

*"LIKE FINLANDERS DO IN FINLAND" – ASSOCIATIONS WITH FINNISHNESS
AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY IN NARRATIONS OF
FINNISH AMERICANS IN THE DOCUMENTARIES FINNISH AMERICAN LIVES
AND TRADITION BEARERS.*

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<p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>Suomalaisten maahanmuutto Pohjois-Amerikkaan jakautuu useaan eri vaiheeseen. Köyhistä agraarioloista tulleet suomalaiset olivat kovia tekemään työtä ja asettuivat usein seuduille, jotka tarjosivat heille tuttua työtä, esimerkiksi maanviljelyksen ja metsätyön parissa. Näille alueille muodostui merkittäviä suomalaiskeskittymiä, jotka mahdollistivat suomalaisen kulttuuriperimän säilymisen vuosikymmeniä.</p> <p>Tutkimuksemme keskittyy suomalaisuuden ilmenemiseen ja kulttuuri-identiteetin rakentumiseen amerikansuomalaisten keskuudessa 1980-luvulla. Tapaustutkimuksemme tavoite on selvittää, miten tietyt amerikansuomalaiset mieltävät suomalaisuuden, ja miten he rakentavat kulttuuri-identiteettiään. Tutkimusaineistomme koostuu kahdesta dokumenttielokuvasta, <i>Finnish American Lives</i> ja <i>Tradition Bearers</i>, jotka sijoittuvat amerikansuomalaisiin yhteisöihin Michiganin ja Minnesotan osavaltioissa. Ne kuvaavat amerikansuomalaisten arkea, koostuen suomalaisuuteen liittyvistä narratiiveista. Tutkimuksemme jakautuu kahteen osaan. Ensimmäisessä osassa etsimme suomalaisuuteen viittaavia miellejhtymiä, jotka jaottelimme viiteen temaattiseen kategoriaan. Toisessa osassa tutkimme dokumenttielokuvien amerikansuomalaisten kulttuuri-identiteetin rakentumista sekä edellisen osion kategoriahavaintojen avulla että henkilöiden narratiiveissa ilmenevien yhteisöön kuulumista yhdistävien uskomusten, tapojen ja arvojen kautta. Tutkimuksen keskeisenä käsitteenä on myös identiteetin rakentuminen position kautta. Diskurssin- ja narratiivintutkimuksen lisäksi huomioimme tutkimuksessamme dokumenttielokuviissa esiintyvää musiikkia, liikkuvaa kuvaa sekä musta-valkoisia valokuvia.</p> <p>Tuloksemme osoittivat dokumenttielokuvien amerikansuomalaisten havainnoivan paljon suomalaisuuden piirteitä. Muistot suomalaisuudesta, suomalaisiin yhdistetyt piirteet, työ, kieli sekä tavat ja perinteet tulivat dokumenteissa voimakkaasti esille. Kaikista toistuvimmaksi teemaksi havaitsimme työn ja työteliäisyyden arvostuksen ja tärkeyden amerikansuomalaisten elämässä. Identiteetin rakentumisen pohjana Suomen, suomalaisuuden ja suomen kielen merkitys nousi narratiiveissa tärkeäksi teemaksi. Tärkeänä tuloksena totesimmekin amerikansuomalaisen identiteetin rakentuvan paljolti oman toiminnan vertaamisella käsitykseen oikeasta suomalaisesta toimintatavasta.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Immigration, which has traditionally meant settling permanently to a country other than that of origin (Bolaffi et al. 2003: 178), has always existed. With the rise of industrialization, however, transportation both inland and overseas became easier. Furthermore, the economic unification of North America and Western Europe as well as the large numbers of unemployed workforce in Eastern Europe resulted in the popularity of immigration to North America among Europeans, with 32 million people emigrating from Europe to North America, mostly the United States, by the early twentieth century. (Kero 1986: 82-83).

Although emigration of Finns to North America began already in the 1680's, when the area now known as Finland was the eastern part of the kingdom of Sweden (Kolehmainen: 1968: 1) and continued with Finns who lived in the Norwegian Lapland emigrating in the 1860's (Kolehmainen 1977: 8), the real peak of Finnish immigration to North America was between the years 1883 and 1914, when more than 280 000 Finns emigrated there (Kolehmainen 1977: 5). Naturally, there were a variety of reasons behind emigration. Economic hardships, deadly famines and the russification of Finland, which also caused fear of an emerging war, impelled Finns to search for a better life abroad (Kolehmainen 1977: 3). As Finnish immigrants were predominantly manual workers from rural areas, they tended to settle in areas where they could make a living in fields such as mining or logging (Kolehmainen 1977: 14). Moreover, they were inclined to follow other Finnish immigrants, which often created a tight sense of community and helped Finnish immigrants to maintain their cultural heritage in terms of values, traditions and the Finnish language (Kero 1986: 92-93).

Immigration has been an interest of study in many fields, including linguistics, sociology, anthropology and ethnography. Traditionally, the perspective of immigration studies has been on the host society (Virtanen 1981: 104), and until the past few decades the interest of study has been mostly on the alleged assimilation of

immigrants into the surrounding society. More recently, a popular approach among linguistic and sociological fields is studying the identity of immigrants using tools from, for example, discourse analysis and narrative analysis. Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet (2011), for example, search for the construction of cultural identity using interview data on French Australians, and Clary-Lemon (2010), examines the self-perceptions of Irish immigrants in the United States.

Studies on Finnish Americans have found several commonly recognized and valued attributes of *Finnishness*. Examples of such studies are Palo Stoller (1996), Susag (1999), and Taramaa (2007). Palo Stoller examines Finnish American ethnic identity through the narratives received from interviews conducted on second and third generation Finnish Americans, whereas Susag studies the symbols of *Finnishness* and their importance to Finnish Americans. Taramaa, furthermore, explores traits of *Finnishness* from literary works, observing patterns of similar themes and topics.

The current study is conducted through examining two documentary films from the 1980's. The first film, *Finnish American Lives*, portrays the everyday life of a Finnish American family, where three generations coexist living and working on a farm. The second documentary, titled *Tradition Bearers* depicts the lives of Finnish Americans through narrations from four folk artists. Both documentaries are centered around similar themes, such as migrants reminiscing about their past in Finland, reasons for emigrating to America and the possible hardships they had to overcome in a new living environment. The documentaries shed light on everyday actions, values and traditions of Finnish Americans and give the viewer a glimpse of a life through joys and sorrows in the Finnish American community in the 1980's.

The present study aspires, first of all, to find out what kinds of associations with *Finnishness* can be detected from the two documentaries. The findings are divided into five thematic categories and reflected on from the historical perspective of Finnish immigrants in the United States in order to observe how *Finnishness* was

present in the Finnish American community. Secondly, this study attempts to discover how cultural identity is constructed through narratives in the documentary films. This is done by observing what kinds of expressions and attributes the characters use, as well as how the characters position themselves as, for example, active agents and passive objects.

Previous academic research was not found on the two documentaries, and therefore this case study was created for the purpose of providing new information about the portrayed Finnish American communities. At the time of filming in the 1980's those communities still barely existed, as some of the first generation Finns who had immigrated to the United States in masses in the early years of the 1900's were still alive. Thus the documentaries represent a unique time period for Finnish Americans, and such data could not be collected from the contemporary United States. Therefore, the two documentaries proved to be truly valuable in their content representing Finnish Americans.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. The study begins by introducing the most important concepts of studying cultural identity in Chapter two. Then, approaches to cultural identity are discussed from the perspective of the present study, focusing on the aspect of immigration. The aim of the chapter is to create a theoretical framework for the thesis, as well as to introduce the terminology used in the present study. The study then proceeds to examine Finnish immigrants in the United States by introducing the history of Finnish Americans in Chapter three. The focus is on explaining when and why so many Finns emigrated to America during the multiple waves of emigration. We continue to inspect how the lives of the first generation Finnish Americans and their descendants turned out to be. Next, in Chapter four, the research questions, data and methods used in this thesis are introduced, and the aims of the present study are explained. The analysis of the present study is, then, divided into two chapters; Chapter five, which observes associations with *Finnishness*, and Chapter six, which examines cultural identity. At the end of the study the key

findings and the summary of the findings are reported and placed in a context with previous research about Finnish Americans. The whole process is, then, assessed critically in Chapter seven, where possible improvements are elaborated on and some ideas for follow up studies are introduced. After the discussion a short summary of the present study is given in Chapter eight.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will introduce the most important concepts and theories in the previous research from the perspective of the current study. First, the concept of *cultural identity* is introduced and defined, and the most relevant approaches to cultural identity from the perspective of this study are contemplated. Next, the use of narratives in researching cultural identity is described. Then the key methodologies in researching cultural identity are discussed. Finally, approaches to immigrant cultural identity will be introduced.

It has to be noted that using the term cultural identity in the present study is simply a way of delimiting those features of identity, which are interesting from the outlook of this study. Thus cultural identity can be seen to overlap with terms such as *national identity and ethnic identity* (Hall 2002: 16). Furthermore, identity cannot be sliced into specific sections, but is constructed through countless factors. Lawler (2014: 7) perceives that the use of traditional categories connected to identity, such as gender, sexuality and race, reduces the complex nature of identity. According to her, the categories overlap, and are experienced differently by each individual, also when he or she identifies and positions others (ibid.). In the present study, we use identity categories for the purpose of classifying features of *Finnishness* and finding similarities from different individuals' experiences. Nevertheless we acknowledge that the categories are ambiguous and overlap with each other.

Most previous studies on Finns in North America, such as Palo Stoller (1996), Susag (1999), and Taramaa (2007), investigate specifically what is called *ethnic identity*. Huntington (2004: 31) suggests, however, that ethnic identity is based on ancestry and is therefore rather permanent, as opposed to cultural identity, which is relatively easy to adjust. He explains that by converting to a new religion or learning a new language, a person's culture changes, whilst ethnicity stays the same (ibid.). In the current study, the emphasis is on the cultural traits of Finnish Americans, and therefore the term cultural identity is preferred over ethnic identity.

2.1 Defining cultural identity

When examining the concept of cultural identity it is crucial to first understand what is meant by the words culture and identity. The term culture could be elucidated to great lengths. According to for example Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's English Dictionary (2006: 342), culture as an uncountable noun refers to the arts and philosophy, which are valuable for people in a civilization. As a countable noun, *a* culture can describe either the beliefs, way of life and art of a particular civilization, or the habits and behavioral norms of a group. For the purpose of the present study, however, culture has been quite well defined by Collier and Thomas (1988: 102-103). According to them, culture is a system which is transmitted historically and which shares a set of symbols, meanings and norms. It can refer to any system of symbols which is recognized by individuals (ibid.). Therefore it is not always bound to a geographical area or to a physical community.

Identity, also being an equivocal term, requires a little more contemplation. Burr (2002: 4-5) suggests that the contemporary conception of a human having unique individual traits dates back to the Renaissance, when on the one hand skepticism towards the Bible grew, and on the other hand value was set on individual ideas and opinions. According to Hall (2002: 21) three conceptions of identity can be distinguished; the enlightenment subject, the sociological subject and the postmodern

subject. The enlightenment subject was seen as possessing an unchanging and unique core, and the possible changes in an individual's behavior were seen as attempts of bringing out one's identity (ibid.). The modernization of the world generated a more complicated view of a sociological subject, whose inner self was not autonomous, but was created in relation to significant others as well as to society (Hall 2002: 21-22). This sociological subject was seen to have an identity, which was constantly evolving (ibid.). Hall (2002: 22-23) suggests that a contemporary, commonly recognized outlook on identity is the postmodern concept of a subject who does not have a stable and coherent identity. Identity is seen as constantly changing and adapting (ibid.) Furthermore, the idea of a postmodern identity includes the conception of an individual possessing several different identities which can overlap or even contradict each other (ibid.).

Identity is seen to consist of factors such as gender, age, occupation, social class, and living environment (Brück 1988: 77). The definitions of identity fluctuate not only by Hall's distinction but also depending on the field of research. It can still be seen as an inner property which resonates from the self or an outcome of the social context and other external factors (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 155). Even though there is no definite consensus on what identity essentially is and how it is established, many linguists see identity as linguistic and discursive constructions (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 157-158). This is seen as an important way of identity construction also by our study. Furthermore, the present study concentrates on cultural features of identity, and thus social interaction is seen important on cultural identity (ibid.).

The concept of cultural identity, then, can be defined to mean the identity of an individual in relation to a group, which often shares characteristics such as geographical origin and ethnicity (Unger 2011: 811). It is present in every individual's daily life and is materialized in values, decision-making and actions, among other things (ibid.). According to Collier and Thomas (1988: 113) cultural identity requires

not only personal identification with a group, but also acknowledged acceptance by that group. They continue that the group is united by shared ideas of, for example, expected behavior, as well as shared sets of symbols. Liu and Lê (2011: 52) accentuate the importance an individual's sense of belonging to a cultural group has on cultural identification.

According to Hall's (2002: 19) definition, cultural identity is first and foremost identification to national cultures. It can be questioned, however, whether current circumstances encourage stable, national identification. People move from one country to another, perhaps more than ever, and may not in fact have a permanent place of residence. Huntington (2004: 137) gives an example of the American society, where according to him the importance of patriotism and nationalism has steadily declined since the 1960's. Simultaneously the importance of other features, such as race and gender has grown to replace the dominance of nationality as the most important feature of identity (Huntington 2004: 138). However, after the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 in New York City and Washington, D.C., nationalism and patriotism have increased (Huntington 2004: 5).

As can be noted from the aforementioned definitions, there are multiple perspectives on cultural identity. Furthermore, the construction of cultural identity incorporates numerous factors such as ethnicity, language use, religion (Hall 2002: 19), tradition, social arrangements, thinking patterns (Liu and Lê 2011: 52) et cetera. Thus, an individual's cultural identity is not easily, if at all, definable or noticeable from the outside, nor can an equation be created to calculate cultural identity using the factors connected to it. It is important to acknowledge that a person is not born with a cultural identity, and furthermore, cultural identity cannot be seen as a permanent trait. On the contrary, the development of identity continues throughout an individual's life (Unger 2011: 813). Everyone does, moreover, possess multiple identities, which are displayed in different situations. People's lives span over several domains where different identities are present. As an example, functioning as a

secretary at work, a parent at home and a coach at a football practice can bring out different identities in one individual. These multiple identities can also occur in a person's cultural identity.

Even though identity has traditionally been perceived as an inner definition of self, modern researchers argue that it is mainly constructed through discourse. Hall (2002: 39), for example, claims that identity is constructed through biographies which people form of themselves, and which arrange a coherent unity from incoherent pieces. He also argues that in describing one's cultural identity, one of the first things that often comes forward is nationality, even though cultural identity is not coded in our genes (Hall 2002: 45). Furthermore, as Huntington (2004: 31) explains it, one can begin to identify with different symbols and accept different values, which then reduces the importance of genetic origin. It can be seen, however, that an individual grows into certain behavioral models and sets of symbols and sees this important in the identification of self. In a narrow view, identification to especially a rather homogenous nation can be seen as ethnic identity. In the present study, then, the term cultural identity is seen to include the view of ethnic identity, but also more broadly sets of shared beliefs, values and behavior shared by an immigrant group of the same origin. The interest in cultural identity from the perspective of this study emerges from finding cultural traits, which firstly, connect the individuals of a group of immigrants to each other and secondly, connect the immigrant group and its culture to their country and culture of origin.

2.2 Approaches to cultural identity

There have been various studies of cultural identity in the fields of social studies and linguistics. The subjects are often examined as sharing certain qualities with each other or a group, while differing from other groups, the members of which share different qualities. Recently interest on for example online communities has grown, but more traditionally natural groups in societies or communities have been the

subject of interest. Most of these groups can be defined as minorities or other easily outlined groups such as different age groups (Erikson 1959). Studies which have been conducted on cultural identity have often concentrated on, for example, linguistic choices regarding to sameness and otherness, found in narratives. As an example, Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet (2011) and Clary-Lemon (2010) focus on immigrant cultural identity and aim to reveal how immigrants use words such as *us* and *them*, *here* and *there*, and make other lexical choices to construct their cultural identity. Other ways of studying cultural identity have examined for example the connection between language choice and identity (e.g. Hansen, Moissinac, Renteria and Razo 2010), or the cultural identity of a language learner in relation to the target language and culture (e.g. Hay and Simmons 2011), which mostly take a sociolinguistic approach on cultural identity. Finally, cultural identity can also be approached from the viewpoint of culture-related symbolism. For example Hiipakka Lockwood (1988) examined the cultural features of Finnish American immigrants by focusing on three cultural elements: sauna, pasty and St. Urho festivities.

In the following units we will consider fields and methods which provide the tools for the present study. Firstly, an overview of narrative analysis is provided. Next, the most important approaches to cultural identity, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, are introduced. Finally, a separate section is dedicated to explaining approaches to immigrant cultural identity.

2.2.1 Analyzing cultural identity through narratives

Narratives are present in daily communication between people. They can be truths or fictional stories and can cover almost everything. Behind a narrative there is generally a sequentially occurring narration of events (De Fina 2003: 11). With the help of sequentiality, a coherent chronology of events is created (*ibid.*). Narratives always appear in context, both situationally and culturally (Ben-Amos 1993: 215-216). In other words, stories are always told with the audience in mind, in terms of the context

of the storytelling as well as in terms of the cultural knowledge of the audience. Both the identity which defines a culture (Hall 2002: 47) and a cultural identity of an individual (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 157-158) are based on and described by narratives. As an example, national identity of a people is strongly maintained and enforced by stories of the past. The stories link the past and the present and create a unity, in other words an idea which is identifiable by an individual (Hall 2002: 47). Cultural identity, which often but not always includes the concept of a national identity as well, can remain unchanged even when an individual has lived in a foreign nation for decades (Bausinger 1999: 13-14).

In addition to fictional and true stories, narratives can be divided into various other categories. They can be oral or written histories and can consist of full biographies or shorter accounts of specific events. On the one hand, full biographies give a comprehensive account of events, and furthermore ambiguously review the goals, attitudes and justifications behind these life choices (Portelli 1998: 35-36). On the other hand, shorter accounts of specific past events are more descriptive and detailed in terms of events and emotions, but can be similarly used for examining identity construction (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 159). As an example, Labov conducted a narrative analysis on people's descriptions on times when they had been "in danger of dying" which he then analyzed from the point of view of linguistic features such as intensifiers and comparators, which bring vividness to the stories (Labov 1972: 354-355).

