory environment (the employer, managers, and foremen), it also includes middle class-professionals such as doctors, pharmacists, teachers, university educated foresters and pastors (see

¹³⁰ Translated by E.K-K.

¹³¹ The dichotomy between the common people who performed physical labour to survive and those who belonged to one of the three higher estates (nobles, clergy, and burghers) was deeply rooted in the agrarian world view of the times of *ancien régime*. This dichotomy continued in the class society which was divided into the owners, the bourgeoisie, and common people (Soikkanen 1981, 438). These dichotomies characterized the mentality of the Finnish people at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The division was situational and fluctuating but nevertheless clear: it divided people into “us” and “them” (Haapala 1995, 99). For studies of the social hierarchies and group identities of skilled workers in industrial communities, see for example Nurmi 1989; Spooft 1997; Koivuniemi 2001; Ahvenisto 2008; Kortelainen 2008.

¹³² For more on antagonisms among different groups and professions see for example Pöysä 1997, 241ff; Paaskoski 2008, 226–228; E. Stark 2011, 140ff.)

the Appendix 5). Her attitude towards them as well as experiences of social class in general is ambivalent.

This chapter examines the ways in which Elsa narrated the social world of the Inha factory community, as well as her own class-defined self. First, I analyze her relations to different groups of people around her: her peers, upper-class housewives, male workers, other working-class men, upwardly mobile persons, foremen and managers. In my analysis, I will try to elucidate Elsa's understanding of the class dynamics of the ironworks community by analyzing the *language* of and the classifications within her narratives and the construction of *stereotypes*, *idealizations* and *symbols* attached to the class hierarchy. Categories which are expressed through language and metaphor form a local and group-specific cultural grammar (Ehn & Löfgren 2001, 8–11; Frykman 1998; Paaskoski 2008, 80). I will examine how Elsa narrated these hierarchies, built and used class stereotypes in her narratives, how she named different social groups and how she located herself in relation to them. Second, I will scrutinize Elsa's personal experiences of social class. I will pay attention to the symbolic and *emotional* content of the narratives, and consider how class-based and social distinctions as well as factory work and manual labour created and shaped Elsa's sense of self and her narrated identity.

Narrated Worlds: Social Dynamics in the Factory Community

The Days of the Paternalistic Factory Owner

The first Finnish ironworks in the 17th century were owner-oriented, isolated communities. They were characterized by clear occupation-based and socio-economic segregation. The hierarchies of professional and non-professional workers were long maintained by the old guild institution and the patriarchal managerial culture. The industrial patriarchy had its roots in the agrarian *ancien régime* (the society of the estates) and was manifested, for example, in the provisions of the law that stipulated that the factory owner must look after the dwellings, food, health, education and morals of his workers.¹³³ For a long time, industrial workers were not designated as artisans (smiths, glaziers, etc.) and thus did not have a clear status in Finnish society. The factory owners chiefly

¹³³ Haapala 1986, 62; Häggman 1994, 134–136; and 2006, 189; Vilkuina 1996, 10, 84–94; Karonen 2002, 13 and 2004, 140.

belonged to the Burghers' Estate, whereas most industrial workers – especially non-skilled labourers – existed outside the privileged estates (Vilkuna 1996, 43; Marttila 2010).¹³⁴

The workers' close personal relationship with their paternalistic employers declined with the advent of the capitalist economy. The workers' movement and the trade unions played an important role in this shift. As society modernized, civil associations and the state took responsibility for social matters that earlier had been the responsibility of wealthier privileged people like the factory owners and other upper-class groups. Little by little, the *ancien régime* and the older patriarchal order turned into a modern capitalist system, and patronal owners gave way to hired managers (Haapala 1986, 33; Karonen 2004, 140; Ahvenisto 2008). This transformation did not, however, immediately change the way workers saw the managers (Alestalo 1985, 170–171; Sappinen 2000, 4; Kortelainen 2008, 167; Ahvenisto 2008). The old distinctions, which were based on deep historical divisions and antagonisms, continued to influence social structures and mentalities. Even though the estates were dismantled in 1906, the status inherently associated with them continued to exert an influence throughout the early 20th century (Soikkanen 1981, 435–436; Stark 2006a, 24; Mikkola 2009, 308; Stark E. 2011, 147–148).

Elsa's life story contains several narratives about the patriarchal social order of the old factory community led by the *factory owner, Patruuna*.¹³⁵ Although Inha Ironworks had many owners, local people associated the title with the owner August Nilsson Keirkner (1856–1918), who ran *Inha bruk* (the Swedish name for Inha Ironworks) during the years 1884–1917. Keirkner died in 1918, about ten years before Elsa was born (in 1927). Nevertheless, Keirkner and his wife, Lydia Ingeborg (née Bremer, 1961–1945), who was called the *Patronessa*, or *Nessa* for short, appear often in Elsa's narratives (in particular, in four interviews 1/12, 2/12, 6/12 and 7/12, the *Patronessa* slightly more often than the *Patruuna*).

Interestingly enough, I brought up the *Patruuna's* name at the beginning of the first interview, when Elsa told me who she was and where she was born:

¹³⁴ Historian Pertti Haapala, who studied the industrial workers of Tampere, the largest industrial city in Finland, states that before the organized workers' movements, workers did not constitute a single coherent group but rather many different groups. The only thing that unified them was their lack of power (1986, 100). Haapala calls this powerless class the "estate of work" (*työn sääty*) (ibid.).

¹³⁵ The Finnish word *patruuna* is used to refer to the typical 19th-century patriarchal and often paternalistic factory-owner. His wife was correspondingly known as the *Patronessa*. Elsa sometimes abbreviates this to *Nessa*.

I Was Born during a Lockout

E: Well, I was born in the village of Ähtäri in the Tynell house, and I was born there because all through my childhood my childhood home was the Inha factory, and my father had to leave there because there was a lockout. So.

I: What? [Murmurs]

E: A lockout means that the capitalist closed the factory.

I: The *Patruuna*?

E: The *Patruuna*. Hmm. Then, all the workers lived in houses owned by the factory, and everything was part of the upkeep at that time – the house, the heating, the wood. So you didn't pay any rent. And when there was no work, you had to leave your home. I wasn't born yet, but Father took his big family to the village of Ähtäri. (1/12, 1, p. 1)

In 1927, the Metalworkers' Union started a strike, which was followed by a lockout imposed by the employers.¹³⁶ This was why Elsa was not born at home in the Ironworks village. Elsa's must have learned this story from other people, presumably her parents. The word "capitalist" reflects the politicized situation of the 1920s and belonged to the political language of agitation, placing the factory owner in the faceless group of the dominant class. The use of this kind of anonymous collective appellation was typical of the activists in the workers' movement. Throughout this language, agitators aimed not only at increasing awareness within the workers' movement but also at forging a working-class identity (see for example Salmi-Niklander 2004, 182, 192).

Elsa's use of the word "capitalist" was successful in provoking me into a response. I reacted by guessing whether she meant the *Patruuna*. My question was not well thought out, since I should have known that the famous *Patruuna* was no longer alive at the time when the narrated event, the lockout, took place. In this situation, we both mixed up our facts or rather we were ignorant about the circumstances of the event. This narrative of Elsa's about the time when she was born, I later found out, was the only time Elsa used the word "capitalist" in the course of all twelve interviews that I conducted with her. In my opinion, it expressed an antagonism that emphasized the difficulties her family faced and the circumstances in which Elsa, together with the other children in the family, grew up: Elsa's family belonged to the group of poor workers, and on the other side of the conflict, there was the wealthy factory owner. The message of the narrative could thus be summarized in one sentence: *this is where I (or we) came from*.

Later in the first interview, Elsa and I engaged in a discussion dealing with the social dynamics of the old factory community. When I asked if there were any stories about the "gentlefolk" (*herrrat*),

¹³⁶ The industrial action impasse was resolved when, after government arbitration, the workers signed an agreement that included a rise in their wages (Koivisto 1959).

Elsa told me some stories she had heard from other people. According to her, factory owner Keirkner was proud and known for his irascible nature:¹³⁷

The Factory Owner's Dogs

I: Did the workers have any nicknames or the like for the gentlefolk? Or did they tell stories about them?

E: No. Not any more.

I: Did they dare to?

E: [No, not that I know of. The only thing I heard was that the *Patruuna* had two dogs. Those kinds of dogs, from what the old people told me, and I suppose they meant the kind of dogs Kekkonen had. So he had those, how would you call them?

I: Were they sort of ...

E: Pedigree dogs.

I: Yes.

E: Yes, so a workman wasn't even allowed to look at them.

I: Ah.

E: Somebody tried to speak to those dogs as he passed by.

I: And?

E: Well, the *Patruuna* said: "Who the hell are you to address my dog?"¹³⁸

I: OK. [Laughs.] Yes.

E: So nobody could talk to the dogs.

I: So, he spoke bad Finnish then?

E: Yes, of course. So, these were the sort of things the old people told me. (1/12, 11, pp. 8–9)

This narrative was full of symbolic meanings which emphasized the factory owner's distant role and absolute authority as well as the depth of the class divisions. First of all, the factory owner was distinguished from the workers by language.¹³⁹ The factory owner, who was Swedish, spoke poor Finnish. In addition, by behaviour, ordering the workers away from his dogs, the *Patruuna* treated the workers as his subordinates – like his dogs. His angry words could even be interpreted as placing his dogs above the ordinary workers, who were not supposed to talk to them. In the beginning, Elsa's explained that she had heard this story from "the older people". As an aside, she explains to me that the dogs of the factory owner were the same breed of dogs that Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the longest-serving Finnish President (1956–1982),¹⁴⁰ owned. The use of Kekkonen's name in connection with the factory owner is interesting, almost ironic. In Finland, Kekkonen was

¹³⁷ This description corresponded to the qualities mentioned in local histories (see for example *Rautainen tarina*, 15–17; Hahne 1994, 42).

¹³⁸ The translation given here does not reflect the fact that Elsa mimics the bad Finnish of the *Patruuna*'s outburst: some words were mispronounced, and the sentence was grammatically incorrect.

¹³⁹ According to sociologist Erik Allard (1964), the division between Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers was one of the basic group oppositions that persisted in Finland until the 1960s. Other basic oppositions that caused tensions in society included the divisions between rural and urban inhabitants, workers and bourgeoisie, and communists and members of the other political parties (see also Stark 2005, 25).

¹⁴⁰ In Finland, one presidential term lasts six years. Kekkonen was re-elected three times, and his third term was extended by four years.

regarded as a kind of national hero. He was extremely popular in Finland for three decades and was portrayed in the media as a model citizen: extremely hardworking, sporty and civilized. However, his authoritarian acts as well as unexceptionally long presidential term have also been widely criticized and today's researchers speak of the "cult of Kekkonen". However, the fact that Keirkner's and Kekkonen's dogs were of the same breed underlined factory owner Keirkner's position and his personal cult within the Inha Ironworks community.

Factory owner Keirkner and his wife also feature in a ghost story related to the manor house, *Corps de Logis*, which they built in 1899. In the first interview I conducted with Elsa, she described her happy childhood memories, which included playing freely around the factory area and the manor house. Before I began the interviewing process, I had several times heard a story about the ghost of the manor house from Elsa. In addition, she had also told me about her personal experiences related to haunting. So I asked her to tell me the story:

The Ghost of the Manor House

E: Well, the old people say that *Nessa*, the *Patronessa*, rode horses there and that there was Vasilev, too, from Russia, who was a cavalry captain.¹⁴¹ And there were all sorts of rumours, of course. That they were always riding together, around Sara-aho [a farm that belonged to the factory]. Well, I don't know if it was true, but that's what the old people assumed, that they had an affair.

I: Yes.

E: And then Vasili disappeared. Just like that. Nobody knew where he was.

I: No.

E: Well, of course, the old people thought he was haunting the place [the manor house].

I: Yes. Could the *Patruuna* have seen to him?

E: You never know.

I: Could he have got rid of him?

E: [Laughing] You never know. (1/12, 7, pp. 6–7)

As Elsa would not say so directly, I put forward the suspicion that it was the factory owner who murdered his wife's lover, and that the ghost was the spirit of the Russian captain who had come to the manor house looking for the *Patronessa*. I had heard about this lovers' tragedy that turned into a ghost story many times, as it was part of the living local lore of the Ähtäri region. The ghost story continues to fascinate people in the area, and today, for example, it serves to nurture "legend tripping", the custom of visiting the site of a legend in the hopes of experiencing a supernatural encounter there (see Ellis 2001). It has also inspired local song writers and authors (see for example Ranta 2009).

¹⁴¹ Elsa uses two forms of the man's name in the interview: "Vasilev" (a surname) and "Vasili" (a first name). It has not been possible to establish the man's name from any documents or popular histories.

The oral tradition related to Inha manor house is fuelled by the exceptional nature of the place: the house has long been uninhabited, it is not open to the public, and it is guarded. The architecture and the interior are exceptionally gorgeous, displaying various styles, frescos and paintings as well as imported furniture such as an ivory pool table. The building was long used only for public relations purposes by the Fiskars Inhantehtaat Company. Elsa, too, becomes part of this regional storytelling tradition by recounting narratives of her own supernatural experiences (memorates) related to the manor house. Local people were rarely let into the building, but one summer, Elsa was asked to clean the building with another person, which must have been a gesture of confidence on the part of the company:

Sound of Footsteps at the Manor House

E: You often ask me about the haunting at the manor house. It is no surprise to me that the haunting appeared. Nobody stayed there. I was there, one summer, we cleaned there, you know.

I: Yes.

E: It was the last day I was cleaning there. We had cleaned all over and we were about to leave. Suddenly, we hear that the front door opens and we hear steps on the stairs. My friend hid behind a door. I thought I would go and have a look to see who was there. But I did not move because I could see the hall from there. I heard a sound similar to spurs. They say you can hear Vasili's spurs there. I thought they were keys jangling. I thought there was somebody with keys there. I heard the steps but I didn't see anybody. I heard the steps going to the other side of the building. I asked my friend if she heard the same. She said yes. I stood there for a while and then I said I would go around the building and have a look. And there was nobody there (6/12, 17, p. 10; *variant* 9/12, 10, p. 6).

Elsa told this narrative twice. In both versions she explained how her friend witnessed the event, was scared and hid behind the door. Elsa, for her part, kept calm and checked if there was anybody there. In this and other narratives about supernatural powers, haunting experiences, dreams and premonitions (most of which are also dreams), Elsa represents herself as an active agent and expert who knows what is happening and how to act in such situations. She presents herself as master of both the oral tradition of her own community as well as confusing situations and their interpretation.¹⁴²

Analyzing Elsa's narratives, it is difficult to ascertain who is supposed to be the morally evil character of the ghost story of the manor house: the *Patruuna*, the Russian captain or the *Patronessa*? Perhaps it was the complicated ethical issue and the social position of the protagonists

¹⁴² I have not included all the belief narratives of Elsa's repertoire in this study. They appear especially in the interviews 1, 6 and 9 and are numerous. In interview 9, Elsa has also reflected on questions of faith and religion, acknowledging a personal faith in god and Christian beliefs. She is religious and a member of the Lutheran church, but like the majority of Finns does not frequently attend church. Her belief narratives offer material for further study and analysis.

of the narrative as well as the potential for drama and scandal (the *Patruuna*, too was suspected of having an affair with another woman) that inspired Elsa to narrate this story and to reflect on the morals of her social superiors. According to the ethnologist Anna-Maria Åström, the portrayal of the privileged estates and upper classes in folk narratives is often pejorative. Upper-class people can, for example, be associated with supernatural beings such as evil ghosts or demons (1993, 222). In Elsa's narratives, *factory owner* Keirkner's character was portrayed, if not as evil, at least as distant, rude and authoritarian. His female counterpart, the *Patronessa*, on the other hand, was highly regarded among the workers. Elsa mentioned, for example, that the *Patronessa* looked after the welfare of the workers by starting a sick fund and socializing with the family of a farmer who cultivated lands owned by the factory. According to Elsa, the *Patronessa* also kept in contact with the workers of Inha after the *Patruuna* had died. Eino's father Vihtori, whom Elsa often (as in the following narrative) called "Grandpa Koskinen", had been among those workers who had visited the house of the *Patronessa* in Helsinki:

Workers Visiting the *Patronessa*

E: Grandpa, I mean Grandpa Koskinen [Elsa's husband's father] had gone to take care of some business [in Helsinki]. And some other old men had gone to see *Nessa*. It was a long time ago. She was still alive then, but I didn't know about it, nobody spoke about it.

I: About the *Patruuna*?

E: The *Patruuna*, no. I don't know how he died.

I: Ah.

E: So those old men they were there at the glass palace [the Marble Palace, the residence of the *Patronessa* in Helsinki]. Grandpa told this.

I: Vihtori?

E: Vihtori, Grandpa. So they were there, and they got to see all the finery, and they were well fed, and there was this uncle of Kalevi Kaukola.

I: OK.

E: Yes and of course they served potatoes, too, and Hemma Kaukola said he couldn't be bothered eating potatoes; he got potatoes at home. [Laughing] He took everything else except the potatoes; he wouldn't touch them. (2/12, 5, p. 10)

In the Appendix 5, I have placed the *Patruuna* and *Patronessa* in the category of "them". This narrative, however, emphasizes the sense of community between the *Patronessa* and the workers. Elsa had heard the narrative from her father-in-law Grandpa Koskinen, who had emphasized that the *Patronessa* had received the workers and had shown them great hospitality.¹⁴³ Folklorist Kaisu Kortelainen (2008, 167–169) has analyzed the ambiguity related to the social distance versus daily

¹⁴³ Serving good food and eating together with the residents of her former home village can be seen as a symbolic way of strengthening relations between the higher and lower classes, the *Patronessa* and the men of the Ironworks (cf. Stark E. 2011, 168–169).

interaction between the workers and the management in a small factory community. According to her, narratives of this kind about the intercourse between people from different social backgrounds both constructed and underlined the social distinctions. They revealed that some individuals and families were good enough to associate with their social superiors. By telling about her family member's connections with the legendary factory owners and his wife Elsa, too, connected herself with the history of the ironworks community and its golden age.

In my interpretation, the stories about the era of the *Patruuna* laid the foundations for Elsa's views regarding the social order and the class hierarchy. The title "*Patruuna*" carried both positive and negative connotations. In the stories that Elsa had heard from her family and other local people, the factory owner's power over his workers and their families was represented as absolute and authoritarian and indeed as excessive and unfair. On the other hand, Elsa cherished the symbolic connections that linked her with the factory owner's old manor house. Thus, these narratives of the social hierarchy of the old factory community served two purposes, offering possibilities for both identification and distinction.

The Stereotype of the Rough and Drunken but Genuine Worker

Stereotypes are products of social evaluation attached to a group of persons rather than to individuals. In stereotypical representation, the differences between groups are exaggerated while the diversity within them is downplayed or ignored (Pöysä 1997, 28). Stereotypes thus underline existing symbolic borders and social norms (Taira 2006, 85–86). Oral tradition and popular culture are full of descriptions of antagonistic relations between two male figures such as a farm owner (or a bailiff) and a farmhand or a worker and a foreman (Knuuttila 1992, 152, 198; Teräs 2001, 50). These representations are common in joke scenarios that call into question the hegemonic social order. In the narrated world, oppressed persons can act differently from the way they do in reality, where their social superiors must be respected. They can, for example, prove themselves wiser than their more educated "betters" or humiliate them in some other way.

At the beginning of the research process, I asked Elsa to tell me about the class relations and antagonism in the ironworks community, assuming that lower-class workers both envied and made fun of their social superiors (see Koskinen-Koivisto 2008, 70–71). Elsa, however, did not provide me with funny stories in which violated norms or incongruent elements inverted hierarchical social relations. Nor did she mention any severe tensions between groups of workers and their foremen.

Instead, she pointed out that the different social classes often interacted in a distanced but nevertheless friendly way. I have, however, identified stereotypical representations of male workers in Elsa's narratives:

A Drunken Worker

I: Were there any sayings that come to mind about particular people? Generally, maxims or jokes, the kind that were often repeated?

E: Well, we had some that we always told. There were some, of course, though I don't really know. Well, they were the kind where we mimicked people and...

I: Who would you mimic?

E: Well, there were some who were always a bit tipsy, and they would go up boldly up to speak to the social superiors, like the old engineer, Amberg. One of them often did this, and once when this Aatu [name changed] was about to fall over [because he was so drunk], he told us how the Engineer had said to him: "You Virtanen [name changed] don't fall over." "How can I help it if I stumble?" [Elsa mimics a drunken slur]. He talked like that, and then he got to work. We mimicked him all the time.

I: So this man had always had a tippie?

E: Well, he was that kind, I don't know if I ever saw him sober [laughs].

I: Yes, that kind of worker (*duunari*). (1/12, 24, p.15)

My comment about "that kind of worker" was ironic. The word *duunari* (workman) is a colloquial expression which refers to a person who does manual labour, and industrial work in particular.¹⁴⁴

In many cases, alcohol enabled and justified outspoken behaviour and the violation of the boundaries of propriety. However, the intoxication of the worker can be seen as both comic and at the same time tragic (see also Ahvenisto 2008, 158–159). On the one hand, drinking was related to the leisure time activities of individuals and groups of male workers; on the other hand, it was seen to be as one of the reasons for the poor living conditions of working-class families and as a severe threat to the wellbeing and morals of working-class women (Sulkunen 1986; Apo 2001, 202–203). This ambivalence characterizes the history of the culture of drinking in Finland, especially as far as the working classes are concerned (Apo 2001, 200, 202–205).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ The slang verb *duunata* which means "to do", "to carry out a task", appeared in the dialect of the longshoremen of the Sörnäinen district in Helsinki in the early 20th century (Paunonen 2005, 158–159). The actor noun *duunari*, which is derived from this word, was first used in the Helsinki area, but later, presumably in the 1960s and 1970s, it became widespread throughout the country.

¹⁴⁵ Despite the symbolic and central role of alcohol in working-class culture, it is important to note that socio-historical research has shown that workers and the working classes generally did not drink any more than other groups (Sulkunen 1986; Haapala 1986, 166–167; Apo 2001, 202–205). The workers' movement was progressive in promoting the ideal of the active and self-educated modern citizen and in nurturing the values of the temperance movement (Haapala 1986, 177; see also Salmi-Niklander 2004, 259–260). However, in the eyes of the upper classes of the late 20th century, the stereotypical picture of the worker was of a malnourished and uncivilized creature, a way of thinking that is connected to the ideology of race (Sulkunen 1986, 31; Apo 2001, 205).

Although Elsa's narratives represented the drunken older male workers in a positive light and their behaviour as comic, she, too knew the difficulties caused by the consumption of alcohol. This is how Elsa described the situation of her childhood:

E: When I was a child, the work was hard, but so was men's free time carousing...

I: Yes.

E: Yes, they drank most of the time.

I: Always on wage days?

E: Yes, yes, and any time when they didn't have to work.

I: I see (1/12, p. 13)

The well-known Finnish saying "Hard work needs hard fun" to which Elsa referred refers to the association between workers and a heavy consumption of alcohol. In the 19th century, drinking was part of the metalworker's culture and the carnivalism of everyday life. Alcohol consumption was also a part of initiation rituals such as the completion of an apprenticeship and reaching the next level in the hierarchy of workers (see Teräs 2001, 52; for the case of glassworkers, see also Nurmi 1989, 66).

After the narratives describing drunken workers, Elsa provided another example of the stereotypical behaviour of the male worker:

Workers Use of Language

E: And sometimes the boys were up to mischief...

I: Yes.

E: There was a house right next to the factory gate. And there was a family that later moved to America, the whole family. They had a lot of children. And the son was called Raineri. And Amberg, the general manager, passed the father of the family on the road and said to him, "Your son's been up to mischief at the factory. So this man yelled, "Jesus Christ, [Raineri], I'll kill him"! [Interviewer laughs]. We would mimic this on suitable occasions.

I: Hm.

E: [Raineri], I'll... Well the master of course said, "Now, now, not like that ..."

I: Hmm.

E: But they would speak rough like that there.

I: I bet, among the workers.

E: Exactly.

I: Especially among the men?

E: Yes. (1/12, 25, p. 16)

The beginning of this narrative suggested that Elsa was going to tell a story about a young boy's prank. But it was his father's reactions and behaviour that was depicted in a humorous light. In addition to unruly cursing and a sudden burst of aggression in front of his social superior, the narrative included a comic element that requires some background information in order to be

accessible to an outsider to the community: the old general manager Amberg's first name, Reinhold, is another version of the name of the worker's son Rainer (*Raineri or Raihneri*, as Elsa pronounces it). Thus, ejaculation of this name could have been interpreted as cursing using Amberg's ownname as a curse, which must have sounded droll to the ears of the villagers.

The narratives *A Drunken Worker* and *Worker's Use of Language* present a class stereotype of the *male* worker whose behaviour was juxtaposed with that of a representative of the *civilized* bourgeoisie, this time an engineer (see also Pöysä 1997, 241–243). Folklorist Jyrki Pöysä, who studied Finnish lumberjack lore, has noted that straightforward and genuine behaviour in which workers did not act differently than normal in front of their social superiors than among their peers created a picture of working-class men as *rough* but *true to themselves* (see Pöysä 1997, 241–243; also Kortelainen 2008, 168). This kind of positive stereotype could also be regarded as a form of idealization. Elsa's narratives, told from a female perspective, introduced another stereotype: that of the *drunken, rough* but *authentic* working man. Although she represented their behaviour as amusing, the female perspective and the discussions following the narratives created a sense of realism and introduced a critical tone. In my view, Elsa's narratives about the stereotypical worker neither inverted nor reasserted class differences but rather reflected the ideals and contradictions inherent in working-class masculinity.

Youth, Solidarity and Sense of Community

In her reminiscences, Elsa repeatedly emphasized the solidarity, the symbolic sisterhood and brotherhood among the young people of the Ironworks, and the tight peer groups that were formed especially among those who took part in the activities of the local workers' sports club *Inhan Taimi*. Elsa was one of a group of girls who performed at evening entertainments (*iltamat*) in the local workers' halls. In addition to other programme items (speeches, plays, and sports performances), these parties also featured partner dancing, a popular activity especially among young Finns.¹⁴⁶ The reason why the programme had to be varied and include so-called "educational" elements was at least in part financial: since the 1920s, an event of pure entertainment was taxed more highly than a

¹⁴⁶ These dances included popular versions of ballroom dances such as the foxtrot, the waltz and the tango as well as folk dances such as the *jenkka* (a traditional Finnish dance similar to the polka). The Finnish tradition of partner dancing evolved from ritual folk dances and young people's village dances of the 18th and 19th centuries, which were primarily group dances (Laine 2005). In the early 20th century, partner dances displaced the group dances (Hoppu 2003, 37–38). In the late 19th century, new social institutions, such as the temperance movement and youth organizations, started to criticize the dancing activities of young people. Dancing, especially partner dancing, was thought to be immoral and to lead young people into irresponsible pre-marital sexual relationships (Nieminen 1995, 59–60; Siltala 1999, 525; Salmi-Niklander 254).

varied programme. The taxation aimed at directing the activities of all civic organizations towards higher moral goals (Seppänen 2000, 176–177; Salmi-Niklander 2004, 254). During the Second World War, dancing was prohibited for reasons of both security and morality. Large gatherings were easy targets for air bombing raids, and dancing and having fun were not regarded as appropriate at a time when many people were mourning the loss of their loved ones and men were still fighting at the front. Toward the late 1940s, the attitude towards dancing became less critical (Pesola 1996, 254; Laine 2005), and it came to be considered a natural part of the leisure activities of modern urban life and a popular form of amusement (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 258).

The evening entertainments and dances offered young people opportunities to meet each other and to find a marriage partner.¹⁴⁷ Thus they were also important public arenas for negotiating gender and class identities. Often, there were tensions between different groups of young people, as the following narrative of Elsa illustrates:

A Bike Hoisted up the Flagpole and Smashed Skis

E: Well, I don't know about this, really it was that kind of thing, they told me. I wasn't going to dances yet, but the lads from Tuomarniemi [the nearby forestry institute], they were [called] "gum dicks" (*pihkakullit*) and "cone boys" (*käpypojat*) and all sorts of things... Our lads never called them by their real names. They didn't know them either. But they came to the dances anyway. And there were some tensions between them. One lad's bike was hoisted up the school flagpole when he had stayed in the village too long, courting a girl. But they didn't make any big fuss about it.

I: They didn't fight?

E: No they didn't. I don't think they did. Well, they did when the war started, and the Karelian boys [evacuees] came. Then there was a bit of trouble, and there was fighting. But I don't know what they fought about. But we went to the dances on skis. And one time they had a dance at the Ähtäri Workers' Hall, close by the railway station. So we skied there, I and the other girls. We took a short cut straight across Voilampi [a small lake] on the way there. There was a track there, and we put our skis neatly against the wall, and when the dancing was over, some boys came – I don't know who they were – we were still inside, but when we went outside, there was a fight going on, and my skis had been smashed to bits, and I started crying: "oh dear, how can I get home when the others are out skiing?" Well, the boys from the Ironworks, they said that I needn't worry. I'd have new skis when I left there. And I don't know where they got me a pair of skis. [Both laugh.]

I: Did they take someone's skis?

E: Yes, they just said what goes around, comes around.

I: They stood up for you?

E: Sure, we always stuck together. Nobody got left anywhere; when we decided to go to a dance, we always came back together.

I: Yes.

¹⁴⁷ Most parents accepted that their confirmation-aged children participated in social evenings and dances, but girls' journeys and behavior were more strictly curtailed than boys' even after confirmation (Salmi-Niklander 2002; Tuomaala 2009b).

E: Nobody let anybody walk them home. That was for sure. It isn't like that anymore. Nowadays there aren't those kinds of groups, they go in twos or...

I: Yes.

E: There were always a lot of us, all the young people and lads from the village. I think I have beautiful memories of my youth. Even if it was wartime, rationing and all that, and we didn't get things we wanted. We had to work, and it wasn't nice work; it was dirty, and it was disgusting. (1/12, 37–38, pp. 25–26)

In the first episode, when the bike was hoisted up the flagpole, Elsa described the relations between the young lads of the Inha factory community and the students of the Tuomarniemi Forestry Institute,¹⁴⁸ which was located a few kilometres away from the Ironworks village. Pranks and verbal mocking were part of the local youth culture, fuelled by class distinctions and competition for the attention of the working-class girls. The forestry institute was a boarding institution set away from the larger villages and town centres. The boys of the Ironworks did not like for any outsiders, especially the higher-class forestry students, to socialize with “their girls”. And they were ready to defend this view. Sticking together also guaranteed the girls' reputation; leaving the group, especially on the way home, and allowing someone to walk one home would have been regarded as immoral.

In addition to the solidarity of her peers, Elsa often mentioned the friendliness and helpfulness of the railway workers towards the girls of the Ironworks. The railway workers of the nearby train station sometimes, for example, helped the girls with their luggage. The following example depicts the chivalrous behaviour of the railway workers of at closest railway station in Inha:

Silk Stockings and Hemp Leggings

E: Once we were coming back from a dance in Kolho... Can I tell you these kinds of things?

I: Hm, yes.

E: When we came back from Kolho we had silk stockings on. We didn't have any nylons. We came by train, on the morning train. They knew us there, as we always took the train somewhere, a big group of us. Yes, and the men said to us, “Your legs are going to freeze when you go.” And then they went to fetch some hemp from the station. And each of us rolled some hemp around our legs and then we ran across the ice to the Ironworks. And we didn't get frost bite. [Laughs.] They took good care of us. They had some hemp ready, for when the girls came. It wasn't cold yet when we left. They thought that when the girls come back, they'll need to cover their legs. (5/12, 23, p. 11)

¹⁴⁸ The Tuomarniemi students were mostly from middle classes and were studying to become foresters, forest engineers and technicians (the supervisory ranks of the logging sites). Foresters, especially, have been seen as a part of gentleness (Paaskoski 2008, 226–228). In the Civil War of 1918, the school served as a training ground and military base for the Civil Guard, the military unit of the nationalist Whites.

It is interesting how at the beginning of the narrative, Elsa asks me whether she can tell me “these kinds of things”. She may have hesitated to narrate her memories about leisure time and her contacts with the opposite sex, supposing that I would be more interested in other more serious matters. Another possibility is that the social criticism of dancing in the post-war period had remained strong in her mind. This may be why she so often underlined the security and togetherness provided by the peer groups, the solidarity and communality which guarded the morals of young females in particular and upheld class boundaries.

Social Mobility: Making and Breaking Boundaries

Industrial paternalism embodied ideas of the social order as an indispensable, natural hierarchy based on inherited privileges, wealth and social status, which were created and ordained by God.¹⁴⁹ All the members of the industrial community had their own places and purposes in the hierarchical system. (Koivuniemi 2000, 25–31; Ahvenisto 2008, 166). Social climbers threatened this order and its clear distinctions.

In the course of the modernizing process in Finland, the individual and her/his competence rather than the family or the household became the basis for modern society. The individual was given the responsibility for acquiring the skills, education and wealth needed to improve her/his life circumstances (L. Stark 2006b, 56). Education, in particular, epitomized the new values linked with individualism. Through it, individuals could be liberated from the shackles of the position into which they were born by gaining access to social mobility (see for example Komulainen 1998, 36–37; Leino-Kaukiainen & Heikkinen 2011a, 11).¹⁵⁰

Although upward mobility was not yet common in factory families and worker communities in the 1930s, young girls from working-class families had numerous career opportunities. They could, for

¹⁴⁹ The views presented by Elsa in this narrative come close to what the anthropologist James C. Scott calls “internalized inequality”, a view of the world that is characterized by a harsh economic reality and that is not even meant to be equitable. Scott found that such an attitude prevailed among the poor peasant classes of Malaysia (1985, 322–323). Similar views concerning the natural order were also found in the life narrative material and proverbs of agrarian Finns studied by folklorist Eija Stark (2011, 159). The social order and divisions of traditional agrarian communities continued to shape the worldviews of the people who moved from the countryside to industrial and urban environments in the 19th and 20th centuries (ibid. 159–160.)

¹⁵⁰ In the 19th century and early 20th centuries, projects of social reform and enlightenment did not aim at removing social distinctions but rather at offering the best possible life for each individual within their own social circle. The common folk and especially workers were to be civilized in order to guarantee a stable social order, not to encourage them to climb the social ladder. In the 1920s and 1930s however, new ideas of citizenship and individual potential gained ground. Individuals were encouraged to rise from poor backgrounds with through perseverance and nobility of mind. (Koski 2011, 169–174.)

example, apply to take continuation courses after the basic primary school, look for better jobs both within and outside of their own communities, in households, shops or post offices, or apply to study in vocational schools (see Kaarninen 1995; Leminen 1996, 167–169, ; 183). One potential option for young working-class women seeking a better life was to try to find a good post as a maidservant.

Before Elsa entered factory work, she worked as a maid in middle-class families. This period which took place during the Second World War lasted three years: from the age of twelve to fifteen.¹⁵¹ For the most time of this time, she served in the family of Ove Amberg (the son of the older general manager, Reinhold Amberg), who was the technical manager of the factory at the time. His extended family also included Reinhold Amberg's son-in-law, Birger Illman, the former office manager and subsequently the new general manager of the factory (*Rautainen tarina* 1991, 39).

The lines of social division between Elsa and the members of these middle-class families were drawn in a friendly manner: Elsa used the titles *herra* (Sir) and *rouva* (Madam) for the members of the household, while she was addressed by them in the third person as “Elsa”. Elsa pointed out that no one in the Amberg family ever called her a maid servant in front of her (4/12, p. 6). Elsa still switches to a more official and cultivated register when referring to her service in the family. One example of this is her use of the word *hän* (the third person pronoun “she” or “he”) instead of the more colloquial *se* (“it”) when referring to the masters and ladies of the houses in which she served, which is exceptional in the vernacular language.¹⁵² The use of more formal language can be seen as a sign of respect but also as a way of getting closer to her employer's social level and world.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, Elsa's service with the Amberg family taught her many necessary household skills, which she described as “keys to a better life”. Elsa said that she admired both of the ladies of the household, Mrs. Amberg and Mrs. Illman. The older lady taught Elsa and was friendly and patient with her even when she once burned her silk underwear with a hot iron (2/12, 2, p. 3). According to Elsa, the younger lady, too, was kind and also very beautiful (7/12, 12, p. 15–16). Despite the advice and friendliness on the part of the ladies, Elsa told me that she often felt uncomfortable and insecure especially when serving guests at dinner parties. She simply had no experience of such events and was afraid of doing something wrong. Elsa was clearly careful about her reputation in the eyes of these ladies. She told about one incident that happened during a party held by the Illmans (2/12, 10, p. 6–7). Elsa had been cooking in the Ambergs' kitchen when a

¹⁵¹ Service as a maid was often only a temporary occupation (see for example Rahikainen 2001, 18).

¹⁵² Although *se* is grammatically neuter in gender, it is commonly used in the colloquial language to refer to persons.

young man climbed in through the kitchen window. Elsa was horrified and ran into the house calling to Mrs. Illman. The lady came into the kitchen and gave a lecture to the young man in Swedish. She was not upset with Elsa but explained to her with a smile that the young man had behaved like that because she looked so pretty.

From Elsa's point of view, Mr. Amberg and Mr. Illman were members of the upper-class in that they held the highest possible positions at the Inha Ironworks. Even so, these men were easy-going and also helped her in her duties:

A Born Gentleman

I: So what was he [the master of the house] like?

E: He was totally ... he was not some social climber; rather, he was a born gentleman

I: Yes?

E: You see, there were these upstarts who had risen in society.

I: From the common people...

E: Yes, from the common people. But he was really nice in that he gave me advice, and when it was time for a house cleaning, and I was carrying big armchairs outside, he noticed and said that I wasn't supposed to carry them by myself. So he came and carried them. (4/12, 6, p. 4)

By helping Elsa, the master of the house earned her respect and admiration. Elsa, who did not expect this kind of behaviour on the part of an upper-class *male*, explained his behaviour as part of his social background, making a distinction between “the born gentleman” and “social climbers”.¹⁵³

For a long time, it was very difficult in the worker community of the 20th century for persons to cross the boundary between blue-collar and white-collar work (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 303). In his study of the work culture of metal workers, historian Kari Teräs (2001, 109–110) noted that those foremen who were former workers and had climbed up in hierarchy were seen as a threat by the community of manual workers because they knew too much: sharing the same expertise and knowledge of social norms gave them an advantage in their new role as supervisors. In Elsa's narrated world, the boundary between workers and social climbers, the working class and their social superiors (the lower-middle class), was also based on the division between blue-collar and white-collar labour and education. Elsa explained how some people who had achieved a better position would act all high and mighty. At work, these people were called “sharp heads” (*terävät päät*). In Finnish, “sharp head” can mean either a clever person or literally the sharp end or point of a pencil. Niina Lappalainen found that the workers of Tikkakoski used similar social distinctions and mocking expressions. Those workers who did not have to perform physical labour were called

¹⁵³ Social climbers who did not know how to behave in higher social circles have been popular characters in Finnish films and literature throughout the 20th century (see for example Rojola 2011, 209).

“pencil pushers” (*kynään nojaajat*) (2010, 252). In Kaisu Kortelainen’s study of the Penttilä Sawmill community, the workers also referred to office workers as “sharper” than ordinary workers (2008, 98). In the context of class distinctions, all these expressions are pejorative. They refer to the need to emphasize the new position of the former workers and their dependence on book learning, which is a form of knowledge different from that possessed by labourers: manual work and its hierarchies are based on practice and apprenticeship, learning by doing and the gradual earning of respect.



PHOTO 5: Technicians at the office. Elsa’s Husband Eino Koskinen is the second man from the left. Elsa Koskinen’s family album.

When talking about social climbing, Elsa did not point to anyone in particular or name anybody as a social climber. Neither did she offer any narratives about social climbers. She merely let it be understood that there were some people in the community who, after becoming foremen or other supervisory or managerial staff, in some way expressed their disrespect for those workers who used to be their colleagues. Maybe this anonymity is due to a bias in her own private life: her own husband became one of the “sharp heads”. Niina Lappalainen (2010, 254) has pointed out that this kind of violation of categories and feelings of *otherness*¹⁵⁴ within one’s own group may be difficult topics to broach, even in a humorous vein. Although Elsa treated many conflicts with humour, she never joked about social climbing. The issue was a serious one, and it came too close for comfort.

¹⁵⁴ *Otherness* denotes a person Other than one’s self or one of ‘us’. Otherness is integral to comprehending identity, as people view themselves in relation to others in order to identify themselves with certain groups and to distinguish between Us and Them (Hall 2002, 11).

In her narratives, Elsa reconstructed and showed respect for the hierarchies that organized her world and offered her a clear basis for both identification and distinction.

The Self Defined by Class

Class distinctions deeply affected the ways in which Elsa saw the world, other people and herself. For her, belonging to the working class was a source of both negative and positive experiences. Elsa's experiences of social class are connected to materiality and embodiment. As a child, her class identity was formed through the concrete experience of material scarcity. Later in life, her social position became intertwined with the relations and experiences of manual labour. Elsa learned the skills and routines and coped with the harsh physical circumstances.

Material Scarcity and Social Ranking

Folklorist Eija Stark (2011), who has studied agrarian poverty, has stated that experiences of scarcity and the social hierarchy create a need to both reflect on the reasons and meaning of poverty and negotiate one's identity in relation to poverty. This was also true in Elsa's case. At the beginning of the 20th century, the social position one occupied was still highly visible from the physical appearance of the body. Bodily practices such as dressing and hygiene created outward differences between the lower and the higher classes in a way that stigmatized the extremely poor (E. Stark 2011, 150). From the time she was a very small child, Elsa knew that she belonged to a poor lower-class family. Even though her father worked and earned some extra money as a self-taught cobbler, he had twelve children to feed. Poverty was present in every aspect of their lives in concrete ways, as the following narrative illustrates:

Wealthy Girl Wonders about Patched Clothes

I had a friend who came to visit us, and she was from a well-off family. They had a Swedish name, but she wanted to be in our gang. And [my brothers] Pauli and Eero had patches on their trousers, and once she came to our house and she looked at their trousers and asked us what they were. She had never seen a patch before. And we told her that they'd been patched. The trousers had been patched. (7/12, 15, p. 20)

This girl who visited Elsa's family was one of those whose parents or grandparents had moved to the ironworks village of Inha from other ironworks, most probably from the Swedish-speaking coast. Her family members thus belonged to the highest levels of esteemed craftsmen, the skilled

workers of the Ironworks such as ironsmiths or rolling masters.¹⁵⁵ The girl bore other markers of her family's superior status: the name of the family was Swedish, which in Elsa's view, was a sign of a more prestigious background.¹⁵⁶

In addition to patching, Elsa's family passed down clothes and shoes from the older children to the young ones. Going to school made social differences visible, and comparisons were difficult to avoid. In poor Finnish children's reminiscences of going to school lack of or low quality of shoes and clothes are symbols of impoverished circumstances (see Tuomaala 2004, 288–290; also Virkkunen 2010, 91–94). Elsa recounted how she got shoes from the municipality:

Boots with Curled Toes

So everything that you learned had come to the shop, you'd go through hell and high water to get it. Otherwise, you wouldn't have anything to wear. We got shoes from Töysä Shoe Factory, or those who got there, got them. But when I went to school, the municipality gave one pair of shoes to schoolchildren from large families, to the family. And I remember how, when I got those shoes, they were boots, boots with curled toes. And other girls were able to order proper shoes with laces, the kind of boots they have today: half boots that lace up. But I thought, "Always me, I have to have that kind of high boots." When my feet grew, the boots went to the boys [Elsa's younger brothers]. We had to save money like that.[...] I had to wear these big boots, when other girls had their pretty small shoes. And when I didn't need them anymore and I grew out of them, then the boys were growing, and they went on wearing them. Our father repaired them himself, and they lasted well. They lasted for forever. [Laughs.] And he put tar on them. You can't imagine. (11/12, 15, p. 15)

Elsa felt bad about the ugly-looking, unfeminine and old-fashioned boots she had to wear to school. The boots marked her socially: the fact that they were a social benefit provided by the municipality and that she could not choose their appearance made the fact that she came from a poor family obvious. In her study of the mentalities related to poverty, folklorist Eija Stark has pointed out that poor relief was public, and in small communities everybody knew who received this assistance (2011, 327). Consequently, the poor were stigmatized by the benefits they received.