Even though there is no one prototype of a narrative, it certainly is structurally connected to a story. As mentioned earlier, events in narratives tend to occur in sequential and temporal order, exactly like those in stories (De Fina 2003: 12-13). Additionally, it is important that the narrative is structured understandably, which makes it tellable (ibid.). It is anticipated that it includes features which are interesting, unusual, surprising or atypical. These are valuable in the structure of a narrative because they make the story worth telling and listening to.

Those narratives which are true stories, can on occasion describe habits and the present time, but are more typically descriptions of the past. These oral or written accounts of the past can be called memories. Memories as narratives are strongly influenced by societies and the phenomena of their time. Personal memories are clearly always unique to the individual. Nevertheless, similarities between the stories of people who share a culture can be spotted. (Finnegan 1998: 179) An example of a group who share at least some ideas in their life stories are immigrants. Especially immigrants who are of the same origin, but also immigrants of different origin who share the same host community, repeatedly raise similar themes, such as a dream of a better life, in their life histories (Werbner 1980: 46 cited by Finnegan 1998: 179-180).

Most studies on cultural identity use narratives as at least part of the data. The narratives can be either fictional stories or stories about authentic events, and they can be conducted as interviews, recordings of conversations or written data such as newspaper articles, novels or autobiographies. Taramaa (2007) studied how five second and third generation Finnish American authors expressed *Finnishness* in their fictional literary production. Using cognitive analysis of cultural models, Finnish cultural norms and values, as well as symbols of Finnish American identity, are examined and categorized. Even though the data in the study conducted by Taramaa is fictional, similar themes can also be examined from a data which comprises of factual narratives, such as interviews.

2.2.2 Discourse analytic and sociolinguistic tools for examining cultural identity

Like discussed earlier in this study, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics alike share the view that cultural identity is fluid, that it is constructed through discourse, and that it evolves throughout an individual's life (Hall 2002: 39, Unger 2011: 813). As Bamberg, De Fina and Schiffrin suggest, language studies in general are not interested in whether people have a certain identity or not, or generally determining what identity is, but rather how identity is constructed (2011: 178). Even though

sociolinguistics and discourse analysis are presented as separate approaches, they are often used alongside with each other in studies of cultural identity, and can be thought to overlap in interpretations of identity. In this subsection, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics are first introduced. Secondly, the way these two branches conceptualize the study of cultural identity is examined. Thirdly, the perspective of the investigation of cultural identity is presented, and finally the tools for investigating cultural identity are demonstrated.

According to Hardy and Nelson (2002: 3), the term discourse analysis refers to the study of discourse in relation to reality. Discourse analysis is therefore not limited to small grammatical units like more traditional ways of analyzing language (Fairclough 1992: 3). On the contrary, texts are located in a context where historical and societal factors are also taken into consideration, and the aim is then to see how phenomena are constructed through discourse (Hardy and Nelson 2002: 4-6). The construction of cultural identity through discourse can be one of these phenomena which are studied using discourse analytic tools. Discourse analysis has in fact been a very popular approach among linguists researching cultural identity (see e.g. Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet 2011; Hardy and Nelson 2002).

Sociolinguistics is a broad discipline which is mostly concerned about language use in a social context, and interested in the relationship between these two factors (Yule 2006: 205). According to Bell (2014: 2-3), the field of sociolinguistics is interested in how language is used by individuals to express their identity and to communicate with others. Just like discourse analysis, also sociolinguistics often emphasizes that context is an important feature of language use. Holmes (2013: 2) states that language use often changes in order to adjust to the appropriateness of a context. One does not, for example, use the same kind of language when addressing parents, children, teachers or a judge. Another type of language variation according to Holmes (2013: 3) is language use when expressing social identity. As an example, she notes that adolescents use certain language in order to mark themselves as belonging to a group.

This approach can also be transferred to the study of cultural identity; to study how members of a culture talk in order to express their membership of a culture.

In the field of discourse analysis, cultural identity is studied by observing certain elements inside discourse. Lexical and syntactic choices, such as personal pronouns, are thought to reveal an individual's identity when they are used in the environment in which the individual normally operates (Meinhof and Galasiński 2005: 13-14). A discourse analytic view of identity construction aims to show how people form and negotiate identities in discourse, and furthermore how identity is constructed and positioned in relation to other people (Meinhof and Galasiński 2005: 13). Cultural identity can thus be conceptualized as the construction composed of linguistic choices, which position the individual's identity somewhere in relation to the identities of other individuals. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 163). According to Meinhof and Galasiński (2005: 15), the construction of cultural identity comprises of positioning oneself to belong in a certain group which shares a culture. It is important to note, furthermore, that as one expresses belonging to one or more cultural groups, one also differentiates oneself from other groups with dissimilar cultural characteristics.

From the point of view of sociolinguistics, the interesting component in studying identity is the linguistic variation of certain groups of people. Speakers are seen to be able to choose the way in which they introduce referential information, and can therefore also choose to either follow certain customs or diverge from them. On account of these choices, alongside with other intentionally chosen personal features such as clothing and hairstyle, speakers can mark belonging to or divergence from any group, or, for the purpose of the present study, their cultural identity. It is important to acknowledge that the aforementioned choices only become valid in context since identity is supposedly negotiated in speech acts with others. Furthermore, another important point is that more often than not they are subconscious, notwithstanding the fact that they, in this perspective, are key elements

of one's expression of identity. (Bamberg et al. 2011: 184-186). Schiffrin (1996: 172) points out that social processes are conducted through using words. Hence, the fundamental conceptualization of cultural identity according to sociolinguistic theory is that identity is marked in speech acts and in appearance which connects or separates certain person(s) from certain other person(s).

When it comes to the phenomena investigated by discourse analysis, Bamberg et al. (2011: 181) remark that discourse theorists are interested in understanding the connection between literal utterances, how they are said, and what their contextual functions are. Clary-Lemon (2010: 13-14) aims to describe the cultural identity of Irish immigrants with the help of tools from discourse analysis. In the study, which takes a historical perspective on the recorded oral histories of immigrants, the interest is on the responses to questions about national identity, and furthermore about expressions of immigrant identity. The study also investigates the strategies that are used when constructing these two aspects of identity. It is important to remember that even though the aforementioned features are the focus of the study, discourse analytic studies like this one always take into account also the situational context in which the discourse takes place. This holds true also with most studies in sociolinguistics.

From a sociolinguistic outlook, contemporary research is especially interested in investigating the means of integrating and differentiating oneself from the surrounding cultural context (Bamberg et al. 2011: 184). This is seen as one of three dilemmatic questions, which are investigated by sociolinguistics among other fields that study cultural identity. The other two are whether an individual constructs the world or the world constructs the individual, and finally how an individual's identity can change in an unchanging situation, or vice versa how an individual can maintain his or her identity in a changing context (Bamberg et al. 2011: 178-179). In sociolinguistic studies features such as pronunciation and accent are of interest. One of the profound examples is Labov's (1972) study on vernacular language variation among African Americans in urban centers in the United States. Both discourse

analysis and sociolinguistics are not only concerned with what is being said, but also on how it is being said. Schiffrin (1996: 172) investigates the revealing and resolving of family issues through language use among Jewish-American women. In the study, which has a sociolinguistic framework, the essential subject of investigation is how language is used in the aforementioned situation, inclusive the stress and intonation of words.

The methods of investigating cultural identity from a discourse analytic perspective emanate from the lexical level. Meinhof and Galasiński (2005: 18) introduce several frameworks which can be used in order to investigate different aspects of identity. Firstly, cultural identity can be approached in terms of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure (Fairclough 1992: 75). Fairclough's template divides discourse into different levels and examining those levels separately. Secondly, they introduce Halliday (1978: 45-46) and his three structural configurations, which are ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language. By ideational Halliday means the ability to express the experienced external and inner worlds, by interpersonal he refers to the ability to communicate with others, and by textual the operational relevance of the speech act (ibid.). This framework fills in the gap between investigating the purpose of the language use, the lexical and grammatical choices made by the speaker, and the deliberate performance of communicating.

Even though discourse analytic frameworks for studying identity are very diversified, identity can also be examined by concentrating on one or more simple features of discourse. As an example, Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet (2011), who base their study on the work of Meinhof and Galasiński (2005), concentrate exclusively on lexical choices when studying the identity of French immigrants in Australia. In their study, the tools for investigating and analyzing cultural identity are pronominal choices such as *we* and *they*, alongside with modal and lexical verbs and adverbs, which are then interpreted as expressing elements such as obligation, volition and uncertainty (Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet 2011: 91-92).

In sociolinguistic studies, the tools for investigating cultural identity are quite similar to the discourse analytic tools. According to Marra (2015: 373-374) research in language and culture in sociolinguistics can be divided in two competing approaches, interactional sociolinguistics and social constructionism. Interactional sociolinguistics investigates details of communication which takes place between interlocutors of different cultural background (Marra 2015: 375). Also social constructionism focuses on interaction, but avoids using pre-existing identity categories and rather observes how identity is constructed in negotiation (Marra 2015: 377-378). Sociolinguistic studies can therefore observe similar features than discourse analysis, like lexical and grammatical choices in discourse, verbalizing experiences and positioning oneself in relation to others. However, in sociolinguistic studies prosodic features such as word stress and pronunciation are often included in the process of examination (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 27, Schiffrin 1996: 177).

As mentioned above, sociolinguistic and discourse analytic studies can investigate the positioning of oneself in relation to others. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 162) describe a contemporary view of positioning, a concept which was introduced by Davies and Harré in 1990. Even though not originally created for narrative analysis, Bamberg (1997: 336-337) introduces three levels on which positioning can be analyzed as a discursive practice in narratives: the positioning of the characters in relation to one another, the speaker's position in relation to the audience, and the narrators' positioning of themselves to themselves. The first level investigates those linguistic means which mark the person as an active agent or a passive object; the second level looks at how the narrators position themselves to the audience, for example by attempting to instruct the audience, or by explaining themselves and setting blame on others; the third level examines the linguistic devices which go beyond the narration and to the desired impression the narrators want to give about themselves (ibid.). According to De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 163) the focus of these levels of positioning is not on the contents of the story, but on the linguistic means used to

construct identity. Bamberg's framework on positioning has been used as the basis of and further developed by several other works, such as Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2008) and Coupland and Coupland (2004) (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 164-166). However, Bamberg's framework is adequate from the perspective of our study, as it is used to support the findings in Chapter six where the construction of identity by certain characters of the documentaries is examined.

Naturally there are disagreements between scholars upon reliable tools used in examining identity. For example Meinhof and Galasiński (2005: 14-17) argue that using personal pronouns or names of nationalities as tools for investigating an individual's identity can be misleading. Firstly, using the personal pronoun *we* does not always mean that one identifies oneself to the group of which the pronoun is used. Secondly, not everyone identifies oneself with one's nationality, especially in the case of dual citizenship (2005: 16). It can be stated that there is not a key feature that automatically reveals one's identity. However, using some of the tools mentioned earlier in the present study, as well as always situating the discourse in context, it is possible to make relevant and reliable interpretations about cultural identity.

2.2.3 Approaches to immigrant cultural identity

According to Bausinger (1999: 13), an individual's identity is readjusted in unfamiliar and challenging situations. From the point of view of the present study, these complex ideas of on the one hand maintaining one's identity, and on the other hand readjusting it, are especially interesting in the context of immigrants, who move from one country and from a community, which shares cultural features to a different country and to a community which might share cultural features unfamiliar to the immigrant. There are often two kinds of conceptions about immigrant cultural identity; it is seen either as a fluid attempt to melt into the host society, or as a more stable identity transferred from the culture of origin (Sumartojo 2012: 13-14).

Virtanen (1981: 104) presents a view according to which research on immigrant cultural identity has mostly been conducted in countries that have received immigrants, and not in the countries of origin of these immigrants. Therefore the approach has often been on what effects these immigrants have on host societies and how they could adapt into the host culture. Furthermore, factors affecting identity, such as the desire of the immigrants to return home one day, have not been taken into consideration. After all, many Finnish immigrants in The United States of America, for example, did not intend to stay for a lifetime (Virtanen 1981: 107). More recently the focus of many studies has shifted to immigrant communities and towards how they are regarded by majorities. Messer, Schroeder and Wodak (2012: X-XI) have collected a number of contemporary approaches for studying migration, and devote sections for how immigrants are presented in the media, and for studying immigrants' complex identities and their issues of belonging.

Two studies already discussed in the previous sections, Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet (2011), and Clary-Lemon (2010), which investigate immigrant cultural identity using discourse analytic tools, also offer their perspectives on immigrant cultural identity. A main approach to immigrant cultural identity in these two studies is to see what separates *us* from *them*, *here* from *there*, and to discover what is considered to be *home*. In other words, the purpose is to find out whether and to what extent immigrants identify with the cultural features of their origin as opposed to the cultural features found in the receiving country. One possible method of studying immigrants' belonging and the way they position themselves between the Old and the New Country, is to look at the linguistic features of immigrant narratives. Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet (2011: 92-93), for instance, study the use of pronominal reference, and modality in the forms of obligation, necessity and volition. According to Meinhof and Galasiński (2005: 50, 65) pronominal reference as well the use of certain resources and the omission of others carry an important role in conveying the expressive value in the narratives of immigrants.

Many early studies on immigrant cultural identity hypothesized that it was inevitable for immigrants to adjust to the “American culture”. Hence the culture of ethnic communities was often studied from the perspective of how long it survived (Hiipakka Lockwood 1988: 464). Virtanen (1981: 105-106) claims that scholars were divided into believing either that the original cultural identity is actively maintained by immigrants, or that immigrants try to assimilate into the new culture as profoundly as possible, with the purpose of improving the lives of their children. Even in the second group, nonetheless, aspects of their original cultural and ethnic identity are preserved. A more recent perspective provided by Clary-Lemon (2010: 8), recognizes that there are different possibilities of immigrant identity. An immigrant can identify oneself completely with home or vice versa with the host society, but also as an immigrant or as something in between the two cultures.

When approaching the concept of immigrant cultural identity, it is also justifiable to question the connection between the actual national culture and the culture of an immigrant group. Hiipakka Lockwood (1990: 4-5) notes that the impression in the United States is that cultural traits of immigrant groups are the spitting images of their original national cultures. This is also the perspective which earlier studies on immigrant cultural identities took, as immigrant groups were viewed as a separate phenomenon from the surrounding society (Hiipakka Lockwood 1988: 464). However, as cultures are in constant motion, immigrants adapt their traditions and conventions to the life in a new context, as well as adopt traditions and conventions typical to their host societies.

The essence of immigrant cultural identity is a complex one, as it probably, but not certainly, includes elements from the cultural features of both home and host societies. Furthermore, immigrants from different origins can create new, shared cultural identities, which unify these immigrants and separate them from both their host and home societies (Hall 2002: 71-72). In this chapter, the concept of cultural identity and the tools for examining it were introduced from the perspective relevant

for the current study. The next chapter briefly presents the history of Finnish immigrants in the United States, as well as introduces applicable research on Finnish Americans.

3 FINNISH IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The present study focuses on the cultural identity of Finnish Americans. It is necessary to look at the historical reasons behind the immigration of Finns to America, in order to receive a deeper understanding on also the present culture of Finnish Americans. After all, many values which occur frequently in the narratives of Finnish Americans from the 1980's stem from the hardships faced by earlier generations of Finns emigrating to the United States of America. As an example, Maki (1993-1994: 13-14) jokingly dispenses the following advice to third generation Finnish American women: *"Save all worn-out clothing for carpet rags." "Bake your own bread." "Sew your own clothes, and your family's too." "Be modest. This applies both to demeanor and dress." "Your hands should never be idle. Keep them occupied with handwork if they would otherwise be empty." "People should help each other. Do not ask anyone for help."* Even though written in 1991, these values come from a time when they were essential to survival and success in life. To some extent, however, they still describe Finnish American demeanor. As Leinonen's (2014: 309) research suggests, many descendants of Finns in American perceive *Finnishness* in a national romantic way which derives directly from the agricultural Finland of the past, with little connection to the contemporary one.

In the following section we will first look at the history of Finnish immigrants in The United States of America; when immigration occurred, what were the reasons behind it and how the American experience eventuated to be. We will then inspect the communal life of the ordinary immigrants and their descendants. Finally, Finnish American culture in The United States of America is examined through descriptions and previous studies.

3.1 History

Compared to many other areas in Europe, the emigration of Finns happened rather late (Kero 1986: 120). In the United States, immigrants were divided into two groups, the "old" and "new" immigrants. The old immigrants were mostly Western Europeans, such as Germans or Scandinavians, and they arrived to the country mainly by the end of 1880's. The new immigrants came mostly from Eastern and Southern Europe and started arriving in the early twentieth century. Finnish immigrants belonged to the latter category (Kero 1997: 18-19)

The history of Finnish immigrants in North America does, however, date already back to the 1680's. At the time, the present area of Finland was reigned by the Swedish crown, and about half of the Swedish settlers arriving to North America are believed to be Finns. A settlement, which was named Finland, was established west of the Delaware River. (Kolehmainen 1968: 1). These first Finnish immigrants, however, were ahead of their time, as it took another 200 years for immigration to become accessible among a wider population.

"The long-term overseas movement" of Finnish immigration can be divided into various waves of emigration. With the exception of the Sweden Finns in the 1600's (Kolehmainen 1968: 1), emigration to America began in the 1860's by those Finns who were settled in the Norwegian Lapland (Kolehmainen 1977: 8). It is only after 1893, nevertheless, when the statistics of Finnish immigration overseas can be trusted to be more accurate. According to Kolehmainen (1977: 5), the first compiled statistics of Finnish immigration reveal that between the years 1883 and 1914, the number of Finns emigrating overseas from the Grand Duchy of Finland was 282 943. Kolehmainen (1977: 6) continues by stating that during that period of time the overseas movement was the highest in the west coast of Finland, where more than half of the Finnish immigrants originated in. Furthermore, the majority of the Finnish immigrants came from rural areas and thus worked in agriculture. (Kolehmainen

1977: 14). According to Roinila (2012: 3), the second major wave of emigration from Finland occurred before and during the years of World War I, peaking between 1914 and 1918. Under the time a total of 20 513 Finns landed in the American soil. In the 1920's, however, migration to Canada started to gain ground among Finnish people due to more restrictive laws concerning immigration coming into effect in the United States. (Kolehmainen 1977: 6). After the legislation restricted immigration, emigration from Finland to the United States decreased, with the exception of two somewhat big waves of emigration in the 20th century. According to Wargelin (n.d.), the first one of them occurred after World War II and the latter one in the 1970's and 1980's due to Finnish know-how in the IT field causing an increasing demand of Finnish workforce in the United States.

Stories about the land of dreams and opportunities spread first among the educated and from them to the working population. The polished picture about life in America presented by newspapers and travel diaries attracted people to move to America to look for a better life. Letter correspondence between immigrants in America and their loved ones in Finland largely influenced the image about life in America. (Kero 1986: 123-125). A letter written in 1903 gives an example about the possible embellished picture created by these immigrants:

"...here even a beggar is in a better position than a petty landowner in Finland, but only one who is truly lazy has to beg here. There is no shortage of money, food or any goods. It is such a delicious sublime feeling that it sincerely breaks my heart to know how destitute the poor in the home country are." (Kero 1986: 124; our translation)

The reasons behind emigration from Finland to the United States of America are no different from the universal reasons behind immigration in general. Most immigrants decided to leave their home country, because there was not enough work and the standard of living was very low. Emigration was seen as the only opportunity to seek a better life. Furthermore, threats such as the russification of Finland as well as the

emerging war caused a desire to flee the country. (Kero 1986: 92-93). The fear of warfare became evident for Finnish males in 1878 when the act of mandatory military service was legislated. Another reason for fleeing the country was the several famines caused by severe weather conditions. The famines resulted in the deaths of every thirteenth Finnish inhabitant. The most fatal years of famine suppressed Finland in the years between 1862 and 1868 but hunger recurred in 1892 and 1903 compelling Finns to search for better opportunities abroad. (Knipping 2008: 9-10). Also the image of wealth attracted many Finns to move to America. There was, for example, a saying, which uttered that in America gold could be cut "with a wooden knife". (Hoglund 1979: 15). However, there were a number of immigrants who simply wanted to see the world, have an adventure or imitate those who had already left Finland (Kero 1986: 92-93). Furthermore, Kolehmainen (1977: 4) suggests that there were also other motives for emigrating to America, for example, conflicts faced at home in Finland.

Based on the number of Finns populating the northern parts of the United States, where the climate resembles Finland's cold and snowy weather with lakes and forests, it can be concluded that the geographical similarities were most likely a key factor in deciding the place for settling in. Another reason the Northern states attracted Finns was that the land provided suitable employment and thus guaranteed a secure livelihood for them and their families. (Kolehmainen 1977: 35-36). The most important states for Finnish immigrants were Michigan, which by the 1920's had 30 096 and Minnesota, which had 29 108 Finns living in them. Other states with notable populations of Finnish immigrants were Massachusetts (14 570), New York (12 504), Washington (11 863), California (7 053), Wisconsin (6 757), Ohio (6 406), and Oregon (6 050). (Kolehmainen 1968: 10).

As mentioned earlier, many Finns who entered the United States were agricultural laborers, and thus categorized as manual workers. Most Finnish men were employed as general laborers and worked in the very bottom ranks (Hoglund 1979: 62). According to Kolehmainen (1968: 11-12), Finnish men were known for being suitable

for physical labor and furthermore for being hard working, even to the point where it was sometimes a disadvantage in cooperating with other workers. Many women arrived to the country without husbands or families, and therefore needed to take upon jobs in order to make a living (Hoglund 1979: 83). Finnish women often took up domestic positions, and were indeed regarded highly as maids and other domestic workers (Kolehmainen 1968: 13). Kolehmainen (1977: 83) also explains that it was quite typical in Finnish American communities that women would do even heavy physical labor. In Michigan, Finns made their livelihood mostly by working in the copper mining industry (Kero 1996: 124-125). Also sawmills and other forest-work in areas such as Michigan and Oregon attracted Finns, the wood industry having been a major employer of Finns already in Finland (Kero 1996: 125, Kolehmainen 1968: 10-11). In southern Michigan and in Minnesota numerous Finnish immigrants also worked on the farms, which was another job already familiar to Finns (Kero 1976: 76-78). In addition to mines, sawmills and farms, there are endless smaller occupations Finns took up in the United States. In Detroit, the rising car industry employed Finnish workers (Kero 1996: 125), while others worked as fishermen, factory workers, tailors, carpenters and goldsmiths, to name a few (Kolehmainen 1968: 12-13).

Because of the Homestead Act of 1862, Finnish immigrants could gain their own land close to free of charge. Many Finns were amazed at this opportunity and also took advantage of it, many coming from poor rural areas and working for landowners back in Finland. Therefore Finnish farms were built especially in the Upper Midwest region of the United States, where there were still many available homesteads. To gain the homestead for a minimal fee, the homesteaders were to reside on the land and be able to prove that they managed to successfully farm it for five years. (Alanen 1981: 73)

Even though many Finns immigrated to America in the turn of the century, it was neither an easy trip nor a cheap one. Ships would first sail to England, where the immigrants had to wait for days until finally continuing the trip towards America. In

1890, a trip from Hanko to New York is said to have cost around 150 Finnish marks. People mainly financed their passage with the life savings of one's own, or those of relatives. Some immigrants used borrowed money, and some received help from America, from for example family or friends. (Kolehmainen 1968: 7). Most immigrants traveled in the lowest class, where conditions were described horrendous (Hoglund 1979: 8-9). Despite the conditions, Finns were also known to visit their home country rather often (Kolehmainen 1968: 11).

3.2 Communal Life

It is often believed that immigrants moved to the United States for a permanent residence. However, many Finnish immigrants, like many immigrants in general, only intended to work in the United States for a few years and return home with a fortune made overseas (Virtanen 1981: 107). Statistics show that some 30 to 40 per cent of those who traveled to the United States also returned to Finland, some of whom are likely to have left the country again at a later time (Hoglund 1979: 8). Even though many returned, the majority of the immigrants nevertheless settled permanently in the United States, whether it was their initial purpose or not. The ones who stayed built their own communities where mostly everything could be managed in Finnish and according to Finnish customs. Others would describe these tight Finnish communities as "clannish" (Loukinen 1979: 15).

Among the first Finnish immigrant groups to start their own church in the United States were the Laestadian Lutherans, who formed a church called the Apostolic Lutheran in the 1870's (Hoglund 1979: 41-42). Most Finnish immigrants belonged to the Lutheran church, and it was only in 1890 that the Finnish American Evangelical Lutheran Church was established. It followed the liturgical convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland but was structured after the model of other synods in the United States. In 1898, dissatisfied with the similarities between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the newly established Finnish American

Evangelical Lutheran Church, a branch was separated from the church. A rival congregation, the National Evangelical Lutheran Church, was established. In the 1960's, these churches, which had until then functioned in the Finnish language and among Finnish traditions, merged into other English-speaking, Lutheran congregations. (Kolehmainen 1968: 18-19).

When Finns first started arriving to America in masses, many received there the only formal education they had. As stated earlier in Section 3.1, many immigrants came from the rural areas of Finland's west coast where the development of the educational system lagged behind, although many were able to read and write (Hoglund 1979: 19-20). Second generation immigrant children attended regular American comprehensive schools, and were mostly forced to only use English, and attitudes towards foreign languages were often negative, clearly depending on the teacher (Martin and Jönsson-Korhola 1993: 18). From the late 19th century up until the second half of the 20th century nationalist thoughts spreading in Europe were seen as a threat to American unity (Karjalainen 2012: 33). Therefore integrating immigrants into the surrounding, the English-speaking society was seen to be very important and considerable funds were invested in educating immigrant children into becoming English-speaking Americans (ibid.). As Kolehmainen (1968: 29) states, Finnish immigrants did, however, consider it important to teach children how to read and write Finnish before they began their first year of American school. According to Hoglund, after starting school children often began to identify themselves as Americans, preferred speaking English rather than Finnish and felt like deceivers at home for not using the native language of the parents (1979: 129). When the children of the second generation grew up, they often aspired after a more americanized life, abandoning the family farms and moving to urban areas after better opportunities (Kolehmainen 1968: 16).

Even though immigrant children went to American primary schools, the Finnish community did take care of the education of its members. Two educational

institutions were founded by religious organizations. The Finnish American Lutheran Church founded Suomi College in Michigan in 1896 and the National Finnish Lutheran Church founded Work People's College in Minnesota 1903. Suomi College offered a two-year program, where students could study liberal arts as well as gain a formal theological training, and preserve their cultural heritage (Finlandia University web page). The program was modeled after the Finnish preparatory academy which prepared students to enter universities (Kolehmainen 1968: 18-19). The Work People's College was founded to answer the need for educating the wider masses who could not enter a long and broad program. In addition to courses in liberal arts, the school also offered studies in business and other practical matters. In the early years, the college concentrated on religious instruction. However, after the socialist movement began to spread among Finnish laborers, socialists purchased the majority of the shares of the college, and began to diminish the amount of religious studies and emphasize instruction in science economics instead. (Heinilä 1995: 23, 26)

Throughout the history of the Work People's College, the most important subject was thought to be English (Heinilä 1995: 22). After all, many Finns struggled with learning English and had problems with especially pronunciation, as it was very different from their native language (Hoglund 1979: 113). According to Susag (1999: 19), the lack of knowledge in English led to, on the one hand, the unity and distinctiveness of the Finnish community in the United States. On the other hand, however, it also separated especially older group members from the surrounding society (ibid.).¹

¹It must be mentioned that, in addition to the Finnish-speaking population, about a fifth of the Finns immigrating to North America before World War I are thought to be Finland-Swedes (Roinila 2014: 222). Specific statistics are not available, as many of them recognized themselves to be Swedes, while others thought of themselves as simply Finns (Roinila 2014: 221). Although there were Finland-Swedish societies, the most mentionable being the Order of Runeberg which was established in 1920 and sponsored Finland-Swedish activities (Roinila 2014: 231-232), this ethno-linguistic minority blended into the Finnish-, Swedish- and English-speaking communities (Roinila 234-235).

The prolongation of Finnish as the exclusive language in Finnish American homes also helped to maintain the social and political beliefs (Virtanen 1981, as cited by Susag 1999: 19). An important political movement which some Finns participated in passionately was the Socialist movement (Kolehmainen 1977: 195-196). Often disappointed with the jobs they could acquire and dissatisfied with what they had expected of the American freedom, many turned to socialism in hopes for improvement. Finnish immigrants were very engaged in the movement just like in most things they participated in, founded Finnish-language branches under the Socialist party and established socialist newspapers in Finnish. (Kolehmainen 1968: 22) It is worth mentioning that even though the movement was popular among Finnish immigrants, they could also be divided into two groups (Kivisto 1982: 20). There were religious Finns who did not find it pleasant to have a large number of their fellow countrymen involved in socialist activity, and vice versa those Finns who belonged to the Socialist party were not active churchgoers. (ibid.)

The Socialist party was not the only organization Finnish immigrants participated in. They were, in fact, very active in founding and maintaining a wide variety of different types of organizational activity. In addition to congregations, Finns eagerly founded temperance societies, workers' unions, printing houses, library clubs and numerous other associations, and furthermore sustained their cultural identity through leisure time activities such as music, dancing, drama and athletics. (Hoglund 1979: 41-45) In the Finnish communities and organizations, almost everything could be managed in the Finnish language, apart from comprehensive schooling, which was invariably conducted in English. Contacts with other language groups were often operated through interpreters. (Martin and Jönsson-Korhola 1993: 17)

Even though the life cycle of the Finnish language was prolonged by their active participation in organizational life, the language did go through many changes. The Finnish language was so strongly influenced by American English that it evolved to

American Finnish, or even Finglish. American Finnish refers to the language of those Finns who emigrated from Finland to America after the 1930's as well as those of their descendants who learned the language of their forefathers. The majority of Finnish immigrants came from rural areas of Finland and their Finnish could often be described as old-fashioned and dialectal. After the transatlantic migration, their Finnish language remained substantially unchanged. Later on they started to absorb features of American English into their Finnish. (Virtaranta 1992: 9). Virtaranta (1992: 20) notes, however, that the American Finnish of the first generation Finnish immigrants was not influenced by American English phonologically or morphologically. Thus, when examining the American Finnish of the first generation Finnish immigrants, the emphasis should be put on lexicon.

Many English loanwords in American Finnish represent terminology which Finnish immigrants had not been familiar with in their country of origin, and therefore, naturally, did not have an equivalent word in Finnish. Such categories are, for example, cars and other technology, flora and fauna, American holidays and unfamiliar animals. Many words did, however, get an English equivalent in American Finnish even though they existed in Finnish. Such words often appear in connection to popular jobs of Finnish immigrants, like mining, the forest industry, and kitchen work, or vocabulary of everyday life, such as clothing, housing and health. (Virtaranta 1993a: 74-81) The reason behind some English words being loaned to American Finnish while other Finnish words remained in use cannot be known for certain, but the frequent occurrence of such words in English, for example in the form of place names, can be considered as one of the reasons (Virtaranta 1992: 29-30). Many loanwords were also easily adaptable to the Finnish phonetic form (Virtaranta 1993a: 82).

Finnish language was also present in naming the places and thus carried an important role in maintaining Finnish cultural heritage in the United States. The inspiration behind naming geographical locations and for example buildings, came

often from folkloristic tradition, topographic elements, transferred placenames, personal-possessive names, and words which carried a sentimental meaning. As an example, Kalevala township was named after the Finnish epic poem Kalevala, the settlement called Alango after topographic features of the land, a place name called Waasa after the province in the western Finland, Lax Lake after a settler named John Waxlax. (Kaups 1979: 28-29). Some place names carried a sentimental value, for example, the town of Toivola, derived from the Finnish word for hope (Kaups 1979: 31). Even though many Finnish names were given to places, they had to be americanized to fit the American standards. The spelling and pronunciation of many names has changed over time, and for instance the letters *ä* and *ö* were switched for *a* and *o*. (Kaups 1979: 37). The survival of some of these place names remains a reminder of the Finnish roots in places where the Finnish language has not been present in any other way for decades.

3.3 Finnish American identity in The United States

Migration has been shaping the world for a long time and its importance in our contemporary societies cannot be underrated. Interdisciplinary studies of migrants examine sameness and difference between people and societies as well as teach us indulgence and understanding towards other cultures. The starting point of studying Finnish people outside their country of origin began in the early 1950's and the systematic collection of data was stimulated in the 1960's (Niitemaa 1975, cited by Taramaa 2007: 82). As academic research on immigrants has originally relied mostly on the historical point of view of migration, also studies of Finnish immigrants were initially conducted from that perspective. However, in the recent decades more diverse multidisciplinary approach has replaced the historically dominant perspective. Several studies about Finnish immigrants in North America have been conducted ever since, researching aspects such as ethnic and cultural identity, language use, and amalgamation into the American society.

Matters concerning cultural identity were already examined in part 2. However, when looking specifically at Finnish identity, for example Anttila (1993: 108) has stated that it does not exist. This does not mean that there is no feeling of it, but rather that it is not, like identity never is, a permanent existing feature, but it is always negotiated by people sharing it. As a matter of fact, Klinge (2005: 170) proposes that identity is constantly created by people. The idea of Finnish cultural identity, or *Finnishness*, is thus created through shared history, national folklore and commonly used symbolism (Taramaa 2007: 71-72). Taramaa (2007: 72) mentions history as the most important factor in shaping *Finnishness*, as the symbolic values that construct Finnish identity originate from the works of authors who describe the Finnish character, from religious expectations of behavior, and from the example set by historical leading figures of the nation. From the perspective of the current study we share Taramaa's and Klinge's views about identity, and thus according to our view identity is constructed by people, and there are traits of identity which can be interpreted as traits of Finnish American identity.

Klinge's claims about the creation of identity can be seen to come true in practice when looking at Finnish literature. One of the first to give a literal description of the Finnish character was author Zachris Topelius. Even though these characteristics are only a personal view, many of them are still seen accurate today. According to Topelius, Finns have a "*hardened, patient, passive strength*" and a "*perseverance allied to a certain obstinacy*". Topelius also declares Finns to have "*adherence to the old and well-known, and aversion to everything new; attention to duty, a law-abiding habit of mind; love of liberty; hospitality; honesty*". Finns are described to warm up slowly, but to be faithful friends, and finally to be known of "*their love of tales, of songs, of proverbs, riddles, exercises of thought, and a disposition for satire which mercilessly ridicules their own follies and those of others.*" (Kolehmainen 1977: 16-17). Maki (1993-1994: 9) on her behalf adds to this list of Finnish character by describing Finns as solitude-seeking people. She also reports about a retirement speech which emphasized being humble as a central trait of *Finnishness*. Some of these same characteristics are seen as descriptive of the

descendants of Finnish immigrants in studies conducted about them in quite recent years (Maki 1993-1994: 13-14).

Sisu is, perhaps, the most well-known symbol of *Finnishness*. Taramaa (2007: 106) points out that there is no equivalent term for *sisu* in other languages. It is, therefore, important to define the core essence of this characteristic. This term for inner strength and persistence, though familiar already in earlier times, gained ground during the Winter War (Paasivirta 1962; Strode 1941, cited by Taramaa 2007: 106) as the Finnish soldiers seemed to possess superhuman-like stamina and inner fire. Others agree that *sisu* is a difficult term to translate since its complex nature with multiple ways of describing its essence. It is portrayed as a spiritual characteristic known by Finns all over the world, many of whom believe to possess the quality. The typical characteristic of *Finnishness* can be defined as having guts and fortitude as well as having the ability to overcome any difficulties in life. (Aho 1993-1994: 43). Palo Stoller (1996: 154), on her behalf, connects *sisu* with hard work and describes the characteristic of it as having perseverance and tenacity (cited by Taramaa 2007: 107). Taramaa (2007: 107) concludes that when examining the studies on Finnish Americans, it can be noted that the concept of *sisu* still continues to live among Finnish immigrants in America, at least in the memories of the bereaved.