When the law on compulsory universal education was ratified in 1921, the benefits for children of poor families became part of the system and were channelled through the municipal school offices. The benefits included clothes, shoes and food (Tuomaala 2004, 284–86; Virkkunen 2010, 92).

¹⁵⁵ As in the other ironworks (see Vilkkunen 1996, 28–29), some foreign labour from Sweden and Germany had been recruited to work at Inha. In addition, some workers had moved to Inha from Swedish-speaking areas of Finland. These persons were mainly skilled workers such as smiths and master craftsmen (foremen), who were higher in rank than the ordinary workmen. Most Finnish-speaking workers did not understand Swedish at all. To their ears, it was the language of social privilege (Rautainen tarina 1991, 31).

¹⁵⁶ A Swedish name did not always correlate with a wealthier background. Swedish names were common among farmers and fisherfolk in Ostrobothnia and other west coast areas of Finland.

During the school week, Elsa and her siblings ate lunch at home (5/12, p. 1). She never mentioned hunger or a lack of food. However, she recalled how food was prized in her childhood family. They did not waste any bits: for example, her father always ate the heads of herrings and would never peel a potato, and the children ate the skins of sausages with great relish (2/12; p. 1).

Many of Elsa's positive childhood memories, too, are inextricably linked to material concerns. For example, she remembers the exceptional gifts, goods, and clothes she received from persons outside the family (see also Samuel & Thompson 1990, 10). Elsa calls these occasions "high spots". Market days, which took place once a fortnight when workers got their wages, constituted an exceptional high spot, bringing local traders and their customers to the Inha Ironworks.¹⁵⁷ The children of the community also gathered to watch the crowds and to marvel at the wonders. Sometimes a kindly seller was in a good mood and gave the children a treat like a lollipop or a piece of sweetbread, *pulla* (1/12, 20, p. 14; 5/12, 9, pp. 4–5). The children also knew other tricks to get some treats:

Memories of Market Days: Asking for *Pulla*

... I'll always remember how I was with Pirkko [name changed], she was our chum and the same age as me. She later got dementia, and she's now passed away. We were sitting there on the steps, and we knew some gentlefolk were coming – it was around midday when they came to buy meat and *pulla*. Pirkko said then that they had girls and [the girls] came to play with us. And we played together there, and I guess they spoke Swedish, those girls. Well, we ran up to them, and Pirkko told one of the girls to ask them [their parents] to buy us pies. The girl went to them and spoke Swedish to them and she brought us pies. And we almost got a belting at home. [Laughs.] Pirkko's mum asked us, "Where did you get those [pastries]?" And we told her that the little girl had brought them to us. She didn't believe us at all, that we hadn't been begging. But she let us eat the pastries when we said that [the girls' families] were rich. And Pirkko did say she'd asked the girl for the pastries. (1/12, 20, p. 14)

It has been argued that in hierarchical factory communities, it was easier for children to cross the boundaries of social class (see for example Spooft 1997, 268–269; Ahvenisto 2008, 153). Playing outside, for example, brought together children from different backgrounds and gave them opportunities to socialize with their peers from different social groups.¹⁵⁸ The children of Inha were aware of the class differences and the social hierarchy, but they did not pay attention to all the codes and limitations inherent therein. Elsa mentioned, for example, that the parents of working-class

¹⁵⁷ In the 1930s, several Finnish factory communities held market days according to the salary cycle (Spooft 1997, 278). At Inha Ironworks, workers were paid their wages every two weeks. This was the day when families could purchase food and other necessities for their families, but it was also a day when the men drank and played cards. The life of workers in other industrial communities such as Penttilä Sawmill in Joensuu (Kortelainen 2008, 105) were marked by similar market days and the same wage-payment period.

¹⁵⁸ Cultural historian Inkeri Ahvenisto, who studied the Verla Sawmill community in Southwestern Finland from the late 19th century to the 1960s, points out that the feelings related to the crossing of the class boundaries were very personal and situation-dependent (Ahvenisto 2008). Some children of workers' families did not experience any discrimination, whereas others felt very uncomfortable in the company of higher-class children and their families (ibid. 155–156).

families had told their children not to beg from the traders.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, children who wanted to get their share of the treats appealed to higher-class children from wealthier families to ask their mothers to buy them some pastries. The mother of Elsa's friend did not like this, but the girls were allowed to keep their treats.

Material scarcity continued to affect Elsa's life even after she began wage labour. When rationing came into force in Finland during the Second World War, most daily commodities and food supplies could be purchased only with ration coupons.¹⁶⁰ Every family was issued a fixed number of coupons based on its size, the ages of the children and its income. Farmers were supposed to keep only what their families needed and to surrender the rest of their produce to the state. Nevertheless, the black market flourished. Buying food on the black market is a common theme in Finnish oral history material relating to the Second World War (see for example Saaritsa 2002, 219–224). Social networks made it possible to purchase food and other commodities under the counter or from farmers in the surrounding countryside (*ibid.*). Together with other young women, Elsa too, travelled to countryside to buy flour, cereals, meat, and eggs.

One of Elsa's crystallized narratives of wartime black-market shopping describes the contrasting behaviour of a rich land-owner's wife and an old woman from a small cottage (3/12, 4, pp. 8–9; 5/12, 20, p. 10). When Elsa and her friend first visited the more prosperous farm and asked if there were any food to buy, the mistress of the house was silent but took the guests to a storage building, opened the door with a big key hanging from her belt and showed them what she had. The store house was full of long loaves of sweet bread. The mistress of the house remained silent and despite the abundance of food, the guests had to leave with nothing. When the hungry travellers came to the next house, a small grey cottage, they found an old woman there. They politely asked her for a piece of bread to eat and soon the table of the small cottage was covered with variety of delicious dishes. The old woman sold Elsa and her friend some products, even some real coffee, which was a rare luxury at the time. This narrative reflects a mentality that is common in the discourse of

¹⁵⁹ In agrarian Finland, begging, even when it was absolutely necessary, was regarded as a source of shame and humiliation (see for example Pentikäinen 1971, 97–99, E. Stark 2011, 242). Coping with scarcity and resigning oneself to the prevailing circumstances, one's given lot, were cultural ideals that were intimately bound up with self-respect (E. Stark 2011, 330, 334, 349ff). Since 1883, vagrancy had been prohibited by law. Times of crisis such as the Great Depression of the 1930s forced people to go on the road to look for work, to use their social networks and to rely on other people's good will (see for example Häkkinen 2002; Virkkunen 2002). In most cases, however, people did not beg but looked for work in exchange for food.

¹⁶⁰ The rationing began in 1939. The rationing of sugar and coffee went on until 1954 (Räikkönen 1993).

poverty: that abundance leads to spiritual poverty while material scarcity is a sign of spiritual nobility (see E. Stark 2011, 146–151).¹⁶¹

Journeys to the countryside and black-market trading were exciting events for the young Elsa. She described vividly how she managed to buy some nice fabrics:

Cloth under the Counter

... and you know, we got clothes – I remember how we, a friend of mine and I, found out that they had got some fabrics in Jekunen’s shop beside Inha railway station. It was eight o’clock when we went there, straight across the ice, to the railway station. We went through their home, and they sold us that cloth. I bought some, too, and I got a beautiful dress out of it when I took it to a dressmaker. There were no ready-made clothes to buy. There were good dressmakers at Inha Ironworks. I knew three of them, and they sewed dresses for me. This dress was really pretty. I still remember what it looked like. It was possible to get some nice clothes, but you had to be pushy. And I don’t know, well, there were always some older people who heard about everything, they always told us where you could get something and where to go for it. (5/12, 21, p. 10)

Young people wanted to be look good and be fashionable, even in the days of rationing.¹⁶² Nice fabrics and rarities like nylon stockings¹⁶³ were sold under the counter, on the black market (Turunen 2005). In some cases, however, the black-market trade worked in favour of those who were better off (see also Rääkkönen 1993, 184–185). Elsa told an interesting story about of this kind of situation:

Trading with a Class Bias

I: What did you get from the shop then, during the war?

E: All the coupon things. Everything was rationed.

I: Everything? Flour too?

E: Yes. Sugar, there was no coffee, only ersatz.¹⁶⁴ And butter, meat, everything. Also clothes were rationed.

I: Ahah..

E: But there were lots of things you could buy under the counter.

I: Yes.

E: Those who could get them.

I: You could buy them with money?

E: I remember how I once went to the consumer co-op, and it wasn’t easy to get raisins in those days. And there was one man who’d come from a nearby village, I knew him, and he had a loud voice, and he didn’t realize that he should have kept the raisins a secret. He asked

¹⁶¹ The noble poor are also common characters in Finnish fairytales written by the 19th century cultural elite (Apo 1995, 146–147).

¹⁶² In Finland, the rationing of textiles and shoes began in October 1940 (Aikasalo 2000, 205).

¹⁶³ Nylon stockings came on the market in the 1940s and became very popular in the USA. In wartime Europe, it was difficult to acquire these novelties. American soldiers who served in Europe during the Second World War traded nylon stockings on the black market (Kopisto 1997).

¹⁶⁴ During the Second World War, chicory or roasted grain were used for making ersatz coffee.

if they had some raisins, and the shopkeeper tried to gesture somehow, I saw it, but I didn't say anything, I thought, "Let's just see what happens." And the man asked again, in a louder voice, "What about the raisins?"

I: And?

E: Yes, and the shopkeeper looked uncomfortable again, and she looked at me. And the man asked for the raisins a third time really loudly. And still nothing happened. So I told the shopkeeper to give the man the raisins, I didn't care. And he got a bag of raisins then.

I: Ah.

E: So things like that happened.

I: Yes, that was really something.

E: I didn't even know there were any raisins. But it became clear there were. Hm.

I: It's quite strange that there were such goods, but...

E: There were.... But of course they were very scarce so they couldn't give them to everyone. (3/12, 1, p. 4–5; variant 7/12, 16, pp. 21–22)

This version of the narrative is told in the context of trading and wartime (Interview 3/12). Interestingly, according to the narrative it is the shopkeeper who was confused and embarrassed in the situation, in which the unequal opportunities for accessing the black market became obvious. Finally it was Elsa who broke the tension by saying that she did not mind about the raisins. A variant of the same narrative (7/12, 16, p. 21) was followed by a long evaluation and a discussion about the nuances of social ranking. In the beginning, Elsa stated that she was not informed about the raisins because of her social status:

E: So caste was involved in this too. Even though I visited this shop every day, I wasn't offered any [raisins]. I didn't know anything about them. I would never have known if this man hadn't asked for them. A little batch had come. They were [for sale] under the counter. And the lady gave them to him. But, oh my, she blushed. [Laughs] When I said that I didn't want them.

I: You must have said that because he...?

E: Of course. There was nobody else there. When I got home from, there I told Eino, "Do you know, they have raisins there, but not everybody can get them." [Laughs.] The man spoke so loudly. You know, I was amused when the man bawled like that. He came from the village of Kukkeenylä. From there.

I: Yes.

E: So they knew [about the raisins] there, but I had no idea even though I lived right by the shop.

I: Interesting that such things happened.

E: Yes. That's how it was. But I don't know on what basis they selected those that got some. (7/12, 16, p. 21).

At the beginning of this evaluative part, Elsa used the word *kasti*, a strong expression of class division, which came into the Finnish language from the Swedish word *kast* (cf. English "caste"), which in turn was used as a synonym for "estate" (in the sense of a social rank). This is a word that Elsa associated with inherited class privilege and with the dichotomy between the workers (*työläiset*) and the "gentlefolk" (*herrat*). However, she was not sure how the lines between different

groups were drawn, especially in the case of outsiders to the ironworks. The man who wanted raisins was from another village (cf. the group of outsiders in the Appendix 3). I would assume that one of the confusing things about the situation was that Elsa was a frequent customer in this shop, which, according to her, was a cooperative.¹⁶⁵ The discussion continued with my questions:

I: You said previously that one of the significant differences was between big and small families, that the family size affected the wealth and position of the family? But was there a difference between statuses, between labourers and foremen and white-collar workers? Was it rank that mattered, or was it rather wealth?

E: Yes, there was, but they didn't show it, you know. They would talk to you and be friendly but you would know that they had better jobs...

I: I see.

E: You would realize it yourself. That I am not the same, I am in a lower position.

I: Yes.

E: But they had their own gatherings.

I: But they were friendly, or what?

E: Yes, yes. But there was one foreman there, and I'd been friends with his wife already when we were still girls/single,¹⁶⁶ and she taught me all sorts of things. I learned how to spin from her. And Eino was friends with this man, and they visited us ... so it depended on the individual, how high they put themselves. (7/12, p. 22)

When I asked Elsa directly about the hierarchy, she underlined the fact that people were generally friendly and talked to each other despite the class boundaries. People in a lower position did, however, realize that certain boundaries existed. She also referred to a situation in which social boundaries were blurred: a friendship between two couples whose male members belonged to different social ranks. I assume that socializing with social superiors close to one's own status was common and became all the more common when people educated themselves and moved into new social environments. If the divisions were not referred to directly and were not visible, how did the class positions become obvious? In what kind of situations did Elsa face rejection?

Relegated to a Lower Class: Dominance and Humiliation

In narrating her life, Elsa described many situations in which she was shown her place in the social hierarchy. Many of these narratives were highly emotional, evoking feelings of shame, pride, humiliation and hatred, even years after the experience. These experiences of contempt and

¹⁶⁵ The co-operative movement came to Finland at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The first cooperatives in Finland were workers' consumer cooperatives. In 1904, the SOK Corporation (Suomen Osuuskauppojen Keskuskunta) was founded in order to coordinate joint purchases, advice and guidance. In 1916, cooperatives owned by the working classes formed their own Corporation Osuuskauppojen Keskusliitto (KK). The disintegration of the cooperatives reflected the strong political dichotomy of the Finnish society at the time. The store mentioned in the narrative belonged to the SOK chain.

¹⁶⁶ The Finnish expression "tyttönä ollessa" used could mean either "when we were young" or "when we were single".

subordination followed Elsa throughout her working life from domestic service to being a retired production-line worker.

When Elsa started to work as a maidservant in middle-class households at the age of twelve, she experienced feelings of otherness. At first, she served in the family of a teacher, Mr. Latva, who worked in the nearby Tuomarniemi Forestry Institute. There were as yet no children in the family, which consisted of Mr. Latva, his pregnant wife, her mother and an English teacher who lived in the household as a lodger. The family needed a maid to assist in cleaning the house. An educated middle-class family would not have expected a girl with a working-class background to be serving in the youth section of the Lotta Svärd Organization (a voluntary women's auxiliary corps, whose members were mostly middle-class and popularly called "Lottas").¹⁶⁷ But Elsa was a member of this organization, although she never mentioned this to the Latva family. One day she was assisting the local members of the auxiliary corps who were cooking food at the Inha railway station for soldiers returning from the front by train. The middle-class women were surprised to see her in a Lotta's uniform:

A Maid Servant with the Latva Family: A Gift for a Member of the Women's Auxiliary Corps

E: ... once, on one Sunday, I had a Lotta shift, a girls' unit shift, at the Lotta cabin. It was on the opposite side of Inha railway station [close to the Forestry Institute]. When soldiers came from the front, they stopped there for a rest.

I: Yes.

E: So I went there in the morning, I put on the Lotta uniform already before I went to work. And I did my tasks. And the old lady was so pleased [to see that]. So pleased that she asked whether that was Elsa was serving in the national defence. I said that I was only in the girls' unit. She gave me a package of wrapped sweets, which were rare that time; there weren't any sweets available...

I: In the wartime.

E: In the wartime. It was such a surprise.

I: Yes.

E: And, I don't know, I got the impression that I was accepted. (4/12, 8, p. 6)

¹⁶⁷ During the Second World War, Finnish women participated in the civil defence effort through the Lotta Svärd organization. The Lottas worked in hospitals, manned air-raid warning posts and carried out other auxiliary tasks in conjunction with the armed forces. The Lottas were mainly unarmed. The Lotta Svärd organization had been founded in 1920. The girls' section was started in 1931 in order to offer Finnish girls healthy, useful and patriotic leisure-time activities such as camps, games and sports as well as training (Nevala 2003, 247–248; Pohls & Latva-Äijö 2009, 120–125). In the 1920s and 1930s, the Lotta Svärd organization was associated with the Finnish Civil Guard, a nationalistic right-wing movement. During and after the Civil War of 1918, and in the political tensions of the early 1930s, Finland was divided between the right-wing Whites and the left-wing (mainly working-class) Reds. The Reds' workers' movements also had youth sections and organizations such as *Työväen Urheiluliitto* (the Workers' Sports Association). The division between the White and the Red organizations began to blur in the mid-1930s. During the Second World War, in 1940, *Sosialidemokraattiset naiset* (Social Democratic Women), the most powerful leftist women's organization concluded a cooperative agreement with the Lotta Svärd Organization in organizing women's work service (Lähteenmäki 2000, 152–153; Pohls & Latva-Äijö 2009, 213–215).

Before the war, many working-class women had been reluctant to join the Lottas (see for example Leminen 1996, 179). The youth organizations' activities, however, attracted also working class girls.¹⁶⁸ The Lotta's uniform showed the higher-class family that Elsa, a working-class girl from a factory community, was playing her part "in the civil defence". Furthermore, the grey uniform with white collars and cuffs symbolized purity and high morals (Olsson 1999, 82–86 and 2005; Turunen 2011, 367; Heikkinen 2012, 178–190). The girls were not expected to wear a Lotta's Uniform (Olsson 1999). Elsa never explained to me her motivation for joining the girls' section nor how she was treated there. However, it seems that this gave her social superiors, the Latva family, a reason to be satisfied with her. Despite this, however, Elsa was not happy with the way they treated her:

Elsa's Service with the Amberg Family

E: [continuing from the last sentence of the preceding story] ...but when the lady of the house left to give birth to her child, I stayed at home, and then I went to the Ambergs' house. Then the mistress came back home from giving birth, and the war was still going on, but I was at the Ambergs'. She called Mrs. Amberg and asked if she could have me back. And Mrs. Amberg came to ask me if I would go back since Mrs. Latva needed me. I said I wouldn't; you see, I'd had to give them my food coupons, and I never got the same food as the gentlefolk ate. They served me after they had eaten, I went to do the dishes, and I had food waiting for me there, some potatoes and some margarine on a plate, sometimes rye porridge, and I never ate, not really. I gave my food to the dog. In the end, I had it better at home.

I: How about at the Ambergs'?

E: At the Ambergs', everybody got fed [the same food]. I ate in the kitchen, but I got the same food. They had good food. And it was so that they never looked down on me in any way; even if I was a maid, they never called me that. (4/12, 9, p. 6)

Food was often used as a mark of the social hierarchy in large agrarian households. Farm hands and other agrarian workers were often served different food from the fare of the farmer's family. According to Eija Stark, this practice continued relatively late, in some parts of Finland right up to the 1950s (2011, 118, 123–124). In the Latva family, Elsa was not supposed to eat with the family. In addition, although they used her food rationing coupons, they never offered Elsa the same food that they themselves ate. The food given to her was, in fact, poorer than she was used to at home. The Latva family showed Elsa her place symbolically through the food they served her.

¹⁶⁸ Either the Lotta Svärd organization did not collect information about the social background of its members, or the documents were later destroyed when the organization was prohibited according to the demands of the peace agreement with the Soviet Union in 1944. The majority of them were from the agrarian middle class. It has been argued that joining Lottas seldom had a political motivation, but was rather motivated by patriotic values. Furthermore, in many smaller countryside villages there were only few organizations and free time activities, and Lotta Svärd offered agrarian girls an opportunity to engage in activities other than school or work (Olsson 1999, 90–95, 198–214; Nevala 2007, 70; Pohls & Latva-Äijö 2009, 125, 148–149).

Historian Marjatta Rahikainen (2006) argues that the institution of domestic service perpetuated the strong class divisions and class boundaries of Finnish society. It is important to note that this institution was based on intersections of class and gender that affected the lives and self-image of young females in particular. The status of maid servants was not only low but also a matter of contention within both the family and the maids' own peer group: by crossing the borders of the nuclear family and their own social class, they became outsiders, others.¹⁶⁹ The position of a young working-class girl could change when she married or when she took up a factory job, which offered better paid work and also socialized women into the new ranks of wage-earning workers. When Elsa started working in the factory, she attained this more respectable status:

University Students

E: I remember how we [I and my friend who also worked at the factory] were coming from a dance once. We were already working at that time, and we went to Ähtäri Workers' Hall. At that time it was the Workers' Hall.

I: The sports hall?

E: Yes. And we were walking from there. We were just going up Hankola Hill, the road that starts from the railway station. It was the Ähtäri road. And there were two male university students walking there [interviewer laughs.] They caught up with us and they looked at us like this. They had their student caps on. And they looked at us like this, and finally one asks if the maidservants were having an evening off. And Siiri [name changed] pulled herself up – you see, she was a stout woman. She said, “We’re no maidservants. Is that what they teach you at university?” The fellows left, they didn’t hang around.

I: They didn’t have the courage to stay.

E: We’ve laughed many times about this.

I: It was good that she said that.

E: Yes, we weren’t servants.

I: No, you were...

E: We were working.

I: Workers.

E: Yes, we worked at the factory. And you know, then they thought that maids were sort of cheap.

I: Yes.

E: And they were sort of looked down on everywhere.

I: Yes. (12/12, 5, p. 3)

What made the students think that Elsa and her friend would be maidservants? Was it their age or perhaps their appearance? I do not know, but it is obvious that in the narrated situation there was more than just class at stake: it was also a matter of morals and respectability, which were tightly interwoven with class. The realist Finnish literature of the early 20th century produced fictitious descriptions of relations between maids and university or college students, typically offering

¹⁶⁹ According to literary scholar Kukku Melkas (2005), the position of a maidservant in the middle-class family was contentious because of the general conception of working-class girls' sexuality.

warning examples of (forbidden) love and seduction that resulted in the maid having a child out of wedlock (Halme 2006, 183–184; Hyttinen & Melkas 2009).¹⁷⁰ In the case related by Elsa, the male university students underestimated these young women, who were not innocent, easily seduced girls, but autonomous adult women who were in respectable and paid jobs, workers who had already adjusted to the male working environment and had learned to put up with sexual jokes and talk back to men (see Chapter 3 p. 84 earlier in this study).

Even if factory work gave Elsa a better status than she had enjoyed as a maidservant, it too entailed certain oppressive relations. Elsa told, for example, that she always felt bad about the way the wages were handed to the workers in the early days of her career:

Waiting for the Wages

...and at that time, the wages, for example, they brought them from the accounts office to us in front of the laboratory. The workers stood there waiting. I felt ashamed. I don't know why I felt like that, but I had the feeling that even though I'd worked hard, I was begging there. Do you understand? I always felt ashamed, but then the office manager distributed the pay packets. Nobody said anything – nobody told how much they got. (5/12, 5, p. 3; 8/12, 2, p.3)

In Elsa's view, waiting and queuing was humiliating, almost as if the workers were begging for their wages after hard physical labour that they had performed. In so doing, the workers took physical postures which symbolized subordination. The situation had remained in Elsa's mind and had transformed into a crystallized narrative. The image of workers queuing is indeed strong and symbolic. The silence of the situation adds to the uncomfortable feeling of the labourers. The feeling of *shame* is an interesting emotional response to the situation, in which Elsa felt *dependent* on other people. Folklorist Niina Lappalainen, too, has used the word "ashamed" to describe her informant's response to the social divisions in the factory community she studied (2008, 62). Her informants were not willing even to talk about the distinctions or tell about their experiences of class differences. It has been argued that a person feels shame when forced to recognize that s/he is in a subordinate position (Kilborne 1992; Stark 1998, 186). Thus, shame can emerge as a response to revealing one's weakness to other people such as members of higher classes. In another version of the narrative in Interview 8, Elsa told me how relieved she felt when this practice changed and the wages she had earned were paid into her bank account. In her view, this was a significant change, a sign of development and progress.

¹⁷⁰ Relationships between two people of different classes were also a common theme in various forms of Finnish popular culture such as the films of the 1950s and 1960s (M. Peltonen 1992, 138–139).

Despite positive changes in some aspects of working life, however, Elsa felt that as a worker she was still in a lower-class position. This evoked feelings of otherness, subordination and humiliation. When Elsa went to sort out her retirement and monthly pension at the office of the Social Insurance Institution (KELA), she reported that she felt belittled:

A Visit to the Social Insurance Institution

Yes, yes, we moved into the Ähtäri centre in '84. Grandpa said: "You're not going to [retire] yet, let's do it at the same time." Well, I didn't do it at the same time as the other [workers] did, and I regret that I didn't, I should've done. Well, Grandpa, he couldn't retire, he was a white-collar worker, and he had to work for two months more before he got the decision on a pension. So I worked there for two more months as I didn't take it [the chance to retire when I could] at the beginning of the year, in January, so I stayed on. And I had it hard because everybody else had already visited the Social Insurance Institution to sort out their pensions. I went there alone. And they were so nasty to me. They asked me what I had done. I said I had been a production line worker. And the woman said contemptuously that I should try to remember what I'd done. I burst into tears. I said I'd been on the production line. And then she found a paper, looked at it and said, "Yes, so you have." That was the last straw. How I still hate that woman, or I don't feel anything when I see her. I see her very often. I just pass by her without nodding to her. It was such a blow to me when she suggested I didn't know what I'd done. She said it in such a nasty way. (8/12, 4, p.4)

When Elsa, at the age of 57 years and with decades of work experience at the factory, wanted to arrange her future with the pensions office, the clerk did not recognize the job description that Elsa offered. The feelings evoked by the meeting with the female official are strong: humiliation and rage. Elsa tells how she was so deeply hurt by the fact that she did not get recognition for the work she had done that she did not actually "feel anything" anymore. Stating "that was the last straw," she connected this experience with previous incidents of being placed in a lower, oppressed position. Both of these emotional narratives (*Waiting for the Wages* and *A Visit to the Social Insurance Institution*) exemplify the paradox between the lower-class position of workers and their strong vocational identity, the pain of not being recognized and valued as workers. In my opinion, Elsa's experiences of being belittled conflicted with her need and experienced right to define herself and make her own life, virtues which are esteemed in the modernizing Western world. When other people stigmatized Elsa as lower-class or denied her vocational status, her working-class identity caused her to feel shame and humiliation. However, being categorized and identified as a worker did not produce only negative experiences in Elsa's life; it also brought her pride, dignity and a sense of being able to cope in life.

Skills and Dignity: “I knew the job”

Youth has been seen as the crucial time for the assumption of social codes such as gender roles and class identities (Young 1990). In the early 20th century, the lives of young Finnish people were strongly marked by the class from which they came (Lähteenmäki 1995, 105). Before the Second World War, most young working-class persons finished school before the age of 15 and worked full time thereafter. School attendance was gendered as well. Many families did not see any point in educating girls, especially in rural areas, and few working-class girls had a chance to undertake further education (Lähteenmäki 1995, 162). In urban areas such as the city of Tampere, girls from the lower classes had more possibilities. They could, for example, enter the extension school (a two-year continuation of the primary school) or apply to vocational schools such as business colleges. Admittedly, most of the vocational education that catered for girls pertained to domestic science subjects. In the 1920s and 1930s, secondary school education and upper secondary school education became more common for the offspring of wealthier farmers and the urban middle and even working classes (Kaarninen 1995). The Second World War changed the working life of many young people. Immediately before the war, only five per cent of the industrial work force was under 18 years old. During the war, the proportion of underage workers increased to ten percent (Rahikainen 2003, 161).

Juha Kauppila (1996, 74–75), a historian who has studied the significance of education in Finnish people’s lives, has pointed out that despite the fact that the Second World War cut short young people’s formal education, it did on the other hand provide them with unique learning experiences. Many people who had struggled on the home front felt that after such tough experiences they could survive anything. Young Elsa rapidly became acquainted with physical labour, obtained skills and won appreciation at work. Her vocational skills and occupational identity contributed to her sense that she was able to cope with the demands of life, and added to her self-esteem. Through her wage labour, Elsa became a member of the community of workers, and obtained a place in the world. Elsa started her career in the factory by assisting a handyman, in her own words, being a dogsbody’s dogsbody (*sällin sälli*), carrying boxes of new horseshoes and spikes. The work was physically demanding, but the fact that she managed it well led to her promotion as a machinist:

From a Dogsbody's Dogsbody to Machinist

[...] when I turned seventeen I got to... The “laboratory” was a kind of place where the technical manager and the foremen were, it was a kind of office for them, it was next to us. So Suutala [the foreman] came out of there [the “laboratory”] and said, “Elsa has turned

seventeen, so you can go to [work at] that machine. And for many years I'd watched how they operated it, so I could handle it. (5/12, 3, pp. 2–3; 12/12, 14, p. 8)

Elsa got a position that had earlier belonged to an older male worker. This might not have been possible if it had not been wartime. Because of the war, Elsa did not have much of a choice regarding her own education and future work. However, she emphasized the fact that the factory work she was trained to do required certain skills and qualities.

It was just the skill that we learned there. We had the skills for that work. We could operate the machines and do the job. It has its own rhythm. (7/12, p. 22)

Elsa's relationship with machines was similar to that described by ethnologist Christer Eldh (1996) in his article regarding changes in factory work from the standpoint of the bodies of workers. The 40-year-old factory worker he interviewed underlined the fact that workers had to master their machines. Occupational skills were gained by respecting and even fearing the machine. Different phases of work at the factory had to follow a certain rhythm, or otherwise the production lines would not run smoothly. According to Elsa, the machinist's work was precisely about handling the rhythm. She described this rhythm using an interesting metaphor:

With them [the machines] you had to have your own rhythm so you would be fast enough, because, you see, there was iron coming out of the furnaces all the time. [...] and in the meanwhile, the piece of iron was not supposed to cool. It needed to be like continuous waltzing. (4/12, p. 8)

Metaphors typically refer to multiple meanings which are both shared and subjective (Laine 2007, 32). The Finnish word *valssaus* that Elsa uses has several meanings: in addition to waltzing, in Finnish technical language it also means rolling, the processing of iron, which was heavy work performed by skilled ironworkers. "Continuous waltzing" is a poetic expression describing skills and team work between the machinists and the reciprocal relationship between the workers and the machines. Such time-space routines within a particular location can be characterized as place ballets, embodying rhythms of life that create feelings of belonging within space (Creswell 2004, 34; see also Seamon 1980).

Reflecting on her own identity as a labourer, Elsa often stated how nobody would do such work today, if they had other options available:

[...] it was work, and people today wouldn't do it. There was no heating other than the furnaces, and we always stood beside the boxes of horseshoes and spikes to warm ourselves up.¹⁷¹ And the doors were so that we couldn't close them, even in the winter. They were simply so frozen. We could move them a bit to get in and out. Hmm [sighs]. And we didn't

¹⁷¹ Recently worked horseshoes and spikes formed from melted iron were still warm.

even have proper clothes, you see: it was wartime, there was rationing, and if we got some cloth – there weren't any ready-made clothes. They got some overalls from somewhere at the factory, and these were distributed to us. But no proper shoes or anything. It was really rough sometimes. (5/12, pp. 2–3)

The descriptions of difficult working conditions – heat and cold, dirt and danger – and complaints about the lack of proper equipment were based on real hardship and embodied memories. In the context of her life narrative, these descriptions emphasize Elsa's own courage and persistence. In my interpretation, Elsa does not, however, suggest that people today would lack these qualities. According to her, the main difference is that nowadays people can choose whether they want to do physical labour or educate themselves:

E: It was the kind of work that people of today wouldn't do, not at all.

I: Hm.

E: But we had to. I got to stay at home. It was better than chopping wood in the forest. I did that, too, with my father.

I: Yes.

E: Yes, I did it with my mum while our father – we took him coffee to the forest. So we had to carry the branches that he cut on our shoulders. That's why I know what it's like. We had to try our best even if we weren't really up to it. People don't do that anymore, they go to school.

I: Yes, well...

E: Not today, no.

I: Well, they have to. But I've also done that kind of work.

E: Yes, you, but it's up to the individual if they want to.

I: Yes, if you want to. You don't have to. (7/12, pp. 23–24)

Referring to her own youth and the exceptional time of the Second World War, Elsa underlined the necessity and the *obligation* to work. She had no choice, and neither did many others. Today, on the other hand, young people can choose to go to school and get an education. Even so, in Elsa's view, factory work was not the worst work she could have ended up doing. Cutting firewood, which was normally a male duty, was one of the tasks in which women had to participate during the Second World War and is often mentioned in Finnish women's reminiscences of working during the war (see for example Kirves & Näre 2008, 66–68; Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2009). Elsa refers to this work when contrasting the modern world with her own past experiences:

I Know All about Chopping Wood

E: Men came back from the front to work there [in the factory]. We were there, and they didn't fire us since we'd learned the job anyway. I don't like to say so, but nowadays people can't get a job at all if they haven't been to school. And not even then. I can't get my head round it. Sure, I understand that industry needs its own share, and it's never enough.

I: And people today are altogether overeducated.

E: Yes, they are. And they won't do any kind of work. Like in the old days. I've done... I was told not to go cutting wood in the forest. When I got my replacement hip and I had this last operation, and I asked what I was allowed to lift, he [the doctor] said [I could do anything] as long I didn't go logging, cutting and trimming. I felt like saying I knew what it was like. I'd had to help my father cutting timber. Cutting firewood. He felled the trees, and Aili [Elsa's sister] and I cut the branches off and sawed them into logs. Aili was on the other end of the saw. We sawed while he [our father] took measurements. I have also debarked the trunks. There you go. What else could you do? That's what the body needed. All hustle and go. Dragging things. (10/12, 21, p. 16)

In the beginning, Elsa wonders about the paradoxical situation of today: people study but there is not enough work for everybody in contemporary Finnish society. For her, it is difficult to understand this. Her positive experiences of factory work, attaining the skills involved in it, getting a better and independent position, and coping with the circumstances in which she had to work made Elsa celebrate physical work: the waltz she used to dance when she was young and strong, when machines required enormous amounts of labour, working bodies – men and women.

Worker Identity and “a greasy skin”

Many of the narratives I have thus far analyzed contained experiences and emotions related to Elsa's sense of self and dignity. Elsa lived her life in a small, tightly-knit factory community, where one's identity was tied to one's social positions. Being a worker made for a contradictory identity. As an active member of the working-class youth, Elsa was part of a loyal network of peers. Through factory work she obtained independence in the outside world, acquired skills and a position in the factory environment, and experienced pride and joy. However, the same position brought class discrimination and sometimes humiliating treatment from other people who were higher in the social hierarchy.

Patricia Sawin (2004) notes that her informant Bessie Eldreth, who had worked hard through her life, served other people and suffered from her husband's tyranny and neglect, emphasized her innate willingness to be of service, her constant diligence and obedience, by using other people's voices and reported speech. Eldreth did not praise herself directly but used the voices of authoritarian figures such as doctors, priests and preachers to construct for herself the figure of a hardworking, respectable woman. Sawin has reflected on Eldreth's need to present herself in this manner. In her view, Eldreth's stories reflect and reconstruct a cultural framework of reference in which certain features count and make uneducated and relatively poor elderly working-class women worthy (2004, 51).

Elsa seldom used other people's voices in the form of reported speech to represent herself. Instead, she herself evaluated other people's attitudes towards her and placed value on her mental and physical strength as well as skills and life experience. It has been argued that in the Finnish context, in which there has been a powerful moral and ethical impetus to define oneself through work, hard work and struggling to cope have constituted the marks of a good man or a good woman (Kortteinen 1992, 50; Taira 2006, 92). This ethos which is rooted in Protestant ethics and nationalism is based on the connection between work and piety and the rational endeavour aimed at achieving economic gain (Weber 1985). Religious studies scholar Teemu Taira (2006), who has studied the changing values of work-related culture in the autobiographical writings of unemployed persons, points out that in the Finnish context, the strong work ethos has not emphasized economic success and the maximizing of profit but is rather a cultural image that has been evoked in difficult circumstances (2006, 92). Taira reminds us that in the Nordic countries, capitalism has taken a collective form and the ethos of work does not emphasize individual success as a way to economic prosperity (Taira 2006, 92).

In her research on the school experiences of Finnish children in the 1920s and the 1930s, historian Saara Tuomaala (2004) analyzes the processes of subject formation of school children. During her research process, Tuomaala interviewed several elderly narrators who told about their childhood, youth and early adulthood. According to her (2004, 53–54; 2009a, 81), the experiences of different life stages can be approached from the perspective of *bodily layering (la sédimentation)*. Following Tuomaala's thoughts, I argue that the embodied experiences presented by Elsa in this study construct Elsa's working-class and worker identity. In Elsa's childhood, the weak economic situation of the family correlated with a lower social status. Children of large families whose fathers worked in the Ironworks did not enjoy of much in the way of material commodities and were used to having to wear patched clothes, for example. When growing up, working-class children like Elsa learned to perform physical labour, enduring the dirty conditions and hard work, adjusting their bodies to the rhythm of the machines. Thus, for Elsa, being a worker was a result of the material conditions of her life and her practical skills, in other words her physical being in the world (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962; Tuomaala 2004, 53).

Elsa never got the opportunity to receive any more than a basic education. She told surprisingly few stories about her time at school. The only narrative of her school years described how the children of a large family had only one school book that they had to share. Elsa's time for studying was late

at night, and she still wonders how she managed to complete her school education. Referring to her siblings, Elsa pointed out that “nobody else studied at that time”. Interestingly enough, there was a precedent for (self-)education in Elsa’s mother’s family. Elsa’s maternal uncle Hermanni was a man who held a number of respectable jobs in the village: for instance, he had been a dairyman and a bank clerk. He had taught himself to write and do arithmetic, and therefore he handled financial matters for his fellow villagers.¹⁷² Hermanni was in many ways an active, modern and exceptional person. He studied and wrote poems and humorous articles for local newspapers.

Elsa did not have any vocational training: she learned the factory work by doing it. In Elsa’s life, her feelings of otherness relate to the situation in which she found herself after her husband had educated himself, obtained a higher position and became one of the “sharp heads” in the office. She felt different from her husband as well as from the other workers, who now saw her as the wife of a manager, not simply as another labourer. Her identity as a manual labourer continued to define her narrated self. The following comment occurred when Elsa and I were discussing Elsa’s daughter’s studies:

Let the Others Study

E: At the same time it happened that Grandpa was studying...

I: To be a technician.

E: Yes. Through a correspondence course. Hm. I was working hard. I tell you, I’m a greasy-skinned *workman*. [Laughing] Let the others study. But I’ve done OK.

I: Yes. (10/12, 9, p. 8)

Sociologist Paul Willis, who has studied working-class culture and identity, has pointed out that experiences of heavy manual labour are often expressed through metaphors that emphasize physical strength and masculinity (1977, 53, 104). The Finnish language is often gender-neutral, but in the case of some professional titles, the forms are either gendered or only a male version exists. In this case, Elsa used a masculine term *työmies*, (literally a *workman*) which, in my view, emphasizes the physical quality of the work she performed.

Having a “greasy skin” meant being tough and capable. In my interpretation, this metaphor had a positive connotation for Elsa: well-oiled leather is waterproof and strong. Folklorist Jyrki Pöysä, who has analyzed the culture of lumberjacks, notes that “greasy skin” was mentioned in the list of different expressions used for lumberjacks by one of the respondents to an inquiry about the lumberjack tradition (1997, 125). The informant had added the words “genuine” and “sleek” to

¹⁷² According to the documents of a local co-operative, Hermanni had studied in an adult education college, a dairy institute and an agricultural school. He was elected as accountant of the cooperative of Ähtäri village in 1923 (Ihamäki 2007, 68).

explain the meaning of the phrase “greasy-skinned lumberjack”.¹⁷³ According to Pöysä, the expression had a respectful tone. Persons who could be characterized as greasy-skinned were authentic, diehard lumberjacks with long years of service and lots of experience (ibid. 130). By employing this strong physical metaphor, Elsa placed herself among those who did bodily work.

Elsa used the expression “greasy-skinned workman” twice in the interview (8/12; 1. p. 2; 10/12, 9, p. 8. Earlier in interview 8/12 Elsa had recounted how this period in her life was very difficult for her, how she felt like an outsider in her own family and how she eventually decided to go back to work against her husband’s wishes. Here, Elsa once again contrasts her life with the lives of other members of the family, explicitly with her husband’s and her daughter’s lives, and implicitly with mine as well. Niina Lappalainen reports how her interviewees from the Tikkakoski worker community never lamented their lack of education (2010, 254). She assumed that they were talking to her as a fellow worker, not as a researcher with an academic background (cf. Kortteinen 1992; Sawin 2004). I would argue that my education and the fact that Elsa knows that these interviews are related to my studies provoked her need to reflect on her working life and the possibilities for education that were unavailable to her.



PHOTO 6: Elsa and her fellow workers in the production line. Elsa is in the front. Elsa Koskinen’s family album.

Psychologist Katri Komulainen (1998) has studied the narratives of Finnish women with regard to education during the late 1980s and early 1990s. She argues that in order to become modern autonomous individuals, women needed to break the mould of the subservient figure who had been

¹⁷³ In this context, “sleek” refers to well-oiled and wash-proof leather. People who had a greasy-skin were considered genuine and impermeable to outside influences. The idea is close to that expressed by the English idiom “dyed-in-the-wool”.

denied sufficient education. These new social actors came into being in the narratives the women told Komulainen about their later choices. She approaches these narratives as dialogues not only between the self and the past, but also between the self and the future. Komulainen analyzed the conversational partners who participated in the discussion in the women's narratives. These partners included not only other persons and other narratives, but also the various voices of the different selves, often the past selves that these women had been and the future ones they wanted to become. But education is not the only means of becoming an empowered subject and to narrate oneself as such.

In the excerpt above, Elsa describes herself, her situation and her life by employing a series of short but powerful first-person sentences that constitute her own voice: "I was working. I tell you, I'm..." By telling me that she resigned herself to what she eventually became, Elsa shows that she, too, had made a choice, even though there were fewer options available to her. She chose not to stay at home and therefore, not to be defined according to her family's new status but to choose her own. The result was a positive conclusion: "I've done OK." These expressions, in my opinion, describe how Elsa became who she is, and how she, somewhat paradoxically, became an empowered subject, at least in the narrated situation. However, her laughter could suggest that she has, at some point, experienced bitterness over her situation. In earlier interviews, she told me that other workers, especially her female colleagues at the factory, no longer saw her as a worker or member of the working class anymore even though Elsa herself considered herself as such, and still does. Instead of defining herself according to her husband, she chose to represent herself as loyal to the class of manual labourers and as proud of it.