Susag (1999) studies the ethnicity of Finnish Americans on a Collective self esteem scale, which provides information about the value put on having Finnish American ancestry. A questionnaire was designed to measure how much importance their Finnish background had on Finnish Americans by using a seven-point Likert scale (1999: 175). The questionnaire also listed over 70 symbols of *Finnishness*, such as *sisu*, sauna, Koskenkorva and hard work, which the respondents had to value from one to seven as important or unimportant symbols of their *Finnishness* (1999: 178-179). The questionnaire was filled by 134 American descendants of Finns. The results reveal that an ethnic community has a great effect on an individual's self-definition, as respondents who were connected to lots of other Finnish Americans were more likely

to define themselves as Finnish Americans than those who were not (1999: 114-115). Furthermore, Susag lists the most important symbols of *Finnishness* experienced by the respondents (1999: 5). Most of these concepts can generally be defined as recognizable Finnish symbols. The top fifteen include honesty, sauna, home, *sisu*, family, cleanliness, hardworkingness, church, and lakes (*ibid.*). These results of Susag are important in our study, as the data is collected from communities with a large Finnish population. Moreover symbolic presentation of Finnish American culture is interesting from the perspective of this study, as we examine Finnish American cultural features in our analysis.

Taramaa (2007: 14-15) studies Finnish characteristics found in fictional novels, some of which are based on real life experiences, about Finnish Americans written by five second and third generation Finnish American authors. Taramaa (*ibid.*) intends to reveal some Finnish cultural norms and values as well as symbols of Finnish American identity in the selected fictional literary production. She analyzes the chosen literary work by studying the visible traits of *Finnishness* in the narratives and more importantly, contemplates the connection between the findings from the literary texts and the real life Finnish American immigrants. According to Taramaa (2007: 7), the theoretical model of *Finnishness*, which she specifically created to analyze the data of her study, can be used not only with fictional literary texts but also to some extent with non-fictional texts. Taramaa (2007: 90-91) separates her theoretical model into three sections. In the first section the descriptive words of *Finnishness* are gathered from the previous studies conducted on Finnish Americans but also mentioned in the present study by the Finnish American authors in their correspondence to the interview via e-mail.

Taramaa (2007: 90) analyzes the characteristics of *Finnishness* with the help of chosen attributes such as *sisu*, stubbornness, diligence, cleanliness, helpfulness, honesty, reticence, drinking habits, religiousness, desire for freedom and love of nature. The second step in Taramaa's (2007: 100-101) theoretical model is to connect the

abovementioned personal and behavioral traits with the features of Finnish American culture. This is valuable in understanding how the typical characteristics of *Finnishness* affected not only the everyday life of Finnish Americans and how they were perceived by other people, but also how they helped to shape the position of the immigrants in the society. In the second step of Taramaa's (ibid.) theoretical model she connects the chosen Finnish characteristics with societal criteria typically connoted with Finnish American culture, such as saunas, service occupations, "hermits", temperance movements, mines, mills, fishing, farming, labor movement, cooperative movement and religious movement. As an example, cleanliness and diligence were helpful traits of *Finnishness* in landing a job. In the last step of Taramaa's (2007: 103) theoretical model the most recognizable characteristics of *Finnishness* of today are depicted: stubbornness, having guts or "sisu", work ethic, group orientation, and reliability. According to Taramaa (ibid.), the traits of *Finnishness* elaborated in the last step of her theoretical model are the most typical characterizations of a Finn acknowledged by both Finns and outsiders.

Taramaa (2007: 182-183) found out that the Finnish heritage of the authors and the chosen Finnish characteristics are present in the selected literary work. Surprisingly, *sisu* and honesty, both connected to the archetype of a Finnish character, as well as cleanliness, were the only attributes that were not present in every chosen text, even though also they were present in most of them. These results are relevant in the context of the present study, as our framework also investigates the presence of traits of *Finnishness*, even though in a different kind of data. This study does not only examine Finnish American characteristics, but also a broader spectrum of Finnish American cultural identity which is visualized in everyday activities and narratives of Finnish Americans.

According to Taramaa (2007: 85), it is rather common to categorize people of a certain nationality under typical characteristics of it. Both Taramaa (2007) and Susag (1999) base their characteristics of *Finnishness* on Palo Stoller's (1996) research, where

interviews of second- and third-generation Finnish Americans are examined and typical characteristics of *Finnishness* collected from the interviews (Taramaa 2007: 85). These characteristics include cleanliness, appreciation of nature, honesty, hard work and *sisu*. Also negative characteristics, such as their reserve and introversion, as well as heavy drinking habits, are mentioned (*ibid.*). Palo Stoller (1996) divides her study on Finnish American ethnicity into four categories: Ethnicity and the Self, Orientation to Finland, Real World Ethnicity, and Ethnicity as Social Construction (Susag 1999: 28). These categories are further subdivided into twelve subcategories (*ibid.*), five of which are significant to the present study.

First of these is naturally the concept of identity. According to Palo Stoller (1996, as cited by Susag 1999: 29), Finnish identity seems to be very important to many Finnish Americans, yet its importance can be exceeded by other markers of identity such as class or gender. The second important subcategory from the perspective of the present study is that of behavioral traits. This includes characteristics such as cleanliness, which were already mentioned in the previous paragraph. Palo Stoller (Susag 1999: 29) views these as a combination of ethnicity and personality. The third subcategory mentioned in the present study is the everyday life of Finnish Americans. This subcategory shows that ethnicity affects the patterns in one's everyday life such as eating habits, whether it is conscious or subconscious (Susag 1999: 31). The fourth subcategory, symbolic ethnicity, illustrates how the importance of one's ethnicity can vary in different situations and also between individuals. It can be maintained by activities which accentuate the sense of ethnicity (*ibid.*). Finally, an interesting subcategory of the study is that of creating ethnicity. This can be done by engaging in ethnic activities such as language learning or celebrating traditional or invented holidays (*ibid.*). This category also stresses the changing nature of ethnicity, as it can be created not only through traditional actions but also new innovations.

Hiiapakka Lockwood (1988: 464) raises an observation which is acknowledged in other previous studies as well and thus, criticizes the custom of studying ethnicity.

According to her, ethnic groups are examined only as a part of their country of origin, and with the assumption that the ethnic group would inevitably, at some point, be integrated with the original population (ibid.). She suggests that the ethnic groups and their culture should be treated as a new culture with complex reasons behind its birth. A culture is in an on-going change throughout its course of life. It is typical for an immigrant culture to absorb new infusions from both the host society and other immigrant groups and to amalgamate the newly absorbed elements with the traditions of the Old country and thus create a unique culture. It is therefore important not to restrict our understanding of a certain ethnicity in its old ways.

In her study Hiipakka Lockwood (1988) studies the phenomenon of the creation of a third culture by examining three cultural elements of Finnish American immigrants: the sauna as a symbol of traditional Finnish culture, the pasty as an adaptation from another immigrant group and St. Urho festivities as a symbol of a borrowed short-time celebration reviving their ethnic culture and bringing people together. The sauna is one of the most acknowledged symbols of Finnish American culture with its deep roots in Finnish history portraying and conveying associations of exoticism and uniqueness of Finnish American people. The story behind the pasty differs from the sauna tradition, as it was not originally a Finnish treat, but the Finnish immigrants actually adopted it from the immigrants of Cornwall who worked in the mines. The pasty was first served as lunch for workmen and later became common in church events and in other celebrations. In her article, Hiipakka Lockwood categorizes the St. Urho festivities as symbolic ethnicity of Finnish culture, suggesting that the element of culture is not necessarily part of the everyday life of the immigrants. In this case in form of a festival, symbolic ethnicity is celebrated with Finnish music, dance, food and art. (Hiipakka Lockwood 1988: 464-470)

At some level the festivities of St. Urho can be seen as a battle against cultural assimilation as well preserving and honoring the cultural heritage of the country of origin (Hiipakka Lockwood 1988: 471). The results of Hiipakka Lockwood's (1988)

study are relevant from the perspective of the present study as it is assumed that every immigrant community is constantly evolving, and although it can resemble the culture of origin, it cannot be generalized to be an exact replica of it, nor can two immigrant communities of the same origin be thought of as the same.

Finnish immigrants shared an ideology in terms of social and cultural norms. This helped them mould into a tight group who settled in across the United States with the same interests occupationally, culturally and politically and thus, were perceived clannish by others. (Kaunonen 2010: 5). Finnish immigrants participated rather actively in ideological, cultural and organizational life of their ethnic group in order to maintain their cultural heritage. Education, tradition and the Finnish language held an important role in preserving the ties to the country of origin of Finnish immigrants in forms of Finnish-language newspapers, courses held in Suomi College in Hancock, Michigan, culture and leisure activities of Finn Hall, participating in Evangelical Lutheran service as well as in the forms of symbolic ethnicity; celebrating, for instance, the Midsummer, Finnish Independence Day or May Day. (Kostiainen 2013: 358-363).

History helps to shape ideas about an ethnic community, and thus also values and codes of conduct of Finns and Finnish Americans are affected by Finland's national history and heritage. Many studies about Finnish Americans concentrate on ethnic representation by reporting the symbols or characteristics with which Finnish Americans identify. These symbols and characteristics have been chosen on the basis of the historical convictions of how Finns are, and the convictions are furthermore shared and examined in our study.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

In the previous chapter, the historical aspects of Finnish immigration to the United States of America were outlined and the most relevant previous studies were

introduced and discussed. In the following section, the setup of the present study is explained. Firstly, the aims of our study are specified, after which the research questions are presented and validated. Secondly, the methods of analysis are explained and discussed. Finally, the data is introduced in detail and an overview of background information, essential for understanding the interpretation, is provided.

4.1 Aims and research questions and their rationale

The aims of this study are firstly to portray how *Finnishness* is present in the stories recounted and actions performed by the people documented in the films. Secondly, we aim to examine the construction of cultural identity among the Finnish American community as described in the films. The research questions of the present study are:

1. What kinds of associations with *Finnishness* can be found in the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers*?
2. How do the people in the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers* construct their cultural identity in their narratives?

These documentaries provide a rare, historical glimpse to the lives of some Finnish Americans from three decades ago. Since no previous academic research on the documentaries could be found, they offered a research gap for our study. Furthermore, most previous research on Finnish Americans has been conducted on very different data than the present study; Susag (1999) collected data from Finnish Americans evaluating important symbols, Palo Stoller (1996) interviewed Finnish Americans in the 1990's, And Taramaa (2007) researched fictional literature on Finnish Americans, even if some of it is based on true life. However, the data of the present study is firstly collected before the time of the data collected by Susag and Palo Stoller, and secondly, the data is audiovisual, which sets a slightly different premise for the analysis, since some of its images and background music cannot be ignored in the analysis.

Another difference between the present study and previous research on cultural identity is that by using previously filmed documentary films by a professor of sociology, the data is not collected by us, nor is it collected for the purpose of researching identity. While someone might consider this a disadvantage, one indisputable advantage can be spotted; there is no possibility of accidentally manipulating the data to respond to a priori assumptions about identity of the researcher with certain kinds of interview questions. As stated in Section 2.2.3, a large number of studies about immigrants have been conducted from the stance of majority groups, and have considered for example a minority group's adaptation to the surrounding society. Furthermore, studies that have tried to determine features of cultural identity of a minority group have almost exclusively examined views the minority have about the majority group, and vice versa, the prejudices the majority group has about the minority, and whether the minority accept or deny them (see e.g. Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet 2011, Clary-Lemon 2010).

4.2 Methods of analysis

Both research questions and thus also both parts of the analysis of the present study are approached to from the qualitative perspective of content analysis. The data, or content, in the instance of our study consists of two filmed documentaries, which broadens the analysis from a textual level to also include for example images. Nevertheless, most of the data is in spoken form and therefore the analysis was conducted on the grounds of transcribed data. Dörnyei (2007: 249) suggests that a column next to the transcripts describing non-verbal components of the video is sometimes helpful for the analysis. However, in our study transcriptions were made for the purpose of analyzing narratives of the people portrayed in the documentaries, and therefore such columns were not included. Dörnyei (2007: 249) recognizes that the likes of Arksey and Knight (1999: 147) challenge the sensibility behind transcribing data in the form of videos, but argues that transcriptions acquaint the

researcher to the data on a deep level, and thus are sensible even though every element of the filmed data cannot be captured in a transcript. The transcriptions were made using Dörnyei's suggestions for the purpose of narrative analysis. In other words, stress and intonation are not included, but all spoken content was transcribed (Dörnyei 2007: 246).

One exception, however, in the decision of not transcribing non-verbal elements, are the conspicuous actions which are performed by or showed in the background of the Finnish Americans during their narrations, as they can be seen as purposefully chosen by the film-maker and holding an important position in describing the persons' *Finnishness* and identity. Furthermore, the actions are mentioned in the narratives and can be viewed to authenticate them. A second and last exception to the rule is also a small number of scenes which include filmed actions of a particular importance to the analysis, and which cannot be ignored in the analysis. They are, then, written out and described in the analysis section, after which they are elaborated on. The use of images is not seen as a problem, as for example Julien (2008: 121) explains the use of images in content analysis as for example naming items in pictures or examining less obvious symbolic representations. In the present study, the use of images is on a rather straightforward level, as images are investigated to support representations of *Finnishness*.

The first research question, "What kinds of associations with *Finnishness* can be found in the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers?*", is examined using sociolinguistic perception on analyzing narratives and actions. Based on a sociolinguistic interpretation of content analysis, as well as the categorizations of Palo Stoller's (1996), Susag's (1999) and Taramaa's (2007) work, a new framework of thematic categories is created for the purpose of the present study. The different groups, or associations with *Finnishness*, are the following:

1. *Migrants' memories*. This category includes a common denominator of high expectations and lower outcomes of immigration as well as stories about life and past in Finland.
2. *Characteristics*. This category examines typical Finnish traits which have been described in the background section of the present study.
3. *Work*. This category incorporates the work individuals do for living or leisure.
4. *Language*. Included in this category are the situations where especially the Finnish language is used, as well as the narratives about language use.
5. *Customs and traditions*. Customary behaviors and actions, as well as festivities and ceremonies related to Finnish tradition are included in this category.

The thematic categories were created by transcribing, viewing and observing the films and distinguishing repetitive patterns, a method also noted by Dörnyei (2007: 246), who accentuates the importance of acquainting with the data particularly well and beginning by making primary and secondary observations before creating a model of codes (Dörnyei 2007: 253), which, in this case, is the division of the categories mentioned above. Suitable examples from the data are placed under the categories and connections are made between different examples, as well as between examples and previous findings about Finnish Americans.

Quantitative features are used in section 5 to support the qualitative analysis of our study. Yin (2009: 133) suggests that quantitative calculations can prove to be significant to explain and test the results of a qualitative study, and thus we decided to include it in the present study. From each of the aforementioned categories, then, the occurrence of key words is examined based on the transcriptions of the documentaries. The occurrence of the key words is used to support the qualitative data and to highlight the importance of some features over others.

The second research question, “How do the people in the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers* construct their cultural identity in their narratives?”, is approached from a discourse analytic viewpoint. First of all, the narratives of the characters are examined by considering the findings in Chapter five, since for example De Fina’s (2003: 19) three-level model of constructing cultural identity suggests that belonging to a community can be identified through expressing overarching beliefs, behaviors and values, which are identified in Chapter five. Secondly, Bamberg’s (1997: 336-337) three categories of positioning, already described in Section 2.2.2, are used to examine how the characters position themselves in relation to one another, the audience or themselves.

The choice of using mixed models is strengthened by Meinhof and Galasiński (2005: 15), who argue that studies by, for example, De Fina (2003) simplify identity construction as they make theoretical assumptions that speakers should use particular linguistic features to construct cultural identity. The suggestion made by Meinhof and Galasiński (2005: 16) is that the full range of language tools relevant in a context should be used when examining identity construction. In the case of the current study, then, positioning in terms of (not) belonging to a community and linguistic choices that express attitudes towards *Finnishness* are used as tools of investigating cultural identity. From both the categorizations in Section five as well as additional extracts from the data, cultural identity is studied by examining the following factors: Poverty and belonging to the working class, importance of *Finnishness*, behavior, beliefs, and generation, as well as the few instances where the majority’s perspective is mentioned. The analysis of cultural identity is carried out one person at a time, including the most visible characters in the documentaries, after which connections and further considerations are discussed.

4.3 Data

The data of the present study consists of two documentary films by Dr. Michael M. Loukinen. Loukinen graduated with PhD in sociology from Michigan State University in 1975, and did post-doctoral studies at the University of Michigan in 1975-1976, after which he became employed as a professor of sociology at Northern Michigan University in 1976. He is also an acknowledged film director who has recorded the traditional lives of different ethnic groups living in the Upper Peninsula. As a descendent of Finnish Americans from the Upper Peninsula, Loukinen grew up as part of the Finnish American community. This brings a special nuance to his documentary films about ethnic communities. (Northern Michigan University).

The first documentary, *Finnish American Lives* (1982, epilogue 1984), describes the lives of three generations of Finnish Americans living together in a farm. In the center of the film are six characters. Grandfather, a 92-year-old first generation Finn who had asked one of his sons, Harold, to live with him, to take care of him and his now deceased wife and to work on the farm. Harold has a wife, Irene, who is a first-generation Finn, and Harold and Irene have three children in their teens. The documentary portrays the everyday lives, actions and traditions of the Finnish American family occupying the farm. The documentary gives a comprehensive portrayal of the characters; reasons behind emigrating, dreams about the land of gold, reality in the new land and outcomes of immigration. The cameras are also present in the everyday life of the family, in times of both joy and sorrow. The first part of the documentary, filmed in 1982, includes narration by Erkki, the grandfather of the family. The epilogue, which is from 1984, is filmed after the death of Erkki, and mainly portrays the impressions and memories the rest of the characters have about Erkki.

The second documentary, *Tradition Bearers* (1983), includes interviews of four folk artists of Finnish heritage, who tell their stories to the camera, combined with

photographs and Finnish tunes from the past connected to these artists. John Toivonen, a wood carver, is a first-generation Finn who moved to America as a seventeen-year-old in 1903; Katri Saari, a weaver, is also a first-generation Finn who moved to America in 1913. Jingo Viitala-Vachon, a storyteller, was born in America to Finnish-born parents, and Art Moilanen, an accordionist, who was born in America, also to Finnish-born parents. The folk artists live around the Western Great Lakes region in predominantly Finnish regions. The interviewees tell stories about their and their parents' past in Finland, leaving the country, arriving to the new country and building a whole new life there. Also accounts of the supportive Finnish community are central in the narratives.

All of the characters in the documentaries live in the United States of America. However, in almost all of their narratives they use the term America to describe the country they live in and therefore also in the present study, when it comes to reporting the narratives of the characters, the term America is used. Nevertheless, throughout the study we use the name *The United States* to refer to the country, when factual information about the country is presented.

In both documentaries the language used most is English. Even though a number of scenes showing daily actions of Finnish Americans also include conversing in Finnish, narration is generally performed in English. An exception to this rule is Katri Saari, who in *Tradition Bearers* narrates her whole story in Finnish. The narration is dubbed with an American voice actor, and Katri's original narration can be heard in the background. For the purpose of this study, the inserts of Katri's speech are transcribed in both Finnish and in English following the soundtrack of the film. The original Finnish narration appears first, after which the English dub is transcribed in parenthesis. A similar procedure is also used in *Finnish American Lives*, where Erkki's and also some of Helmi's and the Lutheran pastor's lines are dubbed in English, and the original narration can in both cases be heard in the background. The decision to include as much of the original Finnish narration as possible in the transcripts and

examples is seen to help gain as deep an understanding as possible about what the narrators mean. Furthermore, some imprecise parts in the English translation of the narratives were spotted, which strengthened the decision of including both languages whenever possible. However, a small number of short exchanges of words in Finnish which cannot be seen to hold any informational value in the present study and furthermore are often largely inaudible, have not been translated into English for obvious reasons.

As explained above, the transcripts are created in order for us to analyze mainly the spoken content of the two documentary films rather than focusing on, for example, turn taking and overlapping speech acts. Below the transcription conventions used in our study are explained.

[.] signals a short pause.

[] researchers' descriptions of events are written in square brackets

() translations from Finnish to English are written in parenthesis as Katri, Helmi, Erkki, Irene and the Lutheran pastor give at least some of their narration in Finnish.

{ } researchers' guess of what is being said in a somewhat inaudible narration.

[inaudible]

[incomprehensible]

[...] connects two narratives which do not appear next to each other in the transcripts.

This is only used in the analysis section when examples of the data are given.

5 ASSOCIATIONS WITH *FINNISHNESS*

In this chapter, the research question, "What kinds of associations with *Finnishness* can be found in the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers*?" is examined. The findings are classified into the five categories, which were mentioned in Section 4.2. In the beginning of each section, numerical findings from the data are

given to support the qualitative analysis that follows. Furthermore, the findings are investigated from the perspective of the historical background. The stress of the analysis is on the narratives. However, also still and moving images as well as background music will be included in the analysis, since we consider that they support the narratives. The associations with *Finnishness* in the documentary *Finnish American Lives* are reported first and followed by the visible associations with *Finnishness* found in the documentary *Tradition Bearers*.

5.1 Migrants' memories

The first category consists of memories the characters in the documentary films have about their past in Finland and about their emigration to America. Thus the occurrence of the words *Finland* and *America* was looked into in order to figure out the value of them in the documentaries. In total, the word *Finland* occurred 29 times; 22 in *Finnish American Lives* and seven in *Tradition Bearers*. However, in *Finnish American Lives* only 16 instances could be verified to have a connection to migrants' memories about Finland, as six times it occurred in connection to the name of a television program. The word *America* occurred in total 13 times; seven times in *Finnish American Lives* and six times in *Tradition Bearers*. In addition to *America*, in *Tradition Bearers* the word *United State* (sic) appeared once.

In the analysis, the reasons behind the characters' emigration to the United States are examined, and the expectations and outcomes of their emigration are investigated. The findings below are first presented from *Finnish American Lives* in Section 5.1.1 and later from *Tradition Bearers* in Section 5.1.2

5.1.1 Migrants' memories in *Finnish American Lives*

(1) Erkki: In Finland when I was a young boy, I was thinking about the America. Always. I was looking where the sun sets, and I was wondering what kind of [.] how this world looks on the other side. Farm there was too small. We were very poor and we had nine kids. There was too many feet under one table. Older sisters they, they go

away first. One go America and she write home saying, "lots the work here in America." Many young people they, they get America fever and I think that I get some that money fever too. [...] I know when everybody comin' here and they get the lots of work, and food, good food, and clothes and everything.

The documentary film *Finnish American Lives* begins with this description of memories from Finland. These memories provide us with some insight to the life back in Finland, as well as to the reasons for leaving for America. The narration about the past in Finland as well as migrating from Finland to America is emotional and offers a justification for migration, as Erkki describes the poverty of his family. The idea about *money fever* and also the expressions of longing to America add an adventurous element to migration. In the background section it was described that for many Finnish immigrants the reason behind emigrating was solely to go on an adventure (Kero 1986: 92-93). However, Erkki has also clear financial reasons for his decision to emigrate. He emphasizes the poverty of the family by describing the small family farm and how there were too many people in the family. This creates an assumption that there were too many children for the family to support. Thus reasons behind emigrating from Finland can be speculated to depend on poverty, even though the factor of adventure cannot be excluded.

As mentioned in the history section of this study, at the time stories about migration were commonly spread from one acquaintance to another based on letter correspondence between immigrants in America and their friends and relatives in Finland (Kero 1986: 123-125). Also newspapers shared stories about the easiness of making a decent living in America. It can be assumed, then, that Erkki among others had heard that life was easier and prosperous in America. His sister had written to him telling that there was lots of work available. As he states in line with previous studies, it was common especially among the younger generations to dream of moving to America to earn a comfortable living. It can furthermore be seen as a big attraction for immigration. Erkki states that he *knows* that those who move to America have enough of everything. He also says that it is *everybody* who gets to enjoy the commodities. Therefore it can be interpreted to have been a common conception that

life would be abundant in America, which is also Erkki's perception of his future homeland.

(2) Irene: I always said "Minä haluan mennä Amerikkaan", "I want to go to America!" [...] They always tell me that money grows on the trees, so that's what I come here, and I never see money [...] money grow on the trees. You gotta work hard here. [...] I left my hometown, Koitesjärvi, Finland, twenty-two years ago. That was in 1959. It was hard, I'd cry many times. And, I thought I'm never gonna learn this language. It's so hard because when you come as a small town girl, you come to this big land here and you feel like you're lost.

Even though Irene has migrated to America voluntarily, she expresses a strong disappointment through her narration. She declares that she *cried many times*, a very negative emotion connected to moving from a safe home country into an unfamiliar culture. She talks about having to work *hard* in the new country, something she might not have expected based on her presuppositions about money growing on the trees. Furthermore, she also mentions twice that moving to *this big land* was hard, indicating that life really was more austere than she, perhaps along with other immigrants, had expected. In addition, using the opposites *small town girl* and *big land*, portray how Irene had to face unfamiliarity and feelings of discomfort as she moved from Finland to the United States. Furthermore, she recounts being *lost* in the big land, which strengthens the difference between the two countries.

As with the previous memory told by Erkki, also Irene's misconceptions about life in America were formed from general conceptions, as she uses the personal pronoun *they* as a source of stories about America. It can be expected, thus, that like that of Erkki's, also the knowledge about America acquired by Irene has been misleading and even incorrect, especially in the context of viewing her impressions that *money grows on trees*, in other words making an easy living.

As with the previous extract, also in Example 2 it can be noticed that an idea about an easy living that could be made in America is strongly present. It is interesting to examine this a little further. Erkki emigrated from Finland during the long-term overseas movement, in circa 1908. Irene emigrated half a century later, in 1959, when

migration to North America had lost its popularity and when the development of technology had also provided more global information available for many average Finns. However, Irene's misconceptions about America seem to be astonishingly similar to those Erkki had had fifty years earlier. It becomes evident from her narration that she was relying on similar rags-to-riches tales which had been spread in letters and papers in the early 1900's. Therefore the outcome of Irene's migration did not meet the expectations. As Irene states, money does not grow on trees after all, and in order to succeed, hard work is required.

(3) Irene: Mitä te ajattelitte sillon, ajattelitteko te, että siellä on kovasti rahaa, ja raha kasvaa puussa vai?

(What did you think? Did you think there would be plenty of money and that money grew on trees?)

Erkki: Joo joo. Minä aattelin että minä voin vaan lapioida sitä, puussa kasvaa

(Yeah. I was thinking that I would shovel some of that money. A big pile of money!)

Irene: Mutta eihän sellaista ollu?

(But it wasn't like that?)

Erkki: Ei se ollu sellasta.

(No, it wasn't that way.)

Even though in this passage Irene seemingly interviews Erkki, both of their expectations are present through Irene's leading questions, especially when examining her previous comments about misconceptions of America. Furthermore, in this example, as well as in the previous passages, the noun *money* occurs often with attributes of grandness such as *plenty* and *a big pile*, indicating that their expectations included making a fortune overseas. Expressions such as money growing on trees and shoveling money also describe the ideas of abundance. However, the lower outcomes of migrating are also present in this conversation, as Irene and Erkki agree that life in America was not what they had expected. This example can thus be viewed to strengthen the findings in connection to Examples 1 and 2 about both Irene and Erkki's expectations and realizations about the United States.

(4) Erkki: 1920 I borrow that money and buy that Victor Maki 40 acre farm. When clearing this land I borrow that neighbor's horse to pull those big pine stumps. We working day and night. We built sauna, and barn and house[...] Just to think that this is our farm. I was thinking back in Finland about having my own land, having my own farm. [...]

Irene: When you look back at your life what kind of memories come to you? Would you live it over again?

Erkki: No way! I was too poor when I was young. I don't want to go back. You see that sauna over there? When I was building that I worked day and night, no sleep hardly at all.

The account Erkki gives about his past clearly displays that life was difficult for Finnish immigrants who had to work hard to make a living. Even though the difficulty comes through in the narratives mentioned earlier, this account vocalizes the hardships by describing the hard work required from the immigrants to support themselves in the United States. Erkki's dream in Finland was to get his own farm which he achieved in the United States, but he describes that even there it required a massive amount of work to build one. Many Finnish immigrants shared similar dreams, as many of them were peasants looking for a better standard of living (Kolehmainen 1977: 14). Even though he eventually achieved his goal, an entire satisfaction to life in America cannot be found. His reaction to the question about living over his past, such as exclaiming *No way!* and stating to have been *too poor* give support the idea that life was utterly hard on them, since he does not express any longing for the past.

(5) Helmi: When I was in Finland and I was a young girl I think "Never! Never! I never leave my country." But just the same things go different way. My ma get sick and she passed away. My father, he married the second time, and I don't like that stepmother. And, I said, "I'm not gonna stay home no more." I leave my home, and then I started to come to this country in 1916 and I was 20 years old.

Unlike Irene and Erkki, who both used the adverb *always* with wanting to move to America, Helmi "*Never! Never!*" wanted to leave Finland, giving the viewer a clear image of a person who is content in her home country. It is impossible to conclude what her childhood experiences were like, but it can certainly be observed that her narration highlights the death of her mother and the introduction of a new stepmother as a turning point, after which she was attracted towards the idea of emigrating from Finland. It must be acknowledged that even though the most important reasons for emigrating from Finland might have been financial or political, many also emigrated due to other types of personal reasons (Kolehmainen 1977: 4).

This was also the case with Helmi, whose stepmother stimulated her willingness to emigrate.

5.1.2 Migrants' memories in *Tradition Bearers*

(6) Film-maker: How long did you think you would stay in America?

John: Well, first thing, yea, I [.] I [.] I [.] I figured I don't stay.

[...]

John: I thought after two weeks back. But then this country was a good country when we come. Joo.

[...]

Film-maker: What was America like when you first came here?

John: Oh jaa that's a, that's a good country. We get the pretty small wages but they just enough to get the [.] pay the board on the boarding house we boarded at the boarding house lots of boarding house at that times yeah.

It appears that it was not John's intention to stay in the United States for a long time. According to his response, he was only going to stay for a few weeks, which most likely implies he was going to earn some money and return home, as this was the intention of many Finnish immigrants (Virtanen 1981: 107). Despite his initial idea, he found it pleasant to stay in America. John expresses his content with living in America in a rather positive manner; he states twice that the United States is *a good country*. A similar positivity can be interpreted in his narrative of his primary experiences about working in the United States. He states that even though their pay was quite low, it was enough to pay the rent. John states that he lived in a boarding house, which was a common living arrangement among manual workers who needed affordable housing and were constantly on the move after available work. Most Finnish immigrants belonged to this group of manual laborers. Unlike most narratives in the documentaries, John's narratives do not emphasize the amount of hard work required in order to support oneself. Quite the contrary, he seems to be very satisfied with his decision of migrating to the United States.

(7) Katri: Olin kuullu puhuttavan Ameriikan kultalasta. Sinnehän minunkin pitäisi päästä. Mutta milläläilla? Mitään mahdollisuutta ei ollut saada rahaa kasaan niin paljon, että olisi voinut ostaa matkalipun. Mutta, minä olin kuullut puhuttavan eräästä farmerista, joka halusi lähettää tytöille tikettiä, jos he tulevat tekemään työtä sen edestä.

(I had heard tell about America, the land of gold. And that is where I wanted to go. But how? I had no opportunity in Finland to get enough money to gather to buy the passage. But I had heard of an American farmer who would send passage money to girls who would agree to work for it)

Ja niin sieltä tuli tiketti minulle. Ja ajattelin suurin toivomuksin; nythän minä voin lähettää Ameriikan kultalasta vieraan maan rahaa, että saan auttaa vanhempia, ja siskojaani Suomeen. Mutta ajatukset eivät ihmisellä aina toteennu.

(And so a ticket came and I was filled with hope; now I can go to America, the land of gold, and earn money to help my parents and sisters in Finland. But such hopes are not always fulfilled)

Ja lähtöni tapahtui, elokuun neljäntenä päivänä yhdeksäntoistasataa kolmetoista. Muistan sen aamun. Isäni valjasti hevosen kärrien eteen. Kanteli minun matkalaukkuni ja eväskorini ja pisti sen kärryille, odotellen minua. Ketään ei näkynyt huoneessa, kenelle olisin voinut hyvästin heittää. Äitiä ei näkynyt, siskoja ei näkynyt. Vain pieni Tapani-veljeni makasi aamu-untaan vielä kehdoissaan. Vilkaisin hänen suuntaansa, suljin oven, ja viimeisen kerran astelen kotipiportaita alas.

(I left home August 4th 1913. I remember that morning. Father harnessed the horse to the cart, carried out my suitcase and lunch basket and waited for me. In the house there was no one inside to whom I could say goodbye. Not mother, not my sisters, only my baby brother Tapani lay sleeping in his cradle. I glanced at him, closed the door, and for the last time walked down the steps of my childhood home.)

As explained in the data section, Katri's speech appears originally in Finnish, and is then dubbed in English by a voice actor. The excerpt therefore contains a detailed version of the original narration and the dubbed translation in parenthesis. In her narrative, Katri uses the passive voice in saying that she had *heard tell about America, the land of gold*. As in the narratives of Erkki and Irene in Examples 1 and 2, also Katri refers to hearing stories about America in general but not from one specific source. As Katri's narration is in no way connected to the characters of *Finnish American Lives*, it can be suspected that it was common to hear these stories in Finland. Also the background section of the present study supports this claim, as it demonstrates how the standard of living and the easiness of making money in America was exaggerated by some immigrants in their contacts to the old homeland. Furthermore, it is possible that as the stories were told forward, the truth was stretched further and made America really sound like a paradise. Katri refers to America as *kultala*, or *the land of gold*, twice in the extract above. There is an obvious positive connotation in the expression, creating an image of a land where there is no shortage of commodities. Katri's lexical choices are in line with those of Erkki and Irene, and she also expresses strong desire to emigrate to America: *Sinnehän minunkin pitäisi päästä*. (*And that is where I wanted to go*.) In Finnish she uses the verb *pitäisi*, should, which can be

construed to express almost an urge to emigrate. Furthermore, after it is confirmed that she will be able to move to America, she expresses great joy for the opportunity to help her family by sending them money back to Finland.

As the narration continues, a revelation is made that her intentions were not successful. She notes that *such hopes are not always fulfilled*, suggesting the viewer that the reality in America did not meet Katri's expectations. Also other factors in her narration can make the viewer hypothesize that she did not succeed in supporting her family in Finland and fulfilling her dreams. For example, it is interesting to note that there is a lack of the expression *the land of gold* in Katri's description of life after moving to America, even though it appears twice in the description of time before her emigration. Katri migrated to America in 1913, which was during the first wave of the long-term overseas movement. At the time, Finnish economy did not prosper, and especially those from deficient economical conditions were eager to emigrate. As many young Finnish women at the time, also Katri financed her travel in exchange for work. Katri indicates that she had no chance of saving money for the passage, so this was possibly the only option for her if she wished to emigrate.

Katri reminisces her moment of departure in a very nostalgic manner. She also gets teary-eyed while talking about the moment she left home. She talks about the situation in great detail, even though by the time of the filming it has been seventy years since her departure. An example of this nostalgia is the repetition of the idea that there was nobody she could say goodbye to: *Ketään ei näkynyt huoneessa, kenelle olisin voinut hyvästin heittää. Äitiä ei näkynyt, siskoja ei näkynyt.* (In the house there was no one inside to whom I could say goodbye. Not mother, not my sisters.) The repetition paints a dramatized picture of emigration, and also simply show that it was not easy to leave home as a young woman. As has already been mentioned, Katri's hope was to be able to help her family. Her message does not convey that she wanted to be distant from her family. Finally, using the adverb *last* in the sentence *last time walked down the steps of my childhood home*, marks the finality of her decision to migrate. Even though it is

not directly mentioned by her in the extract, all this nostalgia can also be interpreted to contribute to her difficult life in the United States.

(8) Jingo: Dad had it pretty rough in Finland. He was a beggar boy. He went around with a little pack sack on his back and [...] worked for a few crusts of bread and stuff and he wanted to come to America because he had heard a man had a chance in America.

Jingo, who is a second generation Finnish American, describes her father's past in Finland in her narration. Like in the previous cases, also Jingo's father *had heard* in a passive tense, that there was an opportunity in America. Thus also his source of information is unknown. In other aspects as well, his story does not reveal as much as the stories about the others, because he is not the one narrating it. However, there are familiar items in his story. He had a poor background just like the other characters in the two documentaries. He emigrated from Finland to search for a better standard of living in America. However, none of the others claim to have had to beg for *crusts of bread*, which promote the image that he was possibly worse off than the others filmed in the documentaries.