Summary

Elsa's narratives describe hierarchical divisions which also seem to characterize her narrative identity. In narrating her life, Elsa reached back to before she was born, to the times of the *Patruuna*, reflecting on the material and social conditions of her life in a large and poor worker family. In telling about the old ironworks community, she employed genres, settings and story plots from the collective oral tradition of the ironworks community: ghost stories, stereotypes and idealizations which constructed a hierarchical impression of the factory community. In Elsa's narratives, the old *Patruuna* was depicted as an absolute authoritarian, whereas his wife was more tolerant and friendly towards the workers. Despite the arrogant behaviour of the factory owner Keirkner, Elsa depicted the gentlefolk she personally knew in a positive light. She expressed, for

example, her respect and admiration for a civilized and well-behaved “born gentleman”, contrasting his behaviour with that of social climbers whom she never named. One of the interesting figures of her narratives was the stereotype of the rough male worker. She both admired and parodied the behaviour of this drunken, outspoken character, and in so doing, she brought out the distinctive and contradictory features of working-class masculinity. The narratives about male workers, whether they featured rough but genuine men or her loyal young male peers, underscored not only class distinctions but also, and especially, gender differences.

Elsa’s narrated experiences of her class position were loaded with contradictory emotions: on the one hand, Elsa’s narratives depicted a communal, safe and harmonious village, but, on the other hand, the same environment could be negatively presented as normative, controlling and hierarchical. In her past, she experienced material scarcity, but life was also full of activities and experiences of benevolence and social responsibility. Belonging to the category of workers sometimes put her in humiliating situations and caused her to experience shame and oppression. Her feelings of otherness derived from her limited material resources, lack of education, and dependence on her employer. Her experiences of factory work were, however, chiefly positive. Her capacity to handle the machinery and her position as a factory worker also gave her a sense of pride, dignity and confidence. Despite – or perhaps because of – these conflicting experiences, Elsa developed a strong sense of self based on class distinctions, which could be characterized as a worker identity. In addition to social bonding and statuses, this worker identity was also based on personal and embodied experiences. Elsa’s narratives included layers of experiences which portrayed her as an authentic manual labourer with skills and endurance, who is proud of the work she learned. In narrating her experiences related to factory work, Elsa did not represent herself merely as a passive object of social discrimination, but rather as a subject, an agent of her own life. Although she could not choose her career and position, she presented herself as a “greasy-skinned workman” and thereby emphasized her experience and her ability to cope in life.

5. CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN A LIFE NARRATIVE

”Mennyt ei näyttäyty [...] nykyisyyden peilikuvana tai negaationa, vaan erilaisuutena, joka osoittaa nykyisyyden mahdollisuudet.” (Hyvärinen, Peltonen & Vilkkö 1998, 22)

“The past does not appear [...] as a mirror image or as a negation of the present but as something different which reveals the potential of the present.”¹⁷⁴

One of the three research questions I pose at the beginning of this study concerns the continuity and the sources of the self in analyzing experiences of change. I ask what things create continuity in Elsa’s life narrative and what ambiguities need to be renegotiated in the course of her life story telling. This chapter focuses on the narrative strategies Elsa used to evaluate social change and her past selves. I analyze how she positions herself in biographical time and space, asking what kinds of experience function as sources of the self and establish the continuity of the self in a life narrative, and how it is possible to narrate the transformation and development of the self as well as the passage of time.

Embodied Change: Experiences of Advance and Loss

Studies of oral traditions and oral history have shown how material culture and the physical landscape, objects and sites, can epitomize the personal and shared meanings attached to a person’s past life.¹⁷⁵ The realm of concrete material reality offers symbols of abstract processes of change as well as the expression of experiences and emotions related to transformation and loss. Folklorist Ray Cashman (2006) argues that in the villages of Northern Ireland, material culture such as old amateur museum collections of individual villagers, commemorative traditions related to certain sites, and the display of agricultural machines and tools enunciates critical nostalgia. According to him, the outsider’s first indications of a nostalgic mood are more visual than verbal (ibid. 142). But what if there are no physical traces left that could be ascribed symbolic value? What happens when social transformations take people away from landscapes familiar to them? The old factory community of Inha has not left many physical objects in the lives of former workers. They could not claim ownership to machines or tools, not to mention land or dwellings. Technological advances

¹⁷⁴ Translated by E.K-K.

¹⁷⁵ See Radley 1990; Basso 1996; Ljungström 1997; Skultans 1998; Cashman 2006; Tuomaala 2009b; Webber & Mullen 2011.

necessarily change the industrial landscape. However, the factory community and its physical environment continue to live in the memories and narratives of elderly persons. In the following section, I analyze how Elsa narrates the transformation of factory work and its social and physical environment and connects her personal experience to complex processes of change.

Modernizing Factory Work: Embodied Experience and the Worker Identity

Rationalization and mechanization are part of the logic of industrialism and capitalism: both work to enhance production and profit.¹⁷⁶ These two processes also transform the work itself, the relationship between people and machines as well as the social dynamics among people involved in factory work. It is often said that that production line work together with economic rationalization subordinates workers to time-space relations dictated by *machines* (Arvastson 1987, 27–28; Shilling 2005, 80). Ethnologist Christer Eldh (1996) has studied changing circumstances in production lines, technical advances and rationalization from the point of view of skilled manual workers, and the oral historians Judith Modell & John Hinshaw (1996) have analyzed masculine identity of former steel workers. These studies draw attention to the subjective and embodied experiences of male factory workers and interpret technological change and the globalization of industry as threats to the worker's subjectivity and identity. I would argue, by contrast, that the relationship between worker and machine can also be productive. Furthermore, the rationalization affected not only the relationship between the workers and technology but also the prevailing social structures and dynamics at work.

According to historian Pauli Kettunen, who has studied the history of industrial safety, the history of labour protection is linked to the development of rationalization and working conditions. In addition to creating means by which working conditions were controlled, such as industrial safety legislation and networks of inspectors, labour protection movements encouraged workers to take more responsibility for their work.¹⁷⁷ Altogether, the development of industrial safety helped to

¹⁷⁶ Industrial rationalization, time and motion studies of production line work arrived to Finland already in the beginning of 20th century, but spread wider after the Second World War (Kettunen 1994, 109). A time and motion study is a business efficiency technique used to reduce the number of motions in performing a task in order to increase productivity. It is a major part of *scientific management (Taylorism)*, task-oriented optimization of work.

¹⁷⁷ *The Safety First ideology* took root in the heavy industrial enterprises of the United States and arrived in Europe in the 1920s. The main idea of the movement was to contribute to an undisturbed production process in order to avoid accidents, thereby raising production efficiency. This was done by paying attention to individual workers, the human subjects working with machines, to their knowledge and their working conditions. According to this ideology, industrial safety, work efficiency, and industrial harmony were to be gained by the same means, by involving the working subjects in the process of production development and regulation.

transform working bodies into more knowing subjects. The process thus included both subjectivity and discipline (Kettunen 1994, 12–23, 26, 232–239; Foucault 2005[1975]).

Industrial safety is an issue encountered by Elsa when she started working on a machine during the war at the age of seventeen. Elsa told, for example, how one old machine on the horse shoe line tended to break down, often almost smashing the workers' fingers:

[This machine] had a board and in the centre there were two round wheels. And when you stamped [on the pedal], the machine would cut the horseshoes apart from each other, and I had to take the pieces and throw them to the next machine. It was dangerous because sometimes the plate that had those two wheels came off on its own and you would always have to hold the tongs so that your fingers didn't get caught in-between. It happened often. It gave you an awful scare because it happened so suddenly. It shouldn't have done that. Then it was always repaired, but the tongs were smashed. (5/12, p. 3)

Elsa calmly described how the plate with two wheels on the machine often came off and smashed a pair of long tongs she had in her hands. She does not describe the incident as a personal experience but rather gives a neutral report of the matter. In the interview situation she did, however, demonstrate the movements and her frightened reaction by means of gestures.¹⁷⁸ In my view, her narrative strategy, the seemingly calm reporting style, emphasizes her skill and experience. Earlier I quote Elsa's rather poetic description of the skills required by a machinist and production line worker: she described the rhythm of the job as "continuous waltzing" in which verbal expression intermingles with bodily movement. I also analyze how she, as a young worker was proud of performing jobs on the machines that she had learned by watching others while assisting them as a handyman's assistant. Elsa often emphasized the strenuous nature of the working conditions, the dirt and the sweat, but also the poor working conditions and lack of industrial safety.¹⁷⁹ I have argued that many of Elsa's experiences of production line work, including coping with the dangers of physical labour at Inha Ironworks, became resources through which she negotiated her subjectivity and assumed a positive worker identity. In Elsa's eyes, the development of industrial safety was indeed a positive thing. From the point of view of her presentation of self, however, the lack of industrial safety was a challenge overcome by the narrated self.

At the individual level, narratives of coping can be a means of dealing with the effects of social change and ageing. Social psychologist and gerontologist Marja Saarenheimo (1997), who has studied the reminiscences and life story narration of elderly Finns, has pointed out that the relational

¹⁷⁸ On the importance of analyzing gestures in narration see for example Young 2000.

¹⁷⁹ The female shipyard workers interviewed by Taina Ukkonen (2000) also described their working conditions and talked about the lack of industrial safety. These women who were also union activists had taken part in promoting new practices of industrial safety.

self, whose coherence lies in the way other people perceive her/him and in the continuity of memory, must compose a story of survival and successfully overcoming vulnerability in order to frame her/his subjectivity and agency within her/his current life situation. Saarenheimo introduced the term *teräsnaisdiskurssi* (superwoman discourse) to describe the process through which older women were able to remember and narrate the often contradictory experiences of their corporeal beings and physical resources, of being vulnerable and encountering the limits of survival (1997, 182–184). Survival did not depend on conscious choices or actions but on coping with physically and mentally harsh circumstances that could not be easily altered. This narrative process, the superwoman discourse, and the notion of getting by or adapting (*sopeutuminen*) were gender-specific. According to Saarenheimo, male narrators did not talk about their lives in a constant flow like this but rather described specific incidents and heroic deeds such as being wounded in the war (ibid. 184).

The reminiscences of the male steelworkers in Pennsylvania studied by John Modell and Judith Hinshaw (1966) emphasized the physical demands and dangerous nature of their labour, which had left permanent marks on their bodies (cf. Salmi-Niklander 2004, 304–305). Elsa, too, tells how her body carries signs of hard physical labour. These signs, however, are not visible marks such as permanent scars but rather her general physical condition and her aches and pains. Elsa reported how she and her female colleagues developed similar kinds of illnesses: arthritis and cancer. According to Elsa, these are “legacies of the factory” (5/12, 4, p. 3).

Fistorian Saara Tuomaala (2004), who has analyzed the school memories of agrarian children of the 1920s and 1930s, has drawn attention to children’s learning of both school knowledge and working skills. Learning happened through the body, especially the hands and fingers, which got dirty and were easily hurt when they did agricultural work. Agrarian children carried their scars with pride; their bodily marks reminded them of their learning and thus helped to construct their identity as workers (Tuomaala 2004, 87). In Elsa’s case, pain and illnesses such as arthritis remind her of her past physical labour and are evidence that it was real. The scars and illnesses can be seen as the combat badges of workers, as in the case of the fishermen of Lake Erie interviewed by the folklorists Patrick B. Mullen and Timothy Lloyd. The fishermen were proud of the marks on their skin left by their exposure to constant sun and wind (Lloyd and Mullen 1990; Mullen 1992, 136–138).

Although Elsa welcomed all the improvements in industrial safety and working conditions such as new warm factory halls, some changes bothered her. In her life narrative, Elsa also touched upon

her encounters with new cycles of factory work and new specialists: the rationalization resulting from the work of time and motion analysts. Elsa saw this as a new way of controlling the workers. She felt restricted and controlled, even subordinated:

Time-and-Motion Analysts

But it began to change then. I certainly remember that we were not allowed to do the work freely. The timekeepers came. Then we were no longer able to have too long breaks from work. [...] And then each person's work [began to be timed,] mine, too, since I was the dogsbody's dogsbody. I fetched the coal from a far-away shed, and they began to follow me. That was the first change, which a workman couldn't understand – that they timed the work with a watch, how long we spent on each job. Now I understand it. [...] But not then. And the timekeeper walked behind me and looked at his watch, all the time writing down all the different tasks I did. [...] And when I was last working there, we weren't allowed to have a coffee break (7/12, p.18)

Elsa reports feeling sad about the lost possibilities for breaks and free socialization she had earlier described to me so vividly. In the narratives describing the industrial work she did as a young girl, the working day did not consist of continuous toil but rather of cycles of work and various breaks, and momentary pauses which were often caused by the breakdown of some machine. In Chapter 4, I analyzed the significance of breaks and small moments of freedom in which the young workers carved out some time and space for themselves, hid from their supervisors in order to have some fun, sang or smoked cigarettes. Elsa told me that if workers detected problems in the machines they would not let anyone know, but instead let the machines break down in order to get some time off for themselves. I would suggest that the workers themselves did not consider the machines to be the source of any oppression. Rather, the vulnerability of the machines enabled different tactics to be employed within the factory system (de Certeau 1984, xix). Furthermore, I argue that changes in the work process were what created a new kind of control and subordination: these included time-and-motion analysts and their measurements which aimed at increasing efficiency, achieving production targets, and using the factory to its full capacity.

New innovations that changed the cycle of work and reduced breaks were not welcomed by the workers. Neither were the new social dynamics. When Elsa first went to work, the factory processed mainly iron and produced horse shoes and spikes. Later, iron processing gave way to the more complex manufacturing of steel and aluminium products. In 1974, Fiskars Corporation transferred the production of hinges and aluminium boats from another factory to Inha. New technologies gave rise to new infrastructures and different kinds of skills. Elsa reported that one thing that baffled the workers was the new professionals and their status:

And then there came so awfully many of those engineers. And we wondered at it. There were so many office workers. And we didn't know what they all actually did (7/12, p. 18)

These new professionals were mostly engineers, educated people who, unlike the foremen, sat apart in their offices.¹⁸⁰ Women like Elsa, who had no secondary education and who had learned to respect their social superiors understood that these people were distinct from the workers but did not know why they were there or exactly what they did. As previously mentioned, these new white-collar workers were called “sharp heads”. When a former labourer like Elsa’s husband suddenly became a member of office staff, the situation must have been confusing. It was possible that this confusion and conflict that caused Elsa to cling to her status and identity as a worker, to narrate herself as a *greasy-skinned* worker and to celebrate manual labour and a worker identity that was based on skills, the rhythm of work and the collectivity.

An Easier Life Equals a Better Life?

In western world, the grand narrative of the *modern* presents technological advance as straightforward evolutionary progress, a step forwards towards something better, rather than a loss or disappearance.¹⁸¹ However, this is not necessarily how people themselves experience the complexity of the social transformation that it involves. A factory worker interviewed by Christer Eldh was sceptical as to whether the new technologies of industrial life had made the life of the workers any easier (1996, 135). Eldh points out how new technologies changed the social structures of worker communities, for example by reducing the respectful distance maintained between the older and younger workers (1996, 130). Mullen and Lloyd (1990) noted in their study of Lake Erie Fisherman that occupational changes caused the older men to indulge in nostalgic reminiscing and the narration of heroic deeds (Lloyd & Mullen 1990; Mullen 1992, 138–139). The discourse of these fishermen emphasized how the work back in the old days was harder and the men better. They defined themselves in opposition to other groups related to fishing such as sport anglers. For the elderly fishermen, antagonism and nostalgic storytelling were two means of reinforcing a positive identity. Mullen and Lloyd reflect on this nostalgic tendency, referring to Santinos’ thoughts about workers who in every industry seem to have a conception of a golden age, a time before the present

¹⁸⁰ The number of office workers grew significantly in Finland in the period after the Second World War. Consequently, the word *toimihenkilö*, meaning office worker, was adopted into Finnish political language at the end of the 1940s. (Kettunen 1997, 103–106; Kettunen 2001, 142–143; Alasuutari 1996, 122–123.)

¹⁸¹ At the same time, the narrative of change closes the past to history, giving today’s people a power to claim that cultures and traditions are dead (Knuuttila 1994, 8–17; Mikkola 2009, 137–138). For more on the myth of progress see Taira 2006, 81; on pro-modern attitudes see Anttonen 2005, 40–42, 71.

when things were different or somehow better (Lloyd & Mullen 1990, 165–166; Santino 1978, 204). The need to construct a positive identity emerges in the face of changes such as technological advances that transform whole branches of industry, rendering some modes of production skills obsolete and inefficient, closing down factories, leaving skilled workers unemployed and thereby affecting not only the lives of individual people but also of whole societies and communities.

In the metal industry, both the forms of control and the actual composition of the work together with the value of labour changed along with the development of mechanization and automation. This is how Elsa sees the development:

The work changed there. There were an awful lot more office workers than before, and the plant expanded in every way, but at the same time as it became mechanized, some workers always lost their jobs. So that there weren't any workers left, and when we retired, when I retired, we all left, and there were dozens of us, and we all agreed to leave with the idea that we were sort of giving jobs to the younger folks (8/12, p. 4)

In the end, Elsa did not want to continue working, saying that there were so many without work. When speaking of the past, she often observes that when she was young there was too much work but today there is not enough for everyone. She does not blame technology or other innovations, but emphasizes the changes that have taken place: there are no more jobs for working bodies capable only of performing raw physical labour.

It was not only on the job that easier work and new machines were encountered: Elsa and other women of her time also became familiar with new technologies at home.¹⁸² Her memories of learning to use and accept new devices in everyday life inspired many stories like the following:

Dryer

Then the machines [for drying laundry] came. I remember the first time when I was with Sylvi Saarela [name changed] in the laundry room, and there was the dryer. You see, it dried the laundry. And there was also a room where you could spread it out so that [the machine] spun it dry. And it did. [Laughs.] The woman who was in charge of it was horrified when she saw both of us lying on top of the spin-dryer. Because we thought that it was going to take off in flight, because it wouldn't stop. And we lay on top of it, shouting, "Now it's going to break." And after that somebody came to show us all how it worked. [Laughs.] Well, Sylvi and I were there listening, and first we didn't say anything, but then when they showed us the spin-dryer, well [laughs], we burst out laughing. And everybody was staring at us: "You didn't have any problems with it, did you?" [Laughs.] (5/12, 28, p. 15)

This narrative is a humorous and self-ironic description of Elsa's first encounter with a dryer.¹⁸³ Before washing machines and dryers, doing the laundry was extremely physical and arduous work.

¹⁸² Household work, too, was rationalized with the aim of easing and reducing women's workload at home (see for example Lönnqvist 1986; Sulkuinen 1989; Ollila, 1993; Malinen 2007).

Obviously, Elsa did not know how to use the machine or how it was supposed to work or the kind of noises it should make. She presented this experience as a funny event that was not at all humiliating, although one could easily imagine that it might have been. In my interpretation, self-irony was one possible attitude which helped Elsa to remain an active agent in the face of change. Another way of reaction to modern novelties was nostalgic reminiscence and celebration of the good old days. In narrating her life, Elsa adopted both these attitudes and narrative strategies. Her narration shifts between sharp critical comments which reflect an understanding of larger-scale societal developments and an emotional nostalgia for the good old days. The following is an example of a nostalgic attitude to the taken toward the development of laundry facilities and a potentially easier life:

We had a sauna on the river bank, and we went there. The gentry had their own sauna, and the laundry hut was right next to it where we could do the laundry in the old-style way. You didn't need ... you used a washboard. The river was right there, it was easy to rinse the laundry in it. I enjoyed that life. Today, everything's too mechanized (8/12, p. 5)

In the narration of Patricia Sawin's informant, Bessie Eldreth, the washboard functioned as a symbol of backbreaking labour (if also a reminder of her youthful energy and industriousness) (2004, 61). In Elsa's mind, it played a different, nostalgic role: non-mechanized labour as a simple pleasure of everyday life.



PHOTO 7: Elsa's mother, Hilda, Elsa and Elsa's daughter Raija doing laundry on the lake shore in the 1950s. Elsa Koskinen's family album.

¹⁸³ Electric washing machines became widespread throughout Finland in the 1950s. At Inha, the local branch of the Metal Workers' Union suggested that a new modern washing machine should be bought and placed to the factory's sauna building (Inhan metallityöväen ammattiosasto 100 vuotta 2009, 18).

Nostalgia is a common narrative tendency in reminiscences about childhood and youth. For example, researchers studying family narratives have noted that when talking to younger persons, elderly narrators often describe a golden age of family traditions, thereby reproducing a powerful myth according to which the family was held together by love and harmony (Samuel & Thompson 1990, 10; Finnegan 2006, 180; Korkiakangas 1996, 37–38). Golden memories of childhood are an example of *simple* nostalgia, a sentimental feeling which is a longing for bygone days when life was pleasanter, simple and controllable (Davis 1979, 17–25; Korkiakangas 2002, 198). *Reflexive* nostalgia helps one to distance oneself from the past and serves as a tool for understanding the nature of change and its complex significances. Folklorist Ray Cashman has studied storytelling in Northern Ireland in an area that has undergone “a staggering amount of change over the past century” (2006, 137). He has pointed out that material culture can provide resources from which people revise their memory of the past and their identities in the present. Cashman’s elderly informants had started again to build old-style rustic houses and to use old rural artefacts and vehicles on their home farms. They explained that they wanted to keep something from the old world and teach the younger generation how different life was back in the old days. Cashman conceptualized this practice as *critical nostalgia*, as a way of coping with the surrounding changes and striving for a better future.¹⁸⁴

Life narratives often include moral contrasts between the past and the present that work as vehicles for social criticism and a condemnation of the present difficulties of life (Skultans 1998, 86). Anthropologist Marianne Gullestad has analyzed the rhetorical use of communality and family values in the life story of an elderly Norwegian man (1994). According to her, the cherishing of collective responsibility and family solidarity may be a response to the crises of the welfare state, increasing individualism and the loss of family values in today’s society. A sense of communality and sharing are values that Elsa cherishes and misses. She often contrasts her childhood with what she thinks is the cold and individualistic world of today:

We always had [company], and we always pulled together. But children today, they are only one or two, and in my opinion, they are like orphans. I often [think about this] when I’m out for a walk and I hear, I see first-graders coming. They have heavy satchels hanging on their backs, and there’s no one at home. I almost cry when I look at them. That’s what life’s like [now]. That’s what it has become. (11/12, 6, p. 2)

¹⁸⁴ Empirical research on, and the analysis, of people’s relations to particular spaces may reveal some of the positive elements of nostalgia. Studying the strategies of town-dwellers’ reactions to the planning of a new school building, the ethnologist Pirjo Korkiakangas (2004) notes that nostalgia functioned as a resource which not only strengthened the identity of a place but also ‘legitimated’ moral grievances against those in power.

The reflexive or critical nostalgia in the context of her life narrative reflects Elsa's present life and the narrated situation. At the time of narration, Elsa was a widow, living alone in her flat in the municipal centre of Ähtäri. All her siblings had moved away a long time ago. Her grandchildren (I and my brother), who had long been present in her daily life, had grown up and moved elsewhere to study. In telling about her past, Elsa cherished memories of these aspects of life that have made her who she is: communal bonds, togetherness, physical strength and the activity of her *youthful* working body.

Sites (Dis)Connecting People

I have noticed that Elsa does not primarily organize her memories chronologically but, instead, navigates her past life via material and spatial attachments. Interestingly enough, Elsa cannot point out *when* any of the events she narrates happened. Often, the time of the event does not matter to her. As a researcher, I am more interested in the chronology than she is (see also Passerini 1988, 8). Elsa, by contrast, remembers things according to the place and the house where her family lived at the time:

I: When did the washing machine arrive? When did you wash by hand? Approximately?

E: Well we lived at that time in the "Engineer's manor" [a huge log house comprising three flats].

I: OK.

E Until the time that...

I: It was either the 1960s or the 70s?

E: Well, you see, Asko [the interviewer's father] was already an adult when we lived in the "Engineer's manor".

I: It must have been in the 70s then. (5/12, p. 16)

There are only a few major events in her life that she can date: the time she entered working life (when the Second World War broke out and everybody over 15 years old had to do productive work), the times when her children were born and left home, and the time she retired from factory labour (she retired at the same time as her husband in 1984). Other events and narratives, and her reminiscences in general, are attached to certain places and spaces, some of which seem to act as more than just a backdrop. In my view, they become sites that orient the storytelling and define Elsa's life and identity; in other words, for her, place is a way of understanding the world (see Cresswell 2004, 11; check Massey 2005).

The condition, size, and location of a family's dwelling expressed its status in the hierarchy of the factory community (Spoof 1997, 278–279; Koivuniemi 2000, 84; Kortelainen 2008, 113). During the early years of their marriage and family life, Elsa and Eino moved frequently to bigger and better flats. They did not, however, build a house of their own, which for Finns, as for many others, is a symbol of the good life (Saarikangas 1993; Apo 1995, 222–223; see also Assmuth 1997, 141; Stark 2011, 293–302). Elsa does not seem to attach strong symbolic significance to the houses or flats of her married life as physical and material sites for recollection or to regard them as symbols of home. This is interesting because I know that the last place in which Elsa and Eino lived before retiring and leaving the factory village was a detached house, an old log building in which the Amberg family (the family of the former general manager and his son, the technical manager) had lived earlier. The house was naturally no longer new, nor was it owned by Elsa and Eino themselves. Nevertheless, the house was located in a very beautiful spot beside the River Inha right next to the factory. For me, this is a symbolic location, the place that I associate with my childhood memories of the factory village. I was a very small child when I visited the house, but I clearly remember the floor plan, the view overlooking the river and the garden. Once I began reminiscing about the house with Elsa. Together, we produced a joint narrative about the house:

Sliding on the floor

E: [...] We lived there on the river beside the Ironworks, right next to the rapids. It was a detached house.

I: Yes, I remember.

E: It was very nice, but it was so terribly old, it sort of lurched towards the river.

I: It was a bit tilted.

E: Do you remember how you used to slide along the floor?

I: Yes, I do, it was slippery. Especially in the kitchen.

E: Yes, well, you see, the dining room where the stairs led upstairs, it was obvious that you'd slide there.

I: Was it too then owned by the factory?

E: Yes, it was an old house, it was valuable. It was built, would it be in the 19th century or even earlier, and that's why they weren't going to demolish it. But when it started to ... they had to

I: To lean over

E: It leaned. Nobody dared to go there anymore. But it was nice.

I: There were inky cap mushrooms in the yard?

E: Yes, an awful lot.

I: And berry bushes.

E: And then there were lilies of the wally.

I: Yes, especially right on the river bank.

E: It was a beautiful place. The lawn was so good, especially when the grass was cut short short. And you could go swimming from there. Just put on a swim suit and wrap [a towel] and when you could go swimming in the rapids. It was nice like that. But those days are gone.

(8/12, 5, p. 5)

This occasion was one of the few times on which Elsa told about the physical space and interior of her home, other than that of the house in which she had lived as a child.

What seems to be of major significance for Elsa, rather than the houses and the flats themselves, is the communal space and landscape of the factory community, the factory village of Inha. The yards in front of the dwellings, the porches and steps of large houses that contained flats for numerous families, and some buildings of the old factory community of Inha were places for social gatherings. Not all of them, however, were open to everyone; some were reserved for particular groups such as higher-class people or factory workers, men or women. In Elsa's stories, there are traces of the symbolic borders that marked the spaces, sites and routes connecting people of different groups. The shared mental boundaries were often not visible but manifested themselves in social practices, especially when they were crossed for some reason or another. For example, Elsa has narrated several childhood memories in which she and the other children were secretly playing in the yard of the factory owner's manor house, which Elsa calls *Pytinki*:

A Big Snake

You weren't supposed to go to the grounds of *Pytinki*. But we went anyway. There was a housekeeper there. It was a kind of straight driveway about half a kilometre long to the yard, which was well tended. Nowadays they don't look after the yard like that. And it was always decoratively raked, and the woods were well kept. We went there to the end of the drive. There was a big crowd of us girls, as usual, because the families were big in those days. And there were the neighbours' girls too. The housekeeper always shouted out – she had a loud voice – she shouted, “Children, don't come here! There are snakes here. There's a really big one here!” She didn't know what to say. (1/12, 7, p. 5, *variant* 2/12, 4, p.8)

One version of the story (2/12, 4, p. 8) continues: “Some of us shouted back that you are the big snake yourself!” This story could be interpreted as an expression of working-class children's own culture. However, it also demonstrates the existence of conceptual boundaries and prohibited areas where working-class children were not welcomed. Interestingly enough, the children were not explicitly told that they were unwelcome, but the implicit message was clear. Symbolic boundaries are often somewhat flexible and change over the course of time (see also Leminen 1996, 167–186; Tuomaala 2004, 316). I point out earlier that the factory owner's manor house serves as a scene for different stories; for example it is the location of several popular ghost stories that local people still narrate today. In fact, the manor house is one of the few places left as a reminder of the old factory village of the days of the *Patruuna*. By the time Elsa was a child, nobody was living in the house

any more. Nevertheless, it was still a very special place with limited access even for the villagers themselves.

Elsa's narratives about crossing boundaries as a child tell a great deal about the social rules and norms of her community and about different groups and their identities. Interestingly, the factory and its yard were open to anybody, even to outside visitors (see also Salmi-Niklander 2004, 300). In Elsa's view, there used to be much more spatial freedom than there is nowadays:

[Talking about the factory yard:] You can't go there [now]. [...] at that time the riverbank was free. You could go along it beside the factory, and people went fishing there. But you have no business going there anymore. When the bridge [Hamarisilta] was there, there was a road leading from it, and people went to work and school over the bridge just next to the smelting furnace. Nobody stopped you ... (8/12, p. 9)

Today, the factory area is closed to outsiders who are prevented by a fence from entering. It is clear that Elsa feels sad about the fact that she is not able to visit these places anymore. She has lost contact with the mental landscape of her past in a concrete way:

E: The river isn't the same anymore. It's overgrown with all kinds of weeds. You can't see it at all anymore.

I: Yes, it's still there. You can see a bit of it.

E: And the mill bridge was there, it was a romantic place, the old mill. And the power station, that white and yellow building, where the electricity came from...

I: Was it right next to the factory?

E: No, the mill bridge was there. [...] You don't know that. It's been demolished. It was really a sad day for the old workers when they had to tear it down. They didn't need to demolish it. It could have been kept as a pedestrian bridge since people didn't dare to go over it in their cars anymore, although they used to. Somehow it was a nice bridge and the oak tree that still stands there. We spent a lot of time there, walking and hanging around. (8/12, 6, pp. 5–6)

The changes occurring in the factory village have also transformed the physical location and its nature: the river the river that used to be clear of vegetation is now filled with it. These changes cause not only nostalgic longing and melancholy but also a deep sadness and ache, feelings which need to be expressed in the form of narratives. When I asked Elsa to describe the big changes that occurred in the factory community during her lifetime, she first mentioned that many of the places where people used to meet each other such as shops, the bank and the post office, had been closed down. She misses the sense of community that existed in these concrete spaces: the open factory yard, which was always crowded and served as a market place, and the old bridges, where people had gathered, were all demolished one by one:

It went a little bit too far. All those places started to disappear. Places that were basic conditions of life for the old factory workers. The bridges went, and in the end all the dwellings disappeared. The houses, our homes, they've been pulled down. There are only a

few left there: Hurutlinna, where we lived for a while, and Lumppulinna, and some private houses, two of them up on there in Kallio. And the Workers' Hall is left, they renovated it, it's the village community hall [now], and I have heard it looks nice. But I don't fancy going there anymore; there's nothing left there. Bushes grow on the roads and in all the ruins of the old buildings. They're gone. I only feel sad if I go there. (8/12, p. 9)

In this excerpt, Elsa describes both subjective and collective reactions to the transformation of the factory community by referring to “the old factory workers” and narrating how she herself felt about the situation. It is not clear whether Elsa counted herself among the old factory workers, but anyway she shared their views and emotions: the disappearance of the sites that were essential elements of communal life and connections between community members meant the loss of “basic conditions of life”.

Disappearing Landscapes – The Amputated Sites of the Factory Community

Everyday life consists of streams of changing events and developments such as the closing of entire factories or the opening of new ones, the building of new houses and the demolishing of old ones. On the other hand, people preserve traditions and mentalities both consciously and unconsciously. The longevity of cultural values and practices can be seen in social phenomena such as Finnish ideals regarding self-sufficiency and gender roles. Based on ethnographic field work among different communities in Turkey, Ireland and Bangladesh, folklorist Henry Glassie (1998) suggests that what matters most to communities and individuals is the continuity, stability and integrity.¹⁸⁵ Stability seems to be important to Elsa, especially when it comes to the physical environment and the social world connected to it. She misses the physical landscape of the factory community that was dominated by the mill and the big smokestack, which seems for her to represent a symbol of the old industrial community and of the change that has occurred in the industrial and social worlds and their dynamics:

The Demolished Smokestack

E: And all these things disappeared. You feel it, you know. And then the smokestack. It was the last thing they demolished. They say that the old men cried that day [in a touched voice]. It was so hard to bear. Who would it have hurt if they'd left it standing?
I: When did they demolish it?

¹⁸⁵ Studies of modernization often involve dichotomist views of change and continuity in which tradition becomes a metaphor for stability, and modernity becomes a metaphor of change and innovation. These views are also deeply rooted in the history of ethnology and folklore studies. Change and continuity are not, however, opposite concepts but should rather be seen as simultaneous and interactive processes. (Anttonen 2005, 34; Mikkola 2009, 39–40.)

E: I was still working then. It was the time of technological progress. The old men like Gunnar were still there. It was a sad time for those old men who had seen the smokestack everyday of their lives. It was hard for me too. It felt like death was visiting the village. The smokestack had a lightning rod so we didn't have to be scared when there was thunder and lightning. And it never struck anything, it always went to the side. And everybody felt at home there ... even if you were worse-off, poorer, it didn't matter, it didn't feel bad at all because everybody was in the same boat. (8/12, 13, p. 9)



PHOTO 8: The Smokestack of the Inha ironworks falled down in 1962. Courtesy of the Archives of Fiskars Inhantehtaat Ltd.

Elsa connects the “landmark” of the demolished smokestack to a larger issue: to a sense of security and belonging, to being part of a whole. New technology brought about other changes than just lighter work at new computer-driven production lines. The social hierarchy of the community changed when ironworkers were no longer needed and in their place the factory hired engineers and other educated professionals. The younger generation started to study and move out of the village, and concomitantly its social life died. Furthermore, Elsa, who went to school for only four years and started working at an early age, now feels incompetent in today's world of higher education and information technology; she feels that there is no place for her or other old people in this new social order. Societal change, the blurring of boundaries and the opening-up of possibilities can also be a threat to a person's identity constructed in an earlier era, however contradictory this may seem at

first from today's individualist point of view. According to Elsa, the old workers cried when they saw the smokestack demolished. Even though she was younger, she had also grown up in its presence. She becomes nostalgic when thinking about the village and the lost sense of belonging.

Elsa would have wanted to preserve the physical landscape and particular material sites because for her they characterize the stability of the older factory community. Structures such as the smokestack not only marked a place but also constituted a material and physical connection with the past. The industrial progress that closed down the old charcoal-fired steam engines did not stop there: the factory still exists today, but it struggles with the challenges of industrial globalization and the market economy. Elsa is well aware of current developments and often states that times have truly changed. According to her, back in the old days, there was a lot of work available, while today there are unemployed people who do not have anything to do. However, she also doubts whether the people of today would do such work anymore.

Geographer Doreen Massey sees places as processes that are not frozen in one time (2005). In her view, places do not have single identities but multiple ones, nor are they in any sense enclosures, with a clear inside and outside. Places are social processes and meeting points, where history accumulates. Following Massey's ideas, anthropologist Anneli Meriläinen-Hyvärinen (2010) has examined the experiences of the changing of change in the Talvivaara mining area in Finland. She has interviewed people who used to live there but who were forced to sell their houses and their land to the mining company. She states that the mining area is indeed a space-time conjunction, where local history, personal experiences of the place (topobiography) and the challenges of globalizing industrial business meet. This could be said of other industrial spaces, many of which grew and flourished, de-industrialized and in the process were transformed in various ways (cf. Kortelainen 2006 and 2008; Ahvenisto 2008).

Meriläinen-Hyvärinen has emphasized the reciprocal relationship between place and the human subject (2010, 75). Not only do people make places, but transformations of space also affect people. Some places offer people a sense of *stability* that correlates with the continuity of the self (see Tuan 2006, 16–19, 29). One of Meriläinen-Hyvärinen's informants, her elderly father, experienced deep sorrow for the lost place, the family summer house on a lake in an area which was expropriated, and Meriläinen-Hyvärinen compared his feelings to a premature death (Meriläinen-Hyvärinen 2010, 68). Elsa compares the demolition of the smokestack to death as well, not to a personal death but to the death of the community and the communal spirit. Apart from this single dramatic event, the transformation of the factory village and changes in the social dynamics of Inha Ironworks

generally took place over a longer period of time. However, the disappearing sites are concrete examples of institutional change.

Ever since I began to study Elsa's stories, I have wondered why she cherishes these memories of the hierarchical factory community and hard physical labour. Is it not a good thing that the world has changed and that we are more equal and do not have to work under such circumstances anymore (see Koskinen-Koivisto 2009)? Nostalgic thinking has been previously dismissed as a naïve rejection of change (see for example Lowenthal 1985). However, nostalgia can also be seen as a more complex phenomenon, a form of critical thinking.

In her study of the experiences of Finnish children and young people in the state educational system of the 1930s, Historian Saara Tuomaala (2004) was interested in the way Finnish boys and girls were educated to become proper citizens in the years when Finland was still a young nation state. Tuomaala found that many of the practices, such as hygiene instruction, discipline and moral education, have become collective embodied memories. She argues that experiences leave behind symbolic and linguistic traces which are intertwined with the cultural construction of narratives. Accordingly, narratives of personal experiences concerning feelings, emotions, moves and acts preserve sites of memory that create a past-directed *metaphorical space* in which various meanings are articulated (Tuomaala 2004, 58).

The metaphorical space created by Elsa in her narratives is full of sites that connect her to the old factory community. Both hierarchical and communal, this space offers her a sense of security, a feeling of knowing her place in the world. Sites such as the river, old bridges, the factory owner's manor house and the smokestack connect her to other people and embody both the change and the stability of the patriarchal factory community, which, while it never have been a static environment, was for her at least clearer, more familiar and more manageable. Material and physical sites still constitute sources for the narration of life stories and for the sense of self even if they no longer exist. Creating the space over and over again does not mean that the narrator is living in the past, but rather that s/he is using the past to cope in the present.

For Elsa, the old factory community with its narrated sites afforded a metaphorical space of community, a safe social order and an opportunity for an uneducated, hard-working labourer to support a family. Her storytelling and the metaphorical space narrated by her transport the positive aspects of the past into the future, to another person, in this case to me – a grandchild and academic scholar who has never seen the actual landscape, experienced the everyday life of the factory village or met the people of the old community. The life there was unknown and foreign to me until I

listened to Elsa's emotional personal narratives, most of which she told to me only once. Just as Bakhtinian chronotopes introduce specific time-places for readers, narrators of their own lives create metaphorical spaces from the sites of their memories.¹⁸⁶

Place is created in and through social practices (Mahlamäki 2005, 46; Massey 2005). Storytelling creates a metaphorical space in which sites are connected with a sense of self and meaning in life. In Elsa's storytelling practices, the disappearing sites of the old factory community symbolize the loss of communality and stability and the clear social hierarchy of the factory and the work done there. The factory, the workers and members of the higher classes, the dwellings and the other buildings, the river, the bridges and the smokestack were once a part of a lively community that became a disappearing landscape, the social body that Elsa Koskinen was part of. The feelings of loss are deep and concrete. Thus, this change is materialized and embodied in places, *amputated phantom sites* that continue to exist and give meaning to her life through storytelling. In Elsa's case, by employing powerful metaphors and nostalgic images, her personal narratives not only communicate experiences of loss but also serve as resources for moving forward in life by strengthening her sense of self and positioning her in the constantly changing globalizing world. Thus her nostalgia for the disappearing landscapes of the old factory community also embodies the positive power of continuity.

The Life Narrative and the Travelling Selves – Transformations

“There is no unified, essential identity, only a continual negotiation using terms that are themselves changed by that negotiation, a recursive but changeable enactment, a performance undertaken in the mode of belief.” (Sawin 2004, 4)

Travelling, in the form of a journey, is commonly used as a metaphor for life. It has also been used as an analytic and metaphorical tool in life narrative studies to demonstrate the passage of time in a life narrative (see for example Vilkkio 1993 and 1997, 46–47).¹⁸⁷ Moreover, travelling outside the common everyday environment can also take on other meanings. It can be seen as a breakaway, a kind of liminality (see Selänniemi 1996; Salmi-Niklander 2004). Historically, travelling was possible and undertaken predominantly by men (Hapuli 2003, 16–17).

¹⁸⁶ The concept of *chronotope* is created by the literary theoretician Mikhail Bakhtin (1979, 1981). A chronotope, or in other words a *time-space*, stops time and captures events within a certain space, thus transforming the real life relations between time and space. In chronotopes, form and content, time and space become entangled with the whole storyline and the historical context (Bakhtin 1979, 243–244). Examples of Bakhtin's chronotopes include “encounter”, “road”, “threshold”, “salon” and “idyll”. For an application of the concept of chronotope to the narrative analysis of oral histories see Skultans 1998; Savolainen 2009.

¹⁸⁷ Time can not be directly described but requires metaphoric language (Ricoeur 2000, 106 ;Sääskilähti 2012, 75)

In Bakhtin's chronotopes, travelling works as a time-space. Some examples of the chronotopes introduced by Bakhtin, the "road" and the "threshold", emphasize the individual trajectory and development of the self (1979). Bakhtin has also analyzed time-spaces of romantic adventure novels in Greek literature, which include mythical journeys and metamorphoses of the protagonists, who are often male heroes (ibid. 271–271). Bakhtin notes that the time-spaces of adventure literature moves between exceptional, unusual moments and the logic of coincidences and higher forces (ibid. 276–277, 282). In these exceptional moments, the qualities and actions of the protagonists, their responsibilities and attitudes towards everyday life become crucial (ibid.).

In her life narrative, Elsa tells not only about work and everyday life at home, but also about leisure and travelling. Elsa's travel narratives describe small journeys in the immediate surroundings covering short geographical distances. In analyzing these narratives, I noticed that they comprised not only a movement in biographical time – a return to past selves, past experiences and past life – but also the negotiation of the development of the self. In this retrospective evaluation of her past selves, Elsa relates life experiences of her childhood, youth and adulthood to the voice of the narrating self, the elderly Elsa.

Beginnings: The Solidarity of the Family and the Community

In her childhood and youth, Elsa was part both of a large family and of larger groups of neighbours and villagers. Many of Elsa's personal narratives of those times are presented in the collective *we* form instead of the singular *I*. The *we* of her childhood and youth can refer to two larger groups: we, the children of the same family, or we the children/girls/young people of the worker community (see the Appendix 3).¹⁸⁸ Elsa's childhood in particular was characterized by unity and the presence of siblings, and she describes it as being "carefree, even though we were poor". The older siblings took care of the younger ones.