5.2 Work

Working hard for a decent living is raised multiple times in the narrations of the characters. It was not only in the United States, however, where hard work had been required from them, since many memories about their childhood in Finland are also work-related. In fact work is one of the most frequently occurring words in the documentaries, with 48 references to it in *Finnish American Lives* and 24 in *Tradition Bearers*. Furthermore, its Finnish equivalent, *työ*, also occurs 13 times in Katri's narrations, but is translated to English using the word *work* in all but one occasion where it occurs. Since the translations have been taken into account in the calculations, then, it can be concluded that there are 24 references to *work* and one to *työ* in *Tradition Bearers*. As one of the most important values of Finnish Americans according to Susag (1998: 5), it was expected that *work* is also given a

big role in the documentaries. Below are the findings, first from Finnish American Lives in Section 5.2.1 and later from Tradition Bearers in Sections 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Work in Finnish American Lives

(9) Irene: When I was a little girl in Finland it was my job to watch the cows. We took the cows 7:30 in the morning in the woods. They had lots of good hay there. There were three, four families went together. We took our lunch with us. And, also we got some kind of handwork. We stayed from 7:30 till 6:00 o'clock in the evening. We were having lots of fun there. That's what they call in Finnish "paimentyttö".

I hate to get up in the morning, and we had to get up at 5:00 o'clock to milk those cows. So my mother used to say that, "Oh there's some nice coffee I just made, so come on girls, wake up." And I still hear my mother wake me up in the morning. Then I thought: When I can move here, I thought I get away from cows. But, two years we were without the cow, and then we got the cow. That's I'm stuck with.

Irene describes the long work days by recalling how she had to wake up at 5 a.m. in order to milk the cows and put them out to pasture, where the whole day was spent with the cows. Irene reminisces how she hated the early mornings but also states that they had lots of fun there. The day, however, also consisted of other types of chores. Irene describes how they always had some sort of handicrafts with them in the pasture and continues by remembering how her mother would advise her to take the knitting along to the way from home to the pasture. All of the actions described in this excerpt suggest that among this family, work was an inherent part of their everyday life. Staying in the pasture for ten and a half hours every day indicates that working hours were truly long, but also that it was not unusual or strange to work such long days even as a child. This short description of work is neither negatively nor positively charged, but there are a few contradictory elements in the narrative. Firstly, when Irene describes being a herder girl, she says it was *fun* to work in the pasture. The phrasal verb *having fun* conveys a pleasant and enjoyable feeling. Secondly, Irene tells that she *hates* to wake up early in the morning. *Hate* as a verb expresses a very strong negative sentiment. Thirdly, Irene recalls that she thought she would *get rid of* cows once she moved to America. Fourthly, she expresses that she is now *stuck with* cows. Thus, a distinguishable contradiction can be observed between *hating* to wake up in the morning for work in the pasture and *having lots of fun*

working there, as well as enjoying working with cows and *getting rid of* them or being *stuck with* them.

(10) Harold: [Harold and Niilo are shown chopping firewood.] There was twelve of us boys and two girls. Starting from the youngest was Kenny, Lauri, Niilo, me, Toivo, Sulo, Wille, Arvo, Oiva, Ilmi, Lillian, Johnny and Eino.

Niilo: There was a lot of lunch pails. Mother used to bake bread. She used to make eight loaves of bread and it was all gone when she got through with the lunch pails.

Harold: Some of these are hard splitting. Must be, uh, crazy Finlanders here, making this much wood. Must have [...] get a hard winter.

Niilo: They're really crazy, when fish are biting we're making wood.

Harold and Niilo are chopping firewood in this passage, which is hard work in itself. It is noteworthy that Harold and Niilo are being filmed while chopping firewood, which emphasizes the hardworking character of Harold and Niilo, thus supporting work as an overarching theme of the documentary. They also refer to their ongoing action, stating that they must be *crazy Finlanders*, because of the amount of firewood they are chopping. Furthermore, they describe themselves, and perhaps the whole ethnic group, as being crazy because they prepare for the winter by chopping firewood already in the summer, while others might be out on the lake *when fish are biting*.

In addition to performing hard work, Harold and Niilo are also conversing about their mother's hard work in the kitchen when the children were still young. Listing the names of all of their siblings emphasizes the size of the family, and thus also the amount of housework. According to Niilo, the mother was very busy baking eight loaves of bread for every lunch for the family. The dialogue about mother's hard work also indicates that Harold and Niilo appreciate their mother for her hard work. Therefore, work can be seen as an important value for these second generation Finnish Americans, who seem to have adopted their work ethic from their parents.

(11) Irene: [weaving Finnish rag rugs] When I was a little girl my mother always show us what to do, so [...] She always said that you're not supposed to waste your time that you gotta do something. So this was [...] this carpet weaving was our evening work. We worked all day at the field and then in the evening my mother start making rugs, and so she said, "come on girls now you gotta come and look how I'm gonna make, because you're gonna learn to do this after when I'm gone. So, we used to come and sit

next to her, me and my sister. She always told us that when you learn when you're young, you never forget that. When you make homemade it's gonna last you forever. [...]My mother and father they had a farm, it's not too big, but there's the six, seven milking cows it was and [...] We were poor people I member [sic] when we all go in the field. We used to cut the oats and the barley. My mother always said, "do this, do that." I always member [sic] when she took the knitting along when we walked through that field there we have to walk pretty far, so she always was knitting and she never have to look and she knit. And she said, you should take the knitting with you when you walking, you walking always with empty hand. My daughters and my son is now same thing, they have to work home. Everybody had their chores.

Irene continues to talk about the work that she had to do in Finland in addition to herding cows. This reveals to the viewer that children were working hard along with adults, and that a lot was expected from them. Irene says that their mother used to *show* them what to do. She describes her mother teaching her and her sisters carpet weaving in the evenings. According to Irene, the purpose of this was to prepare the children for the time when their mother is gone, and from a broader perspective this could be generalized to mean preparation for adulthood. This implicates a traditional way of learning, in this case how to do housework, but also skills such as herding cows, by passing on knowledge from an older generation to a younger one. This tradition is examined more closely in Section 5.5.

According to Irene's mother, one should not *waste time* by doing nothing. Therefore, contradictory to a popular, perhaps very modern idea of a balance between leisure time and work, in Finland halfway through the twentieth century Irene's mother saw it as important to always make oneself useful. Therefore, as Irene describes it, they wove carpets as their *evening work*, in other words it was an addition to the regular work the whole family did during the daytime. The amount of work that Irene describes can be understood to be the cause of the economic situation of the family, which is revealed in the next passage, and which was typical in rural Finland at the time. It can be assumed, then, that it was utterly necessary that each family member worked as much as possible so the family would manage. It is visible, however, that in addition to necessity there is also an appreciation of work. As an example, Irene states that when something is *homemade*, it is going to last *forever*. The truth behind the statement cannot be verified, but it indubitably places greater value on homemade

items than on commercial ones. As mentioned in the background section of the present study, Maki (1993-1994: 13-14) dispenses advice to third generation Finnish American women, saying for example that all worn-out clothing should be saved for carpet rags. She also reminds women never to have their hands idle. By examining the similarities between these humorous comments and Irene's narratives about her mother, it can be assumed that these traits were rather common among Finns in both Finland and in America.

Irene also recounts her mother knitting while walking through the field, as well as encouraging her daughter to do so. This, too, can be directly connected to the comments of Maki (1993-1994: 13-14), as she discourages women to have their hands empty. This immense amount of chores, or more generally work, which is being done at all times, accentuates its importance in this family's everyday life. From the perspective of the Finnish community in Ironwood, Michigan, where Irene and her family live, it is important to consider that Irene remarks that she has continued this tradition when raising her children. Thus, at least with this family, the tradition of working and its appreciation has continued in Irene's daily life similarly to what it was in Irene's childhood in Finland, even though she does not express great nostalgia while discussing her background in Finland.

(12) David: Yeah, my mom and dad, they both worked, you know ever since they, you know, got out into the world. They have always worked. And, they still work, they work really hard. And, now when I work too, I've been working on the farm here and [...] every time I'd come home from my regular job, and I always seem [...] I always seem to be pushing it, do this and do that and, like plow the fields and feed the dogs. The chores get kind of tiring after a while, but this is a little challenging, you know, plowing the fields, cutting hay. It just keeps you in shape, and you're out in the outdoors actually, that's where I like to be.

Also David brings out in his narrative the importance and high value of hard work, and furthermore strengthens his mother Irene's narration about her working hard. Concluding from David's expression about the chores getting *kind of tiring* it can also be hypothesized that his parents encourage him to do chores at home, which comes forward already in Irene's narration in Example 11. David explains that his parents

learned to work *ever since they, you know, got out into the world, that they have always worked* and that they still do so. It becomes evident from his narration that the importance of working hard has been passed on to the children as well. First of all, stating that the parents have *always worked, ever since their youth*, and that they *still work* conveys the idea that work is continued throughout one's life. Secondly, the combination of these expressions as well as the idea of continuity further emphasizes the appreciation of hard work. Thirdly, David's narration reveals that he has chores after coming home from his *regular job*, which indicates that he regards work in a similar manner than his parents, as he works even after completing a day at work.

David states that he pushes himself to do plenty of work, even though he has a job. His attitude towards working can be seen to be mostly positive since he associates working with being in the outdoors and keeping in shape, two concepts with positive connotations. He does, nevertheless also describe chores as tiring and challenging. These word choices suggest that some controversy can be spotted in David's narrative, as tiring and challenging are somewhat negative terms and certainly do not convey feelings of enjoyment or pleasure.

(13) Harold: I've worked in the lumber mills all of my life. I love to be on the farm. I never want to move out into the city, but I'd never farm for a living. I'd want to work out and hobby farm.

Harold has worked in two fields which were both very typical to Finnish immigrants as described for example in Section 3.1; he has worked in the lumber mills for a living, and also helped his parents on a farm, both commonly manual labor described by Hoglund (1979: 62). Even though he does not express any desire to move to an urban area, he states that he would *never* farm for a living either. This differs from a typical dream of many first generation Finnish immigrants whose goal often was to one day own a farm. It is, however, also suggested that second and further generations abandoned farming and farms in search for better opportunities (Kolehmainen 1968: 16). Altogether Harold does, nevertheless, represent a more conventional attitude towards work than some other second generation immigrants described by

Kolehmainen, as he express an aspiration to continue living on the farm and *hobby farm*. This playful term can be seen to demonstrate the importance of work to Harold, as he sees farming, which to many is plainly a job, as a hobby and therefore connects it with free time and enjoyment.

(14) Erkki: When I coming to America I go working those ore docks in Marquette, Michigan. That very hard work. Then I get the job at Quincy Mine at Hancock. I working ten hour days, three years I mining that copper. No good that job. I go to Munising Lumber camps, and there I working in woods, swinging that cross cut saw. Then I hearing that many Finnish people, they working in Ironwood [Michigan]. So, then we moving there. 1920 I borrow that money and buy that Victor Maki 40 acre farm. When clearing this land I borrow that neighbor's horse to pull those big pine stumps. We working day and night. We built sauna, and barn and house. Wintertime, I go back working those lumber camps. And, all the time, Selina, she back on farm with those cow and kids.

This passage of Erkki's narration reveals the priorities of Erkki, at least as described by the film-maker, in an interesting manner. To begin with, it is curious to examine the perspective Erkki takes on moving to America. There is no account of cultural or other differences between Finland and the United States. Instead, he starts by describing different jobs he had in America. Like Harold, also his father worked jobs which were traditionally popular among Finnish immigrants, such as logging, mining, and farming. In addition to jobs he worked for a living, Erkki also emphasizes the amount of work that was required in building his farm. This important role given to work accentuates that work has been an important part of this Finnish immigrant's life. It is not only him, however, who Erkki defines has had a share in hard work in America. Erkki describes working in the lumber camps in the wintertime even after he had built his farm. While he was away working, his wife Selina had to take care of the farm with its fifteen cows. Kolehmainen (1977: 83), for example, explains that it was quite typical in Finnish American communities that women would do heavy physical labor, and Selina seems to follow this pattern.

Erkki's lexical choices, as he describes the work he has done in the past, are also worth further examination. Firstly, he gives a very vivid image of work by recounting his work in logging by *swinging that cross cut saw* in the woods. By describing work in

a vivid way, the physical action included in logging is intensified and therefore also work itself is given special weight. Secondly, the time consuming nature of work is revealed by the following phrases: “*I working ten hour days, three years I mining that copper.*” “*We working day and night.*” Erkki underlines that the work days were long, and therefore earning a living is shown to have required hard work. Even after getting his own farm, he continued to work not only on the farm but also in the woods in the winter time, when farming is not in season. Thirdly, he describes the challenges of work by characterizing work in ore docks as *very hard*, and mining copper as a job which was *no good*. Although it has already been established that work was highly valued among the Finnish community, it was not always as much of an enjoyment as it comes through in many extracts, which is revealed in the negative expressions by Erkki about his jobs in the United States. Whether the expressions are negative or positive, the number of references to work indicates that work is, indeed, a very important matter for Erkki among the other characters of the documentaries.

(15) Helmi: I leave my home, and then I started to come to this country in 1916 and I was 20 years old. I didn't even speak English. But, I know I had to go, go do the work, to do my living. And then we put ad in the New York Times. We said that old country Finnish girl like to have some housework, and she can't speak English. I've been to many different places, and I can hardly talk in English, but I get along just the same. I know how to work and I know how to do my living.

In this passage Helmi, a nursing home resident, recalls looking for a job after arriving in America as a 20-year-old. Despite being unfamiliar with the main local language, Helmi emphasizes that it was necessary for her to work in order to support herself. Therefore, through a newspaper advertisement, she sought work which did not require English skills. She appears to have been successful in finding jobs even with defective language skills, as she states that she has *been to many different places* and that she has gotten along without knowing much English. As Kolehmainen (1968: 13) reports, Finnish women often took up domestic positions, and were indeed regarded highly as maids and other domestic workers. Helmi's advertisement highlights her being an *old country Finnish girl*, which can be speculated to have been one factor in

her success in finding work. Helmi's situation corresponds with the overall impression of Finnish women as valued hard workers.

(16) Grandson: You nev[.] They never could give you enough of anything, you know. And then like when [.] when we were old enough to work, you know, get jobs in high school or whatever, I'd tell them how many hours a day it was, you know, and it could be ten hours a day. And they've worked fourteen hours a day, and they'd tell you "oh, you're working too much, you're working too much." You know.

As has already been noted in previous passages by Erkki and Irene, also Erkki's grandson, whose name is not revealed in the documentary, recalls the amount of work he and his grandparents used to do. He says that he might have worked *ten hours a day*, but that often his grandparents had worked *fourteen hours*. This comparison on the one hand accentuates the amount of work done by the grandparents. However, on the other hand it can be thought that he also wants to underline that he works hard, too. Thus the importance of work is expressed again. His narrative also reveals that even though he and his generation of the family were encouraged to work at quite a young age, they did not have to help provide for the family as children, unlike their parents and grandparents had to.

(17) David: Just the idea of how he was thrilled to see me working, a young guy like that, I mean right off the back, right out of high school and that [.] get a good job and get into the community and that [.] he [.] for him, in order to get a job, he had to struggle so far. But it was so easy for us younger children to get a job and [.] I think that's my strongest memory of him. His excitement every time I'd come home with the lunch pail and [.] or my paycheck and I'd tell him how much I made in that and it was just [.] he'd get a kick out of that and that smile. I think that's what it's gonna stick with me all that time and that smile that [.] every t[.] every time he'd got that [.] that look in his face when I told him where I worked and how much I'd made that day.

David describes the response he got from his grandfather after starting to work. Firstly, David denotes that Erkki was *thrilled to see* him working, and getting *a good job* straight after high school. Thus, David's work and good job seems to have brought Erkki delight. David also says that his grandfather got *a kick out of* him working and hearing how much money he had earned working. He elaborates on the reasons behind his grandfather's excitement. David states that it was much easier for him and his generation to get a job than at the time his grandfather was younger. According to

David, *in order to get a job, [Erkki] had to struggle so far*. This is in accordance with Erkki's own narratives about working hard for a living. Connected to the struggles about earning money is also David's description of Erkki being pleased about learning how much money David had earned. As discussed in Section 5.1, one reason for migration was poverty, which naturally was one reason for the need to work hard. This passage reveals how Erkki's hard work had possibly earned the younger generations better financial opportunities, and also that at least David appreciated his grandfather for these opportunities.

In addition to all of the above mentioned narratives about work, the documentary also emphasizes the importance of work by displaying a great variety of work done by the people in the documentary *Finnish American Lives*. To begin with, in the documentary it is shown how Irene herds cows in the field with simultaneously telling about her childhood experiences about herding the cows. This visualization gives the viewer a deeper understanding about the nature of the work. Other similar scenes can also be found in the documentary. As an example, while Harold and Niilo talk about chopping firewood, the process of chopping firewood is also filmed. In a third scene Erkki is filmed sharpening a scythe with the help of his daughter-in-law, Irene. This is one of the only scenes where Erkki is displayed working, and it could be speculated that the intention of the scene is to portray how he, even as an old man, is still active and persistent, although it seems that he does not have much strength left. This interpretation is supported by another narrative, where Irene explains that Erkki's job is to maintain fire in the fireplace during the day when others are working, as it makes him feel important.

The longest scene which shows work in the documentaries lasts for two and a half minutes, significantly longer than the other scenes ranging between a few seconds and up to one minute. It is important to note that this scene about haymaking is considered to be so important in the documentary that it has earned a significant space in the documentary, and is not connected to a background narrative like most

other scenes, but there is only instrumental music playing in the background. The scene portrays haymaking in the family's farm. It includes the whole family, from grandfather Erkki watching the occasion from his chair, to the teenagers of the family working alongside with their parents. Haymaking can be seen as a very traditional Finnish way of making a living, and furthermore the way the whole family works together can be connected to the past life in Finland, where, according to the narratives of first generation immigrants, everyone participated in the work that was done on a farm. Even though it can only be speculated why the film-maker has chosen to display such a long clip about haymaking, it is rather evident that also this clip is included to emphasize the importance of work in the Finnish community.

Finally, David and Maria-Lisa are also pictured doing work of their own. David is shown working in a construction site with other men, and Maria-Lisa is presented working in a bakery. Both of these jobs are completely separated from the farm, but both of them also include the Finnish community; David describes working with other young men of Finnish origin, and Maria-Lisa serves a Finnish-speaking customer in the bakery. It is interesting to look at how these young, third-generation Finnish Americans are also displayed working, which suggests that the appreciation of work has passed on to the children of the family, or at least work is expected from them and seen by the film-maker as an important feature of their lives in the community.