Memories of Schooldays

There were a lot of us [siblings], so the municipality couldn't afford to give all of us school books, only one book [per family]. So we all studied the same book. At times there were three or four of us in the upper forms. I was the youngest, and I was the last to get the book when my older brothers and sisters had had their turns reading it. My turn was late, almost at night, but my eldest sister Aino stayed up with me, and helped me with my homework. I don't know [how], but I always passed (5/12, 1, p.1)

¹⁸⁸ On the collective nature of childhood experiences, see also Korhonen 1996, 241, 328.

Taking care of the younger siblings was a common responsibility of the older children in big agrarian families. The responsibility typically moved from the shoulders of the eldest sisters and brothers to the next senior ones (see Korhakangas 1996, 96, 155). According to Elsa, it was Aino's responsibility to take care of her. Later, Elsa herself was made responsible for one of the younger ones, her little brother Pauli. The close relationship between her and her brother has lasted until the present day. She still worries over him and offers him her support especially in times of hardship (11/12, 5, p. 2, see also Korhakangas 1996, 240). Elsa demonstrates how important the close relations were to the siblings: they all cried when any of them left home to work somewhere else or after marrying (9/12, 12, p. 6).

In narrating her childhood experiences, Elsa mentions Christmas time as a "high point" that offered many memories of togetherness and good will. One of the best gifts she remembers having ever received was a small coffee pot made of chocolate from her eldest sister Aura, who was already earning her own living as a maid (1/12, 34, pp. 22–23). The holiday goodwill also extended beyond the family circle. During the Christmas period, the factory organized a communal celebration for all the workers and their families (1/12, 37 pp.23). Sometimes, big families that were experiencing financial troubles or other hardships were given special surprise treats:

Real Santas

E: Then there was one Christmas Day that I remember so vividly, you know, because every Christmas our father got drunk, and it always spoiled things. Two Santas came to visit us. It was a great surprise. They came with fur coats on and they had masks. Two big Santas, they knocked on the door, and we wondered who was coming because our Father had already gone off somewhere, and Mum said we should welcome the visitors. So we shouted "Come in!" – that was what we said in those days, "Come in", and these two Santas came in. And it was wonderful, they were so lifelike, real Santas.

I: Did they bring gifts?

E: They did. Kilo bags of sweets and all sorts of things they brought.

I: Who were they?

E: They were from the factory. They were gentlefolk. They knew what it was like for us. They were office staff.

I: My goodness!

E: It was like – I'll never forget that, never. It was such a wonderful surprise. And we sang for them.

I: All kinds of carols?

E: Yes, all kinds of carols. It was a real Christmas for us. (1/12, 36, p. 23)

Elsa's family appreciated the surprise charity that they were given. In the narrative, the donors were left anonymous although Elsa had recognized the men and identified them as middle-class office workers. Elsa emphasizes their good will and understanding of the situation of poor families. Overall, Elsa's view of the factory community's social relations and closeness is positive. She never

lamented the fact that everybody knew about each other's lives. In her view, people generally minded their own business but offered to help when others needed it.¹⁸⁹

According to Elsa, the sense of community present in the ironworks also included closeness among of people of different ages. Her narratives often involved anonymous groups and older people who intervened in the lives of working-class children and young people, offering them small treats, a place to meet or advice about how to get access to the facilities they needed in their free time activities. These memories were part of the nostalgically narrated ironworks community which Elsa constructed in order to reflect upon the transformations that happened over the course of her life. A sense of community also played an important role in the ways in which Elsa saw her past selves and the development of her character from childhood to old age.

The Young and Wild Elsa

As a child and young woman (from the age of 12 to 20), Elsa attended various free-time activities organized by the local workers' and women's organizations, and in doing so she travelled to surrounding areas by train, on her bicycle, on the back of a truck or simply on foot (or in the winter, on skis). She was a member of the local workers' sports club *Taimi*, which offered athletic activities for both boys and girls. The girls of Inha practised synchronized calisthenics, and they trained with the help of a physical education instructor. With a small group that travelled to surrounding villages, they performed in community halls in events that included dancing, acting, reciting, and singing. Together with the boys of the Ironworks, the girls' section, including Elsa, took part in the national gala of the Finnish Workers' Sports Federation in Helsinki in 1946.

In Finland in the 1930s, sports activities were organized in a way that reinforced the prevailing gendered conception of citizenship. Youth organizations and Sport clubs organized different sports for boys and girls. For young males, sport offered an arena in which they could show off their prowess and compete, whereas for girls sport was a *healthy* pastime, a way of elevating their minds and souls (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 272–274). Sporting activities were also class-specific. After the Civil War of 1918, working-class sports clubs formed a separate central association, the Finnish Workers' Sports Federation (*Työväen urheiluliitto, TUL*), in 1919. In Finland in the 1910s and the 1920s, sport and ideology went hand in hand. Socialistic discourse encouraged working-class boys

¹⁸⁹ One example of the help offered by the villagers was that they always brought food to a house in which somebody had died (1/12, 47, p. 30).

to train and be strong and healthy in order to fight oppression (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 272). Sport and patriotism, on the other hand, were centrally bound up in the pursuits of the nationalistic Civil Guard, as well as being part of the principal ideology of the Finnish school system (see Vasara 1997; 30–31. Tuomaala 2004, 240–241; 244–247; Leino-Kaukiainen & Heikkinen 2011b, 20). In the 1930s, however, the previous class distinctions began to blur.



PHOTO 9: The girls of Taimi sports club in the annual gathering of the Finnish Workers' Sports Federation in 1946 in Helsinki. Elsa is second from the left (front row). Photo from Elsa Koskinen's home album.

In most of the stories of her childhood and youth, Elsa presents herself as an active and outgoing child and young woman. Before the war, Elsa attended the summer camps of the Lotta Svärd Organization. These camps were one of the popular activities organized by the girls' section. In many areas, schoolteachers, who were also leaders of bourgeois youth associations, urged working-class girls to participate in activities to which many working-class parents were opposed. The agendas of the nationalistic White youth organizations created conflicts within families with a working-class background (Vasara 1997, 660; Tuomaala 2004).¹⁹⁰ In the 1930s, many working-class parents still had bitter memories of the Civil War of 1918 and its aftermath. But especially in the countryside, the former Whites and Reds lived side by side in social worlds that were simultaneously both separate and shared (Tuomaala 2004, 316). In the 1930s and during the Second World War, working-class children, too, were urged to join the activities of youth associations and

¹⁹⁰ Children needed a written permit from their parents to join the girls' sections (Olsson 1999, 200; Nevala 2003, 348; Pohls & Latva-Äijö 2009, 123).

sports clubs that were associated the former White section of the population.¹⁹¹ In the following narrative, Elsa describes her father's reactions to her independent decision to join the Lottas and to her impulsive behaviour, depicting herself as "the wild one" of her family:

Shoes Too Fine to Wear

And then I remember when you couldn't get shoes. And I had to. I was like that – none of the other girls in our family were – but I was always going off somewhere to do different activities. For example I did [synchronized] gymnastics. I was always practising gymnastics at the Taimi sports club, and I was in all their programmes. And before that, when I was at school – the war hadn't broken out yet – at that time I belonged to a girls' unit [of the Lotta Svärd Organization]. And one summer, we went to a camp that was held at Peränne School. We travelled on the back of an open lorry. There weren't any other vehicles. And I had to get new shoes for the camp. And Dad said that I could go and buy a new pair of plimsolls, they cost 25 marks. The local SOK co-op had them ordered for me, and I went to get them. The girls there said that only a pair of leather shoes had come. And they cost 75 marks. I wasn't supposed to take them. But I wanted them. They were just such a beautiful brown colour. They urged me on and said that it wasn't so much and that my father wouldn't mind. But I said that my father told me that they shouldn't cost more than that [25 marks]. But I took them, and when I went home I almost got beating. He said I'd taken them without asking. I said they hadn't any other shoes there. And you know what, I checked them every night. He said that there mustn't be any scratches on those shoes. I needed them, you see, because I was going to that camp. And it was hard for me, you know, and I always checked them before he did. They had to be well taken care of. I still clean my shoes [laughing] because that fear has stayed with me, because it wasn't easy to get shoes, you see. Yes, and I had a good time there at the camp (5/12, 11, p. 5)

Elsa's presents her father as an absolute authoritarian who condemns the independent decision of his daughter. In my view, this narrative expresses Elsa's agency at multiple levels. Even if the class dynamics and divisions associated with the youth organization were not mentioned directly, it becomes clear that it was not a simple choice for a working-class girl from a poor family to attend the activities of bourgeois organizations especially when her shoes and clothes would reveal her social background.¹⁹² In her narrative, Elsa underlines her own decision to participate in the activities of an association that was associated with the Whites. In addition to facing her father's anger, Elsa also had to deal with some negative feedback from her siblings on this matter. When she told about this event to me, Elsa defended her actions by explaining that she had no other option but to take the only shoes that were available because she needed shoes for the camp. Buying expensive

¹⁹¹ Oral history interviews attest to the fact that during the Second World War, some teachers pressured young working-class girls into taking part in the activities of the Lottas (see for example Lappalainen 2010, 253).

¹⁹² Bad shoes symbolize the family's low status., Good shoes, by contrast can function as a vehicle into the accepted normative habitus and status of the Lottas (for shoes as a metonym of family status, see also Tuomaala 2004, 288–292; Lindroth 2005; Virkkunen 2010, 91–94) For more on the status, clothing and social class of the Lottas, see for example Olsson 2005; Turunen 2011, 367; Heikkinen 2012, 178–190). Shoes are mentioned in other narratives told by Elsa, and they occupied a central place in the everyday life of the family since Elsa's father was a village cobbler, who repaired shoes in his spare time.

shoes made her stand out from the other children of the family, who did not have fine shoes. However, Elsa continued to serve in the girls' unit of the Lottas.

Despite the ambiguities created by her class background, Elsa seemed to look back on her participation in the activities of the youth associations with some pleasure. Regardless of the material scarcity and restrictions on organizing leisure activities such as dancing, wartime circumstances offered Elsa many opportunities to prove herself a competent individual despite her youth. She told, for example, how she was selected to go black-market shopping in the surrounding countryside:

And the black market thing. It's been left out – the wartime. You see, it was me who had to go. I hadn't even been to confirmation classes yet, and it was always me who had to go, you see. When an adult, some older person, set off to go black-market shopping, my father told me to go with them. (5/12, 18, p. 9)

In describing black-market shopping, Elsa emphasized how other people gave up easily and showed their weakness when they encountered difficulties, for example by crying, while she managed to stay calm:

The Rocky Road

E: I remember how I was [doing black-market shopping] with a girl of my own age. She has already passed away a long time ago, she's dead and buried, but she and I, we went together to Sulkavankylä [a village in a neighbouring municipality]. [...] Well, we were just kids; we were still small, young girls, so people sold us things. We got everything: cereals and flour and butter, we took everything we got, and we didn't even think about how we were going to carry it. Well, my friend had a woman's bike, and I had a man's bike, and when I got on the saddle, I couldn't stop, I had to keep pedalling, otherwise I'd fall. And my friend followed and started crying and called after me: "Don't leave me, don't leave me." So I had to stop and wait for her every so often and try not to fall into a ditch. [...] The railway workers at the station, they were already waiting for us, they knew we were coming because we'd gone in the morning with our bikes. From a long way off they called out to us to hurry, that the train was already in the station. And, like, from the carriage, we saw there were some soldiers getting on the train, the train patrols, they checked the trains and the passengers. So one of the railroad workers took our bikes and put tags on them, and ...

I: Hm.

E: My friend, she burst into tears when she saw how full the train was; the carriages were so full that there was only room for us in the corridor. And she cursed. There were some girls we knew there, and she said, "Just take something, for Christ's sake. The eggs, you take the eggs!" Yes and they [the train patrol guards] didn't do anything to us. Of course they knew what we were up to, but they pretended not to see us, they just went nicely past without so much as a glance at us. And we were so relieved. And we thought that when we got to Inha station we still had five kilometres left to go – to get home. Well, the Ironworks lorry was there, which had been delivering some stuff there. And we thought, "OK, now we'll get a lift. On the lorry." And we did. But guess where they went?

I: Well?

E: They didn't go straight to the factory. They went to Peränne gravel pit to fetch a load of gravel. We cried then.

I: Did you have to cycle from there?

E: Not, they took us. They didn't say anything. We'd already have been home ages before.

I: Yes.

E: Yes, and my friend cried so bitterly; she had a date that evening, and [laughing] we were too late. And she was on top of a load of gravel! (3/12, 2 p. 6; *variant* 5/12, 18, p. 10)

Elsa vividly described her physical struggle with a man's bicycle and her friend's desperate pleas. In this situation, Elsa manages to handle the man's bike, her own nerves, and at the end, the entire situation.¹⁹³ Elsa also told that by the time the two girls got home, she was totally exhausted and could not speak anymore when her father asked if they had got anything. When he saw all the products, he wondered how the girls had succeeded in carrying them all and how they had managed to get to the station and back. Telling about her friend's despair and using her father's authoritarian voice are rhetorical devices which Elsa used to present herself as worthy and courageous. This narrative depicted black-market shopping as a kind of adventure, and the girls, especially Elsa, as heroines: she and the other girl struggled through difficult situations along the road and completed their quest (cf. Bakhtin's (1979) adventurous chronotope).

The girls of the Ironworks also travelled in their leisure time to go to exciting and entertaining events. In the writings of the young working-class activists of the 1920s analyzed by Salmi-Niklander, travelling to a neighbouring village or even a nearby railway station was always presented as more dangerous for young women than for young men (2004, 437). Railway stations were regarded as sites of morally suspicious behaviour (ibid. 2004, 268, 320, 349). In most of Elsa's narratives of her youth, by contrast travelling by train and visits to the railway station were safe and fun. According to Elsa, they had little money for travelling, but they knew the tricks of dodging train fare:

Fare Dodging on the Train 1: A Stye in My Eye

That was the kind of journeys we made, and often we didn't have any money, you see. Sometimes we had enough that we divided it up so that everybody had enough to pay, if we wanted to. But we didn't always want to. So one time I had a big stye in my eye. And we were standing in the connecting section, where you go up the steps, and we stayed there. And the conductor came, and he looked at my eye, and he said: "Oh dear, what's the matter with your eye? You need to go to the doctor. Your pretty eye will be ruined." He talked to me like that, and he forgot to ask for the tickets. So he went away, and we travelled free that time. Hmm. (5/12, 24 p. 11; 8/12, 21, p. 13)

¹⁹³ Bicycles were important vehicles for young persons in the Finnish countryside of the 1920s and 1930s. By enabling young people to work and join different activities in broader area, bicycles enhanced the mobility and independence of both young men and women. (Tuomaala 2009b, 60–62).

Fare Dodging 2: Swedish Magazines

And sometimes we went to, what was it, a second-class carriage – there weren't any first class ones, so we sat in a second-class carriage and one friend of ours, she had a Swedish surname. One of the girls, she was a pretty girl, she was tall and slim and she had always a wonderful hairstyle, piled up high like this. In those days they used rollers. And she always had some Swedish magazines with her. So we sat there and read Swedish magazines. The conductor didn't stop. He probably knew that we weren't really Swedish, but he didn't bother. They knew who were getting on at each station. If it happened that there were a lot of people like at Haapamäki station, then they sometimes didn't notice that we got on at Kolho; it was right next to Haapamäki (5/12, 25, p. 11)

In Elsa's narratives, working-class girls are not only allowed to travel and perform in entertainments but even encouraged and helped in their endeavours. On their way, other people seemed to be acting in ways that helped the girls. Elsa suspects that the conductors knew that they were trying to get away without paying but let them travel free anyway out of kindness or solidarity. In Chapter 4, I described the chivalrous behaviour of the railway workers in waiting for and helping the girls (see pp. 117). The good will of other working-class people is a characteristic feature of most of Elsa's childhood narratives.

The adventures Elsa narrated also had something in common with the travel narratives in the handwritten magazines written by the young worker activists of the Högfors Ironworks in Karkkila in the 1910s and 1920s (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 327–340). Salmi-Niklander notes that in the 1920s, travel narratives became primarily a male genre in which women are described as objects. Salmi-Niklander observes that female writers found reasons to avoid journeys during which young males got into fights with boys from other villages. In addition, girls travelling alone were vulnerable to harassment and open to moral condemnation (*ibid.* 320). The men's journeys were constructed as fantastical “*odysseys*” of the Ironworks boys in which different perspectives and positions overlap. The narratives were built around thematic binaries such as desire-disappointment or attainment-refusal and actions such as conquest and competition (*ibid.* 331). Often, the motive for travelling seemed to be to meet members of the opposite sex, the quest for romance. Some of the narratives were boastful and emphasized the masculinity of the travellers in the form of sexual conquests and disputes with other men. In Salmi-Niklander's view, travelling signified a mental break for the young male workers: a change from the chores of everyday life, from the ties and bonds of hierarchical communities and an escape from the expectations of the community that the boys would marry locally and start a family (*ibid.*, 346). Salmi-Niklander points out that these stories of escapism are merely momentary: a more permanent distancing would have been a frightening scenario, even for young males, because it would have meant abandoning the solidarity and safety of the worker community and expose one's masculinity to the outside challenges of larger-scale

power dynamics and domination (ibid. 346–347). The odysseys were, therefore, narratives of journeys within the limits of confident masculinity and communality (ibid. 347).

Elsa's narratives of travelling working-class girls contain romantic and adventurous elements. It is interesting to see how in Elsa's stories, the travelling young girls manage different situations and navigate through difficulties in unknown spaces, including encounters with men. Travelling and performing in entertainment events meant opportunities to meet men independently, without the protecting presence of the boys of the Ironworks.

Interestingly enough, the written narratives of young men's journeys outside their everyday environment of the worker community which were analyzed by Salmi-Niklander never had proper endings or homecomings (2004, 348). Elsa's travel narratives have endings, which in most cases are happy and fulfilling: the girls manage get home against all odds; they might be tired, but they are happy. Indeed, they even receive admiring comments from their families. These endings could be seen as a return to the safe situation that constituted the ideal place for young women: the home. The completion of their quests could, however, also be interpreted as a sign of collective agency, activity, and empowerment. In the narrative *Shoes Too Fine to Wear* Elsa seemed to want to distance herself from her working-class background. Despite the obstacles in her path, Elsa managed to buy good shoes and face her father's anger. In recounting *The Rocky Road* regarding black-market shopping, Elsa expressed her resilience in a situation in which the conditions of the outside world were hostile. The *Fare Dodging* narratives show how the girls dodged the conductors and rode the train free of charge on their fun-seeking travels. These elements of wildness, resilience and resourcefulness which characterized the young girls in these narratives are qualities that can also be found in the protagonists of fictitious genres such as fairy tales and in certain forms of popular culture such as children's literature.

It is worth noting, however, that “the young and wild Elsa” is an identity constructed in a retrospective evaluation of her past life and in a dialogue with a researcher of a different generation. In summarizing and reviewing her life in Interview 5, Elsa ends her stories about wartime by describing her personality as follows:

If I think about it, I wonder how I was able to do it. I wasn't big, I was small and skinny. But somehow I had so much grit that I'd have gone through a brick wall. (5/12, p. 10)

The distance from the narrated events and from past selves often produces feelings of empathy for the younger narrated self (see also Saarenheimo 1997). In talking about how the girls of the

Ironworks travelled and how carefree they were, Elsa not only displays empathy and understanding for her past behaviour but also celebrates her actions in a way that emphasizes her own courage.

Luisa Passerini (1989) has studied oral life stories of working-class women in Italy and has analyzed the paradoxes of self-emergence in women's life stories. The women she interviewed told about being wild and rebellious children, tomboys, and later capricious young women. At the same time, they also saw themselves as good, respectable workers and self-sacrificing, caring mothers. However, the ideal of motherhood was not the cornerstone of the *narrated* subjectivity that the women wanted to present about themselves in the interviews. In her analysis, Passerini suggests that presenting the self as rebellious and capricious at some point might be a *symbolic* act, a way of coping with the emancipating changes in women's role and the new demands placed on modern independent women (Passerini 1989, 189–194; see also Kinnunen 1993, 203). It is not at all surprising that Elsa should tell me, her female grandchild and a researcher, about the challenging experiences and accomplishments of her life.

Elsa's narratives about choosing one's way, not giving up (having pluck) were intended to offer me good lessons, and, indeed, my position as a young and active travelling woman might have inspired such stories in the first place. However, during the interview process, Elsa also introduced me to a different side of herself, one that was shy and worrying, less open to the world. She depicted her adult self as being timid – the opposite of her courageous and carefree youthful self. We have to ask what happened to the wild, active young woman. Why did this change occur?

The Shy and Worrying Elsa

Elsa's narratives of her youth and early adulthood tell of an active and brave girl who manages in the world outside her own community, and on the road. However, the narrated Elsa does not take on any active individual role *outside* her family circle or her peer group. When travelling *alone*, for example, to spend a week at her uncle's house in the summertime, Elsa reports that she desperately missed home and the company of her siblings and friends. After the war, Elsa married Eino Koskinen, a worker from the same village, from the same group of local working-class friends with whom she used to travel. Other young couples, including all of Elsa's eleven siblings, moved away from the Ironworks village. Unlike her wild younger self that travelled in a group, the narrated grown-up Elsa is very careful and worries about the dangers of travelling alone and leaving behind the safety of the small community. For instance, Elsa told of a negative experience of travelling

alone when she was still a young single woman and was visiting her sister Liisa in Helsinki after the war was over:

Frightened on the Train 1: Shady-Looking Men

Yes, Liisa went to Helsinki then when the war was over, and her husband was decommissioned. So she moved to Helsinki. And I remember when I went to visit her then. It was the time when it was hard to get food, and of course I'd gone to the black market. So I took food there, and the trains were so full that I hardly got a seat. But there were some shady-looking men in front of me on the opposite seat. They had been fighting, they had black eyes, and they were covered in blood. There were three men there, and I was terribly afraid. There was also another young girl there who I thought was also from some small village. So she was afraid too, and we kind of tried to stick together, and when we got to the railway station in Helsinki, I took my suitcase from the luggage rack, and one of the men grabbed it and asked if he could help. I said, "No thank you. I can carry it myself." I was rude. Luckily, on the other side of the cabin there was a nice-looking young man who was watching what was going on and might have helped me if I [...] Since then I've been afraid of travelling by train. There's no way I would go. You never know what's there. (5/12: 31, pp. 17–18)

Frightened in Helsinki

And then it happened that Liisa was there to meet me at the station and we set off. They lived in [a place called] the Photographer's Villa. It wasn't quite in Helsinki. We went there by bus, and they would have put me up in one of the rooms. I said, "I won't go there. I want to be where you are". And that night, if I had slept there in that room, that night someone got in from the balcony, through that very same room. They stole Erkki's new suit, and they ate all the food and drank the juice. It was a burglar. And I was so afraid that I thought that if I ever got out of there I would never go to Helsinki again.[Laughs.] Things like that always happen to me. (5/12, 32, p. 18)

The world outside the familiar realm of the small safe community of Inha Ironworks and its nearby villages is presented in Elsa's narratives as dangerous and full of unpleasant incidents. This outside world lay beyond the closest railway stations, whose staff knew the girls of the Ironworks and who, according to Elsa, were always ready to help them. The narrated world of danger extended as far away as Helsinki.

The shy and fearful Elsa who is afraid of travelling alone seems inconsistent with "the young and wild Elsa". This narrated self of a later age, that of adulthood and motherhood, is also linked to her position as a mother and grandmother:

A Worried Mother

E: That's why I am afraid for you too. I've said so. It was a joke in our household when Raija [Elsa's oldest child] went to Helsinki [laughing], so when she was getting dressed I would always go up and tell her not to show her money to anybody, not to talk with strangers, to be sure about the [train] connections. I rattled off the instructions. Then I noticed how Simo [her

younger son], he still was a child, when Raija was leaving again, and I hadn't yet said a word, he said, "You shouldn't show anybody your money, when you change trains, be careful which one you get on, and you shouldn't talk to anybody." That's how he went on. So I thought that my lecture had got across. [Laughs.] But I had that fear always, that's what I was most afraid of. I know there's no need to worry, there are conductors and so on, but anyway. When a person is afraid, she's afraid. And it was so safe at the Ironworks. Yes. We had it good there, nobody gave anybody any trouble there. Everybody knew each other, and that's why I don't like to be in big places like that.

I: Yes, when you are used to these...

E: Hm. I'm used to these, these surroundings. The only [other] places when I was young, the only places were Ähtäri railway station or Inha railway station and the centre [of Ähtäri], you see, the chemist's was beside it. Otherwise we didn't go there much, only to the chemist's

I: Hm.

E: Hm, there wasn't anything else here in Ähtäri like now. (5/12, 35, p. 18)

In the beginning Elsa, too, refers to our real life relationship and social roles outside the narrative realm. She also seems to be aware of the contradiction between her earlier narratives, which portrayed a brave and decisive self, and the later the ones, which showed a shy and worried self. Elsa needed to explain her fear, which existed when she left the familiar environment of the closely-knit Ironworks community. Later, this contradiction became a source of humorous narratives which seem to occupy a central place in Elsa's self-presentation, especially in her old age.

The Funny Elsa

When all of Elsa's sisters, brothers and her friends moved away from Inha, they had to travel to see each other. In Interview 8, Elsa recounted these travel experiences, but not until I had asked about them. I have called them a series of "road trip narratives" of the funny Elsa, a "travelling housewife". These narratives seemed to have something in common with the earlier stories that recount the adventures of the young and wild Elsa. In four of these narratives, Elsa was the protagonist of more or less intentional comic incidents, as in the following example:

Road Trip Narrative 2/5: At the Vaasa Market Square

When we travelled, we always had my sister and her husband with us, and then they only had that one child. And we had the boys and Raija, and we had so much fun together. I always blundered somehow. [Laughs.] It was awful. Once we were in Vaasa, and we went to the market place there. And I had a beige-coloured jacket suit and beige-coloured toe shoes. And the market place had somehow been repaired or something had been done to it. There was some fresh tar there, they put some on the pavement and between the paving stones, and I, of course, stepped on a ball of sticky tar. It made a squeaking sound when I walked. I tried to scrape it off and the others were walking on a long way ahead from one stall to another, and I saw a man with the same kind of clothes as Grandpa, my husband, and he was as short as him,

and I put my arm around him and I scraped and scraped my shoe on the ground and I howled, “They make a bloody mess everywhere...” He didn’t say anything, and I looked at him. And I said, “I’m sorry, you’re the wrong man.” [Laughs.] The others were walking there, and they were enjoying it. They saw what had happened, but they were always playing tricks on me. Later, Eino comforted me, saying, “You never know, he mightn’t have understood you if he was a Swedish-speaker.”¹⁹⁴ Well, that calmed me down quite a bit. (8/12, 17, pp. 11–12)

Elsa explained her funny behaviour by using the very same term that she had attached to her childhood and youthful self: that of being a free soul (what the Finns would call “a child of nature” (*luonnonlapsi*):

Road Trip Narrative 5/5: Making Faces in the Back of the Car

[...] the car was the kind that had a luggage compartment in the back. The kids started to say they didn’t always want to [sit] there, they wanted to sit on the back seat. I said, “OK, I can go in the back.” [Laughs.] And I was there, and there were some young lads in a car behind us, and they saw me there in front of them. And I did this, I played all kinds of tricks, all kinds, and in the end, Ville said, “Stop it, for heaven’s sake. They’ll check my number plate, and they are going to recognize the car wherever I go.” After we’d been going for a while, I had to get out. They wouldn’t let me to be there anymore. [Laughs.] I was like that, wild. Sointu [Elsa’s sister] just laughed at this. [...] but the lads had fun in the other car. Oh my lord. And now I’m timid. I don’t dare go anywhere out of the house. [Laughs.] (8/12, 20, p. 12)

In telling about her crazy behaviour, Elsa shifts between the wild and the humorous Elsa and ends with to current narrating Elsa, whom she describes as shy. Distinguishing between one’s past and present selves often inspires the use of irony (Portelli 2006, 38). Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) considered that talking about different aspect of the self makes people use language in the same way as authors do when handling the voices and thoughts of their characters. Both kinds of narrators need to use *double voicing*: the present voice (the narrating self) juxtaposed with the voices of other past selves (narrated selves). Irony helps the narrating self to gain distance from itself, and interpret and evaluate its previous experiences, behaviour and emotions. The presented (narrated) self is thus (re)presented as having learned a lesson and being wiser than before (Bakhtin 1984; Löyttyniemi 2004, 76). Elsa’s narrative contained hints indicating the presence of different selves, temporal comparisons such as “once, you see” and “now”, as well as ironic laughter. The voice of the narrator is that of a wise and ironic elderly lady, a humorist reminiscent of the older female colleagues from the Ironworks discussed earlier in connection with female workers’ crazy jokes (Chapter 3 pp. 89–91). Kirsti Salmi-Niklander’s material also contained an ironic retrospective travel narrative, a causerie describing a journey by car in which the individual first person “I” and the collective first person “we” interchanged and in which the narrator occasionally takes the role of an outside commentator (2004, 357). In Salmi-Niklander’s view, the narrative, which lacks a

¹⁹⁴ Vaasa is a partly Swedish-speaking city on the west coast of Finland.

coherent plot and involves two different episodes where young single men and married men go on a journey by car to find women, was about the limits of proper behaviour. In my view, Elsa, too, parodies the roles of the responsible housewife, homemaker and mother, roles that require correct behaviour, the boundaries of which she cannot transgress in her everyday life.

Humour and irony have many functions in the life narrative. One is to comment on the norms and ideals of life as it is lived. Often, irony functions as a means of distancing oneself psychologically from the experienced event. A humorous tone may also indicate that the narrator has experienced difficult situations and times, when laughing at oneself was not possible (Kinnunen 1993, 208). Irony and humour also embodies elements of continuity. One of Patrick Mullen's elderly informants built his self-image around humour. He made it a practice of joking and fooling the interviewer, demonstrating his verbal superiority (Mullen 1992, 226). In Mullen's view, the purpose of this was to indicate that a joker personality was an essential part of his self-image and his attitude to the world even in old age (ibid). In Elsa's case, the humorist appears in later life and at the end of the interview process, in her narratives about the funny travelling housewife, and in her encounters with severe illness:

Some Excitement in Life

We joke, otherwise we couldn't take it. There must be some humour there. You see, when I was in the hospital, the nurses laughed at me when they came, you see, when I had some fluid here, and I had to go back there, although I'd already got out of hospital, to have the fluid removed from my armpit, here. And the nurses went to work and put me in bed, and they always stayed there for a while to listen to me [and I said], "Now I've got a bit of excitement in my life; it's really been pretty dull. [Laughs.] You see, every day the same." They thought it was so funny. They told me that I'd got it right (9/12, 15, p. 8)

Illness as a High Spot

E: Yes. And later, I got this, the so-called "modern disease". In the past, nobody talked about cancer. It wasn't even known. But when it hit me, it was in a way a high spot in my life. You know, you always have to have something that makes life meaningful.

I: Yes.

E: Otherwise, it gets boring. As you've seen, I didn't mind having cancer. [Laughs.]

I: No, on the contrary, it was something you had to get over.

E: Yes, it was a fight. And a human being needs that, every moment. When they said to me in the hospital that they didn't mind if I cried, I said that I didn't feel like crying. I fancied saying to them, "Get on with it. This is much easier than any of the jobs that I've done in my life." (10/12, 10, p. 9)

Elsa believes in the power of humour. In the above examples, she turned the situation of having a severe illness upside down and claimed to be having a good time, enjoying "a high spot" and "and getting some excitement in her life" her life. Interestingly enough, Elsa uses the same expression

“high spot” when talking about her childhood memories (discussed earlier in this chapter) and when referring to her illness, breast cancer. In Elsa’s words, “there must be some humour” especially when times are hard. In reflecting on the self-representation of one of his elderly informant’s, Patrick B. Mullen noted that humour was one of this man’s favourite ways of dealing with threatening, authoritative figures, if not in the actual situation then afterwards when he narrated the event. In Mullen’s words, “The life review can add humour to situations that may not have been humorous as they were experienced, another means of giving a sense of control after the fact” (Mullen 1992, 224). In this case, illness which is a physical condition and a serious threat can – at least retrospectively – be tamed by means of humour. This is interesting from the point of view of embodied experience. Elsa, who in other contexts presented her illnesses as a result of hard physical labour and as part of her worker identity, does not recount physical or mental suffering but emphasizes instead her will to fight and her capability to see these challenges in a positive light.

When Elsa got breast cancer, she was an elderly widow and was living alone in the municipal centre of Ähtäri. Having told about her earlier life, her active childhood and youth and her working and family life, she presents illness as part of a natural continuum, and by employing humour to do so, she demonstrates that she is aware of the ironic side of the situation. Elsa’s narratives of her attitude towards the illness diminish the power that the medical staff have over her sick body, and thereby also over her mental health. By telling how she refused to cry and grieve, but chose rather to face the situation defiantly through the employment of humour and her experience of life, Elsa introduces yet another self, and thereby continues to control her life narrative, in which selves of different ages meet.

Completion: the Humorous Storyteller

After studying Elsa’s retrospective travel narratives and the experience of her different selves, two questions arose in my mind. The first was: How can the appearance of the different Elsas who developed in the course of her narrated life story be explained? “The young and wild Elsa” was a brave young woman who, despite doing monotonous production-line work, filled her life with all kinds of free time activities and challenging tasks, which she managed well. “The shy Elsa” was scared of travelling alone, which she explains referring to some negative experiences she encountered and the fact that she had not explored the world outside the Ironworks. She was the only one in her family and close group of female friends who stayed in the small village, who did not leave Inha Ironworks to go out and discover the world. In “the funny Elsa”, a wild, free soul and

a prankster, appeared again on family road trips and ended up in comic situations. A humorous, self-ironic attitude seems to be part of her current self, commenting on her previous somewhat contradictory life experiences and on her present life.

I believe that by portraying herself as a *humorous storyteller*, Elsa is following role models taken from the working-class community. In her narratives, Elsa provides examples of the humorous attitudes of the older women who worked at Inha Ironworks. Two female workers, one significantly older than Elsa and the other nearly the same age, were constantly joking and making self-deprecating comments about their lives and their difficult circumstances (their narratives are analyzed in more detail in Chapter 4). Elsa enjoyed their humour and attitude toward life, and later she shows that she, too, is versed in the art of absurd humour. According to folklorist Niina Lappalainen (2008, 61) who studies the Tikkakoski factory community, humour and especially a self-ironic attitude brought the members of the workers' community closer together.¹⁹⁵ Lappalainen's informants explained that a humorous attitude was an essential feature of everyday life in the close-knit working-class community (ibid. 70–71).

Folklorist Eeva-Liisa Kinnunen, who studied humorous features in women's life narratives, points out that different genres and plots are not mutually exclusive in the life narrative (Kinnunen 1993, 205). On the other hand, totally opposing narrative features rarely fit in the same story. Although 'wild' and 'shy' may seem like opposing qualities, it is important to note that in the narratives of the "young and wild" adventurous Elsa, she was travelling in the safe company of a larger group. This may be why she refers to her present self as "shy", since she no longer has a large group to travel with. Alone, she would not have dared to violate the boundaries of proper behaviour by fare dodging on a train or making herself the centre of the events.

I have wondered whether the narratives of "the shy and worrying Elsa" also express a sense of getting older and weaker and of becoming distanced from the world of contemporary young people. In her narratives of her travelling selves, Elsa expresses her feelings of the loss of communal bonds, both by telling about the pleasure of the immediate presence of family members, peers and the people of the local community who all knew each other, and by describing her fear of being alone without any contact with her own people. Elsa's seemingly different selves can thus be viewed as expressing emotions and reactions to changes in society and to social life.

Another question that bothered me is whether Elsa was trying to tell me something with all these different presentations of herself. Is it that she knows that I, a representative of a different

¹⁹⁵ On the integrating power of humour see also Bakhtin 1995, 13.

generation and time, in fact left my childhood community to explore the world? Is it that this mental travelling in biographical time and transformations of her self are her ways of assuring herself that her life worked out well even though she stayed at the Ironworks? And is it that she wants to show me that she is aware of the changes that have taken place in the world, such as increased individualism and the different expectations placed on the young people of today? All these are intelligible ways of explaining Elsa's self-representation and narrative attitude. I doubt, however, that her message was fully intentional. In my view, the different characters she attributes to herself serve as a way not only to explore her past and present selves and to examine the conditions of her subjectivity but also to address possible futures. The role of the humorous storyteller could, thus, serve to demonstrate to herself and the listener that it all depends on one's attitude to life – a guiding principle offered to a listener of another generation.

Summary

Experiences of change and especially of loss often nurture nostalgia, which is a typical narrative strategy for representing the past. It has been argued that nostalgia is not only melancholy longing but can also be reflexive and critical. According to Elsa, radical changes in industrial working life such as like rationalization were highly significant for the workers because they affected the social organization of work and freedom at work, which although bound to a certain mechanical rhythm had also included breaks and embodied a sense of community. Some developments certainly made life better such as advances in industrial security. In Elsa's view, however, the qualities of a good life also had to do with more abstract feelings of togetherness and shared experiences.

In her study of family traditions, folklorist Pauliina Latvala suggests that reminiscences over harmonious lost paradise and its community, of the kind often found in the narratives of Karelian evacuees,¹⁹⁶ could be called "narratives of longing" (2005, 147). Elsa's stories could be narratives of longing, although in them can be found trains of thought that further explain what this longing is about. The disappearance of the familiar landscape of the ironworks caused sadness and both collective and personal feelings of loss which were embodied in concrete sites and locations that connected people to each other. Without these sites, the factory community ceased to be a vital social body that brought people together, offered each of them livelihoods and security and created the conditions for life and a place in the world.

¹⁹⁶ After WWII, large sections of the population of the areas of Karelia ceded to the Soviet Union were evacuated to Finland.

Living in the midst of constant change resulting not only from technological and scientific advances but also from the transformed physical environment and inevitable passage of time, from one stage of life to another, calls for narrative resources to interpret changes in the social environment, the natural environment and the self. In my interpretation, Elsa's travel narratives represented and reflected on different aspects of the self and addressed issues central to female subjectivity and 20th-century persons: questions of dependence and independence, freedom and control – in other words, possibilities for agency. Proximity and communality characterized Elsa's childhood in a small ironworks community. Growing up among a large group of siblings and being an active member of youth clubs such as a working-class sports association developed strong group bonds, solidarity and a collective (working-class) identity. The collectivity gave the young girl both security and also freedom and possibilities to explore the world. Travelling to buy goods on the black market with a friend, for example, gave Elsa feelings of accomplishment and a sense of managing on her own. However, moving outside the community totally alone gave rise to anxiety in the adult Elsa, who was worried about what might happen in the unknown outside world.

In narrating scenarios of her later life, Elsa returned to reflect on her wild and humorous nature. In company and in unusual situations like family journeys, Elsa could adopt the role of entertainer. She told about herself in comic situations, some of which were funny accidents and others conscious acts. In the end, Elsa's narrating elderly self found a source and a means for self-representation in the humorous attitude of the female workers who had been her colleagues at the factory. In my interpretation, the different narrative strategies – nostalgia, humour and self-irony – served to establish continuity and to help her to negotiate the problems posed by the transformation of the home environment and the aging self. The different narrative strategies do not exclude each other but belong to the process of retrospective evaluation of a past life from the perspective of the narrating self.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Life narrative operates in three temporal divisions: past, present and future. Even if the source of the life story telling is the lived past, the life story is a future project, an outline for potential change (Hyvärinen et al. 1998, 13). Studying a life narrative and scrutinizing the context in which the narrator lived her/his life reveal less about a past social reality than about the strategies and attitudes the informant has chosen to represent the life s/he has lived. Life narratives and the narrated self can thus be seen as interpretative models offered to the listener.



PHOTO 10: Elsa and I at the opening of a photo exhibition on Inha Ironworks in Ähtäri, 2004.
Photo: Tarja Riihimäki.

Almost any life story is potentially suitable for an analysis of experiences of gender, social class and work. What makes Elsa's narrative special was her need to reflect on the changes in these realms of life and to mirror them against the lives of people living today, especially against that of her granddaughter. This retrospective view and dialogic relationship encouraged her to not only narrate personal experiences about incidents which evoked positive, negative or contradictory feelings and had shaped her self-image, but to comment on complex issues such as the transformation of social categories and gender roles, industrial working culture and a sense of community.

In this research, I have studied Elsa's narratives related to changes in the role of women, ambivalence regarding social hierarchy and class position, transformation in working life and the industrial community. I have analyzed Elsa's narrated experiences within their socio-cultural as well as material contexts and have pointed out the different narrative strategies employed by Elsa to create continuity in her life narrative and to overcome the challenges brought by social change. I found that different identities and social positions enable the narrator's agency and autonomy while others constrain it. The focus on one individual's life narrative provides the opportunity for a deeper and more nuanced analysis of personal experiences and the social forces shaping the narrator's subjectivity.

Narrating Subjectivity: Continuity and Renegotiation

Elsa negotiated her identity by positioning herself in certain ways in relation to gender, class and work through different stages of her life. Gender and sexuality became somewhat problematic when Elsa entered working life and later when she made a decision to continue working instead of staying at home. From her childhood, Elsa knew that she belonged to the working class. For her, belonging to the working class and being a worker were primary cornerstones of her identity. Growing up in the factory community, Elsa had learned and internalized the identity of a worker. Having been socialized into the world of the old hierarchical factory community, Elsa saw the social hierarchy as something inherent and natural. The higher classes had the right to higher social positions and to better material wellbeing. Nevertheless, although she accepted the social order as given, Elsa felt offended in situations in which other people somehow tried to demonstrate their superiority.

In narrating her life as a female labourer, Elsa emphasized both collective sharing and individual agency. The women of her narratives were able to cope in situations that they themselves had not chosen. In this sense, many of Elsa's narratives that emphasize women's agency maintained and reify the grand narrative of the strong Finnish woman. The strength of the women she depicted did not, however, lie in emancipatory actions but in perseverance and coping against the odds. The working-class women of Elsa's mother's generation lived in a situation in which gender, class and sexuality together created a relatively oppressed position – or at least circumstances that challenged their well-being: constant pregnancies and endless household work. Nevertheless, Elsa represents her mother as heroic, as a kind of superwoman who coped with the repeated pregnancies and cared for her family, never complained and accepted the conditions of her life.

On the other hand, women who worked outside the home in addition to taking care of their families and households had to cope not only with physically demanding tasks both at work and at home but also with the conflicting ideals attached to homemakers and rough factory workers. The humour these women shared was dark, based on ironic notions of their own situation and the demands made upon them by other people. Young girls were socialized into the factory workers' culture through this humour and through the men's sexual banter. Young factory women also created a culture of their own, one that tested the boundaries of proper behaviour and displayed agency, for example in the form of joking and playing defiant games like hiding from the factory foremen.

When Elsa recounts her life, she does not tell much about her activities as a homemaker and mother or about domestic work in the private sphere. Most of Elsa's narratives about her childhood and youth depict young girls – girls who took up factory work at an early age – in environments other than the home: working at the factory or travelling outside the home environment. In Elsa's narratives, the young working-class girls travel, are active and brave and have fun. They stick together to avoid their morality being called into question.

It has been maintained that in the 1930s, both middle-class and working-class girls were expected to become homemakers. This expectation governed the gendered ideals of education (Kaarninen 1995; Tuomaala 2004). However, in her life narrative Elsa hardly mentioned her school education, which in her case was brief short but instead narrated experiences of her service as a maidservant in middle-class families, a task which, according to the lady of the house would equip her with the skills needed for a better life as a homemaker.

However, it was not, after all, her role as a housewife with which Elsa wanted to identify. From the beginning of my research process, my attention has been drawn to the narrative I have titled *Back to Work*, which summarizes the narrative strategy of Elsa's life story with regard to her gender and class position: she chose to be the agent of her own life. I have reflected on Elsa's choice to abandon the role of housewife. Did she really not want to become a member of the middle-class? Had she not earlier, when narrating about her experiences as a maidservant in a higher-class family, referred to what she had learned there as "the keys to a better life"? What exactly did a "better life" mean to her?

Communality seems to have been more important for Elsa than a higher social status. It is interesting to note that she could have attained a higher rank in society as the wife of an office worker but chose to continue to identify with the role she had occupied when she felt secure, part of the group of the workers, even if that group had changed or disappeared. In my interpretation, Elsa

resists the interpretation of working class identity as a social constraint. This does not mean that she would not narrate any negative experiences of class-bound hierarchies, but she embraces the working class solidarity and communality which characterized her childhood, youth and early adulthood, and stresses an identity founded on mastery of manual tasks.

In my interpretation, her longing for the good old days of the clear social order does not mean that she did not welcome development, but rather it expresses the pain she felt at losing her place in the communal order. The significance of community, groups bonds, loyalty and help or care from both her peers and other members of the workers' community of different ages, is manifested in nostalgic and metaphorical narratives such as *The Demolished Smokestack*. Philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) used the metaphor of a *phantom limb* to describe bodily layered memory (see Tuomaala 2009a, 80). Places that have disappeared and only exist in collective or eventually in individual memory could be described as the phantom limbs of culture's body. Narratives about sites that used to exist verbalize the feeling of loss and embody the process of change. Thus narrated sites of memory are the amputated limbs of a disappearing landscape.

In patriarchal factory communities, the clear social order offered a sense of security. Whether the master narrative of social advancement is connected to individual success or social welfare, the achievement of better living standards and a higher social status can also be an ambivalent issue, attended by mixed feelings of hope and pride, shame and betrayal. Elsa's worker identity became threatened in her later life when her husband educated himself and climbed the social ladder. Elsa felt that after this, she was no longer treated as one of the workers. Her own self-identification was strong, and she represented herself as being a greasy-skinned worker, a genuine labourer.

For Elsa, the factory was the place where the body submitted to hard work in difficult circumstances, but also a place where she became a skilled labourer. Elsa vividly describes the material world of manual labour in a metal factory, its demanding rhythm and difficult working conditions, cold, heat and danger which shaped her physical being and self-identity as a hard worker and skilled labourer. In the letter Elsa wrote me in 2003, commenting on my Master's thesis presentation, she mentions the smells and noise of the factory, "the sound of work", stating that "nothing today can compare to it". Learning the rhythm of work meant that young girls like Elsa had access to a professional identity and could become full members of the working community, which had its own culture, humour and rules. The work, which Elsa performed well, left permanent marks, both positive and negative, on her body and her identity. Elsa summarizes her career, social position and sense of self by contrasting her experiences of having "a greasy skin" with those of

other people who had a chance to study. By claiming that she has *always* been a greasy skinned worker, she establishes continuity between the young female factory worker and the later self, the wife of a technician.

The central value of work in Finnish culture is also tied to gendered ideals. In agrarian Finland, women performed many physically demanding tasks and household work (carried water, milked the cows, washed laundry by hand, etc.). One of most important characteristic of a good wife was to be a hard worker (Markkola 1990, 26–27; Stark-Arola 1998, 90). The Second World War intensified the value of Finnish women's work and sacrifice. Men sacrificed themselves at the front, while women worked in various jobs on the home front (Hytönen 2012a and 2012b). Women at all levels of society had to do men's work (Satka 1993; Hytönen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2009). In Elsa's case, the significance of her wartime work efforts for her life and identity as well as to the society in general were considerable. The key dialogues of her life narrative aim to emphasize the continuity of her worker identity and agency and her ability to cope with rough factory work and a masculine working environment. Elsa's narrative titled *Back to Work* demonstrates that while she was fully aware of the emancipating changes that had occurred with regard to women's roles during her lifetime, she experienced these changes in an ambivalent fashion. Despite this ambivalence, she nonetheless chose to portray herself primarily as a manual labourer.

Reflections on Narrative Strategies, Social Change, and Agency

Narration establishes new connections between past experiences. Narrative positioning anchors actors and events to time and space, producing a variety of narrative strategies and narrative agencies (see also Palmenfelt 2006b, 2007). In my study, I have applied the ethnography of narration to the analysis of micro-narratives, which are brief narratives occurring within the life narrative context. I have also scrutinized the relationship of micro-narratives to an individual's life history and to cultural model narratives. I have argued that the analysis of micro-narratives, their form, their actors and content, and their relation to the entire life narrative as a whole, can provide the researcher with a methodological tool to examine the myriad ways in which narrators strategize to build a coherent life story by contrasting different experiences and adapting conflicting and even contradictory attitudes.

Elsa's narrative orientations were linked to the different selves which were associated with different periods in her life. In narrating her life, Elsa portrayed four different kinds of narrated selves and narrated agencies: first, she depicted herself as calm and courageous in narratives of coping which

emphasized Elsa's personal qualities, embodied experiences and challenging situations; second, she described herself as nostalgic in reminiscent narratives in which past events were juxtaposed with the world of today. Third, the elderly Elsa described herself using self-irony and absurd humour, portraying herself as a humorous storyteller with life experience; and finally, in a few micro-narratives we see a confused voice through which Elsa depicted herself as shy and worried or scared. How did these narrative strategies and narrated situations differ?

In my analysis, I paid attention to the relations between different actors. In narratives which emphasize coping and agency, Elsa is the centre of events. Her calm attitude and perseverance contrasts with other people's emotional reactions to difficulties and demanding situations. Her peers, young friends and fellow workers cry or give up whereas Elsa keeps fighting and manages against all odds. The courageous Elsa stands up to physical hardship but also to the 'Others', the gentry and officials. Her current self tells about past situations in a calm reporting style. Elsa stresses her courage and perseverance when talking about social situations that did not threaten communal values or communal identity, togetherness, but simply created discomfort (mental or physical) for individuals. By narrating about coping, survival and coming to terms with challenging life events, the narrator can provide the listener(s) with models that have helped her in difficult situations (see also Frank 1995; Skultans 1998). Elsa's narratives of coping could be seen as models offered to me and my generation regarding the right kind of attitude towards difficulties. Some are moral lessons of socially shared cultural values such as the importance of a strong work ethic, but others can be seen as local and personal narratives of resistance.

Nostalgia, which is a common feature of intergenerational dialogue, often irritates the representatives of younger generations. Melancholic longing may seem purposeless and naïve. Nevertheless, nostalgic representations, reminiscences tied to places, and metaphoric expressions can include different perspectives, not only emotional but also critical, pointing towards the values the narrator wishes to cherish (Cashman 2006). For Elsa, remembering the old factory community is a daily practice which does not always involve narrating or a need for an audience. In her letter commenting on my Master's thesis essay, Elsa writes how, while reading my essay, she relived the ironworks again. The factory village exists in her mind and she "visits" there regularly. Elsa not only misses the familiar landscape but especially the sense of community created by the daily shared work. Thus, the nostalgia in her narratives is not always about missing the everyday toil of the past but rather underlines what is missing from her current life: a sense of togetherness and feeling of purpose. These were perceived to be lost in the course of the industry's development and

the structural changes which took place at the Inha ironworks village as well as within Finnish society as a whole.

I have argued that nostalgia functions as a narrative strategy to highlight the importance of values such as social responsibility and togetherness. In addition, nostalgic narratives can also be seen as reclamation of agency, an attempt to control change. When situations arose which threatened Elsa's values such as solidarity and a sense of community, Elsa reacted with nostalgia. In general, Elsa's narratives of her past are full of strong emotions. She expressed sadness over the loss of the community and identified with the group of manual workers through verbal expressions and metaphors. Although these narrative strategies highlighted Elsa's agency, some narratives also introduced her vulnerability and confusion under changing circumstances. In depicting herself as shy and worried, even scared and frightened, Elsa reflected upon the challenges of facing an external world different from the environment in which she grew up. The settings for her narratives, some of which were large cities, were portrayed as dangerous and unpredictable. In my interpretation, through representing herself as shy and worried, Elsa underlines the difference between her world and my world, demonstrating the scale of change that has occurred within her lifetime. Positioning herself within a spatial dimension and anchoring of her experiences to physical sites helps both of us to appreciate the transformations.

In addition to narrative strategies that emphasized coping or employed nostalgia, a humorous attitude to life seem to have been of great importance to Elsa. She learned the art of situational banter and the use of a self-ironic voice from her female colleagues at Inha Ironworks, who transformed their fatigue, their lack of time for themselves, and the expectations placed on them into absurd jokes. In her later life, Elsa talked about aging and illness in a similarly absurd and humorous way. In the working community, humor arose when the social dignity of female workers was at stake. Later, Elsa joked about her uneventful life when it was threatened by severe illness.

All of the narrative strategies employed by Elsa dealt with cultural norms and expectations which were related to gender roles and class hierarchies, and with shared master narratives of social transformation. It is noteworthy that even individual micro-narratives can contain different attitudes adopted by the narrator, offering possibilities for varying interpretations. Elsa's narrative *Back to Work* which explains her choice to return to factory work when her husbands' new social identity placed the family in a higher social position was an open dialogue in which she reflected on her own feelings and needs, other people's choices and the ways things had been previously. This narrative, which touched upon the central themes of Elsa's life and narrated subjectivity, gender,

class and work, was an example of how the narrator constructed and negotiated her agency against the backdrop of a changing world. Unlike many other narratives, this micro-narrative was not repeated in any other interviews and did not have a crystallized form. From the beginning, it was the core dialogue upon which I based my study and methodology because it implied many potential directions in which the research could lead: a discussion of women's roles at work and in the family, class expectations, working-class pride, limits of self-determination, and the yearning for a prior 'habitus'.

The Potential of the Dialogic Approach and Micro-level Analysis in Life Narrative Research

As I have demonstrated, research into the narrative construction of self entails difficult but at the same time crucial questions of multivocality as well as controversy over individual versus societal authorship of stories. We narrate our experiences from multiple points of view and use other people's narratives and various narrative strategies to represent ourselves. We are categorized in multiple ways which may differ from the identities we ascribe ourselves or which may contradict cultural ideals. How do we narrate ourselves as autonomous individuals and members of our own cultures and communities? Which experiences of our life path do we emphasize and why?

In this study, I have examined how Elsa used narratives and narrated experiences to represent herself. A dialogic approach to the negotiation of subjectivity through life narrative draws our attention to the complex process of narrative positioning. Dialogues with the self, with other persons and with other narratives are actualized in numerous micro-narratives, from which social dynamics can be analyzed. The analysis of micro-narratives allowed me to examine the intersectionality of social categories and to bring to the fore the complexity of hierarchies and social dynamics which shaped one individual life in a small factory community. The position of a female laborer depended on various factors and conditions which were historical, cultural and even situational. Similar micro-level scrutiny of lives of representatives of different generations, other social groups or other genders could open up new insights into varying forms and spheres of agency as well as illuminate the range of subject positions which individuals live and to which they aspire.

One of the aims of this study was to analyze the ways in which an individual situates her narrative in relation to cultural master narratives. From the beginning, this task was challenging but intriguing. Many of Elsa's narratives appeared to involve elements which resisted dominant interpretations of modernizing changes, interpretations which I was eager to deconstruct. However,

the concept of grand or master cultural narratives appeared to defy precise definitions. If these narratives are not articulated by any particular person but are rather discourses that are referred to, how can the researcher locate them in her research material? If they are collectively rendered and shared, who determines their content and recognizes them? And last but not least, do cultural master narratives really exist? Are they simply constructed by researchers themselves (see Markkola 2002; Hytönen 2013)? I have found that Elsa converses with a range of culturally and historically specific ideals regarding femininity, motherhood and respectability, core values of the Finnish society such as the ethos of work and education, as well as narratives of modernizing developments such as women's emancipation through paid labor or the success story of technological progress. Many of these cultural narratives exist parallel to each other in shaping our understanding of life in the 20th century. Some compete with each other or are challenged by individual narrators.

The awareness of different perspectives and potential interpretations forces the narrator to reflect upon her life trajectory, the situations in which she ends up, and the choices she makes. References to cultural master narratives can be found in these reflections, some of which form key narratives and dialogues with the individual's life narrative. Simple explanations and interpretations seldom exist because the narrator's perception of her past is affected by cultural ideals existing at different times. The listener who is simultaneously interpreting also influences the act of narration and the emphasis placed on each perspective or narrative. Despite the complexity of the concept, an analysis of the relationship between an individual's micro-narrative and cultural master narratives can offer new perspectives on transformations in cultural values and mentalities. The method might be most fruitful in the analysis of the life narratives of multiple persons, where the researcher could point out shared interpretations and narrative patterns as well as differences between individual experiences and representations.

In addition to scrutinizing the narrator's positioning in relation to other people and cultural ideals, I used the dialogic approach in order to study a subject's experiential history and embodied memories as sources for life storytelling. It has been argued that narratives are 'flattened' in their ability to represent the world because language cannot convey reality in its lived fullness (Stark 2006c, 146; Abbott 2002, 35–39). A dialogic approach to life narratives treats bodies not only as mediators between self and world, but also as mediators between experience and language, as well as potential sources of knowing about the world. From this point of view, a study of narratives can reveal connections to embodied experiences and materiality through the different ways in which language conveys experience, thereby constituting forms of subjectivity. Elsa's narratives about factory work and its materiality and corporeality, as well as about the changes in the physical landscape of the

factory environment were powerful and expressive, often metaphorical. Her narrated memories urged the listener to accept the authenticity of her experiences and functioned as a source for positive self-identity; Narratives of material scarcity and the harsh environment of her daily labors emphasized her agency. Paying attention to embodied and material dimensions of narrated experiences is crucial in understanding her identification and positioning in the narrated world,

In sum, individual life narratives offer unique perspectives onto the dynamic relations between narrative and experience, culture and individual. Micro-level scrutiny of personal experiences and biographical materials is thus at the core of ethnological research which is interested in the everyday lives of ordinary people, their relationship to social change and their home environment. I am curious to see how my generation in Finland will narrate the material world of the 21st century which is characterized by affluence, interconnectedness, and information technology. How do these factors shape our subjectivities? And how will new forms of work, communication, and cultural ideals transform the practice of life narration?

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Appendix 1: Interviews

Interview and date	initial theme	other themes	duration (min), narratives, variants (%)			
1	25.1.2001	oral tradition	childhood, work, community	105	46	12 (26%)
2	March 2001	foodways	work, colleagues	30	16	7 (44%)
3	26.6.2001	shopping	wartime	45	9	3 (30%)
4	8.9.2001	work	work, wartime	60	18	5 (28%)
5	9.12.2001	life story	life stages, work, free time	90	35	15 (43%)
6	19.12.2001	youth	freetime, supernatural	60	26	9 (35%)
7	1.1.2002	local dialect	childhood, social class	60	16	5 (31%)
8	6.1.2002	change	retirement, fishing, travelling	60	21	2 (10%)
9	16.2.2002	dreams	supernatural, family, humor	60	26	8 (31%)
10	24.5.2002	family	youth, free time, being old, bears	60	22	2 (9 %)
11	28.9.2002	proverbs	family, wartime, clothes	60	22	5 (23%)
12	June 2004	work	gender relations, jokes, youth, work and free time activities	50	19	9 (47%)

Total amount of micro-narratives in all interviews 276, 82 (30%) variants

Appendix 2: Key Events and Milestones of Elsa's Life

Year		Age
1927	Elsa Sanelma is born in Ähtäri during the lockout	
1934	Elsa goes to school	7
1939	Elsa passes the obligatory elementary school after the outbreak of the WWII and becomes a maid servant in the upper-class households	12
1942	Elsa begins work at Inha Ironworks	15
1948	Elsa marries Eino and their first child, daughter Raija is born	21
1952	Elsa's and Eino's second child, son Asko is born	25
1956	Elsa's and Eino's second child, Marja-Terttu is born and dies	29
1959	Elsa's and Eino's third child, son Simo is born	32
1965*	Elsa goes back to factory work, Raija and Eino study	38
1984	Elsa and Eino retire and move to the municipal center of Ähtäri	57
1989	Eino dies	62
1998	Elsa gets a breast cancer diagnosis and treatments begin	71
2001	Eerika interviews Elsa for the first time	74
2004	Eerika interviews Elsa for the last time	77
2010	Elsa gets a diagnosis for Alzheimer's disease	83
2012	Elsa moves to nursing home	85

*) *Year estimated*

Appendix 3: Commenting Letter from Elsa

Elsa's comment to the essay presented in the Master's Seminar of Folklore Studies (2002-2003),
January 2003 (English/Finnish)

Comments to Eerika's work

Thank you Eerika!

I have read many times read through this study of my life and found it engrossing. You have done a good job. I wanted you to realize that a person can be happy and satisfied in life with what God has given, without worldly wealth. Living only to meet the bare necessities. The old people said "children bring bread to the house". People believed that and did not grumble or complain, but resigned themselves, humbled themselves. Poverty and humility foster perseverance. The old people sometimes smelled like a mixture of camphor drops and arthritis salve. It was a remedy for pain. It also opened even the most congested noses. Reading through your study, I have relived the ironworks, *Hamarimäki*. It was beautiful in its own way. The scent and noise of the factory, the sound of work, nothing today can compare to it. There one could feel human closeness; I mean contact with one's fellow man, which is nowhere to be seen nowadays. People can be cruel to each other. Nowadays you can't trust anybody. It's better to be alone. I am alone, but not lonely. I have a rich life behind me. It was tough at the time, but memories do not vanish, memories are golden.

Can you see Eerika, my treasure chest of words has opened again. Old age makes me tired, my hand gets tired. I want you to know that my heart is sensitive to good and evil. It is like a clamshell, it only opens cautiously for good things. If some person's words deeply offend me, my clamshell closes up tight, I mean my heart, I can feel it. It will never open again for that person, although I feel no hatred. I hope that you will learn to distinguish good from evil. I don't want to pretend to be superior, but rather to advise another person on her life path in how to survive difficulties with perseverance, strength of will and a humble mind.

Your Grandmother Elsa Koskinen

Mielipide Eerikan työstä

Kiitos Eerika!

Olen lukenut moneen kertaan tämän elämästäni kertovan tutkimuksen, joka oli mukaansa tempaava. Olet tehnyt hyvän työn. Halusin sinun huomaavan, että ihminen voi olla onnellinen ja tyytyä siihen minkä on hänelle määrännyt, ilman maallista mammonaa, itse Luoja. Vain tarpeellisen elämän mahdollisuuksia eläen. Vanha kansa sanoi: " Lapsi tuo leivän tullessaan." Siihen uskottiin, ei purnattu, eikä valitettu vaan alistuttiin, nöyryttiin. Köyhyys ja nöyryys kasvattaa sisua. Vanhat ihmiset haisivat joskus kamfertille ja reumavoiteen sekoitukselle. Se oli lääkitys kipuihin. Siinä aukes tukkoisempikin nenä. Lukiessani sinun työsi olen elänyt Ruukilla Hamarimäillä. Se oli kaunis omalla tavallaan. Tehtaan tuoksu ja kolina, työn ääni, sitä ei voita mikään nykyaikana. Siellä sai tuntea ihmisen läheisyyden, siis lähimmäisen kosketuksen, jota tänä aikana ei ole näkyvissä. Ihminen on peto toiselle ihmiselle. Nykyään ei voi luottaa kehenkään. Yksinäisyys on valttia. Olen yksin, mutten yksinäinen. Minulla on rikas elämä takana. Se oli ajallaan kovaa, mutta muistot eivät häviä mihinkään, aika kultaa kaiken.

Huomaatko Eerika, mun sanainen arkkuni on taas auennut. Vanhuus väsyttää, käsi väsyy. Vielä mä sanon sulle, että mun sydän tuntee herkästi hyvän ja pahan. Se on kuin simpukka, hyvälle asioille avautuu varovasti. Jos joku henkilö puhuessaan loukkaa pahasti, mun simpukkani supistuu ja menee suppuun, siis sydän, mä tunnen sen. Sille henkilölle se ei avaudu koskaan, en kuitenkaan vihaa. Mä toivon, että sä opit erottamaan hyvän pahasta. En halua korottaa itseäni, vaan neuvoa elämän tiellä kulkevaa henkilöä, vaikeistakin asioista selviytymään sisulla, tahdon voimalla, nöyrin mielin.

Mummusi Elsa Koskinen

Appendix 4: Index of Micro-narratives

Interview (nr.): amount of micro narratives (**amount of narratives which have variants in other interviews**)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Title in English/Title in Finnish | Page of transcription (Chapter where quoted/referred to), theme and narrative tendency, actors |
| 2. Narrative told more than once | Themes: W= Work C= Class G= Gender |
| 3. Narrative 1: Title = part of a series of narratives about the same topic | Tendencies: P = Personal experience
H= Humor B= Belief |

Interview 1: 46 (12)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. I Was Born during the Lockout / Oma syntymä sulun aikaan | p. 1 (4) C, S Father, Capitalist |
| 2. Jesus, It's a Whore / Jessus, so'n huora | p. 2–3 (3) G Old man |
| 3. People from Ähtäri Don't Have Bikes / Ähtäriläisille ei ole pyöriä | p. 3 Villagers |
| 4. Automobile 1: A Car with Stripes / Auto 1: Viiva-auto | p. 3–4 Villager |
| 5. “ 2: A Car Which Looked Like It was made of Gutta-Percha / “ 2: Kuttaperkkainen auto | p. 4 Villagers |
| 6. Children Too Close to the Manor House 1: Playing Upper-class/ Lapsat herrojen mailla 1: Hieno leikki | p. 5 C, P Children |
| 7. “ 2: Big Snake / ” 2: Iso Käärme | p. 5 (5) C, P ”, Housekeeper |
| 8. Ghost 1: Ghost of the Manor House / Aave 1: Pytingin kummitus | p. 6–7 (4) B Patron |
| 9. “ 2: A Lamp Falls Down / Aave 2: Lamppu putoaa | p. 6–7 PB Elsa, friend |
| 10. “ 3: The Dog Is Afraid / Aave 3: Koira pelkää | p. 7 B |
| 11. The Factory Owner's Dogs / Patruunan koirat | p. 8–9 (4) WC Patruuna, worker |
| 12. Bosses / Pomoista | p. 9 WC Workers |
| 13. Rude Names for Places / Rumia paikkojen nimiä | p. 10 (3) W, H ” |
| 14. Hiding at Work: The Big Big Boss / Piilosilla töissä 1: Iso herra | p. 11 WC, P (3) Fellow workers, boss |
| 15. Different Levels of Authority: Cutting Firewood / Piilosilla töissä: Mottimehtä | p. 11–12 WC, P ”, ” |
| 16. Having a Hard on / Värkki seisoo | p. 12 WG, H Women, male worker |
| 17. Old Men Teasing / Vanhat miehet kiusaavat | p. 12–13 WG, PH, Old men |
| 18. Memories of the Market Days 1: / Doll in the Lollipop
Muistoja toripäiviltä 1: Nukke tikkunekussa | p. 13–14 P Seller |
| 19. “ 2: Stye / ” 2: Veripahka | p. 14 C, P Mother |
| 20. “ 3: Asking for Sweet Bread / ” 3: Pullaa pyytämässä | p. 14 (4) C, P Friend, Gentlefolk |
| 21. “ s 4: Quarter Dollar / “ 4: Hilikku | p. 15 P Villagers |
| 22. “ 5: Low Price / “ 5: Halavalla | p. 15 H Seller |
| 23. A Drunken Worker / Työläinen humalassa | p. 15 (4) H Worker, Boss |
| 24. Worker's Use of Language / Työläisen kielenkäyttöä | p. 15–16 (4) C, H “, “ |
| 25. Premonition 1: Father's Death / Enne 1: Isän kuolema ja enne | p. 17 B Father |
| 26. ”2: Knocking Foretells Death / ”2: Koputus tietää kuolemaa | p. 17–18 B Mother |
| 27. ”3: Chains / ” 3: Kahleet | p. 18 B ” |
| 28. Hot Stone / Kuuma kivi | p. 19 P Parents |
| 29. Anecdotes 1: Spring Came with Monkey-Martti /
Anekdootti 1: Apina-Martti toi kevään | p. 20 W Workers, Visitor |
| 30. ” 2: I Want a Kiss / ” 2: Pusun otan | p. 20 G, P “ |
| 31. ” 3: The Vicar's Wife / ” 3: Ruustinna | p. 20–21 GC, H ” |
| 32. ” 4: Riikku-Heikki (a person's name) | p. 21 Children, Visitor |

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| 33. Christmas 1: Present from Aura / Joululahja Auralta | p. 22–23 (4) C, P Siblings |
| 34. “ 2: Santa and Grandpa’s Shoes / ” 2: Joulupukki ja papan kengät | p. 23 P family |
| 35. ” 3: Real Santas / ” 3: Oikeat joulupukit | p. 23 C, P Gentlefolk, family |
| 36. ” 4: Treats / ” 4: Kaikille joulupussit | p. 24 C, P “, villagers |
| 37. Bikes Hoisted up the Flagpole/ Pyörä tankoon | p. 25 (4) C, G Peers |
| 38. Smashed Skis / Sukset palasiksi | p. 26 (4) C, G “ |
| 39. A Invented Poem / Itse seipitetty runo | p. 26 P Fellow workers |
| 40. Bluebell and Daisy / Sinikellokukka ja päivänkakkara | p. 26–27 |
| 41. Father Sang / Isä lauloi | p. 27 Father |
| 42. Father’s Salve / Isän salva | p. 28 “ |
| 43. The Doctor’s Advice / Lääkäriin konsti | p. 28 Doctor |
| 44. Midwife / Päästäjä | p. 28 Mother, Midwife |
| 45. The Neighbor Died / Naapurin mies kuoli | p. 29 Neighbors |
| 46. Food for the Mourning Family / Ruokaa kuolleen taloon | p. 30 “, villagers |

Interview 2: 16 (7)

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| 1. Eating Herring / Silakan syönti | p. 1–4 Father, family |
| 2. The Ear Ache / Korvakivun parannuskonsti | p. 4–5 Neighbor |
| 3. In the Sauna / Saunajuttuja | p. 7 Villagers |
| 4. Children Too Close to the Manor House / Lapset herrojen mailla | p. 8 (5) C, P Children |
| 5. Workers Visiting the Patrunessa / Työläiset Nessian puheilla | p. 10 (4) C, H Patrunessa, Workers |
| 6. Handprints on Your Backside / Sormenjäljet takapuolella | p. 10 (3) WG, P Fellow workers |
| 7. If it Started Raining / Jos rupeais satamaan | p. 10 WG, PH “ |
| 8. Absurdities 1: Light Lunch / Absurdia 1: Kevyt lounas | p. 11 (3) WCG, H ” |
| 9. ” 2: Cleaning the Hallway / ” 2: Tampuunin siivoaja | p. 11 (3) WCG, H ” |
| 10. ” 3: Flower Arrangements / ” 3: Kukka-asetelma | p. 11 (3) WCG, H ” |
| 11. ” 4: Pickled Gingerbread / ” 4: Suolatut piparit | p. 11 (3) WCG, H ” |
| 12. Mimicking / Näyttelijä | p. 12 (3) WG, H ” |
| 13. ” 5: If I Became a Widow / ” 5: Jos jäis leskeks | p. 12 (3) WG, H ” |
| 14. Working on Saturday Night / Lauantai-iltana työssä | p. 12 (3) WC, P Workers, foreman |
| 15. Fresh Air / Raitista ilmaa | p. 12 WC, P Workers, foreman |
| 16. Behind the Furnace / Valsvärkin uunin takana | p. 13 W, P Fellow workers |

Interview 3: 9 (3)

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|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Trading by the Classed Bias / Kastikauppaa | pp. 4–5 (4) C, P Villagers |
| 2. Black Market 1: First time / Hamstruu 1: Ensimmäinen kokemus | p. 5 C, P Friend |
| 3. “2: The Rocky Road / ” 2: Kivinen tie | p. 6 (5) C, P ”, railroad w |
| 4. “ 3: Big House and Small Cottage / ” 3: Iso talo ja pieni mökki | pp. 8–9 C, P Farmers |
| 5. Buying Dried Sweetbread / Korppuja hakemassa | p. 10 family |
| 6. Shopkeeper Teltori / Kauppiaas Teltori | p. 12 Shopkeeper |
| 7. Old Maid 1: The Saying / Vanhapiika kaupanmyyjä 1: Sanonta | pp. 12–13 ”, man |
| 8. “ 2: Courting / ” 2: Miehissä | p. 13 G, H Neighbor, shopkeeper |
| 9. Frozen Ground / Rouvan rakkoon | pp. 18–19 H Father |

Interview 4: 18 (5)

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|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Frightened / Säikähdytys | p. 1 W, P Visitor |
| 2. Ironing Man’s Shirt / Paidan silitys | p. 3 (3) WC, P Lady of the house |
| 3. Ironing Goes Wrong / Silitys menee pieleen | p. 3 (3) WC, P “ |

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| 4. The Perfect Household / Täydellinen huusholli | p. 3 (3) WG, P “ |
| 5. Cooking Game Dishes / Metsälinnun laittaminen | pp. 3–4 WGC, P Master ” |
| 6. A Born Gentleman/ Synnynnäinen herra | p. 4 (4) WGC, P ” |
| 7. A Maid Servant Worth a Hundred / Satasen piiat | p. 5 WGC, P Friend |
| 8. A Maid Servant with the Latva Family 1; Professor /
Maist. Latvalla piikana 1: Prohvessori | p. 5 WC, P Gentlefolk |
| 9. “ 2: Gift to the Member of Women’s Auxiliary /
” 2: Lahja pikku-Lotalle | p. 6 (5) WC, P Lady of the house |
| 10. Elsa’s Service with the Amberg Family / Elsa jää Ambergille | p. 6 (4) WC, P “ |
| 11. A Maidservant and a Young Man / Piika ja nuori herra | pp. 6–7 WGC, P “, Young man |
| 12. Working with Sister Aili and the Old Men /
Aili-siskon ja vanhojen miesten kanssa töissä | p. 7 WG P Old men, sibling |
| 13. Tired Worker / Väsynyt työntekijä | p. 9 WG, PH Old men |
| 14. How’s the Hammer Doing? / Mitä vasaralle kuuluu? | p. 9 (3) WGC, P Workers, visitors |
| 15. Rude Names for Places / Rumia paikkojen nimiä | p. 10 (4) W ” |
| 16. Hiding at Work: Cutting Firewood / Piilosilla töissä: Mottimehtä | p. 10 WC, P Workers, boss |
| 17. Asking for a Raise / Palkankorotusta pyytämässä | pp. 10–11 (3) WGC, P (H?) ”, ” |
| 18. Memories of Wartime / Sotamuistoja kaatuneista | pp. 14–15 (4) Villagers |

Interview 5: 35 (15)

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|--|---|
| 1. Memories of Schooldays / Koulumuistoja | pp. 1–2 (5) C, P Family |
| 2. War Broke Out and Work Began / Sota ja työt alkoivat | p. 2 W, P |
| 3. From a Dogsbodys Dogsbodys to Operating a Machine /
Sällin säällistä koneelle | pp. 2–3 (4) W, P Foreman |
| 4. Legacies of the Factory /Tehtaan mahaleita | p. 3 (4) W, P Friends |
| 5. Waiting for the Wages / Palkan odottaminen | p. 3 (4) WGC, P |
| 6. Black Paths / Mustat polut | p. 4 W Workers |
| 7. Memories of the Market Days 1: Low Prices /
Muistoja toripäiviltä 1: Halavalla | p. 4 H Seller |
| 8. ” 2: Quarter Dollar / ”2: Hilikku | p. 4 P Villagers |
| 9. ” 3: Stye / ”3: Veripahka | pp. 4–5 (4) C, P Seller |
| 10. Food Rationing / Ruoan jako | p. 5 C Villagers, mother |
| 11. Shoes Too Fine to Wear / Liian hienot kengät | p. 5 (5) C, P Father |
| 12. At Haapamäki Station / Haapamäellä | p. 6 Peers, German soldiers |
| 13. An Old Maid Nurse / Vanhapiika terveystisair | p. 6 (3) CG, P Nurse |
| 14. At the Hospital / Sairastamassa | pp. 6–7 P Doctors, nurses |
| 15. Fathers’ Death / Isän kuolema ja enne | p. 7 B Father |
| 16. My Wedding / Omat häät | p. 8 G, P Peers |
| 17. Christmas Party / Joulujuhlat | p. 8 P Villagers, Children |
| 18. Black Market 1: Rocky Road/ Hamstruu 1: Kivinen tie | p. 9 (5) GC, P Friend, railroad workers |
| 19. “ 2: Big House and Small Cottage / “ 2: Iso talo ja pieni mökki | p. 10 (4) C Friend, farmers |
| 20. “ 3: Not Dangerous / “3 Ei vaarallinen | p. 10 P ”, ” |
| 21. Clothes under the Counter / Vaatetta tiskin alta | p. 10 (4) G, P Old people, sellers |
| 22. The Girl from Next Door Got Nylons / Naapurin tyttö sai nailonit | pp. 10–11 (4) GC Neighbor |
| 23. Silk Stockings and Hemp Leggings / (Silkkisukkia ja hamppua) | p. 11 (4) GC, P Railroad workers |
| 24. Fare Dodging 1: A Stye in My Eye / Pummilla junassa 1: Silmä | p. 11 (5) P, Conductor, Peers |
| 25. ” 2: Swedish Magazines / ” 2: Ruotsalainen lehti | p. 11 (5) C ”, ” |
| 26. Potluck / Nyttikestit | p. 12 Peers, old man |
| 27. How Hurutlinna Got Its Name / Miten Hurutlinna sai nimensä | p. 14 Patruuna |
| 28. First Washing Machine / Ensimmäinen pesukone | p. 15 (5) P Friend |
| 29. Wild Grandson / Villi lapsenlapsi | p. 16 P Family |

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| 30. Sister's Letters / Siskon kirjeitä viemässä | p. 17 Siblings |
| 31. War Memories / Sotamuistoja kaatuneista | pp. 17 P, Siblings |
| 32. Frightened on the Train 1: Shady-looking Men / Pelkoa junassa 1: hämärit miehet | pp. 17–18 (5) G, P Unknown men |
| 33. Frightened in Helsinki / Pelkoa Helsingissä | p. 18 (5) P Siblings |
| 34. Frightened on the Train 2 / Pelkoa junassa 2 | p.18 P Family |
| 35. A Worried Mother: Äidillistä huolenpitoa | p.18 (5) P ” |

Interview 6: 26 (9)

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| 1. Soldier at the Window / Sotilas ikkunassa | p. 1 (3) P Soldier |
| 2. The River Rushes / Koskikin kuohuu aina | p. 2 G, P Soldier |
| 3. Absurdities 1: Pickled Gingerbread / Absurdia 1: Suolatut piparit | pp. 3–4 (3) WCG, H Fellow worker |
| 4. ” 2: Cleaning the Hallway / ” 2: Tampuunin siivooja | pp. 3–4 (3)WCG, H “ |
| 5. ” 3: If I Became a Widow / ” 3: Jos jäis leskeks | p. 4 (3) WG, H “ |
| 6. An Invented Poem / Itse seipitetty runo | p. 4 P Fellow workers |
| 7. Dancing 1: Lights off / Tanssimuistoja 1: Valot pois | p. 5 G, P Peers |
| 8. “ 2: Is It You? Tanssimuistoja 2: Oletko se sinä | p. 5 G, P ” |
| 9. I Watched Raija / Kyttäsin Raijaa | pp. 5–6, P Family |
| 10. Courting: Raija & Kalevi / Riiustelua: Raija & Kalevi | p. 6 G ” |
| 11. Ghost 1: The Clatter of Dishes / Aave 1: Kolistelija | p. 7 PB |
| 12. ” 2: Wake Up / ” 2: Herättäjä | p. 7 PB |
| 13. ” 3: Frightened Neighbor / ” 3: Naapurin säikäyttäjä | p. 8 PB Neighbor |
| 14. ” 4: Frightened Niece / ” 4: Siskontytön säikäyttäjä | p. 8 PB Family |
| 15. ” 5: Don't Be Afraid / ” 5: Älä ole huolissasi | p. 9 PB |
| 16. ” 6: Sound of Footsteps at the Manor House / Pytingin askeleet | p. 9 (4) PB Friend |
| 17. ” 7: A Lamp Falls Down / ” 7: Lamppu putoaa | p. 10 PB Friend |
| 18. ” 8: The Dog Was Afraid / ” 8: Koira pelkää | p. 11 B |
| 19. “ 9: The Dog Saw Dead People / ”9: Koira näki kuolleita | p. 11B Neighbor |
| 20. Dead Man Wakes up / Kuollut herää eloon | p. 12 B Unknown man |
| 21. Man Sleeps in a Coffin / Mies nukkuu arkussa | p. 12 B “ |
| 22. Old Maid Nurse / Vanhapiika sairaanhoitaja | p. 15 (3) CG. P Nurse |
| 23. Inconsiderate Advice / Terveysisaren ajattelematon neuvo | p. 15 (3) CG, P ” |
| 24. Visiting the Doctor / Lääkärissä | p. 15 WCG Fellow worker, doctor |
| 25. Help from Worker's Sick Fund / Kipukassa apuna | p. 16 W, P Eino |
| 26. Mimicking / Näyttelijä | p. 26 W, H Fellow worker |

Interview 7: 16 (5)

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| 1. Viivi and Her Children on the Train / Viivi ja lapset junassa | p. 1 Villagers, siblings |
| 2. Letters / Kirjeistä | p. 5 P Siblings |
| 3. The Vicar and Morality / Kirkkoherra ja moraali | p. 7 G Uncle, Vicar |
| 4. Courtesy Forms of Address / Teitittelyä | p. 7 (3) Family, siblings |
| 5. The Heroic Mother / Sisukas äiti | pp. 8–9 (3) GC Mother |
| 6. Sointu and the Gingerbread/ Sointu ja renikat | p. 10 Siblings |
| 7. Mum's Discipline / Äiti piti kuria | p. 11 (3) G, P Mother |
| 8. Children Swimming / Lapset uimassa | pp. 12–13 C, P Chidren, villagers |
| 9. The Sewing Machine / Naalimakone | p. 13 C “, “ |
| 10. The Days of Log-Floating/ Uittopäivät | pp. 13–14 G “, Lumberjacks |
| 11. A Car Which Looked Like It Was Made of Gutta-percha / Kuttaperkkainen auto | p. 15 Villagers |
| 12. A Maidservant at Parties / Piikana juhlien alla | p. 15–16 C, P Man, Lady of the house |

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| 13. Time and Motion Analysts / Kellokallet | p. 17 (5) W, P Workers |
| 14. Workers and the Patronessa / Työläiset Nessian puheilla | pp. 19–20 (4) C, H (?) |
| 15. Wealthy Girl Wonders about Patched Clothes /
Rikas tyttö ihmettelee housun paikkoja | p. 20 (4) C Children, siblings |
| 16. Trading by the Classed Bias / Kastikauppaa | pp. 21–22 (4) C Shop-owner, villager |

Interview 8: 21 (2)

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| 1. Back to Work / Takaisin töihin | pp. 1–3 (3) WCG, P Elsa, Eino |
| 2. Waiting for the Wages / Palkan odottaminen | p. 3 (4) WC, P Workers |
| 3. Retiring / Eläkkeelle jäänti | p. 4 (4) WC, P Workers |
| 4. Visiting the Social Insurance Institution / Kelalla käynti | p. 4 (4) WC, P Office worker |
| 5. Sliding on the Floor / Lattialla luistelua | p. 5 P Eerika |
| 6. Old Mill Bridge / Myllysilta | pp. 5–6 P Villagers |
| 7. Salmon Season 1: Action in and in front of the Tent /
Lohiaikana 1: Teltan edessä ja sisällä tapahtuu | p. 6 P Visitors |
| 8. ” 2: Eager Fisherman / ” 2: Innokas kalamies | p. 6 P Villager |
| 9. Uncle and Traders of Craw Fish and /Ravun ostajat ja Setä | p. 7 “ |
| 10. Getting Bites / Syöttejä hankkimassa | pp. 7–8 P |
| 11. Salmon Season 3: Wood from the Dam Was Burned /
Lohiaikana 3: Lussit poltettiin | p. 8 Visitors |
| 12. Nursing Home of Kaija / Kaija oli kauhustus | p. 8 Villagers |
| 13. The Demolished Smokestack / Tehtaan piippu kaatuu | p. 9 (5) W, P (Old) workers |
| 14. Touring / Kierroksella | pp. 9–10 C Children |
| 15. An Old Man’s Suicide / Vanhuksen itsemurha | pp. 10–11 Children, old man |
| 16. Road Trip Narrative 1: The Ghost of Turku Castle /
Autoreissulla 1: Turun linnan kummitus | p. 11 P Siblings |
| 17. ” 2: At the Vaasa Market Square / ” 2: Vaasan torilla | pp. 11–12 (5) PH ”, Family |
| 18. ” 3: Who Is the Last to Swim / ” 3: Kuka kastelee viimeisenä | p. 12 PH ”,” |
| 19. ” 4: High-heeled Shoe Gets Stuck / ” 4: Kengänkorko jää kiinni | p. 12 PH ”,” |
| 20. ” 5: Making Faces in the Back of the Car / ” 5: Ilveilyä takaikkunassa | p. 12 (5) PH ”,” |
| 21. Fare Dodging / Pummilla junassa | p. 13 (5) P Peers |

Interview 9: 26 (8)

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| 1. Dream 1: Contact Us Twice a Day / Uni 1: Ota yhteys aamuin illoin | p. 1 PB |
| 2. Dream 2: Illnesses / Uni 2: Sairaudet | p. 1–2 PB |
| 3. Dream 3: Small Mattress / Uni 3: Pieni patja | pp. 2–3 PB |
| 4. Dream 4: Concussion / Uni 4: Aivotärähdys | pp. 3–4 PB |
| 5. Ghost 1: Wake up / Aave 1: Herättäjä | p. 4 PB |
| 6. ” 2: Dead Person Having a Meal / ” 2: Vainaja ruokailee | p. 4 PB Siblings, Mother |
| 7. Cattle Go Missing / Karja katoaa | p. 5 B Villagers |
| 8. Ghost 3: A Lamp Falls Down / ” 3: Lamppu putoaa | p. 5 PB Friend |
| 9. ” 4: Man Walks towards the Manor House /
” 4: Mies kävelee Pytingille | p. 5 PB Children |
| 10. ” 5: Sound of Footsteps at the Manor House ” 5: Pytingin askeleet | p. 6 PB (3) Friend |
| 11. Home Sickness 1: Visiting Uncle Hermanni /
Koti-ikävä 1: Hauta-aholla kylässä | p. 6 P, Uncle |
| 12. ” 2: Siblings Leave Home / ” 2: Sisaret lähtevät | p. 6 (5) P, Family |
| 13. The Curtseying Girl / Niiava tyttö | p. 7 Children (of today) |
| 14. Courtesy Forms of Address / Teitittelyä | p. 7 (3) Family, siblings |
| 15. At the Hospital 1: Some Excitement in Life / | |