5.2.2 Work in *Tradition Bearers*

(18) Katri: Nämä villat ovat suoraan lampaasta ja nämä ovat likasia. (These wools are directly from sheep and are soiled) Ja ne täytyypi karstata ensiksi yhen kerran. (First they must be carded) Ja tehä tätä työtä pitkä aikaa ennen ku ne ovat selvästi puhdistuneet. (This must be done for a long time until they are clean) Ja täytyy karstata pitkän aikaa ennen ku ne ovat siinä kunnossa, että näistä voipi tehä lankaa. (And you have to card a long time before they are suitable for one to make yarn) Ja tämä on työtä, jota meidän Suomessa piti alkaa tekemään nuoresta lapsesta. (And this is work which we had to begin to do in Finland from early childhood) [...] Meitä oli lapsia. Suuri perhe. Ja äitilläni oli suuri työ kun hänen piti kutoa ensin vaatekankaat ja sitten neuloa. (In our family there were many children and my mother was kept very busy weaving cloth and then sewing) Isäni teki työtä pellolla. Aamusta iltaan, pitkiä

päiviä. (My father worked long days on the field from morning till night) Ja toimeentulomme me saimme maasta, että ei meidän kaupasta tarvinnut kauheesti ostaa (Our livelihood came from the land so we didn't have to buy much from the store), mutta rahantulo oli meillä pieni. Mutta eihän me sitä paljon tarvittukaan, kun kaikki työ tehtiin kotona. (Our cash income was small but we didn't need much since most everything was homemade) Ja minun piti auttaa sisätoissa ja karstaamisessa ja kaikessa mitä minä voin oppia tekemään. Mutta tämähän oli mieluista työtä minulle, ja on ollut koko elämän ajan. (And I had to help with inside tasks and carding and everything else that I could learn to do. But this was pleasant work for me, and has continued to be throughout my life)

Katri's story in the documentary begins by her explaining the process of carding while showing how it is done. The story soon switches to Katri telling that this work was typical for young children to do in Finland when she was a child. Katri emphasizes the length or exigency of the process by repeatedly saying that carding must be done for *a long time*. She then reminisces the hard work her parents did when she was young. Her mother was kept busy by making all the clothes for the family from weaving cloth to sewing or knitting the clothes. Katri's father worked on the field *from morning till night*. Fieldwork provided the family's main income, which made them self-sufficient, even though they did not earn much money. As was typical for the time, also Katri recalls working in order to help the family cope. She states that she had to start doing work such as carding *from early childhood*. She also says that she helped with everything she was able to learn to do at home. This again is in agreement with Irene's stories about her childhood in Finland, where the input the children of the family had on different kinds of chores was irreplaceable. Even though it may appear that Katri found the chores demanding, she also states that the work was and still is *pleasant* to her. As already observed in previous passages, describing work as *pleasant* takes a rather positive stand on working, and can be compared to, for example, Harold's thoughts on farming as a hobby, as well as David's view of getting exercise and fresh air while doing chores outdoors.

(19) Jingo: [Father] came to Calumet and he worked there in the mine and got married and [...] they had a little boarding house, not a big one, a little boarding house and [...] his wife more or less ran the boarding house. And then dad built a sailboat, did some commercial fishing. And then he had a chance to get a homestead. He got the homestead and brought his family and his belongings from Calumet in the sailboat. And worked the homestead[.]

Jingo starts her narrative by describing how her father used to work in a mine and later on as a commercial fisher. As it became evident in Erkki's narrative and the background section of the present study, physical labor was common among Finnish immigrants, who more often than not did not have a skill to practice. In total, Jingo lists four different jobs her father had in the United States, which repeats the overarching tendency of emphasizing work in this documentary as well as in *Finnish American Lives*. Jingo's father and his wife also had a boarding house. As his wife was the one running the business, it can be asserted that women were seen as capable of participating in the process of working for a living, which is comparable with Erkki's description about his wife actively engaging in work on the farm. She continues by telling that her father *had a chance to get a homestead*. Homestead, as defined in Section 3.1, refers to a piece of land which could be gained for a minimal fee. Finnish immigrants sought eagerly after homesteads in the United States, and even though Finns often had difficulties in getting one, it was a very typical ambition among Finnish immigrants.

(20) Katri: Ja sitten minä menin mainin omistajan Albert Coatesin kokiksi. Ja olin siellä yli vuoden. Hän piti suomalaisia tyttöjä, hän sanoi että suomalaiset vaikka eivät osaa puhua, ne osaavat tehdä työtä.

(And then I went to work as a cook for the mine owner Albert Coates. He said that Finnish girls, even though they could not speak English, knew how to work.)

Ja niin minä olin yli vuoden, mutta sitten kun tämä oli niin kovin vaativa paikka, minä jollakin tavalla väsyin, ja rupesin ajattelemaan, että minä olen orja, kun kaikki pitääpi olla niin kovin justiin minuutin päälle, miksikä toinen ihminen on niin paljon toista ihmistä parempi, että toisen ihmisen täytyy niin kovin säännöllisesti tehdä sille palveluksia.

I was there over a year, but then, because it was such a demanding place, I became tired and began to think that I was a slave. Everything had to be so exact, right on the minute. Why is one person so much better than another, that the other person must serve him with such precision.)

In line with the history section of the present study, as well as in accordance to Example 15 about Helmi's employment, also Katri expresses that Finnish women were in high demand as domestic laborers. For example the mine owner, for whom Katri worked, considered Finnish girls to be hard workers, even though they were not able to speak English. Katri did, however, resign from his services after over a year because she grew tired of the hard work and the precision she was required in her

job. It is intriguing to consider that Katri admits growing tired and questioning why she had to serve another person *with such precision*. Firstly, the Finnish character is often seen to include *sisu*, which could be described as persistence, and could be interpreted to prevent admitting to be tired and yielding to resigning from a job. Katri herself also defines *sisu* in that manner in Example 36, saying that a Finn continues to try even after being too tired to continue. Furthermore, a contradiction can also be spotted between Katri's statement and Maki's journal article (1993-1994: 13-14) about good third-generation Finnish American women, where it is jokingly emphasized that one should be diligent and cope on one's own, without asking for help. Even though Katri does not mention asking for someone's help, her narrative still reveals a moment when she gave up trying to manage a demanding job.

(21) Art: When the copper country's strike came along, that's when great many of the miners moved out into the country and got into farming and whatever they could find. And a big percentage of them went into the logging camps and became lumberjacks. I guess I have some sawdust in my ears cause I used to work in my dad's sawmill ever since I was a knee high I guess, and I learned to do just about everything that a small sawmill needed to do. Then of course later on I did some sawmill work on my own and logging and I still like to be in the woods and I have some logging going on in my timberlands right now.

In Art's narrative, different fields of work conducted by Finnish immigrants are described. As strikes forced Finnish American miners to seek work from outside of mining, they often continued to work in fields typical to Finnish immigrants. According to Art, these fields were for example farming and logging. What is common to all of these fields is that they are physically challenging and require hard work from the laborers. Art's father also had a sawmill, and this resulted in Art working in logging from a young age. Comparable to, for example, Irene's experiences about learning from her mother, also Art has learned how to do logging the traditional way, by following his father. Moreover, he continues to tell that he, too, used to work in logging. Like in many previous passages, also Art describes his old job as something he still enjoys. This is the fourth narrative which views a job also as a pleasant leisure time activity.

As the documentary *Finnish American Lives*, also *Tradition Bearers* includes scenes that display work. Many old photographs are shown picturing Finns and Finnish immigrants doing traditional work and chores both in Finland and in America. These pictures include men working in the lumber mills, farms and mines, as well as women doing chores such as spinning and weaving at home. Towards the end of the documentary there is also a scene where John is shown sharpening a scythe, cutting hay, raking the cut hay, hoeing a potato field and chopping firewood. This scene strengthens the image of Finns as hard workers, as John is already in his 90's and still doing all the hard work necessary around an old house in the countryside.

5.3 Characteristics

Work, which as shown above has a central role in the two documentaries, is also present when examining the characteristics of the Finnish Americans portrayed in the documentaries. In addition to hard work and diligence, also other typical characteristics of Finnish Americans are found in the data. Characteristics were chosen based on the studies of Palo Stoller (1996), Susag (1999) and Taramaa (2007), and include for example the love of nature, *sisu*, strength and religiousness. Out of the characteristics found in the data, no single words or characteristics occur a considerable amount of times. *Love of nature* appears three times in *Finnish American Lives* and three times in *Tradition Bearers* when searched with terms nature, country, woods and outdoor; *sisu* is mentioned three times in *Finnish American Lives* and once in *Tradition Bearers*; and the word *Jesus* is the only word connected to Christian religion, appearing four times in *Finnish American Lives* and none in *Tradition Bearers*.

Examples of characteristics connected to *Finnishness* are elaborated on below, first from the perspective of the documentary *Finnish American Lives* and later from the point of view of the documentary *Tradition Bearers*.

5.3.1 Characteristics in *Finnish American Lives*

(22) Irene: I go to work and my husband go to work, kids go to school, so Grandpa keeps the fire going. That's his job. He feels that way that we need him yet.

As already mentioned in Section 5.2.1, Irene mentions that having a specific task in the house, keeping the fire going while the family is away, makes Erkki feel important. As Taramaa (2007: 90) has discovered, helpfulness is one of the main features of a Finnish character. This applies to grandfather's need to feel important, since helping with housework gives him significance in the family. Furthermore, as Irene talks about her mother in Example 11, she says that one should not waste one's time doing nothing. This example can be seen to be in accordance with, for example, Taramaa (2007: 90), who describes the Finnish character to be diligent, as well as Susag (1998: 5) who found Finnish Americans to value hard work. These similar features, helpfulness and diligence, are also present in David's narrative in Example 12, as he recounts how his parents have always worked hard, and how he himself seems *to be pushing it*, in other words always striving to do more and more around the farm.

(23) David: ...in the outdoors actually, that's where I like to be. [...] it's, it's really nice living out here, you know, being alone, you know [...] my girlfriend, she's a Finlander too, and she likes, you know, she likes this open country too, and she says she'd rather move out here [...] I don't really want to move out of this area, cause you know, I've been born on a farm and, you know, raised-up on a farm. I can't give up all the freedom, you know. I can't stand to open up my window and seeing, you know, seeing brick, and black top playgrounds and all this. No, it's not for me. It's just where I can relax, come home and not worry about nobody bothering me, and have my fishing and hunting and anything I want to do.

(24) Harold: I never want to move out into the city [...] I like to farm. I love animals, but when the barn goes I will definitely get rid of most of my animals. So I'll probably end up giving up the farm – as farming wise – but I'll still live here...

Another central characteristic of *Finnishness* found in the documentaries is the love of nature and solitude, which was also found by Taramaa (2007: 90). These features are present in David's narrative, where he stresses that he likes to live in the countryside and be outdoors. He adds that he likes to be able to hunt and fish and do other

outdoor activities. This can be connected to the Finnish characteristic of loving nature. Also David's father Harold states that he loves animals, which can also be interpreted as part of loving nature. Furthermore, David states that he does not desire to move to a city, since in the countryside he can *relax* and he does not have to fear anybody *bothering* him. Moreover, he also explains that he wants to keep the freedom he has, and that he likes being alone out in the countryside. According to him also his girlfriend with a Finnish background prefers to stay out in the open country. This, on its part, corresponds with the image of Finns as a solitude-loving people. Harold states that he *never* wants to move to a city either. Even though he does not plan to continue farming, he still wants to stay in the countryside. His sister mentions at the end of the film that she also loves the farm, because it is so peaceful out there. Several people in the documentary seem to have this love of nature and solitude in their character.

(25) Irene: So I think grandpa wanted to go this way. Because he was that kind of man, he didn't want any [...] He didn't want really anybody to be sick, you know, he didn't wanna see anybody sick. Because, all his life, he was two times in the hospital all his life. He wasn't a sick man, he was a strong man.

(26) Son: And if somebody told him what he didn't want, he wouldn't beat around the bush, he'd tell you right now. He'd tell you in the face [inaudible] whether you like him or not [...] that was it. That's what I think most of my dad. He was just like a [...] oh he was just like a big solid oak tree.

(27) Grandchild: He always had a smile, he never talked down anybody. He [...] I've never heard him say one bad thing about anyone at anytime. If anything he'd just maybe shake his head and go "oh", you know, "what the hell" [...] He always thought of his grandchildren and his kids, he always thought of my brother John and I. We were [...] you know [...] um [...] he, whenever we came here we were included in anything they did. [...] He always thought, and the same thing with my [...] my grandma, they never thought about themselves. It was always somebody else. Even new people I brought to the farm. They could never get over the hospitality that was there, you know, it was open door [...] open door policy.

In Examples 25, 26, and 27, the bereaved of Erkki reminisce him. As a first generation Finnish immigrant and the head of the family, Erkki is perceived as an embodiment of *Finnishness* and it is therefore fascinating to observe how he is remembered by his Finnish American relatives. Firstly, Irene describes Erkki as a *strong* man, as does Harold in another scene. Irene also mentions that Erkki had only been to the hospital

twice in his lifetime, which might suggest to the viewer that he was a stubborn man who did not complain too much about little things. Taramaa (2007: 90), for example, describes Finns as stubborn, a characteristic which is even included in the title of her study.

Erkki's son continues to discuss about his father as an honest man who was direct in stating his opinions and would not speak ill of one behind one's back. Furthermore, he describes his father as *a big solid oak tree*, a figure of speech which expresses strength and possibly also stubbornness, since a big solid oak tree can be seen as something that is not affected by the surrounding conditions. Also Erkki's grandchild remembers his grandfather as a direct man who did not speak behind one's back. Moreover, he reminisces how his grandparents were always hospitable towards them and their guests, and how they were always included in the family while visiting the farm. Similar traits can be found in Topelius' writing (Kolehmainen 1977: 16-17) from the nineteenth century, as he describes the Finnish character to be hospitable and honest.

(28) Helmi: I know how to work and I know how to do my living. That has got to have Sisu. Nobody have to do nothing. Nobody have to come in and help. To be all alone and work. Thanks go to be Sisu. Suomalainen Sisu, that means Finnish people so tough and good fighters, something like that. So, ne on riskiä, Suomalaiset on hyviä tappelee ja riskiä ihmisiä. (They are energetic. Finns are good fighters and an energetic people.)

In Example 28, Helmi defines the core essence of Sisu, or persistence. Sisu, which is perhaps the best-known symbol of Finnish character, is explained by Helmi as toughness as well as not depending on others' help. One should rather be able to get things done alone. These features have already been discussed previously in this section. Furthermore, Helmi also sees that she has this sisu because she is good at working and can earn her own living. Therefore at least according to her understanding working hard is connected to having sisu. Finally, Helmi also sees sisu as a characteristic that some would consider to be negative, since she thinks that sisu makes Finnish people good fighters. Finally, even though the documentary translates *riskiä ihmisiä* as *energetic people*, it could be better translated as strong or sturdy people.

If it is assumed that the Finnish word Helmi uses is the correct one and the translation is slightly inaccurate, then we can also connect being strong and sturdy to the Finnish character, which then agrees with the descriptions about Erkki earlier in this section of the study.

(29) Irene: A lot of people ask me: "How come you work eight hours, then you come home and you do lots of handwork?" And, I just say that, "I keep going." [...] My mother always said that: "Mitä hyvää toiselle teet, sen edestä löydät." That means: Whatever you do for other people you gonna find in front of you someday. [...] When I work hard and a get bright, nice crown when I die.

As in Helmi's description of *sisu*, also the expression *I keep going* which Irene uses in the context of telling how she does considerable work at home after being away at work for eight hours, suggests that she values persistence and could be characterized as a person who has *sisu*. Furthermore, Irene's view of receiving kindness for doing kind things for others can also be described as typical to Finnish character. Irene continues to explain that her hard work during her lifetime will pay off as she will receive her reward when she dies. This is a very Lutheran concept, and it also matches with Taramaa's (2007: 90) findings of behavioral traits of *Finnishness*, as one of them is seen to be religiousness.² The view of doing things for other people can also be seen in a broader view as an idea of equality among Finns and Finnish Americans. After all, typical to the traditional Finnish character is also diminishing one's own fortune or other assets or achievements, and trying to blend in with others. In other words, humility can also be described as one typical characteristic of these Finnish Americans, which was also reported by Maki (1993-1994: 9) as one of the valued characteristics of *Finnishness* in her article on Finnish Americans.

5.3.2 Characteristics in *Tradition Bearers*

(30) Art: I still like to be in the woods and I have some logging going on in my timberlands right now it's [...] I take a walk every now and then and enjoy seeing logging going on so I guess it never wears off of you.

² It must be noted that this excerpt is not included in the numeric occurrence of religion introduced in the beginning of section 5.3, since Irene does not use any expression connected to Christianity that could have been picked and examined numerically in the quantitative data.

(31) John: ...how many different kind of a wood come out the woods, without the making. I didn't make this, I didn't make [.] I just peel it. Joo, joo. I never made this. They just [{draw} incomprehensible] [...] I don't buy anything what I can make. I [incomprehensible] the young Toivonen don't buy anything but he can make. Self.

In Examples 30 and 31 the love of nature comes forward from the perspective of *Tradition Bearers*. Firstly, Art explains that he enjoys walking in the woods, which can clearly be connected to the typical Finnish characteristic of nature and solitude loving. Also John's narration about the appreciation of wood as a substance suggests that he shares this characteristic with Art. As a professional wood carver, John is familiar with wood and his appreciation becomes apparent in phrases such as "*I didn't make this, I didn't make... I just peel it.*" John diminishes his own relevance in the process of carving a wooden item, as he emphasizes that the item is actually a work of nature and he simply had a minor role in peeling it, giving it a finished outcome. John's narration also brings out another typicality of the Finnish character. He states that he does not buy anything that he is able to make self. Later on, in another narrative of John's, he also says that he can make almost anything. Finns have been known to be quite economical, which also comes across in Example 11, where Irene talks about homemade items lasting forever. Furthermore, also Maki (1993-1994: 13-14) dispenses advice Finnish American women to spare their old clothing rags for making rugs.