- Sairaalassa 1: Vipinää elämään
16. " 2: Downtown / " 2: Kirkonkylälle
- 17. Brother Esko Returns Home on Sunday Morning / Esko-veli riiuureissulla**
18. Buying Cough Mixture / Tippojen haussa
19. Call of Nature / Hankaniemen mettässä pikkutakkipaskalla
20. Fighting Neighbors / Naapurit tappelee
21. Advising a Younger Worker / Nuorempaa työntekijää neuvomassa
22. Slapping Colleague / Työkaveri hakkaa
- 23. Working on Saturday Night / Lauantai-iltana työssä**
- 24. Absurdities 1: Light lunch / Absurdia 1: Kevyt illallinen**
- 25. " 2: Cleaning the Hallway / " 2: Tampuunin siivoaja**
26. Uncle Hermann and Runeberg / Hermann-eno ja Runeberg

p. 8 (5) PH Nurses
p. 8 (5) PH Friend

p. 9 G, H Siblings, old women
p. 9 WC, H Old man
p. 9 C, H Worker
p. 10 G, H Neighbor
p. 11 W, P Fellow worker
pp. 11–12 W, P “
p. 12 WC, P Fellow worker, foreman
p. 12 WCG, H Fellow worker
p. 12 WG, H “
p. 13 Uncle

Interview 10: 22 (2)

- Mum Prepared Tasty Coffee / Äiti keitti hyvät kahvit
- The Flywheel / Varppi
- Beauty Contest / Kauneuskilpailut
- The Hair Net over the Chignon / Verkko kampauksen päälle
- Electric Curls / Sähkökiharat
- Photo / Valokuvassa
- Taxi to the Church / Taksilla rippikirkolle
- Your Life's Path / Sinun polkusi
- Let the Others Study / Muut lukevat
- Illness as a Highlight / Sairaudesta kohokohta
- Illness as a Ghost / Sairaus kuin aave
- A Bear Whistled / Karhu vihelsi siellä
- A Bear Tried to Escape Its Cage / Karhu yritti karata häkistä
- Invitation Dances / Kutsutanssit
- The Floppy Hat / Räysähattu
- Worried Brother / Huolestunut veli
- 17. Performing Sardas and Old Maidens / Mustalaisleiri ja Raatikko**
- Song of the Street Boys / Laulu katupoikien
- 19. Performing at Alavus / Alavuden nuorisoseura**
- 20. Girls of Taimi on the Train / Taimen tytöt junassa**
- Why Don't You Come to Dance? Mikset sää tuu tanssiin?
- I Know All about Chopping Wood / Mottimehtä on tuttu

p. 1 Mother
p. 2 W, Fellow workers
p. 3 G, P Old woman
p. 4 P
p. 5 G, P Friend, family
p. 6 P
p. 6–7 P
p. 7 P Friend, Friend's mother
p. 8–9 (5) C, P Family
p. 9 (5) PH
p. 10 P, Other old women
p. 10 P
p. 11
p. 12 G, P Peers
p. 13 (3) GH “, Visitor
p. 13 (3) G Siblings
p. 14 Peers
p. 15 C “, gentlefolk
pp. 15 Peers, farmers
p. 16 Peers, passengers
p. 16 (6) PH
p. 16 P Siblings, father

Interview 11: (22) 5

- Too Tired to Speak / Mun kieleni väsy
- 2. Mum's Discipline / Äiti piti kuria**
- Stuck in the Arm with an Awl / Naskali käsivartee
- Girls to the Attic / Tytöt vinttii
- Scary Little Sister / Pelottava pikkusisk
- Worried about Pauli / Huoli Paulista
- Father and the Bible / Isä luki Raamattua
- 8. Brother Esko on Sunday morning / Esko-veli riiuureissulla**
- 9. Shoes Too Fine to Wear / Liian hienot kengät** p.
- New Skirt / Uusi kolttu
- Men on the Way to the Frontlines / Miehet matkalla rintamalle

p. 1 Mother
p. 1 (3) G, Mother
p. 1 (3) Father
p. 1 Father, siblings
p. 2 Siblings
p. 2 (5) ”
p. 4 Father
p. 5 G Siblings
6 (5) C Father
p. 6 C, P
p. 11 P Soldiers

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| 12. The Evacuees / Evakot | p. 12 P Karelians |
| 13. Whipped Cream / Kermavaahto | p. 13 P Karelians |
| 14. Clothes under the Counter / Vaatetta tiskin alta | p. 15 (4), G, P Old people |
| 15. Boots with Curled Toes / Kippurakärkiset kengät | p. 15 C, P Siblings |
| 16. The Fur Collar / Karvakaulus | p. 16 P |
| 17. The Georgette Coat / Sorsettitakki | p. 17 Friend |
| 18. Paper Shoes and a Paper Hat / Puukengät ja hattu | p. 18 Peers |
| 19. Cotton is Cheap / Retonki on halpaa | p. 19 (3) GC, P Peers |
| 20. Cockroaches / Russakat | p. 20 C Old woman |
| 21. Neighbor's Cockroaches / Naapurin russakat | p. 21 P Neighbors, Father |
| 22. My Eyes Have Dried Out / Kuivaneet silmät | p. 22 P |

Interview12: 19 (9)

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|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. Meeri and Aarne / Meeri ja Aarne | p. 1 WG Fellow workers |
| 2. You've Been Getting Some / Oot saanu | p. 2 (3) WG " |
| 3. Men Should Know Their Own Business / Kylläpä miehet tietää omasa | p. 2 (3) WG, P " |
| 4. Tired Worker/ Väsynyt työntekijä | p. 3 WG, P Old men |
| 5. University Students / Ylioppilaat | p. 3 (4) WCG, P Friend, Men |
| 6. Joking at the Station / Vitsin kerrontaa asemalla | p. 4 H Peers |
| 7. Black Fox / Musta kettu | pp. 4-5 (3) W, G Men, Father |
| 8. Fingerprints on Your Backside / Sormenjäljet takapuolella | p. 5 (3) WG, P fellow workers |
| 9. Prosthesis / Proteesi | p. 5 WG " |
| 10. How to Have Children / Miten lapsia tehdään | p. 5 WG, H " |
| 11. How's the Hammer Doing? / Mitä vasaralle kuuluu | p. 6 WCG, P Visitor |
| 12. Big Big Boss / Iso herra | pp. 6-7 WC, P Workers, bosses |
| 13. Asking for a Raise / Palkankorotusta pyytämässä | p. 7 (3) WCG, PH (?) |
| 14. From a Dogsbodys Dogsbodys to Operating a Machine / Sällin sällistä koneelle | p. 8 W, P Foreman |
| 15. You Have Eaten, Haven't you? / Kylläpä söitkin | p. 8 WC, P " |
| 16. Visiting the Alavus Youth Association's Hall / Alavuden nuorisoseuran talolla | p. 10 P Peers, farmers |
| 17. Performing Sardas / Mustalaisleiri | p. 10 P Peers |
| 18. Girls of Taimi on the Train / Taimen tytöt junassa | p. 10 P Peers |
| 19. At the Haapamäki Station / Haapamäellä | p. 11 P Peers, German soldiers |

Appendix 5: Actors of Elsa’s Narratives

US

Insiders

Workers

Fellow workers (men/
women)

Old men (at work)

The old people
(men/women)

Grandpa Vihtori

Children, “we”

Friend/Peers (working-class
youth, “we, the girls of the
ironworks”

Neighbors

Villagers

Railroad workers

Conductors

Family members

Father / Mother

Siblings

Uncle Hermanni

Eino

Elsa’s children

Granddaughter Eerika

In the middle

Shop owners

Foremen (Masters)

Office staff

Housekeeper

Teachers

Outsiders

Sellers

Doctors

Nurses

Vicar

Visitors

Farmers

Train Passengers

Soldiers

German soldiers

Unknown men/people

THEM

Gentlefolk

Patruuna Keirkner

Patronessa (Nessa)

Amberg, Old / Young
(Manager /Technical
Manager, Master of the
House)

Illman (Manager, Master of
the House)

Mrs. Amberg (Lady of the
House)

Mrs. Illman (Lady of the
House)

Mr. Latva (Master of the
House, absent)

Mrs. Latva (Lady of the
House)

Mrs. Latva’s Mother

English Professor

Big Bosses

University students

Students of the Forestry
Institute

Appendix 6: Original Finnish-Language Versions of Excerpted Interview Material

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Excerpt p. 56

E: Niin, ettei nykyajan ihmine tiiä tämmösistä asiosta yhtää mittää. Kun kaupat notkuu kaiken näköstä kenkää.

SM: Minä aattelin niin, että sitä menneisyyttä niin tota niin sitä ei nykyajan ihmine ossaa, ei ossaa, sitä aattelee, että se on niin tarinaa vain.

E: Ei ne usko, ei ne usko sitä. Et tämmöst'on ollukkaa.

I: Uskoopa.

E: Kuka uskoo?

I: Minä esimerkiks.

E: No sinä oot eri asia.

I: [nauraa] (11/12, p. 17)

Excerpt p. 58

E: Kaikki siivous semmonen te, se piti ne siivoukset järjestää niin, että kun kahentoista aikaan tuli herra syömään, niin silloin piti olla, aa, aamiainen. Ja sitte tuota taikka lounas. No se tuli, se tuli niinkun sanottiin niinkun sitä ei sanottu lounaaks, se oli, se oli aamiainen. Se on päivällä ja siihen mennessä mun piti sitte laittaa se ruoka. Etta rouva oli ny avustamassa vähä. Siellä ny aina keilaitettii niinku kastike ja peruna aamiaiseksi. Se kastike vaihteli läskikastikeesta sienikastikkeeseen. Ja siihen sitten tuota muu tarpeellinen ...

I: Joo, oliko siellä muuten hienoja ruokia?

E: No, [huokaus...] Ne oli nyt ihan tämmösiä tavallisia ruokia, mut sitten ku tuli päivälliset, joissa oli lääkäri ja ylihoitaja ja apteekkihenkilökuntaa, apteekkari ja tämmösiä...

I: Kutsuttuja?

E: Niin, ne oli kutsuttu ja sitte oli se-Iilmani rouvineen... (4/12, pp. 2)

Excerpt p. 58

I: Kertoko naiset mitään juttuja yleensä vai oliko ne miehet jotka kerto?

E: Miehet vaan oli, et emmää, ei naiset ollu.

I: Vanhat mummot, kertoko ne juttuja? Tarinoita tai?

E: No niillä oli kato semmosia niitä omia ongelmiaan ne tuota kertovat että, ei nykyajan ihminen sillä lailla pystys elämään ollenkaan.

I: Nii?

E: Kun ne eli. Siis eihän, eihän sen aikuinen mies niinku tehny naiselle, nainen, nainenhan oli vaan niinku...[etsii sanaa]

I: Palvelija?

E: Palvelia. Niin. Ettei ne osallistunu naisten töihin.

I: Niin.

E: Ja tota niin, ja menivät omia teitä.

I: Niin, niin. (1/12, p. 16)

Excerpt p. 59

E: ... Emminä tiiä kyllä se oli niin, kyllä sitä kaippaa. Kaikki kaippaa niitä aikoja, jotka sillo oli.

I: Mmm.

E: Nii, että nii moni, joka nyt on maalimalla ja tulee täälä käymää, nii määki oon ihan ny nähäny, nähäny niitä tuolla hautuumaalla minne ja melekeen kaikki mennee. Niin kyllä ne sanno, että muistakko miten oli ihanaa aikaa. Kaikki oli niinku siskoja ja velijä.

I: Mmm. Se oli niin...

E: Kivellä istuttii ja juteltii iltamyöhään oikee.

I: Mm.

E: Kesällä ja kesät oli kivoja. Emmää muista, että ne tämmösiä oli. Se-se oli aina lämmintä, mutta se ei ollu liia lämmintä.

I: Mm.

E: Ja sitte ku sato vettä nii se oli lämmintä seki [naurahtaa]. Se oli niin kiva. Se oli iha haaleeta. Emminä tiiä mitä varte se niin oli. Palijassa jalon sitte juostii puroja.

I: Joo.

E: Eihän se kylmää ollu se vesi. Mutta nyt kun tulee kato, vettä sattaa nii sehä on niin kylmää, että. Mutta se oli lapsena, lapsena tietysti palijo erilaista.

I: Mmm.

E: Kyllähä se sitte muuttuu pikku hilijaahan se elämä siellä muuttu. (7/12, p. 16)

Excerpt p. 60

Meit'oli kuule niin paljo. Meit'oli iso porukka. Et se oli ihan tämmöstä kato, hauskaa, hauskaa, laskettii leikkiä ja... Vitsiä kerrottii ja... Ei nykyään niin ookkaan varmaa. Musta tuntuu...

I: On on.

E: Musta tuntus, että ei oo.

I: Sun pitää joskus tulla mu- meiän nuorten kanssa vaikka viettämää iltaa, ku me... Jos ei meill'oo muuta tekemistä, nii mennää jonku kaverin luokse ja mennää sauna ja istutaan pöydä ääressä ja...

E: Nii.

I: Ja siinäpä kerrotaan vitsejä ja jutustellaan ja istutaan vaan pöydän ääressä.

E: Niin, niin...

I: Ei mekää aina nii ihmeellisiä tehä.

E: Kyllä me tuota nii. Kyllähän siellä, kyllä meillä aina oli se semmonen lämmin paikka taikka sitte me mentii sinne vahtikkoppi, jos ei [mutinaa, ei saa selvää]. Ne oli ne vanhat miehet niin ihania, ne päästi. Ne sano, että tulukaa vaa lämmitlemää tänne. Ei ollu paikkaa mihin ois menny. (6/12, pp. 4-5)

CHAPTER 3: WORKING WOMAN

Stuck in the Arm with an Awl (*Naskali käsivartee*) p. 71

Ja isä oli sitte ankarampi. Isä ku teki aina, korijas niin sanotusti viraapeli-suutarintöitä, korijas niin kenkiä naapureitten ja kuka toi. Ja tuota siitä ei saanu mennä lähellekkää sitä tuvan nurkkaa ja sitte kun hän niinku veti pikilangalla kenkää neulo yhteen tuota pohojaa siinä oli se rantti mihin. No se repi tänne taaksepäin oikeen pitkästi sen ja siin'oli naskali toisessa ja toises'oli kato se tuota että siinä oli kaks naskalia, toisella tehtii reikä ja se pistettiin sitte ne pikilangan päät siitä et se sai sen niinku ompelukone. Joo ja minä sitte menin siitä justiin sillon kun tuota se emmää kahtano, se tuli

se se naskali kuule sitte näin ku se veti ja mää meen siitä nii mää sain käsivarteeni reiän. Ei mua hellitty, mää itkin, mutta ei saanu itkeekkää. Niin isä oli niin ankara, että sinä et sitten tuu toista kertaa siihen, ekkö sinä muista, että sua on kielletty. Niin, niin tota emmää saanu ees itkee. Ja tuota niin niin, se oli sillä siisti se nous pystyy ja sen työ niinkun keskeyty. No sehä oli minun syyni totta kai se oli mun syyni kun mää siitä menin vaikka se oli kielletty. (11/12, 3, p.1)

Mum's Discipline (Äiti piti kuria) pp. 71–72

I: Oliko se semmonen äiti, kertoko se tarinoita lapsille, hyöri lasten kanssa ja?

E: No se ny [naurahtaa] hyöri siinä mielessä, että ku lapset pyöri sen jalossa siinä [naurahtaa]...

I: Niinku olihan sillä varmaa työtä...

E: Ku se teki työt. Joo. Iso tiinu oli taikina tiinu, joka aina oli se leipomispäivä ja...

I: Nii.

E: Ja sitte tuota se, ne oli kuule isoja kattiloita, sehä oli oikei pata, missä keitetii perunat ja nii, nii siinä hellalla. Ja sitte kastikkeet tehti ja et siinei, ei se ollu kuule niin pientä ku meikäläisellä.

I: Nii..

E: Mmm. Ettei siinä, kyllähän se sitte kato, mehän sitte saatiin leikkiä ja me leikittii joskus aika rajusti. Meitä niinku Aino ja Aili ja minä ja Helena oli sillon pieni. Et se ei sitte, mut se hääräs siin meiän jalossa. Nii, joskus meni kuule sillä lailla sitte, ku että ruvettii kato- tekemää hattuja päähä, hienoja hattuja toistemme päähä.

I: Mistähä?

E: No, mitä lyövetii kuule, ihan vaa semmosia pyöritti[ei saa selvää].

I: Aa.

E: Ja Tottakai meitä nauratti. Joo niin se tuota, sillon se oli väsyny tietysti, nii ei se mitään muuta tehteny, ku se tuli meiän työkse ja ja sano, että lits läts [taputtaa kaksi kertaa käsiään], omin käsin tein. Me tiettii, että nyt loppu. Me oltii hilijaa. Ikään se ei lyöny, eikä koskenu, muutaku että se omilla käsillään teki näin [taputtaa kaksi kertaa]. Se oli niin tohlo, mää vieläki saan muistaa, että muistatteko ku äiti tuli aina näin niinku mun pään päälle.

I: Nii.

E: Nii joo ja sit se meni taas töillee. [naurahtaa] Ei sen kummenpaa puhetta ollu.

I: Nii.

E: Mmm, mm. Eikä me vastaan sanottu.

I: Mm.

E: Me tyy'yttin. Me tiettii, että nyt loppu. Ei me ollenkaa junkuttu mittää. Me mentii hilijaa vaa sinne kamarin puolelle ja oltii omissa mietteissä. (7/12, 5, p.11; 11/12, 2, p.1)

The Heroic Mother (Urhoollinen äiti) pp. 72–73

E: [...] Ja sitte tuota niinku isä ja äiti nii ne oli kumpikin yli kolomenkymmenen ku ne meni naimisii.

I: Yli kolmekymmentä?

E: Oli, nii.

I: Joo.

E: Ja sitte ku joka puolentoista vuojen välei [naurahtaa] synty.

I: Nii.

E: Niin, nii tuota ei siinä, emminä pysty sitä äijin jäläkiä parsimaa. En millää.

I: Nii.

E: Mm. Se oli täytenä-mää en ikinä nähäny sillä esimerkiks mensuja sillä mensuja.

I: Nii.

E: Kato, ei ne kerinny.

I: Nii.

E: Ja sitte kun se tuota niin kerran mulle sitte, nyt jäläki kättee on niinku vanhat ruukkilaiset sitte sano mulle näin kerran, että kyllä se äitis oli sitte urhoollinen, että kun se oli justiin saanu sitte, se oli varmaan Sointu, minkä se on sillo saanu, ja siellä ku oli se maaliman suurin sinä aikana, se se hyysi...

I: Nii.

E: Nii se oli lähteny sitte tuota käymää hyysissä. Nii ne oli sanonu, että kuinka Hilta nyt nuin lähtee että ku on justii lapsivuoteessa ollu. Nii se oli vaa sanonu, että hän mennee, että saa kerra olla tyhyjiltä siellä. Se oli aina ollu kato raskaana. Nii. Että saa olla tyhyjä vatta ku hä mennee ny.

I: Se oli aika, raaka tota.

E: Oli se.

I: Varmaa ronskia, mut semmonen...[puhuvat yhtä aikaa] sisukas.

E: Nii, nii oli. Ja sitte tosiaan niin ku joki oli lähellä nii ei se kerinny kato lapsivuoteella makkaamaa.

I: Nii.

E: Se meni ja pesi ne pyykit siellä ja...

I: Huh huh (?).

E: Että kyllä se aikalaila vanhat ihmiset kuule, ne oli tervaskantoja oikee.

I: No kyllä.

E: Ei nykyajan ihminen sillä lailla pystys tekemää. Ei millää. No sitä sitte oli tuota nii konttorihenkilökunta ku ne näki, näki ku se ranta oli siinä. Nii ne oli ihimetelly, että mitä varte Hilta mennee pessee pyykkiä, justii o lapsvuoteesta. Hmm. Ei sille mittää tullu. (7/12, 5, p. 8–9)

The Perfect Household (*Täydellinen huusholli*) p. 77

Ja tuota niin, kyllä siinä oli ihan, ihan sielä oli kiva, se rouva oli hirveen kiva, se neuvo kauniisti ja sieloli täydellinen huusholli. Sano aina näin, että Elsa muistaa nyt sitten että heillä on täydellinen huusholli ja Elsa painaa mieleen että on oma koti, niin sinä tiedät miten järjestetään. Nii. Että mää sain sieltä ihan alakujaan elämänohjeet siihen vähän parempaan elämään. (4/12, 3, p.3)

Excerpt (no title) p. 78

Sitte ku mä menin sitte töihin, että mä sain site enempi palakkaa, se oli ny vähä semmosta työtä, että nykyajan ihminen ei menis sitä tekemään. Niin se nyt tiät ku hiiliä, hiilillä lämmitetti kansuunit ja...Se ei ollu mitään puhasta työtä. Ja se oli raskasta. (4/12, p. 7)

Excerpt (no title). p. 78

I: Minkäslaista se arki siellä oli sitte lasten kanssa siellä Ruukilla?

E: No, mähän en ollu silloin töissä. Kun tuota niin, mää olin niinkun, semmonen niinkun kesälomantuuraaja. Että mää, silloin pyyetti mua sitten, kun toiset jää kesälomalle, niin siellä kuitenkin pyöri jotku artikkelit. (5/12, p. 15)

Inconsiderate Advice (*Ajattelematon neuvo*) p.79

No sitte tuli kuule niin sitte tuli kuule semmone terveystissar sitte ku konttori, konttorihuone, siinä sivussa oli tyhyjä huone, ni siinä rupes sitte pitämää terveystissar, niinkun jokapäivä vähä aikaa. Nii se tuli sitte tuota nii kahtomaan ja sano mulle sitte näin, että no, jokos te pia ajattelee sitä toista lasta. Minä sanon, että kuulkaa, kun minä saisin tän yhen hoidettua niin, että se ees juoksis tossa. Nii se pyys anteeks, että. Nii. (6/12, 23, p. 15)

Back to Work (Takaisin töihin) p. 80

Nii, ne oli yhtä aikaa niinkun Raija Vaasassa ja tuota Eino luki kotona ja sitte kävi tenttimässä. No mun täyty mennä töihin. Mää tein töitä ja tuota nii, mun elämäni oli silloin semmosta vähä, kun kun Raija luki yläkerrassa ja ja vaari siellä allaalla. Niin mulla ei oikeestaan ollu, mää, piti olla hilijaa. Ja sitten kun tuota niin Simo ja Asko oli sitte omilla reissullaa iltasi. Nii mää monta kertaa itkien lähin tuota nii kelekalla ulos laskettelemaa. Kun mää en saanu tehdä mitään. Ei huusholli työtä, eikä mitään. Että tää oli minun kohallani tämmöstä. Mutta toisaalta se tietysti heleppas sitte taas meitä taloudellista juttua, ku se valamistu. (8/12, 1, p.1)

Continues p. 81

E: Mmm. Ja se, se oli sitä semmosta, että mää en sitte ois saanu enää olla töissäkään, kun Eino valamistu. Ja minä kun oon ollu sitte aina se, mä sanon rasvanahkanen työläine, siihe aikaa sanottii, joka teki raavasta työtä. Nii mää oon kuulunu niihin. Ja sitte tuota vaari oli siellä toimihenkilöitten puolella. Että mä kärsin tästäkin.

I: Eli oliko se sillä tavalla, että pappa ei niinku halunnu, että sä tekisit työtä.

E: Ei, ei ei halunnu. (8/12, 1, p. 2)

Continues p. 81

E: [---] Ja tuota, no aattele nytte kun, mullaha, rahhaa tartti ja no mull'oli vaikeeta sitte yksi olla. Ja mää sitte puhun siitä, että mää meen Tuomarniemelle kysymään töitä. Nii se [aviomies] kiels sen heti jyrkästi, sinne ettet mee. Mää en puhunu kerran yhtään mitään, ku tuota sitte niin niit'oli joitain semmosia kurssia ja niitten vaimot pääs töihin. Nii mää aattelin, että kun mun mieheni kanssa lukkee, ja luki kokoajan siinä vielä. Nii mäapäs meen, mää menin insinöörin työkse ja mää sanoin, esittelin itteni ja sanoin, että mää oon aatellu, että kun, ja kuullu, että semmosten vaimot pääsee töihin, joitten, miehet lukee ja taikka käyvät kurssilla. Nii, että olisko minulla mahdollisuutta. Ja hän sano het, että kyllä. Mää pääsin töihin ja ei siitä sen enempää puhuttu, ku mää rohkasin mieleni ja menin.

I: Että itte vaan ilman lupaa.

E: Mä menin. Ilman lupaa. (8/12, 1, p. 2)

Continues pp. 81–82

E: Nii. Mutta se oli siihe aikaa tuota nii, vaimo oli melekeen niinku mies. Miehet oli siihe aikaa mun mielestäni miehiä. Nykyaikaa verrate. Siis ne eli siihe kahtoen, mitä mies, miten mies sen määräs. Siell'oli vanhemmasta, vanhemmista ihmisistä nii mää seurasin sitäkin niin, ne oli kotona. Mies toi sen rahan mutta, jotkut hyvin harvat oli töissä. Sitte rupes, sitte rupes sen jäläkee ku muuttu se, et laajeni tehas. Sinne tuli sarana ja monia muita, et ei aina ne samat, että näin ne sano. Ja oli niinku naisille sopivaa, siis saranat ja...

I: Nii. Teräs.

E: Nii, kaikki teräsjutut. Et siellä oli sitte hyvin paljon toimihenkilöitten vaimoja töissä. Mutta, oliha se näin, että meitä katottiin niinku vähä, että ei kaikkia juteltu meidän aikana. Mmm.

I: Mm.

E: Että tästä mää niinkun kärsin. Että kun mää tykkäsin, että mää oon samanlainen työ-työnainen ku ne toisetkin. Emmää oo kouluja käyny. Että mulla oli vaan taito tehdä sitä raskasta työtä. (8/12, 1, pp. 2–3)

Floppy Hat (*Räysähattu*) p. 85

I: Minkälaisia ne oli?

E: Yksi oli räysähattu. [nauravat] Sill'oli joo ja se oli hyvä tanssimaa ja se oli hieno mies.

I: Mutta sillä oli?

E: Sill'oli aina hattu päässä. Se oli kato semmonen, se oli niinkun valkonen hattu ja sitten ne lierit meni näin niinku aaltoili. Se oli räysähattu nimeltää sitte. (10/12, 17, p. 13)

You've Been Getting Some (Oot saanu) p. 86

I: Ja tuota ehän mää ymmärtäny niistä asioista mittää.

E: Mm.

I: Joo ja tuota niin sitte rupes pyhääikaan, ku oli ussempi pyhä nii rupes kiusaamaa mua kuule sitte, että nii, s'oot saanu. Ja minä sanon, että mitä minä oon saanu, emm'oo saanu mittää. Sen näkkee nenän päästä ja sen näkkee silimistä. [haastattelija nauraa] Herranjumala kumminki. Ja mää suutun ihan, mää sanon, että kyllä s'on vale jos, ehä mull'oo mittää nenänpäässä.

E: Ni?

I: Nii, nii ja ne nauroki niin tottaviete sitte ne vellarit. Että joo, ihan selevästi, ihan selevästi oot saanu. [nauraa] Ja tuota, nii, nii mää sitte kysyn tuota niiltä toisilta naisilta, että mitä se tarkoittaa. Nii, ne sano, että elä sää välitä niistä. Anna niitten höpöttää mitä höpöttävät. Ei meiän tartte välittää. Joo ja sitte tota, ne rupes sitten ne, Annikki [nimi muutettu] oli siinä kokoajan sitte ku mä olin siel, nii siihen tuli kuule sitten miehiä. Jotka rupes kuule väittämään semmosta asiaa, että nyt mää sen ymmärrän, mutta sill'on mää en tienny [nauraa] yhtää mittää. Niin, että miten miehen tavara kun seisoo, nii miten se on hauska.

E: [nauraa] Mitäs se Meeri nauro sit vaa.

I: No kun se väitti niitten kanssa.

E: Ai siitä?

I: Nii, nii ja ne väitti ne miehet, että ei ole niin. Sin'et tiä mittää ja Annikki sano, että minähä tiiän, sehän oli kihilossa. [haastattelija nauraa] Joo ja minä en sitte, Annikki sannoo mulle sitte, että eikoo Elsa nii? Ja minä sanon, että en minä tiä, kylläpäähä miehet tietää omasa. [nauravat] (12/12, 3, p. 2)

Handprints on Your Backside (*Sormen jälet takapuolella*) p. 87

E: Mutta ihan kiva, kiva siellä oli olla että kyllä ne hirveen kivasti opetti ne vanhat miehet, ei siinä mittää, mutta sitte kato kun viikonloppuna pestii housut, nii, no nehä oli melekää sitte, eihän ne ollu mustia haalaria, nehä oli semmosia hyvin vaaleen sinisiä ja tämmösiä. Joo ja maanantaiaamuna ku mentii nii ruoka tunnilla oli jo rasvasia sormen jäläkiä persusta täynnä. [nauravat] Ne mennessä kuule taputti oikee tingistä. Het sitten niin rasvasia ku ne korijas konneita.

E: Nii.

I: Kyllä pisti vihaks, ku ei se tahtonu lähtee.

E: No ei varmaa.

I: Nii, eihän niille auttanu sannoo muutaku pitikö taas sotkee. (12/12, 8, p. 5; 2/12, 6, p.10)

Jesus, It's a Whore (*Jessus, s'on huora*) p. 88

I: Kerrottiinkos tarinoita?

E: No niitä ne oli nyt vähä sellasia kaksmielisiä tarinoita.

I: Että niitä sai kyllä aina kertoa?

E: Just joo.

I: No se on oma perinteelajinsa se.

E: Niin katopas kun tuota niitä ei silloin ymmärtäny...

I: Mmm.

E: Mutta nyt, nyt ymmärtää täysin ne.

I: Siis on jääny mieleen kuitenkin kaikki ne?

E: No onhan niitä jääny. Esimerkiks siinä oli sitten siinä meidän kodin vieressä semmosen pitkä talo, jossa oli joku seitsemän kahdeksan perheen asuntoo se oli niin kun yläkerrassa ja alhaalla. Ja sitte siellä oli niitä semmosia hauskoja vanhoja ukkoja, jotka sitten päästeli kaikenlaista suustaan.

I: Mmm.

E: Ja tuota siellä oli yks semmonen semmonen mies, sanosko sen nimen?

I: Kyllähän sen nimen voi sanoo.

E: Nii Ville [nimi muutettu] nimeltää, hänellä oli toinen jalka niinku lyhyt, siis ollu lapsuudesta asti ja kova nuuskamies, siihen aikaa käytettiin nuuskaa, ja me istuttiin aina rapulla sillä lailla oli näitä rappuset että ne istu niinkun kaiteella. Tää vanha mieskin ja se oli sitten lauantai-ilta ja Inhantehtaan työväentalolla oli tanssit. Ja sinne nuorisoo tuli sitten kyllä sivukylistä ja Ähtärin [huokaus] senaikuisesta keskuksesta jossa ei nyt ollu muuta ku kirkonkylä ja se asema. Ja se oli sitte näin valot silloinku sinne tuli se saha. Ja tuota niin niin meitä sitten se aina askarrutti kun tämä vanha mies niin katteli naisia sitten kun ne meni sinne tanssiin. ”Jesus, kuka tämä on?” [haastattelija nauraa] Ku ei tullu vastausta ni: ”Jesus, son huora!” [haastattelija nauraa]

I: Huuteli niille.

E: Niin, vaan emmä tiä kuuliko ne, ne meni sivutte. (1/12, 2, p.2)

Pickled Gingerbread (*Suolatut piparit*) p. 90

Joo, sitte kato joulun aikaan naiset puhu sitte keskenää, että mitä ne on leiponu. Nii että mikä oli tehny piparit jo ja muuta nii, se kehhuu niin tosissaa, tehä ootte jälessä, mää oon laittanu jo suolaanki piparia.[kaikki nauraa] Se laitto ihan huumoriks kaikki. Kyllä se oli niin hauska, hauska ihimine. Että ilman Maijaa [nimi muutettu] siellä ois ollu kuule raskas olla. (2/12, 11, p. 11; 6/12, pp. 3–4)

If I Became a Widow (*Jos jäis leskeks*) p. 92

Se rupes toimittaa semmosta kin, että jos se jäi leskeks. [nauravat] nii nii kyllähän se ois nii, hän ois niin kuule, hän ois niin kaiken päivää mustissa, ja hän itkis, hän valittas, hän olis haudalla, hän kävis kirkossa, mutta kun ilta tulis. [nauravat] Nii hän laittas hienoks ittensä. Ja se teki niitä liikkeitä ja se lähti kato juhulii. Nii nii kyllä meillä oli kuule nii hauskaa, ku se näytti kaikki. (2/12, 12, p. 12)

Asking for a Raise (*Palkankorotusta hakemassa*) pp. 92–93

E: Kyllä mä kerran, mää olin kaks viikkoo ollu töissä sillo ja sitä mää en kyllä unoha ikinä ku, me ruvettii, no töih-tytöt, jotka oli kauvemmi ollu nii rupes sannoo, että mennäänpäs tuota nii, palakkaa tinkimää. Aparatuuriin. Siellä oli Amperi ja sitte Suutala, siellä laprassa ja me mentii sinne sitte, miehet kyllä sano että siitei mitää tuu, mentii sitte sinne ja tuota määki olin eturivissä, mää olin kaikistan pienin ja hintelin ja sielloli isoja tyttöjä, meitoili isolauma, et se oli ihan kato tuota niin, siellä oli pitkät sitte siellä takana, ja sit siinoli, siinä eessä sitte mun vieressäni joka sitten rupes mm-Amperi kysy, että mitäs tytöt. Niin se rupes sitte se sanomaan, että me ajateltiin, että eiköhän me saatas pikkusen palakankorotusta.[nauraa]

I: No mikäs oli vastaaotto?

E: [nauraa lisää] Vastaaotto oli nii hauska, että kaikki naurettii. [nauraa]

I: No?

E: Sielloli joku, pitkä naine, siellä meiän takana, sieltä kuulu vaan kuiskaus, kun tuota nii Amperi sano, että menkää ny vaan töihin, että kyllä se tuota niin, eikö se ny riitä. Joo, sieltä kuulu, kaikki oli ihan hiljasta. Kuuluu kuiskaus, että haistakaa vittu. [nauraa]. Siellä kaikki pyrskähti nauruu. Amperi nauro nii, että se oli ihan kaksinkerron ja me toiset, toiset ruvettii nauramaa ja juoksemaa ulos. Mennään kuule sitte tuota verstaalle, nii miehet oli uteliaana, että miten teiän kävi. Me kerrottii se sitte niin, teiän takia saa hävetäkki aina, ne [hillitöntä naurua...].

I: Oliko se ihan vitsi ylipäänsä?

E: Jaa se?

I: Palakankorotuksen hakeminen.

E: No, se meni vitsiksi. Nii. Kato ku ne oli ylempänä ne naiset sitte nii, niin, ne piti hilijaa kuule sano, niitten piti vaan kuiskata, mutta ku se oli niin hilijane se koko laparatuurio, että se kuulu. Voi hyvä, mää en ikkää unoha sitä. Minäki kaks viikkoo oli ollu ja [nauraa].

I: Siellä ei tainnu olla liian totine ilmapiiri? (4/12, 17, p. 10-11; 12/12, 13, p. 7)

Hiding at Work and the Big Big Boss (*Piilosilla töissä: iso herra*) p. 94

E: [...] Eihän miehet siitä mittää. Mutta nehän ny nautti ku me saatii laulettua. Nii. Joskus me mentii vähä liian kauas että ne joutu meitä sitte kahtelemaan sitte ja ja kerran me oltiin sitte ku siellä rakennettii semmosta niinku laatikkoo, siellä hevonen tyhjäs ulkokuonetta, niin sinne hevosen etteen oli tehty uus, uusista lauoista. Oli lauantai ja tuli kuule remontti sitte jollekki koneelle ja me mentii sinne makkaamaan sinne laatikkoo ja kans kii. Meitä- meitoli aika monta tyttöö. Me mahuttii, se oli niin iso. Ja sielä me laulettii kaikki laulu, tanssilaulut, mitä ikinä oli siihe aikaa, sota-aik- sotalauluja. Eldankajärven jää ja ja ja Iltatähet ja kaikki tämmöset mitä siihe aika laulettii ja tota... Sitten tuliki kuule isoja herroja. Ja ja sinne tuli isoja herroja ja tuota niin nyt sitte meiän siis senaikuiset korjaajat emmämuista miksi niintä – ne oli asettajia. Ne korjas meiän koneet ja muutenkin sielä oli niin kun [nauha loppuu, b-puoli alkaa]

I: Niin, sitte.

E: No niin, ne miehet ei löytäny meitä ne kuuli meiän laulun ja [haastattelija nauraa] ja kun ne meni eestakasin ja huus naiset perkele missä te ootte. No eihän me muuta ku meitähä vaa me yli enempi vaan laulettii ku ei ne hoksannu vaikka se oli pihassa se laatikko...

I: Nii.

E: Niin tota, viimeen ne sitte tota löys ja sano, että äkkiä ylös ja koneille nyt on herroja tulossa ja tuli kuule niin valtavia isoja herroja, että yksin oli niin lihava, että sitä toiset kanto tuolia, että se istu välillä. Se oli niin lihava.

I: Hm.

E: Se oli huomattava. Joo [huokaus] mutta kerittii koneille, ennenku herrat tuli sinne verstaalle. (1/12, 14, p.11)

Different Levels of Authority: Cutting Firewood (*Auktoriteetit: Mottimehtä*) p. 95

E: Sitte me kerran istuttiin niin muuntajan rapun alla, oli kesä.

I: Nii.

E: Sillonki korjattii jotain paikkaa ja sitte yks tota laulo yksistään ja se Punertaa marjat pihlajan ja isosti. No, se tullee sitte se meiän pomo siihen ja sannoo, että oiskos tytöt nyt hyviä ja lähtis töihin. Se korottaa ääntä vaan ja laulaa ja me ei kukaan katota pällekään ja Amperi- se meidän tekninen johtaja tullee kans: ”Eiks tyttöjä huvita mennä töihin vai meettekö mottimehtää enemmän?” Se aina meitä sillä mottimehtällä... Ois ollu pakko mennä sitte mottimehtään. Joo, no, sillon tuli liikettä tossuu. (1/12, 16, p. 11; 4/12, 15, p. 10)

Rude Names for Places (*Rumia paikkojen nimiä*) p. 96

I: Mites sielä sitte oliko siellä niinku työaikana taukoja? Mitäs niillä tauoilla tehtiin? Lensikö sielä juttu?

E: [naurahtaa] Lenshän sielä juttu. Ne oli kyllä niin hauskoja ne tauot. Niitä ei nykyään ole.

I: Niin.

E: niin, semmä tiiän. Mut sillonku minä olin, minut laskettii ripille sunnuntaina niin mä joudun menemään verstaalle töihin ja maanantaina kaikki me, tehtaalle, ruukin tytöt.

I: Joo.

E: Kato ku oli sota-aika sillon ja oli työpakko. Jos et menny töihin, niin sut hajettiin.

I: Miten-miten mitä te sitte sielä teitte niillä tauoilla?

E: Vanhat miehet meitä opetti siinä sitte töihin ja sitte ku tuli remonttia että konneita piti korjata niin mehän mentiin aina johonki kauas istumaa ja ja ja mä sanon suoraa, että tupakkaa ei saanu, mutta kyllä meillä aina joku löys. Ja me veettii henkisauhuja. Ja sekin paikka missä se oli lämmin paikka, muuten ei ollu lämpölaitoksia missää, muutaku ne uunientaustat, nii. Ja se oli se oli tuota nii valsvärkin siis uunin takana, mutta sill'oli niin ruma nimi... [nauraa]

I: No mikskä te sitä sanotte sitte?

E: No se oli persereikä.

I: Aha.

E: Kato ku siellä oli semmonen reikä, josta putsattiin sitä uunia. (1/12, 13, pp. 10–11; 4/12, 14, p.10)

You Have Eaten, Haven't You? (*Kylläpä söitkin*) p. 98

Ja sitte kovaa työtä oli sekin ku kengät. Eihä siellä ollu minkäänlaisia semmosia että ku se kenkä valamistu nii se heitettii siihen yhelle kasalle kaikki. Niit'oli valtava kasa. Kaks aina kerralla nii vuoroo. Meitä oli niinku nelijä, nii nii meiän piti aamulla tulla joka toine aamu punnittee ne. Sää et tiiä kuule semmonen puu, niinkun no laatikko, se niin täyteen kun saatiin, siinä oli aina se ei kauas menny viiestäkymmenestä kilosta, toinen toisessa päässä ja meiän piti kantaa ne sinne ikkunan vieree ja nostaa vielä toisten päälle. Uskokko niin se oli kovaa työtä. Mutta se tehti. Sisu oli kova. Nii. Se oli pakko tehdä. Ei päästy töihin ennenkö ne seuraavat eilisen päivän työt oli punnittu. Kyllä mää monta kertaa aattele, että miten herranjumala me jaksettii. Sitte jos ei jaksanu jottai tehdä, sano mestarille, että ei meinaa jaksaa tuota nii. Nosta vaan, kylläpä söitkin. Se vaan sano ja lähti kävelee. Oli pakko. Ei auttanu puhua mittää. Kyllähä siihe kato, voimatha siinä kehitty. (12/12, 15, p.8)

Working on Saturday Night (*Lauantai-iltana työssä*) p. 99

Pirkolta [nimi muutettu] tuli itku. Minä en itkeny sillonkaa. Minä aattelin, että huua ja hauku niin palijo ku tykkää, mutta tämmöstä työtä, sillon ei ollu mitään työsuojeluvastuutettua, ei mitään, että nii niin tuota, no sitte tuota nii se lähti siitä kun mä sanon Pirkolle hilijaa, että suu kiinni, ei puhuta mitää, että kuunnellaan hilijaa. Se lähti siitä sitte, ku me ei ruvettu vastustaa sitä ja mää sanon Pirkolle, että kuule elä itke, elä itke kiusallakkaa, nehä saa siitä vaa intoo ku me täällä ruvettaa itkemää. Kato ku silloli herkkä ja kylmä oli ja töitä piti tehdä, ne oli painavia rautoja, mitä me mirklattii. Niin tuota me monta kertaa jäätii sinne sill' lailla, että meiän piti sitte laittaa kiinni ovet, kun lähettii.(9/12, 23, p. 12; 2/12, 14, p.12)

How's the Hammer Doing? (*Mitä vasaralle kuuluu?*) pp. 100–101

Sitte oli semmonen oli sitte harmin paikka ku oli painikilipailut talolla. Ja meiän piti sitten lauvantaina, sillon tehtiin pitkiä päiviä, siis lauvantaina oltiin tuota niin, jos ei ollu, et oltiin

päivätoissa, nii sillon mentiin aamulla jo puoliseitsemän ja ja ja oltiin kahteen, sitte kun oltii iltavuorossa niin mentiin tuota kahen, kolomesta yhteentoista. Niissoli tuota niin ne painipojat, jotka tuli kato painimaan, ympäri Suomee...

I: Nii.

E: Niin ne tuli sinne tehtaalle kahtomaa, sitä työntekkoo. Arvaa harmittiko? [nauraa] Kyllä meiän oli vaikee olla, me ei päästy koneelta mihinkään, ja nehän tuns meiät sitte kun mentiin tanssiin. Niin tota yks poika tuli hakkee mua sitten tanssimaa ja kehu että, no mitä sille vasaralle kuuluu. [nauraa...] Niin minä sanon että mille vasaralle? No se vasara, kyllä minä näin, kun neiti istu siellä ja teki töitä. Kato ku se oli, se oli rässi, niin ne tykkäs että se o vasara, se se anto sen kuvan. Mä sano, että ei ollu vasara, oli rässi. Niin ku ne oli ihan hauskoja nuo, mutta kyllä niin kenkutti, että mielellään ois lähteny kuule juoksemaan. Ja kiusasivat sitte kun, kyllä ne ,nehän oli hyviä tanssimaa. Ja me oltii hyviä tanssimaan, vaikka mä ite sanonki. Ruukin tytöt oli kauniita hyviä tanssimaa, nii. Se oli oikein näin sanottii. (4/12, 13, p. 9)

CHAPTER 4: WHOSE CLASS

I Was Born during the Lockout (Oma syntymä sulun aikaan) p. 107

E: Nii-iin, minä olen syntynyt kir- Ähtärin kirkonkylässä Tynelin talossa ja siksi oon siellä syntyny, koska Inhan tehdas on ollu mun lapsuusajan ja koko lapsuuen kotipaikka ja isän on täytyny lähtee sieltä Inhan tehtaalta pois koska oli sulk. No joo.

I: Mikä? (mutinaa)

E: No sulk tarkoittaa sitä, että kapitalisti laitto tehtaan ovat kiinni.

I: Patruuna?

E: Patruuna. Mmm. Sitte kaikki työläiset oli tehtaan asunnoissa ja ja ja kaikki oli ylöspitoa, talo, lämmitys, puu siihen aikaa, että ei vuokraa. Nyt kun ei ollu töitä, töistä joutu pois niin sillon joutu jäämään pois. Mä en oo ollu, mutta isä vei ison perheensä sinne Ähtärin Kirkonkylää. (1/12, 1, p. 1)

The Factory Owner's Dogs (Patruunan koirat) p.108

E: --- että silloli kato sillä Patruunalla, niin sillähä oli kaks koiraa. Niitä semmosia koiria, minun käsittääkseni mitä vanhat mulle kerto, niinkun esimerkiks Kirkkosella, niin siellä, ne semmoset miks koiriks niitä ny?

I: Onks ne niinku semmosia...

E: Jalorotusia koiria.

I: Joo.

E: Joo. Niin niin työmies ei saanu kahtoo koiria päälle.

I: Ahah.

E: Jos joku, joku oli sitte niinku puhunu koirille mennessää.

I: Nii?

E: Nii, ni tää patruuna oli sanonu: "Mitä sattana sä puhutat minu koiraa?"

I: Aha. [nauraa] Joo.

E: Nii, et sitä ei sillon saanu puhuttaa.

I: Nii, se puhu huonoo suomee, sitte.

E: Joo, tottakai. Mmm. Että joitain tämmösiä on niinku vanhat ihmiset kertonu sitte. (1/12, 11, pp. 8-9)

The Ghost of the Manor House p. 109

E: No tuota, vanhat ihmiset sanoo, että se on siel'oli se Nessallaha sehä oli ratsastaja on kanssa se Nessa- Nessa se Patronessa siellä ja sitä sanotii Nessaksi [kello lyö] niin tuota siellähä oli se Vasilev Venäjältä siis joka oli se oli ratsumestari, oli niitä, ja tuota sitte vaa kerrottii kaikenlaisia juoruja tietysti olivat, että ne nyt ratsasti aina ja tuota pitkin Sara-ahon maita. Niin niin, no emmä tiiä onko asiassa sitte perää mutta näin ne vanhat ihmiset sitte otaksuu. Että niillä oli sellane suhde.

I: Nii.

E: Ja sit se katos se Vasili. Näin. Se, sitä ei tietty missä se oli.

I: Joo.

E: No tietysti vanhat ihmiset sitte otaksu tän taas näin että Vasili sillä kummitteli. Mmm.

I: Niin. Oisko se patruuna sitte hoitanu tään...?

E: Sitä ei tiiä.

I: Vasilin pois päiviltä.

E: [naurua] sitä ei tiiä. (1/12, 7, pp. 6–7).

Steps at the Manor House p. 110

E: [...] Että kyllä siellä tämmösiä niinku sää aina kysyt, että kummitteliko Pytingillä. Emmää ihimettele, vaikka siellä kummitteli. Eihän ne siellä, niinkun kun me mähän sen ny on jokapaikan käynny sielä. Nii se oltii se yks kesä siellä siivoomassa.

I: Nii.

E: Mmm, niin tuota, sitte viimeinen päivä, me oltii kaikki siivottu ja me tuota nii, oltii niinku lähössä pois. Yhtääkkiä nii pääovi, se avattii ja sieltä nous askeleet, se mun kaverini meni oven taakse piiloo ja mää aatteli, että mää katon. Mää katon, että kuka siellä liikkuu. Ja tuota en hievahtanukkaa, että mä näin siit, että jos ois tullu niinkun ja niinkun sanottiin, että Vasilin kannukset [kello lyö] helis. [kello lyö useaan kertaan] Niitä, niitä kuultii, mut musta tuntu, että ne oli avvaimet, jotka tuota niin sieltä kuulu se helinä. Mut mä aattelin, mää kokoajan aattelin vaa, et se täytyy avvaimia heiluttaa. Askeleet kuulu, mutta mitä en nähäny. Ja se meni siitä kato niinku lä-sinne toiselle puolelle sitä pytinkiä. Minä sanon sitte sille kaverille, että kuuliksää. Kyllä mää sen kuulin. Ja me vähän aikaa siellä sitte oltii ja tuota mää sitte sanon, että mä kierrän, et mä katon, ettei sinne joku tullu. Ei siellä ketää ollu. (6/12, 17, p. 10; *variant* 9/12, 10, p. 6)

Workers Visiting the Patronessa (Työläiset Nessian vieraina) p. 111

E: Joo kun mä tiiä, kun siis pappa, Koskisen pappa, oli menny joillekki asioille, sieltä meni kato näitä vanhoja miehiä, sen Nessian puhheille. Se eli silloin vielä, mut mää en tiiä- siitei kukkaa puhu mittää siitä...

I: Patruunasta?

E: Patruunasta, ei. Mä en tiiä, että miten se kuoli.

I: Jaa.

E: Niin tuota ne oli siellä sitte siellä siellä lasipalatsissa, pappa kerto siis...

I: Vihtori?

E: Vihtori, pappa. Niin ne kato siellä ne sitte oli saanu sielä nähä kaikki ne komeudet ja sitte ne oli syötetty hyvin ja sit sielä oli tämäki tämä Kaukolan Kalevin setä.

I: Aha.

E: Oli ja siellä oli perunaaki sitte tietysti ollu nii, Kaukola Hemma oli sanonu että, emmä tota perunaa viihtii syyä, kyllä mää saan sitä kotonaki.[naurua] Se oli kaikkia muuta ottanu, mutta perunan se oli jättäny, et se ei koskenu. (2/12, 5, p. 10)

A Drunken Worker (*Työmies humalassa*) p. 113

I: Oliko mitään erikoisia sanomuksia, mitä tulee mieleen, jostain ihmisistä tai? Yleensä sellasia sananlaskuja ja sutkautuksia? Semmosia, joita aina viljellään?

E: No niitä kyllä aina viljeltiin. Kyllähän niitä nyt tietysti, joitain oli, vaikka emmä tiiä oikeen. No ne nyt oli semmosia, semmosia, semmosia joita nyt tuota niin matkittiin ja ...

I: Ketä siellä matkittiin?

E: No siellä oli semmosia, jotka oli vähä aina niinku hiprakassakin ja ja ja sitte tota ne meni sitte rohkeesti sinne herroihin, herroja vastaan, niinku insrööni, vanhaa insrööniä, Amperia, ja se vastaa yks sitte ussein. Aatu [nimi muutettu] kanssa ni se oli meinannu kompastua, ni ” Insrööni sano mulle, että elekää nyt Virtanen [nimi muutettu] vaan kompastuko. Minkäs mä sille jos mää kompastun.” [matkii humalaisen sammaltavaa puhetyyliä] Se puhu sitä tällä lailla sitte töihin, niin sitähän matkittiin jatkuvasti. Nii.

I: Sekö oli aina vähä sitte tissutellu?

E: No, se oli vähä semmone, mä tiiä näinkö mä sitä ikkää oikein selevi päin. [naurua]

I: Joo. Semmonen duunari. (1/12, 24, p.15)

Excerpt (no title) p. 114

E: Mutta niinkun siihen aikaan ku mää olin lapsi, niin tuota oli raskaat työt mutta kyllä niillä miehillä oli raskaat huvitki.

I: Joo.

E: Nii. Ne ryyppäs sitte sen ajan, suurin osa, iha.

I: Nii tilipäivinä aina ja.

E: Nii. Niii-in. Ja sitten se aika mikä ei tarvinnu töihin mennä. (1/12, p. 13)

Worker's Use of Language (*Työläisen kielenkäyttöä*) p. 114

E: Joo. Ja sitte kato joskushan pojat kuule tuota niin oli niinku pahanteossa...

I: Nii.

E: ja kun siinä oli sitte asuinrakennus ihan ihan meni meleekee tehtaan portille. No sielä oli sitte yks, ne muutti site muute Amerikkaan, koko perhe, niil oli palijo lapsia ja se poika sitte se oli tuota Raineri niminen poika sillä miehellä [kello soi]. Ja sitte se Amperi, se johtaja tuli vastaan sitte sitä siellä tiellä, lähellä sitä niin tota, se oli sanonu, että niin teiän poika on ollu pahanteossa tuolla tehtaalla Niin se mies oli sanonu: ” Saatanan ristuksen Raihneri, mä tapan sen! ” [haastattelija nauraa] Sitä matkittii sitte sopivalla kohtaa.

I: Mm.

E: Raihneri mä ta- No herrahan oli tietysti sanonu, että no no no, ei sillä lailla.

I: Mmm.

E: Nii. Mut se oli niin rouvia se puhe siellä.

I: Nii. Niinhän se varmasti työläisten keskellä siellä.

E: No ihan se oli näin.

I: Varsinkin miesten kesken?

E: Nii. (1/12, 25, p. 16)

A Bike Hoisted up the Flagpole and Smashed Skis (*pyörä tankoon ja sukset palasiks*) p. 116

E: No joo, mää nyt en sitte tiiä tätä oikeen, no olihan se nyt tämmöstä sitte, että ne kerto sitte, mää en oo silloin vielä juhulissa kulkenu, mutta Tuomarniemen pojat, no ne oli, nehän oli pihkakullia ja nehän oli käpypoikia ja mitä ne ny oli, että eihä niitä pojat nimittäny ollenkaa oikeilla nimiä, eikä niistä nyt tiettykää, mutta [kello soi] ne tuli kuitenkin tanssiin. Joo ja kyllä niillä oli semmosta oli

semmosta vänkää sitte, että siellä oli koulun lipputankookin kun yks käypöpoika oli jääny Inhan puolelle riustelevaan niin, oli nostettu lipputankoon polokupyöä. [nauravat] mutta ei siitäkää mittää hälyä nostettu.

I: Nii, ettei tapeltu kuitenkaa?

E: Ei, ei. Emminä sitä usko että ois tapeltu. No, tapeltii sitte kato kun tuli sota ja tuli noita karjanpoikia nii siellä oli vähä semmosta, että kyllä siellä tapeltii, mutta en tiä mistä ne tappeli mutta me hiihettii kerran tuota nii oli tanssit tuola Ähtärin Työväentalolla, siinä asemalla, nii tota me lähettii sitte suksillä hiihtämään sinne, tyttöjen kanssa. Oiotin tuosta voilammen ylitten, siitä meni latu ja tuota sitte laitettii sukset hienosti seinille näin pystyyn ja kun tanssit rupes loppumaan niin siinähä tuliki sitte kato mää en tiä ketä poikia ne oli, me oltii vielä sisällä sillon, mutta ku me tultii ulos, nii siellä oli tappelu käynnissä ja minun sukset oli hakattu palasiksi ja minä itkemään, että voi kauheeta, että miten mää nyt meen kottii, toiset hiihtää. Ja sitten Ruukin poikia, niin sano, että älä välitä, sulla on sukset varmasti, ennenkö täältä lähet. Ja minen tiä, mistä mulle kuule sukset haettii. [nauravat]

I: Oliko ne sitte ottanut jonku sieltä?

E: Nii. Ne vaan kehu, että antaa vahingon kiertää.

I: Mm. Piti toisten puolta.

E: Se oli semmonen, et se oli aina porukka siltä koossa. Kukaan ei lähteny, ku päätettii, että mennää johonki tanssiin, niin porukalla tultii.

I: Nii.

E: Kukaan ei ottanu saatille. Se oli vissi paikka, mutta nykyää ei oo niin, nykyää ei oo porukka semmonen, että niitä pitää olla vaan kaks taikka.

I: Nii, nii.

E: Meitä oli kuule iso, kaikki kylä nuoret oli pojat ja tytöt, että minä tykkään, että mullon kauniit nuoruusmuistot, vaikka oli sota-aika, korttiaika, ei saanu mitä yhtäähäalus, töitä piti tehdä ja se ei ollu mitää mitää semmosta sievää työtä, se oli likasta ja se oli törkeetä. (1/12, 37–38, pp. 25–26)

Silky Socks and Hemp Leggings (*Silkkisukkia ja hamppua*) p. 117

E: Kerran tultii Kolohosta tanssista. Voinko mää tämmöstä kertoa?

I: Mmm! Joo-o!

E: Ku tultii Kolhosta, meillöli kuitenkin silikkisukkia jalassa. Ei meill'ollu nailonia. Niin tuota junalla tullaan kuule sitten niin aamu junalla. No siell'o, nehän ny otti nyt meiät tunti, ku me aina junalla mentii aina johonki isolla porukalla. Joo ja tuota ne miehet sitte sanno, että ny tytöt te palellutate säärenne kun te menette. Ja sitte se kahto kuule, kahteli sieltä asemalta hamppua. Ja jokainen me käärittii kuule sitä semmosta paksua hamppua säärii ja juostii jäätä pitki kuule Ruukille. Eikä paleltunu. [naurua] Että kyllä ne, kyllä ne hyvi huolehti meistä. Ne oli valamiiks kahtonu ne hamput, että ku tytöt tullee. Sillo ei ollu pakkane ku me mentii. Ja tuota että ku tytöt tullee nii, tästä niitten sääret suojataa. Se oli-se oli iha jännää. Siell'oli niin ihania tanssittajia. Kolhossa. [kuiskaa] Jumala niin ne oli ihania tanssimaa. Ja me oltii kovia tanssimaa kans. Semmosia reissuja meillä oli sitte ja sitte monta kertaa kato tuota... (5/12, 23, p. 11)

A Born Gentleman (*Synnyttäminen herra*) p. 120

I: Minkälainen tää herra sitte oli?

E: Eh, se no se oli nyt aivan no sehän nyt ei ollu mikään semmonen nousukas, et se oli synnyttäminen herra.

I: Nii.

E: Kato kun, on nousukkaita, jotka on niinkun noussu...

I: Tavallisen kansan parista?

E: Tavallisen kansan parista. Että hän oli hirvee mukava siinä mielessä, että hän kans neuvo ja suursiivouksen aikaan nii mää kannon laiskanlinnat ulos ja kun herra huomasi sen, niin sano että Elsa ei niitä yksin kanno ja hän tuli ja kanto ne sitte. (4/12, 6, p. 4)

Wealthy Girl Wonders about Patched Clothes (*Rikas tyttö ihmettelee housun paikkoja*) p. 120

E: ---Mulla oli tyttökaveri semmonen, joka [naurahtaa] tuli meille ja se se oli varakasta se, se oli ruotsalainen se nimiki, mut se halus vaan olla meiän porukassa. Ja sitte kun meiän pojilla oli paikka housussa, siis Paulilla ja Eerolla. Nii se kerran tuli sitte ja se kahto niitte housuja ja se ihimetteli, että mitä nuo o. Se ei ikkää paikkaa nähäny. Ja me sanottii, että se on paikka. Se on korjattu housu. Nii, nykyää mennää nii resusissa, että oikee. Nii minoon aatellu, että kyllä ajat muuttuu. Niilläähä hipsuaa polovet ja joka paikassa on revitty oikeen. Nii kyllä halpa on muuttunu. Sihe aikaa ku siististi paikkas housusa, nii seki, sitäki ihimeltii. Että mikä tuo o. Se ei, ei käsittäny sitä.

I: Nii.

E: Ei se sitten siitä mittään, se hyväksy sen, että pojilla oli paikkaa housussa. Pakkohon niit'oli paikata. Nii, ei niitä aina saanu uusia. (7/12, 15, p. 20)

Boots with Curled Toes (*Kippurakärkiset kengät*) p. 123

Että kaikki mitä vaan pikkusenkin ties, että kauppaan tulee, niin sitä meni vaikka läpi harmaan kiven, että sai. Mm. Ei ois muute ollu mittää vaatetta. Töysän kenkätehtaastahan sai kenkiä. Joka sinne pääs käymää. Mutta niinkun koulua käyvässäkin nii niin kunta sehän koululaisille semmosille suurperheisille vallankin niin tuota lahajotti yhet kengät aina niinkun perheeseen. Nii ja mää muistan sen aina ku minäki sitte sain ne kengät nii ne oli saappaat kippurakärkiset joo ja toiset tytöt jotka sai, niin ne sai os-tilata semmoset niinkun nauhakengät semmoset jotka on niinkun nykyäänkin niitä vielä o. Nii puolisääree. Nauhotettavat ja mää aattelin, että ku mulle aina, mun piti sen takia ottaa ne oikeen semmoset saappaat, joissa oli oikein reilu vars, että sitte ku minä en niitä, minun jalaka kasvo niin ne meni pojille. Se piti säästää sillä lailla. [---] Mutta ken-niin kuule isolla saappailla piti mennä aina sitte ku toisilla oli nättiä pieniä kenkiä. Et sitte ku minä en niitä enää tarvinnu että mää kasvoni ylitte niin sitte oli poikia kuule kasvamassa jotka piti ne sitte loppuu. Ja ku isä korjasi ite. Nii, niin nehän kesti. Ei ne menny rikkikää ollenkaa [nauraa]. Sitte niitä vielä tervattiin kuule. Kuule sää, et tiä. (11/12, 15, p. 15)

Memories of Market Days: Asking for Pulla (*Muistoja toripäiviltä 3: pullaa pyytämässä*) p. 124

Sitte oli Heikkilän pullaa, olis siinä sitte jatkona, mä muistan aina sitte ku me oltiin sitte sen Pirkon [nimi muutettu] kanssa, niin tuota se oli meiän leikkikaveri, samanikänen ku minä ja nyt jo dementia tuli ja nyt jo hauassa niin tuota, me istuttiin siinä sitte sen rappusilla ja sitte tuli, me tietii, että herrat tulee nyt, ne tuli kahentoista aikaa, aivan siinä niinku lihhaa ostamaan ja sitte sitä pullaa. Pirkko sano sitte, niilloli tyttöjä ja ne tuli meiän kans leikkiin ja me leikittii siinä sitte ja ne vissiin puhu ruotsiakin ne tytöt, no me rynnättiin sitte tyttö sano isä- Pirkko sano, että mee nyt sinä pyytämään meille piirakat. Niin, nii, sitte se tulee se tyttö ku se kävi puhumassa ruotsia niille, se toi meille piirakat ja me meinattii saada selekää. [nauraa] Pirkon äiti sitte niin: ”Mistä te ootte nuo saanu?” Niin me sanottiin, että ku se pieni tyttö toi meille. Ja eihän se uskonu ollenkaa sitä, etteikö me oo kerjätty, ei olis saanu. Ja tuota niin, kyllä se sitten anto meiän syyä, ku me sanottii, että ne on rikkaita. Ja kyllähän Pirkko sano, että kävi pyytämässä. (1/12, 20, p. 14)

Cloth under the Counter (*Vaatetta tiskin alta*) p. 126

Ja sitte kato vaatettaki me haet-mää muistan aina ku me yhen tyttökaverin kanssa tietää Inhan asemalla siellä Jekusen kaupassa nii sinne on tullu kankaita. Ja kello oli, kello oli kaheksan ku me

lähetää jäätä myöte menemään kuule sitte sinne asemalle. Niin sisän kautta, ja ne myi meille, kun ne sisän kautta sitä kangasta, määki osti niin ihanan puvun sain kuule sitte ku me- ei ompelija, ei se valamiita vaatteita saanu. Siellä Ruukilla oli mullaki ihan sitte, mull'oli kolomeki sellasta, jotka ompeli mulle aina. Kyllä tuli niin nätti, et mä muistan sen vieläkin sen mikä se oli. Nii, kyllä sitä aina näin sai, mutta röyhkee piti olla. Hm ja sitte emmää tiiä ku aina sitte semmoset vanhat ihmiset, jotka kuuli kaikkia, niin ne aina sano, että että mistä saa ja mee hakkee. Mmm. (5/12, 21, p. 10)

Trading with a Class Bias (*Kastikauppaa*) pp. 126-127

I: Mitä silloin sota-aikaan sai kaupasta?

E: Korttitavarat. Sehän oli-kaikki oli kortilla.

I: Kaikki? Jauhot ja?

E: Nii, nii-i. Sokerit, kahavia ei saanu ollenkaa, oli korvike. Ja sitte tuota voi, voit ja lihat ja kaikkiin oli. Vaate- vaatekortit oli pisteissä, systeemissä mentii.

I: Joo.

E: Niin, niinni, sitte hyvin, hyvin paljon oli semmosta tavaraa, joka niinkun tiskin alta sai.

I: Niin.

E: Niin, joka sai.

I: Joo, rahalla sai?

E: Mää muista, joo, sai kuule, mää muistan Kuluttajankaupassa mä olin kerran, ja tuota rusinoita ei oikein siihen aikaan saanu, ja tuota siellä oli sitten yks sivukylältä tullu mies, mä tunsin kyllä. mutta tuota hänellöli iso ääni ja hän ei tajunnu, että rusinoita ois pitäny salassa pittää. Nii, hän sano, että tuota oliko niitä rusinoita. No, kauppias teki joitain liikkeitä, kyllä mä ne huomasin mutta mää aattelin, että no, katotaan miten käy. Ja tota, se korotti ääntäänsä, että niin niitä rusinoita.

I: Nii?

E: Joo ja taas kuule kauppias oli vaivautunu ja katto mun päälleni ja niin se sano kolomannen kerran oikeen isosti, että minä olisin ottanu niitä rusinoita. Iso ääni miehellä. Niin, niin, ei vieläkään tapahtunu mittää ni mä sanon sille myyjälle, että antakaa hänelle rusinat, minä en välitä. Ja hän sai sen ne rusinapussisa sitte.

I: Aha.

E: Niin, että näinkin saatto käyvä.

I: Joo. Olipas siellä.

E: Joo. Mää en ees tienny et siellä on rusinoita. Siinä sitte ilimeni että oli. Mmm.

I: Se olikin aika merkkillistä, että niitä tavaroita oli, mutta...

E: Oli niitä nii. Mutta niitä, oli tietysti niin vähä, että ei ihan kaikille voinu.

I: Mm. (5/12, 21, p. 10)

Excerpt (no title, from another version of the former narrative) p. 127

E: Että kasti oli tässäki, vaikka mää joka päivä kävin siellä kaupassa, nii mulle ei annettu sitä. Enkä mä tienny niistä mittää. Emmois tienny yhtää, jos ei se mies ruvennu vaatimaa. Niit'oli tullu kuule pieni erä. Ne oli tiski alla. Ja se rouva anto ne. Punotti kyllä hirveesti. [naurahtaa] Ku mä sanon suoraa, että emmää halua.

I: Sää varmaan sanoit, että ku se on...

E: Tottakai. Nii. Siell'ei muita ollu. Ku tuota nii, mää Einolle sitte ku mää tuln sieltä kaupasta, nii sää et tiiä, ett sill'on rusinoita, mutta ei niitä kaikki saa. [naurahtaa]. Se oli vielä niin isoääninen, kuule nii mua huvitti se mies, mies nii raakasti. Se oli ihan sieltä kuule sieltä Kukkeen kylältä. Sieltä nii.

I: Joo.

E: Että tieto oli sielä, mutta niinkun minä asun vieressä, niin minen tienny ollenkaa.

I: Aika jännä kyllä et semmosta oli.

E: Kyllä. Semmosta oli. Et sitä mää en tiiä, että millä perusteella niitä sitte jaettiin. (7/12, 16, p. 21)

Excerpt (no title) p. 128

I: Milläkähä, nii oliko myöhemmin sitte ku sanoit, että aikasemmin oli justiin niinku iso,ison perheen ja pienemmän perheen niinku varallisuuden mukaan oli eroo, mutta oliko sitte sillä lailla, että oli niinkun työläisen ja sitte taas niinku työnjohtajan tai valvojan tai toimihenkilön välillä. Oliko niitten välillä, pidettiinkö sitä sillä niinku merkittävänä vai oli ko se sitte vaa se varallisuus ikäänkun?

E: Kyllä siinä oli se että, eihän ne kato sitä näyttäny, mutta oli niinkun, kyllä ne niinkun jutteli ja oli ystävällisiä, näi että kun, niin niin, kun sen nyt ties, että tuota ne oli paremmissa töissä, nii...

I: Nii.

E: Sen hoksas itekki. Että mää en oo nyt oikee näin että, mää oon ninkun alhaisempi

I: Nii.

E: Mutta olihan niillä sitte niitä omia kestejä keskenää.

I: Nii, että oltii niinku ystävää vai?

E: Nii. Nii-in. Kyllä mää sitte tuota, kun siellä oli yks semmonen työnjohtaja, että, joka tuota et mää olin sen rouvan kanssa ihan, ku mää olin jo tyttönä ollessa, nii se neuvo mua kaikissa asioissa. Mää opin niinku keheräsinki sen kanssa. Nii, nii, mutta tuota ja Eino oli sitte tuota niin kanssa sen miehen kanssa, että nii, ne kävi meillä ja... Se riippu ihmisestä ittestää, miten korkeelle ittesä asetti. (7/12, p. 22)

A Maid Servant with the Latva Family 2: A Gift for a Member of the Women's Auxiliary Corps (Maist. Latvalla piikana 2: Lahja pikku-lotalle) p. 129

Tota niin, sitte mulla oli kerran pyhänä, lottavuoro, pikkulottavuoro, lottamökillä. Sielä Inhan asemaa vastaapäätä se lottamökki. Koska sotilaat tuli eturintamalta, niitä tuli niinku huilaamaan sinne.

I: Joo.

E: Että tota, mää menin sinne sitte aamulla ku mä menin sinne töihin, niin mää laitton sen lottapuvun jo valamiiks päälleni ja tuota tein ne työt. Ja se vanha rouva oli niin ihastunu-niin ihastunut, että onko Elsa maanpuolustuksessa. Niin mä sanoin, että mää oon vaan pikkulotta. Ja se toi mulle pussillisen paperipäällisiä karamelleja, jotka oli sillon kun ei ollu mitään karamelliä, niin se hän oli ihan.

I: Mm, sota-aikaan.

E: Sota-aikana, sehän oli niin yllättävää.

I: Nii.

E: Ja tota no, emmää ny, mää ny pääsin siihen tulokseen, että mut hyväksyttiin. (4/12, 8, p. 6)

Elsa's Service with the Amberg Family (Elsa jää Ambergille) p. 130

E: Sitte tota niin kun rouva lähti sitten synnyttämään pois sieltä niin mä sitte jäin kotia ja sen jäläkeen menin Amperille. Sitte se rouva tuli sieltä synnyttämästä, site oli jo sitte, että sota, sota oli vielä, mutta tuota et mä olin ollu siellä Amperilla, niin se rouva oli soittanu Amperin rouvalle, että saisko hän Elsan takasi. Se rouva tuli multa kysymään, että rouva Latva tarvitsis Elsaa, että menneekö Elsa takasi. Niin mä sanoin, että en minä, että kato ku multa, siinä kävi nii että sillon, mun piti viiä elintarvikekorttini sinne ja mää en koskaan saanu sitä sammaa ruokaa, mitä ne herrasväki söi. Mulle oli laitettuna, ku ne lakkas syömästä niin mä menin tiskamaan keittiöön, mulle

oli laitettuna perunoita, margariinia lautasella, että ne oli niinkun mua varten ja joskus oli ruispuuroo ja tuota niin, niin, niin, emmää koskaan, mää en oikeestaan syönykkää, että mä vein, ne vietiin koiralle. Mulla oli kotona sittekkkin, parempi.

I: Entäs sitte Amperilla?

E: Amperilla sai kaikki sielä, sielä mä söin keittiössä kyllä mutta tuota niin mä sain samat ruuat. Siellä oli hyvä ruoka. Ja ja sillä lailla että, ettei sielä ei sielä niinkun mitenkään niinkun halaveksittu, että vaikka mä nyt olin, eikä ne koskaan piiaks sanonu.

University Students (*Ylioppilaat*) p. 131

E: Joo ja se oli kato semmonen sitte, että se sano suoraan. Mää muistan me tultii tanssista kerran, me oltii, ku me oltiin töissä, oltiin Ähtärin työväentalolla tanssit oli siis siihen aikaan työväentalo.

I: Nii urheilutalo?

E: Nii nii ja me tullaan sieltä sitte ja käyven. Niin, muutaku kävellään kuule Hankolanmäkkee ylös sitte sieltä ase-aseman tietä nii. Ähtärintie se oli. Niin niin tuota tullee kaks ylioppilasta sitte. [haastattelija nauraa] Otti meiät kiinni. Ne kahto meitä sitten näi, niill'oli ylioppilaslakit päässä. Joo kahto meitä tällä lailla sitte ja viimen toinen kyssyy, että onkos piioilla iltaloma? Ja Siiri [nimi muutettu] kun ryhisty, se oli kato tukeva naine. Se sano, että me ei ollakaan sitten mitään piikoja. Ja tuommostako teille opetettaa yliopistossa? [haastattelija nauraa] Sillo pojat lähti, ei ne jääny, ei ne jääny ennää.

I: Ei ois kestäny jäädä.

E: Kyllähä mää, me on naurettu monta kertaa sille asialle.

I: No hyvä, että sano!

E: Joo. Me ei oltu piikoja.

I: No nii, te olitte...

E: Me oltiin töissä.

I: Työihmisiä.

E: Nii, me oltiin tehtailla töissä. Joo, että ne kato ku sillo aina niinku piika oli sillo niinku halapa.

I: Nii.

E: Nii ja sitä aina niinku jokapaikassa niinku halaveksittii. (12/12, 5, p. 3)

Waiting for the Wages (*Palkan odottaminen*) p. 132

--- Ja eikä siihe aikaa ollu niinku esimerkiksi tili, se se tuotii konttorista siihe lapatuurin eteen. Siinä työläiset ootti. Mä häpesin sitä. Mää en tiä mitä varte mull'oli sillo semmonen tunne, että ku ihminen teki töitä niin oli niinkun kerijuulla siinä. Nii, ymmärräksää? Niin mää häpesin sitä mutta, niin siinä konttoripäällikkö sitten tuota jako ne tilipussit. Eihän niistä ny kukkaa sitte--ei niistä puhuttu mitä mikin sai sitä tiliä. (5/12, 5, p. 3; 8/12, 2, p. 3)

A Visit to the Social Insurance Institution (*Kelalla käynti*) p. 133

Joo, joo, ja tuota nii tänne muutettii keskustaan kaheksannelijä. Vaarihan sano pian, että sinä et pian jää, että jäähään yhtä aikaa. No minä en sitte jääny toisten kanssa, mitä mää kadun, että mun ois se pitäny tehdä. Tuota nii, eihä vaari päässy, vaari oli toimihenkilö, ja sen oli tehtävä kakskuukautta vielä töitä ennenku se pääs, että eläkepaperit sai. Että mää olin sitte sen kaks kuukautta, että mää en oottanu sitä, ku mää sillan alakuvuodesta, niinku tammikuussa, niin jäin sitte. Ja siinä mielessä se oli mulle niin vaikeeta, ku kaikki toiset oli sitte jo kelalla käyny sen eläkejuttunsa selvittämässä. Et mää ku menin sitte yksistää. Nii kyllä mulle oltiin niin ilikeitä, ku multa kysyttii, että mitä mää oon tehny, niin mää sanon, että mää olin vaihetyöntekijä. Niin se halveksivasti sano se nainen, että koittakaa muistaa, mitä te ootte tehny. Nii multa pääs itku. Mää sanon, että mää oon tehny

vaihetyöntekijänä ollu. No se kahto sieltä yhestä lapusta sitte, että joo, niin ootteki ollu. Et se, se muserti viimesetki mehut musta. Niin niin tuota et mäa vieläki sitä naista vihhaan, taikka mä en tunne mitään, ku mä nään sen. Mäa nään sen hyvin ussein. Mäa meen sivun, että en ees pääta-tervehä, se oli niin kova isku mulle, että mä en muka tienny, mitä mäa olin tehny. Se tuli nii inhottavalla äänellä. (8/12, 4, p. 4)

From a Dogsbodys Dogsbodys to Operating a Machine (Sällin sällistä koneelle) pp. 134–135

Ja no siinä se meni sitte se että sitte ku mä täytin seittemäntoista niin sitte mä pääsin, sano, tuli lapara-lapar-laparotuuri-lapatuuri oli semmonen paikka, missä oli nimittäin teknillinen insinööri ja työnjohtajat ja ne niinkun se oli niitten semmonen niinku konttori, oli siinä vieressä, nii sieltä tuli Suutala sitte ja tuota sano, että nyt Elsa on täyttäny seittemäntoista, niin sää nyt meet tuohon koneelle. Ja kun mäa sitä ny olin siinä nii monta vuotta katellu niin, pari vuotta nyt, niin kyllä se multa sitte käviki. (5/12, 3, pp. 2–3; 12/12, 14, p. 8)

Excerpt (no title) p. 135

Niin tuota se oli vaan oppi, mitä me opittiin sielä. Meill'oli siihen taito siihen työntekko. Me pystyttii olemaa koneilla ja tekemää. Siinon se oma rytmensä. (7/12, p. 22)

Excerpt (no title) p. 135

Et niissä oli sitten tota, siinä piti olla se oma tahti, että kerkis, kato ku uunista tuli jatkuvasti. Ja se meni ensin pitsakonneelle, sitten pökkakonneelle, mäa oon ollu siis pökkakonneellakin, niin se ei saanu kuule jähtyä se pala, se piti olla ihan yhtä vaa, tämmöstä valssaamista. (4/12, p. 8)

Excerpt (no title) pp. 135–136

Että tuota se oli toisaalta työtä ja ei sitä nykyajan ihminen tekis, ei. Ei siell'ollu minkäänlaisia lämmityslaitteita, muutaku uunien, kenkien ja uunien naulojen laatikoitten vieressä lämmiteltii aina. Ja ovet oli semmoset, että niitei saanu talavellakkaa kiinni. Ne jäty kertakaikkiaan niin, että ne oli ihan semmosessa jää-jää. Että sen verran sai niinku lykättyä, että pääs sinne sissää ja takasi. Hmm. [huokaus] Niin, että ja sitte ku ei, ei ollu kato sitä vaatetta, oli sota-aika, niin pisteet ja sitten jos tuli jottai kankaita tai, eihä ny valamista vaatetta tullukkaa, että tehtaalta sitte kyllä hommattii jostain niitä haalaria. Että ne jaettii sitte. Mutta tuota kengät ja tämmöset tällä lailla. Se oli aikalaila ankaraa joskus. (5/12, pp. 2–3)

Excerpt (no title) p. 136

Niin, että tää oli tämmöstä työtä, että nykyajan ihimine ei menis, askeltakkaa.

I: Mm.

E: Mut se oli pakko. Ku mäa nyt sain kotona olla kortteeria ennenku oisin lähteny mottimehtää.

Kyllämä mottimehtässäki olin isän kanssa.

I: Joo.

E: Nii, äijin kanssa se tehtii sillä aikaa ku isä, me vietii kahavia sinne mehtään sille, nii meidän piti rahata kato, hartialla oksat ja puut, mitä se oli kaatanu. Sillä mäa tiän sen työn. Nii. Sitte kaikkia piti yrittää, vaikka huonoilla voimillaanki. Ei nykyää tehä sillä lailla. Ne käy koulu.

I: Nii, no.

E: Ei nykyää, nii.

I: Niin no, täytyy [ei saa selvää, puhuvat päällekkäin]. Oonhan määki tehny tuommosta työtä.

E: Niin, nii sää, nii, joka haluaa tehdä.

I: Nii, joka haluaa tehdä. Pakkoha ei oo. (7/12, pp. 23–24)

I Know All about Chopping Wood (*Mottimehtä on tuttu*) pp. 136–137

E: [...]Se jäi kato, nii me oltiin kaikki sitte jo ja sielä työpaikalla esimerkiks moni löys sen kaverin. Ne tuli soda-rintamalta nii sinnehä ne tuli töihi ja me oltii ei meitä pois sitte laitettu, ku me oltii opittu se työtouhu. Emmä sitä sano ollenkaan, että ku ei nykyaikana ei ihminen saa tehdä töitä, jos ei se käy koulua. Eikä saa sittekkää. Nii tää ei mahu mun päähäni. Nii, kyllä mä sen ymmärrän, että teollisuus tarttee omansa, niille ei riitä mikkään.

I: Ja ihmisethä on ihan ylikoulutettuja.

E: Nii on. Ne ei esimerkiks mee vaikka mihin töihi. Niinku ennen vanhaa. Että kyllä määki oon, määhä oon ollu kuule on sanottu sitte näin, että mottimehtää ei saa mennä. Se on lonkkanivel ku laitettii ja tuota sitte tää viimenen leikkaus. Nii sano, että kuhan, ku mää sanon että mitäs mää saisin niinkun nostaa. Kuhan nyt et mee tukkimehtää. Teki mieleni sannoo, että tuttua hommaa. Että min'oon tukkimehtässähän meiän piti olla aina isän kans. Halakoja tekemässä ja se kaato ja me karsittii ja sitten sahattii Ailin kans, Aili oli toisessa päässä ja minä toisessa. Sahattii kuule ku se mittas, että mistä kohtaa se ite halako niinku mottimehtässäki. Parkkuulla oon ollu, kato kuori pois. Ei tää oo, eihän se ollu mittää, sehän oli iha. Siinäähä ihminen. Mitäs sitä muuta teki. Sitähän roppa ihan kaipas. Että mahotonta mennoo ja tekemistä. Raahaamista. (10/12, 21, p. 16)

Let the Others Study (*Muut lukevat*) p. 139

E: Ja yhtä aikaa kävi sillon tuota nii vaari. Vaari luki tuon...

I: Teknikoks.

E: Niin, kirjeopiston kautta. Mm. Mää kuule paiskon töitä, mää sanonki, et'm'oon rasvanahkanen työ mies. [nauraa] Antaa toisten lukkee. Mutta tässä sitä vaa on menty. (10/12, 9, p. 8)

CHAPTER 5: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Excerpt (no title) p. 145

Se oli sitten yks juttu tää, että mää olin siellä heijarissa, et mun piti ottaa se kenkä, hevosenkenkä ku tuli ensi tuota niin pitsakone teki tämmösen aihion, sitte pökkakone laitettii, se oli näin mää oon muuten näissä kaikilla koneilla, aina vuoroo ja sitte tota niin se otettii ja siihe tehtii se muoto ja tuli hokki ja ne reijän jälet. Niin semmonen heijari, semmonen lauta, iso lauta oli jonka välissä oli ne pyörät, et se ku se polokas niin se leikkas ne, niin mun piti ottaa pois ja heittää sinne seuraaville koneille. Ja se oli siinä mielessä sitten niin vaarallinen, et se joskus tuli itellään pois sieltä se lauta sitte monta kertaa, et se piti pittää ne pihit sillä lailla ettei jääny sormet vällii. Et se tuli monta kertaa, siinä kyllä säikähti hirveesti ku, se yhtäkkiä tuliki, vaikkei ois saanu tulla. Et sillon se aina sitte korjattii, että niin pihit meni kyllä moskaks. (5/12, p. 3)

Time and Motion Analysts (*Kellokallet*) p. 147

E: Mutta siihe, sillonku se rupes muuttumaa, nii kyllä mää sen muistan sitte tuota, että tuota niin niin, ei me saatu niin vapaasti sitä työtä tehdä. Ne tuli ne kelloajat. Sillon ei tuota nii enää niinku hitsinväliä pietty liian pitkiä, eikä että siinä oli se. Ja sitte tuota tuli se, että jokaisen työtä niinku määki ku mää olin se sällin sälli. Mä hajin niitä hiiliä sieltä kaukaa ladosta, niin tuota mua rupes

seuraa, se oli ensimmäine muutos, jota ei niinku työmies ymmärtäny, et se otettii kellolla ylös, kuinka kauan mitäki työtä tehtii. Nyt mä sen ymmärrän. [---] Nii, mut sillon ei. Ja tuota se kuluki mun perässäni ja kahto kelloo, merkkas kokoajan sinne kaikki ne työt, mitä mää tein. [---] Joo, nyt viimeks kun mää olin töissä nii, eihä me saatu kahavitaukoo pittää. (7/12, 13, pp. 17–18)

Excerpt (no title) p. 148

Ja sitte ilimesty niin kauheesti niitä insinööriä. Ja se meitä ihimetytti. Niitä sitä oli sitä toimihenkilöö niin palijo. Ettei me, eihä sitä kaikista tienny, että mitä ne tekikää. (7/12, p. 18)

Excerpt (no title) p. 149

Siellä muuttu sitte se työ. Sinne tuli kauheesti tota niinku toimihenkilöitä ja sitä niinku laajennettii joka tavalla, mutta samalla kun se koneistettii, nii samalla se oli aina sitte työmies pois. Että ei ollu ennää sitte työläisiä, että meille sillonki ku me jäätiin eläkkeelle, minä jäin eläkkeelle, nii meitä jäi kaikki, meitä oli kymmenittäin ja me kaikki suostuttii siihe, että me jäähään ja että se oli siinä mielessä, että me niinku annettii nuoremmalle työpaikka (8/12, p. 4)

Dryer (*Linko*) p. 149

Sitteku ne konneet tuli, mä muistan sen ensimmäisen kerran ku me oltii kuule, tota, Sivula Ellin kanssa yhtenä sitte siellä pyykkituvassa ja ja ja siin'oli tuota se se kuivaaja. Kato, se kuivas sitte pyykin. Ja sitte oli vielä huone, missä sai kato levittää ne sillä lailla, et se linkos ne. Ja se linko. [nauraa] Kyllä se, se, emäntä joka kato piti sitä sitte, niin se tuli kauhussaan kuule, ku me maattiin kumpikin sen lingon päällä. Ku me luultiin, ett se lähtee lentoon. Se ei topannu ollenkaa. Ja me maattii kuule siinä päällä sitte ja huuettii, että nyt tää meni rikki. Joo ja tuota sen jäläkeen sinne tuli sitte semmonen, joka niinkun opasti sen käytön. [nauraa] No se, mehän oltii Ellin kanssa siellä sitte kuuntelemassa ja mehä ei puhuttu mittää ensi ja sitte ku se rupes sitä linkoo esittelemään niin [naurahtaa] tuota, me pyrskähettiin nauramaa. Ja kaikki kahto meiän päälle: Eihän vaan oo ollu onkelmia? [nauraa]

Excerpt (no title) p. 150

Meillähä oli sitte sauna siinä rannassa, me käytiin siellä sitte saunassa niinku tota, niitte herrojen sauna ja pyykkitupa siinä oli vieressä ihan, sillä lailla, että sai vanhanaikaisesti pestä pyykkiä. Ei tarvinnu tota, sai kun pyykkilaudalla hinkkas. Joki oli vieressä, oli hyvä huuhtoa. Mää nautin siitä elämästä. Nykyään on vähä liian konneellistettu kaikki. (8/12, p.5)

Excerpt (no title) p. 151

Ja kato kun meillä oli aina, me oltiin aina niinkun yhtä köyttä veettiin. Mutta nykyajan lapset, ku ei niit'oo kun yks ja kaks ja niin minun mielestä ne on orpoja. Mää monta kertaa kun mää kulen lenkillä tuolla koulutielläki ni mää nään, kun niitä ekaluokkalaisia tulee. Raskas on reppu, roikkuu kuule selässä ja kotona ei oo kettää. Nii mää melekeen itke. Kun mää kahtelen niitä [liikuttuneella äänellä]. Ja elämä on tätä. Se on menny semmoseksi. (11/12, 6, p. 2)

Excerpt (no title) p. 152

I: Millonkas ne niinku koneet sinne tuli? Millon pestiin vielä käsin? Suurinpiirtein?

E: No me o asuttu, me asuttu sillon tuota niin niin Insröönin pytingissä.

I: Joo.

E: Siihe asti kesti, että...

I: Oisko ollu kuuskytä luka vai seitkytälukua?

E: Mm, nii-i. Se-kato sieltähä, Askoha oli sillon jo aikamies, ku asuttii Insröönin pytingissä.

I: Kyllä se sitte oli seitkytälukua... (5/12, p.16)

Sliding on the Floor (*Lattialla luistelua*) p. 153

E: [...] ja siellähä me sitte asuttii siellä Ruukkin jokirannassa, siinä ihan siinä kosken partaalla, se omakotitalo.

I: Joo, muistan.

E: Se oli hirveen kiva, mut se oli niin älyttömän vanha, et se oikeen niinku valu sinne jkkeen.

I: Se oli vähä kallistunu.

E: Muistaksaa ku sää luistelit sitä lattiaa pitkin?

I: Muistan, se oli liukas. Varsinki keittiössä.

E: Nii, joo, kato se ruokahuone, josta meni raput yläkertaa, nii siinähä oli aivan selvä se liukuminen?

I: Oliko seki niinku tehtaa?

E: Oli, se oli oli niin vanha, se oli arvokas, se oli mitähän, oisko se ollu tuhatkaheksansattaa luvulla vai vielä aikasemmin rakennettu, sen takia se oli niin, että sitä ei meinattu hävittääkää. Mutta ku se rupes oli pakko, se rupes...

I: Kenotti?

E: Se kenotti. Ei sinne uskaltanu kukkaa mennä. Mutta se oli kiva.

I: Pihalla oli mustesieniä?

E: Oli, kauhee määrä [naurahtaa].

I: Ja marjapuskia.

E: Ja sitte niitä kielon kukkia.

I: Joo, niitä oli varsinkin ihan siinä joen rannassa. (8/12, 5, p.5)

Big Snake (*Iso käärme*) p. 154

Pytingille ei saanu mennä. Mut me mentiin kuitenkin. Ja siellä oli se emännöitsijä. Ja se on semmonen suora, mentii puolikilometriä sitä suoraa hyvin hoidettu piha. Siis nykyään ei enää sillä lailla hoideta. Se aina oli koristeellisesti haravoitu ja ja metsäkin oli näin kauniisti. No sitten me mennää snne tien päähän, meit'oli iso, meit'oli iso lauma tyttöjä, koska me oltii suuriperheisiä siihe aikaan. Ja tuota naapuri-naapurintytöt oli joo sitten tämä isän-emännöitsijä oli huutaa aina isosti – oli kantavaa ääni. Niin ja hän tota huus että ”Lapset, tuommoset, älkää tulko täällä on käärmeitä. Täällon- täälön oikee semmone iso ja sellanen iso käärme” Se ei tienny mitä se ois sanonu. (1/12, 7, p. 5, *variant* 2/12, 4, p.8)

Excerpt (no title) p. 155

Ei sinne saa mennä. Niihi on tullu kato, se oli siihe aikaa nii vapaata se joenvarski, sai mennä tehtaan sivua vaan näin ja siellä ongittii ja mutta ei sinne nykyä oo asiaa. Sitte kato ku oli se Hamarisilta, nii sehä oli ihan niinku tie, jotka tuli kuule sieltä se, esimerkiks Inhanpuoli, ne ihmiset kulki hyvin palijo koulu, kouluun mentii aina Hamarisiltaa pitki, ja tehtaa siitä matengi sivu, ei sitä kukkaa kieltäny, sieltä oli reitti ja sitte ku tuli tuo myllysilta siinä oli, mutta siitä harvemmin kulettii ku se oli lyhempi se Hamarisilta kulkee kouluu. (8/12, p. 9)

Excerpt (no title) p. 155

E: Ei se oo enää sama, mikä se on enne ollu se joki. Sehä kasvaa kaikemaalima, melekeen onko sitä, ei sitä enää nää ollenkaa.

I: On kyllä siellä vähä näkyy.

E: Ja sitte ku oli se myllysilta siinä, se oli romanttinen paikka ja se mylly, vanha mylly ja se sentraali, mistä tuli sähkö, nii semmonen valakokeltanen talo oli se sentraali.

I: Oliko se siinä tehtaan kupeessa?

E: Eiku se oli, se oli siis myllysilta. Siitä isolta tuvalta. Sää et tiää, se on hävitetty. Se oli surkee paikka vanhoille ruukkilaisille ku se hävitettiin. Sitä ei ois tarvinnu hävittää. Sen ois voinu pittää ihan kato kävelysiltana, ku eihä siitä enää uskaltanu autot mennä, vaikka siinä siinä aikasemmin meni. Kyllä se oli niin jollaki tavalla kiva paikka ja sitte se Tammi siellä vielä. Siellä sitä tuli aina käveltyä ja oltua. (8/12, 6, pp. 5–6)

Excerpt (no title) p. 155

Et se kyllä se siinä sitte, vähä liiallisuuksiin meni siinä mielessä, et sieltä katos sitte ne kaikki, jotka oli vanhalle ruukkilaiselle ehtoja elämää. Meni sillat ja nyt sitte viimeks sieltä hävis kaikki ne rakennukset, missä asuttii, ne on hävinny. Että siinä kalliolla on vielä muutama, se Hurutlinna, jossa meki asuttii ja sitte tuota eipä siellä sitte paljo, Lumppulinna on siellä, ja sit siinä on niinkun omistusasuntoja ne kaks siinä Kallion päällä. Ja sit se työväentalo on entisöity, et se on kylätalo, kuulemma iha kiva. Et tuota ei sinne enää viitti mennä, ku ei siellä enääoo, niin puskan sisällä kaikki ne tiet ja kaikki ne talon rauniot, ei niistä enää, pahamieli tullee, jos sinne mennee. (8/12, p. 9)

The Demolished Smokestack (*Tehtaanpiippu*) p. 156

E: Että kaikki nää hävis, että kyllä se tuntu kuule, ja sitte tehtaan piippu. Joka viimeks sieltä ajettiin. Nii sillon sanovat, että vanhat miehet itki. [liikuttuneella äänellä] Se oli niin kova paikka. Että ketä se sitte ois häirinny, jos se ois ollu pystyssä. Kyllä sitä...

I: Millon se kaadettiin?

E: Mää oon ollu sillon viellä töissä. Et se oli sitä uudistumisaikaa. Että ne eli vielä ne Gunnari ja nää nämä nii, sehä oli niille iha surkee paikka. Sehä oli niille vanholle miehille, jotka oli sen aina elämässää nähäny ja kyllä se oli mulleki. Se oli niinku ois kuolema käyny kylässä. Savupiippu, siin'oli ukkosenjohdatin, koskaa ei tarvinnu ukkosta pelätä, vaikka se kuinka jyrisi ja räiski. Se ei koskaa mihkää osunu. Se meni aina niinkun sivua, molemmin puolin. Ja tuota kaikki, kaikki mikä siellä oli nii, siellä tuntu että on kotona. Vaikka se oli kato huonomp-köyhempäöki, ei sitä, ei sitä niinkun, ei se tuntunu pahalle, ei yhtää, kato ku kaikki oltii niinku samassa jamassa ja veessä. (8/12, 13, p. 9)

Memories of Schooldays (*Koulumuistoja*) p. 161

Ja meitä ku oli palijo, niinei kunnalla ollu varaa antaa meille kirijoja, muutaku ne yhet kirjat sitte aina, että niistä sitte lujettiin kaikki ne, meitoli joskus ylemmillä luokilla oli niinkun kolome nelijä. Niin, no mää olin sitte ku m olin nuorin niin minä jouvun lukemaan aina viimeks. Isommat piti sen ja se meni iltamyöhää, monta kertaa yöllä ihan, että vanhin sisko Aino-sisko sitten jäi mun kanssani tuota tekemään niitä läksyjä ja tuota niin emmä tiää kyllä mä luokkaa pääsin aina vaihtamaan [naurahtaa] ja tuota sitten ne kevätjuhulat ja semmoset niin niissä mun piti lausua aina runo, että kai mää sitte osasin lukkee, koska mää [naurahtaa] pystyn ne runot lausumaa, nii. (5/12, 1, p.1)

Real Santas (*Oikeat joulupukit*) p. 162

E: Sitte meillä oli yks joulu semmnen, jonka mä muistan niin elävänä kuule sitte, että oikeestaa ku meillä oli joka joulu se että isä oli aina päissä, se vei vähä vikkaan, meille tuli sitten kaks pukkia, se oli suuri yllätys, että ne oli oikeen niinkun susiturkit päällä, naamarit. Kaks aika issoo pukkia, ne kopistaa ja me aateltii, että kukaha nyt tulee ku me oltii, isä oli vissii sitte lähteny omille teillee ja, äiti sano, että antaa ny, että huetaan nyt että sisälle, sihe aikaa sanottii, että sisään, no ne pukit tuli ja meiltä tuli sitte yhestä suusta me tytöt sitte sanottii, että joulupukkia. Se oli kuule niin ihime paikka, kato ku ne oli niin luonnollisia, ne oli oikeita joulupukkia.

I: Toiko ne lahjoja?

E: Toi, kuule ihan tämmösiä niinku kilon pussia kuule karamelleja ja kaikki kuule toivat.

I: Ketä ne sitte oli?

E: Tehtaalta, tehtaalta olivat. Siis herrat, ku ne ties, että me oltiin näin. Iso perhe. Niin nii ne oli konttorimiehiä.

I: Voi että.

E: Se oli kuule, että ikään ei lähe mielestä pois, ei ikään. Se oli niin ihana yllätys. Ja sitte me laulettii niille ja.

I. Kaikkia joululauluja.

E: Nii kaikkia joululauluja ja sehä oli meille joulu.

Shoes Too Fine to Wear (*Liian hienot kengät*) p. 165

Sitte mä muistan kuule kenkiä ei saanu. Ja mun piti, mää olin sitte kato mä nyt olin semmonen meistä, että meillä ei toiset tytöt sitte ollu, mutta mä olin aina niinku menossa ja [nauhan 1. a-puoli loppuu, b-puoli alkaa] Rientoihin esimerkiks mä kävin voimistelemassa, me siis Taimen, urheiluseura Taimi, mä olin siellä voimistelemassa jatkuvasti ja kaikissa ohjelmissa mukana ja sitä ennen sillon, ku mä olin koulussa, se sillon ei ollu sota vielä alakanu, mutta sillon mä kuulun semmoseen siihen tyttöosastoo. Ja sit meillä oli semmonen yks kesä, että me mentii niinkun oliko se nyt joku leiri, niin Peränteen koululle. Niin kuorma-autolla mentii kato lavalla siellä vaa, ei ollu muita autoja ja tuota mun piti saaha sitte kengät. Ja isä sano, että sää et tuota niin, että kumitossut saat ostaa, että ne maksaa kaksikymmentäviis markkaa. Ja ne tilattii sitte kato Äsookoon kauppaan ne kengät mulle ja mä menin niitä hakemaan niin ne tytöt sano sielä, että kuule, että ku ei tullu ku nahkakengät. Ja ne maksaa seittemänkymmentäviis markkaa. Enhän mä ois saanu niitä ottaa. Ja mun teki niin mieleni, ne oli justiin kuule hyvin kauniin ruskeet. Ja tuota ne sitten huokutti ja sano, että eihän se nyt niin palijo, että ei se isäs siitä nyt mittää. Mää sanon, että ku se sano, että ne ei saa maksaa sen enempää. No minä otin ne sitte ja ku mä menin kottii, mä meinasin saaha selekää. Sano, että sinä oti vaan , vaikkei ollu puhe. Niin minä sanon, että ku ei muita ollu. Ja sää et tiä, ku mä sitte joka iltä, ku se sano että nihi ei saa tulla naarmuakaan, kato ku mä menin sinne leirille, niin mä tarviin ne. Ja kyllähän mun oli niin vaikee kuule joka iltä mä tarkastin ne kengät ennen enenkö isä tarkasti. Niin ne piti pittää kuule niin hyvänä. Mää vieläki pesen kenkiäni ku [naurahtaa] siitä jäi semmone hirmu, kato ku niitä ei saanu paljo kenkiä. Joo ja siellä oli kyllä hauskaa siellä leirillä. (5/12, 11, p. 5)

Excerpt (no title) p. 166

Sitte se mun hamstruujuttu. Se on jääny tässä vähä vällii. Se sota-aika. Mmm. Kato ku muhan piti sitte, me-no mä olin sillon kato, mä en ollu sillon kuule rippikoulua vielä käyny ku mun piti aina lähtee kato joku vanha ihminen-vanhempi ihminen lähti sieltä hamstruulle, niin isä sano, että Elsa lähtee sitte kanssa. (5/12, 18, p. 9)

The Rocky Road (*Kivinen tie*) pp. 166–167

E: Mä muistan ku mä olin saman ikäsen nyt jo hän vainajana on ollu kauan aikaa, hauassa, me kahen lähettii sitte ja tuota mentii tuonne, Sulukavankylälle. Se on siinä välillä kun mennään Sapsalammille. --- No tota, no me oltii niin lapsellisia, että ai-kaikkia me ei ku oltii pie- nuoria, nuoria tyttöjä, no meillehän annettii. Me saatiin kaikki, ryynit ja jauhot ja meilloli voita ja ihan kaikkia mitä nii me otettii, eikä ollenkaa ajateltu, että päästäänkö me niiten kans kulukemaa. --- No sitte tuota se mun kaverini sitten niin hänellä oli naisten pyörä ja minulla miesten pyörä, kun minä pääsin sen miesten pyörän selekää, lähtemää, emmä munhan piti polokee. Mä kaajun muuten ja tämä tullee kuule ja itkee jälessä, että älä jätä, älä jätä. Ja mun piti aina välillä oottaa sitte ja yirttää tuota niin, ettei menny ojaan. --- Sitte, kun taas kuule asemamiehet ootti, ne ties, että me ollaan tulossa, me oltii aamulla lähetty ja pyörällä otettu sinne. Ne oli jo kaukana, että äkkiä tytöt, juna oli jo asemalla. Ja tuota, tuota tuota, me nähhään sieltä vaunusta, sielton tulossa siis, ne oli, ne oli sotilaita, semmosia partioita, jotka tutki junan ja matkustajat. Joo niin tota no se otti, se asemamies niitoli kaks niin otti meiän pyörä ja laitto laput paikollee ja no...

I: Mm.

E: Ja sit se mun kaverini niin siltä pääs itku, ku se näki ne, sieloli, junat oli täynnä, ne oli niin täynnä, et me ei päästy muutaku siihe eteiseen siihen. Ja sitte se kirroo siinä, meillä oli siinä tututtuja tyttöjä sitte siinä, niin sano, että omistakkaa ny perkele jotaki. Kananmunat, ota sinä nämä kananmunat. Joo, eihän ne ollu meitä- kyllähä me ny ties mitä me oltii, ei ne ollu meitä näkevinnää, ne meni niin ihanasti kuule näin vaan, niin ku ei silimää ummistanu, meiän sivutte ja ja ihan siinä niinku, niinku tuota huojeni. No site me aateltii, päästiin Inhan asemalle. Meillois ollu viis kilometriä vielä matkaa. Kotia. No siellä oli sitten tehtaa auto- Ruuki auto, joka oli tuonu jotai tavaraa sinne ja me aateltii, että no nii, nyt me päästään autolla, kuorma-auton lavalla, ninkun päästiinki. Ja arvaa mihin ne meni?

I: No?

E: Ne ei mennykkää tehtaalle suoraa, ne meni tuota niin Peränteen hiekkakuopalta hakkee hiekkakuorman. Sillon me itkettii.

I: Jouduitteko te sieltä pyöräilee?

E: Ei, ku ottivat meiät, eivät puhuneet mittää. Mehän ois me oltu kotona aikaa.

I: Nii.

E: Joo ja sit se mun kaverini itki nii hartaasti, silloli rehevit sillon illalla ja [naurahtaa] me ei keritty sitte. Sielä sitte ku oli se hiekkakuorman päällä kuule. (3/12, 2 p. 6; variant 5/12, 18, p. 10)

Fare Dodging on the Train 1: A Styte in My Eye (*Pummilla junassa: silmä*) p. 167

Semmosia reissuja meillä oli sitte ja sitte monta kertaa kato tuota eihä meillä ny aina ollu kuule rahhaakaan. No sitte kuitenkin mentiin sen verran, että tuota me tasattii se raha sillä lailla jokkaisen osalta näin, että me päästii, jos me haluttii, siis maksaa, mutta ku me ei aina haluttu. Niin, niin tuota mull'oli kuule tässä silimässä kuule iso valkone molli, kasvanu. Joo ja tota ollaan siellä välikössä, välikössä sitten taas ja ollaan siinä ku noustaa raput nii siihe jäätii. No konnari tullee sitte ja se ruppee kahtomaan silimääni ja tuota voi kauheeta, mikä sun silimään on tullu ja mee ny lääkäriin. Sultaha mennee kaunis silimä pilalle. Se rupes mulle toimittaaa näi, eikä se muistanu kahtoo keltää laput. [naurahtaa] Nii, se meni menoja kuule ja nii me päästii kato pummilla sitte kerta. Mmm. (5/12, 24 p. 11; 8/12, 21, p. 13)

Fare Dodging on the Train: Swedish Magazines (*Pummilla junassa: ruotsalaiset lehdet*) p. 168

Joskus oli sitte näin, että tuota me mentii siihen, oliko se nyt toise luokan vaunu, vai ei ensimmäistä ollukkaa, toise luoka vaunuu istumaa ja sitte meill'oli yks kaveri semmonen, joka oli ruotsalainen sen sukunimi. Mm, niin yks tyttö, nii ja se oli upee tyttö. Se oli kyllä nii pitkä, hoikka ja sill'oli aina ihana kampaus kuule, tämmönen korkee oikee. Siihe aikaa käytettii kato näitä rullia. Ja tuota niin se varas aina ruotsalaisia lehtiä. Joo ja me istutaan kuule ja luetaa ruotsalaista lehtee näin näin. Konnari meni aina näin. Miksei se tienny, että ei me olla oikein ruotsalaisia, mutta se ei aina välittäny. Mmm. Kyllähä ne ny sen ties, ketä tullee. Nii, miltäki asemalta. Jos sattu kato niinku Haapamäeltäki tuli paljo, nii ei ne siinä saattanu huomata sitä, kuinka, että me ny tultii Kolhosta. Sehä oli iha siinä vieressä. (5/12, 25, p. 11)

Excerpt (no title) p. 169

Että mää ku mä näin aattelen, että et miten jakson sen ehä mää ollu mikää iso ihminen, mää olin pieni, hintelä. Ja tuota mutta jollaki tavalla se on sisu tietysti nii kova, kova, että sitä mennee vaikka harmaan kiven läpitte.(5/12, p. 10)

Frightened on the Train 1: Shady-Looking Men p. 171

E: Joo Liisa lähti Helsinkiin sitte, kun se sota loppu ja se mies pääs sitte siviiliin. Niin se muutti sinne Helsinkiin. Ja tuota se mää muistan ku mää menin siellä sitte käymään sillon. Se oli sitä aikaa, ettei vielä saanu ruokaa ja mähä oli taas tietysti hamstrannu. Ja vein sinne sitte sitä ruokaa ja tuota junat oli niin täynnä, että mä justiin olin saanu istumapaikan, mut siinä oli kuule semmosia epämääräsen näkösiä herroja siinä mun eessäni siinä kun ne oli näin ne penki. Ne oli tapellu, ne oli kuule silmämustanana ja verta oli joka puolella ja niit'oli kolome kappaletta ja mää pelekäsin niin kauheesti. Siin'oli sitte yks nuori tyttö, joka oli mun mielestäni kans tullu niinku jostain sivukyliltä. Niin se oli kans arka ja me koitettii olla niinkun yhtä ja sitte tuota kun päästiin Helsingin asemalle, niin tuota mää otin sitte matkalaukkuni sieltä ylläältä, niin se toinen mies iski kiinni siihen mun matkalaukkuu, että hän, saako hän auttaa. Mä sanoin, että kiitos ei, mä jaksan tän viii itekki. Mä olin juluma. Sitte onneks siell'oli siellä toisella puolen sitä vaunua. Niin viksunäkönen nuori mies, joka seurasi sitä, että oisko sitte auttanu mua jos, ei tuota, niin niin siitä asti mull'o ollu kuule peleko junalla matkustaa. Mä en menis millää. Ku ei koskaan tiiä mitä siellä o. (5/12: 31, pp. 17–18)

Frightened in Helsinki p. 171

Ja tuota sitte tapahtu näin, että kun Liisa oli mua sitte asemalla vastassa ja me mentii, ne asu sillon tuota nii valokuvaajie huvilassa, siellä, et se ei ollu ihan Helsinkiä. Ja linja-autolla mentiin sinne sitte, no sitte ne ois laittanu tuota niin mut nukkumaan siihen yhteen huoneeseen. Niin mä sanon, että minä en mene. Minä tulen sinne missä teki ootte. Ja sinä yönä, kun tuota jos minä olisin siinä nukkunu siinä huoneessa, sinä yönä oli tultu parvekkeen kautta sen huoneen kautta, varastettu Erkin uus puku, syöty kaikkia sielä ruokaa ja juotu mehut ja varas käyny kuule. Ja kyllä mää niin pelekäsin, että ikkää ku mää täältä pois pääsen niin minen mee Helsinkiin. [nauraa] Mulle aina tapahtuu tämmöstä. (5/12, 32, p. 18)

A Worried Mother pp. 171–172

I: Sillähän mä pelekään teijänki takia. Niinko mää oon sanonu. Sehä oli ihan vitsi meiän huushollissa, ku Raija lähti Helsinkiin, nii [naurahtaa] minä aina sitte ku se laitto päälleen siinä ja nii mää menin sen viereen ja sanon, että rahoja ei levitellä, vieraitten kanssa ei puhuta, junan vaihtoo

täytyy olla varma, mä kaikki nämä tämmöset kuule latelin. Sitte mä sen huomasin, kuule ku Simo oli sillo kotona nuorena miesnä, niin tuota mä en kerinny siihen sitte selittää, ku Raija taas lähti, nii se meni sitte rahoja ei sitte levitellä, eikä tuota ku vaiheta juna, niin katsotaan juna varmaan, eikä paljo puhuta kellekkää... Se kuule lateli siinä. Nii. Mää hoksasin, että jaa, äiti asiat on menny perille. [nauraa] Eiku mull'oli semmonen hirmu aina, mä sitä pelekäsin kaikista enite. Eihän siellä tietystikää oo, onhan siellä ny konnarit ja mutta sittekki. Ku ihimine o arka, ni se o arka. Ja sitte kun Ruukilla oli niin turvallista. Nii. Siell'oli nii hyvä olla, ei siellä kukkaa käyny kenenkää kimppuu. Nii, kaikki tuns toisesa ja sitä varte mä oikeestaan en oikeen niinkun tommissa isossa paikossa ollakkaa.

I: Nii. Että niin tottunu näihin...

E: Mm. Mää oon tottuna näihin. Nii, näihin näihin kuvioihin, että se oli ainut, ainut oli tuo siihen aikaan vielä kun nuori ku oli niin tuota, sehän oli ainut tuo Ähtärin asema tai Inhan asema, sitte kirkolla käytti kato apteekki oli siinä vieressä nii, nii vähä käytti kirkolla muute, muutaku apteekissa.

I: Mm.

E: Mm, ei ollu täällä Ähtärissä mitään muuta niinku nyt. (5/12, 35, p. 18)

Road Trip Narrative 2/5: On the Vaasa Market Square (Autoreissulla 2/5: Vaasan torilla) pp. 172–173

Meillä oli aina, ku me lähetti, mun sisko ja sen mies ja niillei ollu sillon muuta ku se yks laps. Ja meillä oli jo pojat ja Raija, niin niin kyllä meilloli niin hauskaa. Aina jotain kommellusta tuli mulle tietenki. [nauraa] Se oli ihan kauheeta. Kerran kun oltii Vaasassa, no mentiin torille, ja tuota sitte mulloli kuule vaalee jakkupuku, beesvärine, ja beesväriset avokkaat, niin kengät. Nii siellä torillaoli sitte, sitä oli korjattu tai mitä sille oli tehty, siellä oli kato piki, nii pikkee laitettu, nii siihe kivityksii ja kiven lohkoihin nii mä astuin tietenki pikipalloo ja aina sano, et niks naks, niks naks, ku mä astun ja mä koitin hinkata sitä pois ja toiset mennee eellä kuule kojulta kojulle ja mä nään, seiso siinä kuule samanlaiset vaatteet oli ku, niinku oli vaarilla, mun miehellä, ja yhtä lyhyt ja mä otin kaulasta kiinni ja hinkkasin kuule kenkää hinkkasin kuule ja " kun ne perkele, kun sotkeekin kaikki paikat" mä karjasin ja se ei vastannu mulle mittää ja mä kahton. Mä sanon, että "Anteeks, väärä mies" [nauraa]. Ne kävelee siellä, kyllä niillä oli hauskaa. Kyllä ne sen näki, mutta mulle tehti aina tommosia kepposia. Niin sitte Eino lohutti mua näin, että mistä sää tiiät, että jos se ei ymmärtäny sua, jos se oli ruotsinkielinen. No maa rauhotun siitä sitte aika palijo. (8/12, 17, pp. 11–12)

Road Trip Narrative 5/5: Making faces in the Back of the Car (Autoreissulla 5/5: Ilveilyä takaikkunassa) p. 173

Kerran kuule nii, nää lapset oli aina kato sitten niinkun siinä, se oli se auto niinkun sellanen et siellä oli se matkasäilö siinä takana siinä autossa. Lapset alko sanomaa sitte, että me ei aina olla tuolla, että me ei koskaan päästä penkille, niin mä sanon, että no, mä menen sinne nyt. [nauraa] Ja mä olin siellä, mä olin siellä takana sitte ja tulee nuoria poikia autolla kuule, ne näkee mut siinä edessään. Mää näytin näin, tällä lailla näin temppuulin siellä, jos kuinka, mitä siinä tekkee, ja tuota Ville viime sano, että älä nyt hyvä ihiminen siellä temppuile, ne kahtoo mun rekisterini ja tuntee tän auton joka paikassa. Mun oli pakko vähä aikaa kun mentii, että sai pysähtyä nii, mä en enää saano olla siellä.[nauraa] Mää olin tämmönen villi. Sointuha nauro vaa sille. Sitte eihä se ny tietysti mutta pojilla ainaki oli hauskaa. Siellä toisessa autossa. Voi hyvät ihmiset. Kyllä mä nyt oon arka. En mä uskalla enää liikkua täältä mihinkää. [nauraa] (8/12, 20, p. 12)

Some Excitement in Life (*Vipinää elämään*) p. 174

Me lasketaa leikkiä, ei meitä, ei muuten kuule tulis mittä. Huumori se pitää olla kyllä. Nii, katoppas ku mää sairaalassaki, nauro mulla ne hoitajat sitte ku tuli mä tuota ne tuli noita hoijettii noita, kato ku mulle tuli vettä tänne, mun piti vielä jäläkikäteen käyä, vaikka mää olin jo päässy sairaalasta, otattamassa pois se vesi, tuolta kainalosta. Joo ja tuota ne hoitajat ruppee mun sitte siihe petille, nii ne jäi aina vähäks aikaa kuuntelee ku mää. No niin tulipa vähän vipinää tähän mun elämäni, kyllä se on ykstoikkosta ollukki. [naurahtaa] Kato ku kaikki päivät samanlaisia, nii, nii ni kyllä ne piti sen niin hauskana. Sano muuta ku asiaa. (9/12, 15, p. 8)

Illness as a High Spot (*Sairaudesta kohokohta*) p. 174

E: Nii, nii. Ja sitte tuota ny mulla ny on ollu sitte ku se tuli se nykyajan tauti. Ei siihe aikaa syövästä puhuttu mittää. Ei semmosta ollukkaa. Mut se nyt sitte iski tuota niin, joka nyt tietysti oli omalla tavallaan mun elämäni kohokohta. Aina pitää olla joku semmonen, että elämä tulee mielekkääksi.

I: Nii.

E: Se käy muute tylsäksi. Niinku oot huomannu, emmää nyt nii välittäny, vaikka se mulla oliki [nauraa].

I: Joo, se oli päinvastoin jotakin, jonka yli piti päästä ja

E: Joo, se oli taistelua justii ja sitä ihminen tarttee joka hetki. Että kun multa sairaalassaki kysyttiin, et sanottiin, että itkeekki sais, nii mää sanoin, että ei mua itketä. Teki mieli sannoo, jatkaa siihen, että tää on palijo helepompaa, kuin se mitä mää oon elämässäni teheny töitä (10/12, 10, p. 9)

Tiivistelmä

Rasvanahkainen työläinen – Sukupuoli, luokka ja työ vuonna 1927 syntyneen työläisnaisen elämäkertomuksessa

Tarkastelen väitöskirjassani vuonna 1927 syntyneen vaihdetyöntekijän Elsa Koskisen (os. Kiikkala s. 1927) suullista elämäkertomusta. Analysoin hänen kokemuksiaan työstä, luokasta ja sukupuolesta sekä näihin elämänalueisiin liittyvistä muutoksista tavoitteenani selvittää miten kertoja näkee itsensä ja paikkansa maailmassa ja miten hän rakentaa subjektiviteettiaan. Elsan elämä koskettaa ja sivuaa useita 1900-luvun puoleen väliin ja jälkipuoliskolle ajoittuvia yhteiskunnallisia muutoksia: sukupuoliroolien ja erityisesti naisen aseman muutosta, feminististen liikkeiden syntyä, sosiaalista nousua ja keskiluokkaistumista sekä hyvinvoinnin ja teknologian laajentamista. Tässä tutkimuksessa näitä muutoksia lähestytään mikrotasolla, yksilön kokemusten ja kertomusten kautta: Millainen oli Elsan elämänpolku ja mistä kokemuksista muodostui elämäkertomuksen avainkertomuksia? Miten hän kertoi itsensä suhteessa suomalaisen yhteiskunnan suuriin kertomuksiin ja kulttuurisiin ideaaleihin?

Refleksiivisyyden vakiinnuttua osaksi kulttuurintutkimuksen käytäntöä tutkijoiden edellytetään pohtivan omaa suhdettaan tutkimuskohteeseen. Tässä tutkimuksessa refleksiivisyys on merkittävässä osassa, sillä tutkittava Elsa Koskinen on oma isoäitini. Etnologit ja folkloristit ovat aiemminkin tutkineet itselleen läheisiä ihmisiä muun muassa siksi, että asetelma mahdollistaa arkipäiväisen kerronnan tallentamisen ja tarjoaa sisäpiirinäkökulman perheiden, sukujen ja paikallisyhteisöjen kulttuuriin. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus ei kuitenkaan ole perhehistorian vaan kertomusten välittämän kokemuksellisen tiedon tutkiminen. Tutkittavan ja tutkijan läheisyys näkyy aineiston luonteessa: Elsa jakoi kanssani henkilökohtaisia, tunnepitoisia ja monin paikoin myös kipeitä elämäkokemuksiaan. Hän oli kuitenkin alusta saakka tietoinen roolistaan tiedontuottajana ja puhuu paikoitellen minua laajemmalle yleisölle. Tutkimukseni tuottaakin tietoa kulttuurisesta muutoksesta, joka erottaa eri sukupolvien kokemuksia maailmasta ja pakottaa pohtimaan muutoksen ulottuvuuksia ja suuntaa. 1900-luvulle paikantuvien tapahtumien ja muutosten lisäksi Elsan kertomukset osoittavat miten ruumiillista työtä tehnyt perinteisiin sukupuolirooleihin kasvatettu työläisnainen näkee elämänsä suhteessa 2000-luvun maailmaan ja millaisin keinoin hän rakentaa toimijuuttaan näissä olosuhteissa.

Elsa syntyi seitsemäntenä lapsena tehdastyöläisen perheeseen, joka asui Inhan Tehtailla Ähtärin kunnassa Etelä-Pohjanmaalla. Perheeseen syntyi yhteensä kaksitoista lasta. Elsa ei ehtinyt käydä loppuun kansakoulua, joka suljettiin liikekannallepanon myötä talvisodan alkaessa. Kahdentoista vuoden ikäisestä Elsa palveli pikkupiikana tehtaan johdon perheissä ja aloitti tehdastyön uuden työvelvollisuuslain (1942) tultua voimaan jatkosodan aikana 15-vuoden ikäisenä. Elsa omaksui jo nuorena tehdastyön taidot ja työläisidentiteetin. Työn ohella hän toimi paikallisessa urheiluseurassa harrastaen naisvoimistelua ja näyttämötaidetta. Mentytään naimisiin tehdastyöläismiehen kanssa vuonna 1948 Elsa jäi kotiin hoitamaan perheen lapsia. Muutamassa vuosikymmenessä perheen asema muuttui. Aiemmin raudanjalostukseen keskittyneen Inhantehtaat oy:n omistava Fiskars konserni investoi uuteen teräs- ja alumiiniteknologiaan. Elsan aviomies Eino kouluttautui teknikoksi ja siirtyi työskentelemään toimihenkilöpuolelle. Lasten vartuttua Elsa palasi tehdastyöhön modernille saranalinjalle. Muutokset työyhteisössä, tehdastyössä, sosiaalisessa asemassa ja ympäröivässä yhteiskunnassa eivät kuitenkaan tapahtuneet suoraviivaisesti ja kivuttomasti. Kertoessaan elämästään Elsa pohtii elämänkulkuaan, mallien ja olosuhteiden vaikutuksia sen suuntiin ja omia valintojaan, jotka näyttävät monista eri näkökulmista kerrottujen kokemusten kautta.

Lähestyn tutkimuksessani Elsan elämäkerrontaa retrospektiivisenä dialogina, neuvotteluna subjektiviteetista, joka rakentuu yksilön elämänhistorian ja erilaisten diskurssien ja subjektipositioiden suhteissa. Tässä prosessissa on kyse mielekkään kokonaisuuden konstruomisesta, oman itsen ja omien tekojen merkityksellistämistä, kerronnallisen identiteetin luomisesta. Kertoessaan elämästään yksilö peilaa omia kokemuksiaan suhteessa toisiin ihmisiin ja ympäröivään maailmaan sekä toisten kertomuksiin. Usein elämäkertomukseen mahtuu myös erilaisia versioita minuuksista, jotka voivat olla keskenään ristiriitaisia. Yhtenäisen, koherentin minuuden muodostaminen ei olekaan välttämätöntä, vaan elämäkertomukselle keskeiset avainkertomukset voivat muodostua hämmentävien tilanteiden ympärille. Keskenään ristiriitaiset kuvaukset ja törmäykset normatiivisten käsitysten kanssa ovatkin kiinnostavia tutkimuksen kannalta.

Tutkimuksen aineistona on kaksitoista elämäkertahaastattelua, jotka on tehty vuosien 2001 ja 2004 välillä ja jotka muodostavat Elsa Koskisen suullisen elämäkertomuksen. Päästäkseni käsiin merkityksellisiin kokemuksiin ja kertojan niistä esittämiin tulkintoihin olen jakanut hajanaisen suullisen elämäkertomuksen mikronarratiiveihin, pienempiin kerronnallisiin kokonaisuuksiin, jotka seuraavat kerronnan rakennetta ja jotka sisältävät erityisen kerronnallisen jännitteen. Jännitteestä kertovat erityiset kertomukseen sisältyvät merkit kuten tunnepitoiset ilmaisut, repliikit eli suorat lainaukset toisten ihmisten puheesta, huumori tai ironia. Haastattelut, joista Elsan elämäkertomus muodostuu, sisältävät yhteensä 276 mikronarratiivia. Analyysissäni kiinnitän huomiota mikronarratiivien sisältöön, toimijoihin, tiloihin ja ajallisiin kerrostumiin sekä niiden keskinäisiin suhteisiin ja muodostamiin kerronnallisiin strategioihin, joita Elsa soveltaa arvioidessaan mennyttä elämäänsä. Nimitän lähestymistapaani kerronnan etnografiaksi. Sen lähtökohtana on huomioida niin kerronnan kommunikatiivinen luonne kuin kertomusten muoto, rakenne ja estetiikka.

Tarkastelen tutkimuksessani sukupuolta, luokkaa ja työtä huomioiden niin eletyt kokemukset kuin kertomusten diskursiiviset ulottuvuudet. Olen kiinnostunut sosiaalisten suhteiden ja kertomusten diskursiivisesta vallasta ja niissä rakentuvista subjektipositioista mutta myös elettyjen kokemusten ruumiillisuudesta ja materiaalisuudesta. Lähestynkin kertojan ruumiillisia kokemuksia ja muistoja yhtenä elämäkerronnan ulottuvuutena ja dialogin osana. Sovellan analyysissäni teoriaa sosiaalisten kategorioiden yhteenkietoutumisesta eli intersektionaalisuudesta, joka korostaa sosiaalisten suhteiden ja ulottuvuuksien monimuotoisuutta sekä sidoksia aikaan ja paikkaan.

Tutkimukseni jakautuu kolmeen analyysilukuun. Ensimmäisessä tarkastelun keskiössä ovat työssä käyvän naisen neuvottelut naisen roolista ja ideaalista. Elsan lapsuudessa, 1920- ja 1930-luvulla yhteiskunnallisessa keskustelussa korostui äitiys ja naisen rooli kodin moraalisenä selkärankana. Vaikka työläisperheiden äitien toivottiin pysyvän kotona huolehtimassa kodista ja lapsista, naimisissa olevien teollisuuden työntekijöiden määrä kasvoi. Toisen maailmansodan aikaan enenevä määrä tehtaiden työtehtävistä, myös niistä, jotka aiemmin olivat olleet ammattimiesten sarkaa, oli naisten vastuulla. Metalliteollisuuden maskuliininen työkuulttuuri seksuaalissävytteisine vitseineen asetti nuoret työläistyöt – Elsa mukaan lukien – haastavaan asemaan. Toisaalta tehdasympäristö tarjosi nuorille tytöille myös mahdollisuuden omaan kulttuuriin ja yhteisöllisyyteen, ja tehdastyöläisnaisten keskinäinen itseironinen huumori opetti käsittelemään vastoinkäymisiä.

Toinen analyysiluku pureutuu tehdasyhteisön sosiaaliseen dynamiikkaan luokkaerojen ja hierarkioiden näkökulmasta. Elsa syntyi yhteisöön, jota vielä luonnehti monelta osin perinteinen tehdaspatriarkalisuus. Tehdasyhteisön suullisessa perinteessä muistettiin edelleen vuosisadan vaihteen autoritaarinen Patruuna ja naurettiin ronskien työmiesten humalalle. Monissa

kertomuksissa korostui työläisten keskinäinen solidaarisuus ja yhteisöllisyys, kun taas järjestystä uhkaava sosiaalinen nousu näyttäytyi ongelmallisena. Elsan henkilökohtaiset kokemukset tilanteista, joissa luokkaerot tulevat ilmi, olivat monin tavoin ristiriitaisia. Hän kertoi yleensä raskaan työn hallinnasta, mutta koki häpeää vaatimattomasta taustastaan. Ristiriitaisuudestaan huolimatta työläisyys on kuitenkin Elsan ensisijainen identifikaatio ja pohja, jolle kerrottu minuus rakentuu.

Viimeisessä käsittelyluvussa pohdin muutosta ja jatkuvuutta kerronnan aikatasojen ja paikkojen näkökulmasta. Kiinnitän huomiota tapoihin, joilla Elsa kuvaa itseään sekä sosiaalista ja materiaalista ympäristöään koskevia abstrakteja muutoksia. Elsan kertomukset teknologisesta ja sosiaalisesta muutoksesta ovat usein nostalgisia. Pelkän sentimentaalisuuden sijaan nostalgiset kertomukset sisältävät kriittisen ajattelun elementtejä. Kertomukset katoavan tehdasyhteisön kokoontumispaikoista ja maamerkeistä nostavat esille ruumiillisen työn ja hierarkkisen järjestyksen tarjoaman turvan ja yhteisöllisen elämäntavan. Yhteisyys ja ryhmään kuulumisen voima korostuvat myös kertomuksissa, joissa Elsa kuvailee itseään ja omia luonteenpiirteitään. Erilaiset minuudet, villi, ujo, huolestunut ja hauska tulevat esille matkakertomuksissa, joissa Elsa vieraillee tutun tehdasyhteisön ulkopuolella. Nykyinen kertojainä kommentoi nuorempia versioitaan ja nykyelämää kaikkitietävästi itseironista huumoria viljellen – aivan kuin tehdassalin ”huumorinaiset” aikoinaan.

Elsan elämäkertomukseen sisältyy pohdintaa menneestä ja nykyisestä maailmasta, joiden erot ja jännitteet korostuvat erityisesti yhteisöllisyyden, työn luonteen ja sosiaalisen järjestyksen kohdalla. Hän rakentaa subjektiviteettiaan ja toimijuuttaan suhteessa toisiin ja nykyiseen maailmaan ennen kaikkea ruumiillisen työtä tehneenä työläisenä. Sukupuoli, työ, luokka, ikä ja muut ulottuvuudet muodostavat Elsan kertomuksissa tilanteisia ja vaihtelevia, paikoin ristiriitaisia asemia, joita Elsa suhteuttaa omiin ja muiden kokemuksiin sekä vallitseviin kulttuurisiin ideaaleihin. Tutkimalla yhden ihmisen kerrontaa ja yksittäisiä kertomuksia onkin mahdollista sisällyttää analyysiin useita risteäviä eroja. Sosiaalisten suhteiden ja dynamiikan lisäksi dialoginen lähestymistapa toi myös esiin elettyjen kokemusten ruumiillisen ja materiaalsen ulottuvuuden merkityksen tavoissa jäsentää mennyttä elämää. Ruumiilliset kokemukset voivat toimia minuutta rakentavana kerronnan elementtinä, konkreettisina muistoina muuttuvassa maailmassa.