(32) Jingo: And my dad told me that it's important what you think of yourself, it's not that important what other people think of you, he said, as long as you know you're right, he said, don't ever sneak to do anything. He said if you have to sneak to do something, you're wrong. But he said, if you, if you have the guts to do something in front of people you can't be too far wrong.

Jingo remembers her father's advice about the importance of self-conception. According to him *it's not that important what other people think of you*. Jingo continues to state that one most likely does the right thing if it can be done *in front of people*. This passage can be seen to take another stand on the Finnish character. As already stated in Section 5.3.1, one of the Finnish characters found in the documentaries is frankness; just like Erkki was described as a direct man who could state his opinions in front of others, also Jingo's father gives advice of a comparable kind; it is important to be

comfortable with oneself and stick to one's values. Erkki's grandchild describes that Erkki would not *beat around the bush*, in other words, he would not avoid certain subjects or express them indirectly (Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's English Dictionary 2006: 185). In a similar manner, Jingo's father states that if one has *to sneak to do something*, one is wrong.

(33) John: Joo. They [...] every, every neighbor must cooperated. When we come here. And start building the [...] the houses there. Joo. Everyone. Even one [...] I member one, one newcomer the burn, the, the house was burned but the people went the build the new house. All the logs and everything. That's the way we did.

(34) Jingo: Well they all cooperated. Everybody helped the other. When they took out for groceries they went by sailboat and they brought each other's groceries and [...] You had to stick together to survive. And if somebody had to leave to go someplace, one family would take care of the other's children. And if somebody got sick, you didn't hire someone for money, somebody else would run over there. Having a baby you didn't get a doctor, the neighbor woman ran over.

(35) Katri: Naapurit olivat oikeen ystävällisiä toisilleen sen syyn takia tietenkin, kun jokainen tarvihti työapua, ja rahaa ei ollut työapua maksaa. Toinen teki työtä toiselleen. Jos jossakin buildattiin sitä hirsikämpää, naapurit auttoivat että saatiin pian katto päälle, jotta uusi tulokas pääsi taas asumaan sisälle.
(The neighbors were friendly and depended on each other for help with their work. They did not have money to pay for such help. If a log cabin needed to be built for a new family, the neighbors pitched in to get the roof on it in a hurry so that they could move in.)

The Examples 33, 34, and 35 are about the cooperation among Finnish immigrants. As stated in Maki's journal article (1993-1994: 14), a Finn was not supposed to ask for help, but everyone was supposed to help each other. Also John, Jingo and Katri all agree on the strong existence of cooperation. Therefore the cooperation can be labeled under the characteristic of helpfulness, which is also counted as a trait of *Finnishness* by Taramaa (2007: 90). First of all, John recounts how the Finnish community would help new settlers to build a house after their house burnt down. This form of help can be seen as a charitable and generous type, which certainly goes under Taramaa's trait of helpfulness. Secondly, Jingo elaborates on cooperation in daily life. According to her, grocery shopping was conducted in cooperation so everyone did not need to go to the store, which supposedly was rather far as the journey was done in a sailboat. She also talks about helping each other in the community in childcare, or the occurrence of sickness or

childbirth. Jingo explains that the Finnish American community helped one another in instances where it is usual in modern days to hire someone for money. Thirdly, Katri explains the reasons behind the cooperation of the Finnish American community. According to her, everyone in the community depended on each other because there was no money to pay for outside help. Helping one another therefore guarantees that everyone also receives help when in need. Whether or not cooperation can therefore be considered as purely a Finnish characteristic, it is unquestionably a part of the characteristics valuing helpfulness and also equality between people.

(36) Film-maker: What is the meaning of Finnish Sisu?

Katri: Minä ymmärrän että se meinaa sitä, että suomalainen yrittää, vaikka ei se enää jaksaisi.

(I understand it to mean that a Finn will continue to struggle even though he no longer has the strength)

Film-maker: Do you have it?

Katri: I guess I have. I guess I have. You think so? [laughs] I can make this one more if you want. Look it. [weaving a carpet]

This last example about Finnish characteristics returns to the concept of *sisu*. It was already discussed in connection with Examples 28 and 29, but Katri gives her own definition of it. She describes *sisu* to be about persistence, trying even after one is too tired to continue. When the film-maker asks whether Katri thinks she has *sisu*, she replies that she believes so. Therefore it is revealed that she connects this very traditional and valued Finnish characteristic to her own character as well.

As mentioned in the beginning of the section, in the documentaries there is not one distinctive characteristic that would appear much more often than others. However, if we consider the importance of work in section 5.2, and take notice of the descriptions of *sisu* in Examples 28, 29, and 36, and furthermore Irene's comment explanations about doing handicrafts after working all day in the nursing home, hardworkingness can be examined further. Four occasions in *Finnish American Lives* and two in *Tradition Bearers* display the word *work* or its derivative in context with the attribute *hard*. Furthermore, both documentaries show a considerable amount of visual footage about work. Therefore hardworkingness can be raised as a

characteristic which is recognized as important by the Finnish Americans in both documentaries.

5.4 Language

In a bicultural community, especially one where different generations were born in two different countries, it is not always self-evident which languages are used. Numerically, Finnish as a language is mentioned 22 times in *Finnish American Lives* and three times in *Tradition Bearers*, and furthermore, the Finnish language was also referred to as *Finn* twice in *Finnish American Lives* and once in *Tradition Bearers*. The English language is mentioned nine times in *Finnish American Lives* and five times in *Tradition Bearers*. In the following sections, narratives about languages are examined and observations about language use are made from the points of view of first *Finnish American Lives* and then *Tradition Bearers*.

5.4.1 Language in *Finnish American Lives*

(37) Irene: When you come from Finland, and you don't only know the Finnish language [sic], it's hard to start learn English. And, that's why I think my Father-in-law and Mother-in-law they haven't really learned that much English. But, those days they really didn't have to learn no English, because there's too many Finnish people around them. Every place when they went to, even in the stores here in Ironwood they went, and they can talk Finnish. And, they can ask in Finnish, so it wasn't so important to learn English. [...] It's nice to hear that Finnish language, the real Finnish language, because mine is like everybody else's; it's broken to Fingliska. It's not real Finnish nor is it good English either.

In Example 37, Irene contemplates the role of the Finnish language in the Finnish American community, as well as the difficulty Finnish-speaking people face when trying to learn the English language. She mentions in another scene, that she had doubts about whether she would ever learn English. It was also mentioned in Høglund (1979: 113) that English, especially its pronunciation, was often difficult for Finnish people to learn, because of the great differences between the two languages. Irene reveals that learning English was not as necessary as one might think, if one

lived in a Finnish American community. She adds that knowing Finnish was enough if one only had to run errands in Finnish towns such as Ironwood, Michigan. According to Susag (1999: 19) the language barriers resulted in tight-knit Finnish communities, where the dominant language used was Finnish. Irene uses her parents-in-law as an example of such people who never learned much English. Also based on the rest of the documentary it is shown that Erkki does not speak much English, as he is always addressed in Finnish, even in the presence of his grandchildren, for example, who have English as their strongest language.

Irene also talks about hearing Finnish on a television show. She explains that it is nice to hear *the real Finnish*, since she describes her Finnish as well as the Finnish used by the Finnish American community as a broken language variation, *Fingiliska*.³ As explained in the background, *Fingiliska*, also known by the immigrant community as *Fingiliska*, is a mixture of Finnish and English, following the pronunciation patterns of Finnish but including many words derived from English (Virtaranta 1992: 9). It appears, though, that in Irene's case Finnish is mainly used when communicating with Erkki and perhaps the elderly at her job at a nursing home, since Irene's children are not entirely fluent in the language and it appears that the immediate family uses English when communicating with each other. Thus, it is perhaps the infrequent use of the Finnish language that has also resulted in changes in Irene's use of Finnish.

(38) Harold: Well, we're kinda fortunate to have Dad here, cause when I was a kid, or when me and my brothers were kids mother and Dad used to always say that, "talk Finn!" [...] So with Dad here now I guess my kids have a better chance of learning Finn, and, keeping up with the Finnish language.

Harold expresses his thought about the Finnish language in Example 38. He remembers how his parents used to encourage the children to use Finnish at home. According to Hoglund (1979: 129) this caused negative feelings in the homes of

³ The word *Fingiliska* comes supposedly from the combination of Swedish words *Finska*, Finnish, and *Engelska*, English, and has been speculated to stem from the era of Swedish rule over Finland, when Swedish had a strong influence on the language used by speakers of Finnish. Its use in the Finnish American community is acknowledged for example by Virtaranta (1992: 55).

Finnish Americans, as the first generation Finns expected their children to use Finnish, while the second generation Finnish Americans wanted to use English and blend in the society. Harold describes the family as *fortunate* because they have Erkki to teach Finnish to the children. This implies, that without his father he might not use Finnish with his own children even though there is evidence in the documentary showing that he is capable of speaking Finnish as he converses with his father in Finnish, and furthermore even though his wife, Irene, is a Finnish-speaking first generation immigrant. It seems, however, that Harold is pleased with his children having the opportunity to learn Finnish from their grandfather.

(39) Maria-Lisa: No I can you know, I can manage, you know I can [.]

Paula: But some words we don't know.

Maria-Lisa: Sometimes, sometimes I get stuck on a word, you know, I don't really know what to say, you know, so I just try saying it, saying it in a different way. [...] When people talk, you know I can understand them [.] You know I can talk to them back but some of the words like "of" and you know all the little words, you know I just skip over them and I just say the rest of it.

In Example 39 Maria-Lisa and Paula, the daughters of Irene and Harold, are discussing their Finnish skills. Maria-Lisa states that she can manage to hold a conversation in Finnish. She further explains that it is easier for her to understand than speak the language, and that there are words that she does not know. It is interesting to note that according to Maria-Lisa, she does not know words such as *of* in Finnish. After all, the roles of the English preposition *of* are fulfilled in diverse ways in Finnish. As one example, the possessive case, which in English is often expressed with the preposition *of*, takes a case suffix in Finnish, usually constructed by adding the suffix *-n* to the word stem. The preposition *of* does not exist in the Finnish language as such, and thus it is noteworthy that Maria-Lisa does not acknowledge it. However, Maria-Lisa explains that her strategy in speaking Finnish is skipping the words she does not know or expressing them in another way.

During this discussion, the documentary shows Maria-Lisa at her job in a bakery serving a Finnish-speaking older man. From this exchange the effect that English has had on both participants' Finnish can be detected. First of all the man asks Maria-

Lisa: "*Miten se menee*", which is not a typical greeting in Finnish, but can be directly translated to an English greeting "how's it going?", and Maria Lisa answers: "*Well, hyvin. Kuinka te ootte?*" Another peculiar expression used by the customer is his reaction "*ei ansaitse*" to Maria-Lisa's thanking him, as a typical Finnish reply to *thank you* would often be considered to be "*ei kestä*". The conversation reveals at least two features of typical American Finnish. According to Jönsson-Korhola (1993: 104), using the Finnish pronoun *se* as a formal subject similarly to *it* in English is one of the most typical features of American Finnish. Furthermore, Virtaranta (1993b: 88) includes *well* as one of 46 common American Finnish sayings, and thus Maria-Lisa uses American Finnish when she replies to the greeting.

(40) David: I got a lot of friends who are of Finnish, eh, heritage, but they've lost the language throughout the years. It's that they haven't been really close to people who spoke the Finnish. And they're sorry about it. They try to learn the Finnish language, but it's hard after you have [...] haven't spoke it for a while. [...] At work there's sometimes they try to say Finnish words, you know and I'm sitting there going, "what? what?", you know "I can't understand you." And then they ask me the true scene. For two or three hours here, I just hear this one Finnish word, you know, all through the day, and all, that's all they do is holler at me this one Finnish word and they're all proud, you know. When I went to kindergarten school, that's the only language I knew was Finnish. And the teacher sort of got mad. She sent me home many times during the first week 'cause I didn't know no English words. That's all I'd do was sitting there chattering in Finnish, and I was getting little temper tantrums. I started screaming in Finnish, and teacher didn't know what to do so they'd have to send me home, and [...] My sisters, they speak Finnish, but I think, overall, I can speak a little better than they can because I've been around my Grandfather more and I'd [...] have to speak the Finnish language to understand. And, now, throughout the years I haven't spoke it as much as I used to, and I'm kinda sorry, so I try to make a little habit out of it that whenever I can I try to speak as much Finnish as I can.

In the passage, David talks about his views and experiences of the Finnish language. He starts by telling about his colleagues, many of whom are of Finnish heritage but cannot speak Finnish. According to David, they try to learn, but it is difficult if there is no-one to talk Finnish to. David describes teaching his colleagues Finnish words, and learning the words makes them proud of their Finnish skills. Even though David is in a better situation since he used to speak Finnish as a child, and as he still speaks Finnish with his grandfather, he still regrets not using Finnish as much in recent years as he used to, and that therefore he tries to speak Finnish whenever he has an

opportunity to do so. David also notes that he would *have to speak the Finnish language to understand*, which implies that he has an idea about how languages are learned. Furthermore, he sees the maintenance of his Finnish language skills as important, even though it does not seem to be a necessary language for him to use in his daily life. David evaluates his own Finnish skills as somewhat better than those of his sisters because he has spent more time with Erkki and therefore also used more Finnish.

In the same passage, David also recounts his childhood memories in an English-speaking kindergarten. He states that as a child he could only speak Finnish, which caused him some problems when he began going to kindergarten school. As he got tantrums and could only express himself in Finnish, and according to him the teacher *didn't know what to do so they'd have to send me home*. This attitude towards foreign languages in the United States in the 1960's and 1970's was quite common, and for example Martin and Jönsson-Korhola (1993: 18) has stated that most immigrant children were made to use English and prohibited from using their native languages at school.

(41) Pastor: Olen suuresti iloinen siitä, että vanhempani ja Suomesta tulleet monet opettivat minulle ja monille muille minun sukupolveen kuuluville tämän rikkaan ja rakkaan suomen kielen. Tämä suomen kieli on ollut kautta elämäni minun hengellinen kieli. (I rejoice that my parents and others who arrived from Finland, taught my generation the rich and priceless Finnish language. Throughout my life Finnish has been my spiritual language.)

There are two religious scenes in *Finnish American Lives*. In the first one, Example 41, where the Lutheran pastor talks about the importance of the Finnish language at church in Finnish. It is disclosed in the pastor's speech that he considers Finnish to be his spiritual language, stating that he is grateful to his parents for teaching him the language, which suggests that he is presumably a second generation, but possibly even a further generation, Finnish American. The statement implies that Finnish can be seen as the language of religion even to generations who do not speak it as their strongest language. The other religious scene in the documentary is the funeral of

Erkki, which is also conducted in Finnish and according to the Lutheran service. As has already been mentioned, according to Taramaa (2007: 90) religiousness was one of the typical traits of a Finnish character. Furthermore, Finns were also actively creating and participating in organizations, including churches, and willing to have these organizations in their own language. It is thus quite natural that even in the 1980's there was still religious Lutheran activity in Finnish. Erkki's first language was Finnish, and therefore it is quite natural that also his funeral was conducted in Finnish.

In addition to the examples about language use discussed above, a general note can be made about scenes which show the older and the younger generations gathering together, speaking a mixture of both Finnish and English. As an example, Erkki's 92nd birthday party is held with other guests who are also in their nineties, but also guests who belong to the second generation of Finnish Americans. As already mentioned, everyone speaks Finnish to Erkki. However, Erkki's children speak mostly English with each other, with the exception of one of his daughters, who mostly uses Finnish. The Happy Birthday song is sung only in English, but Irene, who herself is a first generation immigrant, gives a toast in Finnish, and also Erkki's friend sings a song in Finnish.

5.4.2 Language in *Tradition Bearers*

(42) Katri: Ja ensiksi minä löysin kitsissä kahvia keittelemässä, aamukahvia keittelemässä, vanhan naisen, jota sanottiin "Vanhan Maan Meeriksi".

(The first person that I met in the kitchen making morning coffee was an elderly woman called "Old Country Mary")

Ja hänelle tuli aina vahingoita. Hänelle tuli aina vahingoita kun hän teki työtä ja hän joka kerta vain sano "oh shit".

(She had accidents frequently as she did her work. Each time she would say "oh shit")

Enkä minä ymmärtänyt mitä tämä sana meinasi, minä vaan ihmettelin, tällaistako englannin kieli on että tämä sana aina sanotaan, aina vaan sanotaan eikä mitään muuta, kun muut ihmiset olivat suomalaisia.

(I didn't understand what she meant or why she kept repeating it so often, and I wondered is this what English is really like)

Katri recounts her experiences in her first job after arriving to America. It comes clear that she did not know English as she first arrived to the country, and therefore did not understand what her coworker says. She tells how Old Country Mary would say “*oh shit*” every time she had an accident in the kitchen, and Katri wondered the peculiarity of the English language, as she did not understand the meaning of this expression. Furthermore, it does not come up in the narration that anyone would have informed her about the true meaning of the expression, as she describes having wondered it after a number of times of hearing this expression.

There is, moreover, another interesting trait in Katri’s narration of the events. As she describes in Finnish how she found Old Country Mary in the kitchen, she says “*minä löysin kitsissä*”, using the word *kitsi* for kitchen, which in Finnish is “*keittiö*”. Even though Katri speaks Finnish throughout the whole documentary, her Finnish has supposedly absorbed some English elements into it, which would be in accordance with Irene’s idea from Example 37 that everybody in the Finnish American community speaks somewhat broken Finnish. The word *kitsi* can in fact be found from the dictionary of the American Finnish language (Virtaranta 1992: 89), and is a typical example of how the immigrant community’s native language has evolved in a foreign language environment.

(43) Film-maker: How did you learn English?

John: Well I tried pretty hard. I tried pretty hard. When I come here and I told myself; you have to learn this language.[...] That’s the way I learn when I went the store in the Duluth, they speak[.] everyone speak English and I [.] I listen so good. I can [.] I [.] I like the learn. And I tell the [.] myself: Have to learn the language if you mean to stay here.

In Example 43, John is asked to reflect on how he learned English. According to John he felt that it was important to learn the language of the country he intended to stay in, since in Example 6, John describes that in the beginning it was not his plan to stay in America for a long time, but that he changed his mind and decided to stay after all. Thus the necessity for language learning can be seen to derive from the resolution for staying. It can be observed that the process of learning English has been a requiring

one, as John states having tried *pretty hard*. Furthermore, he continues by recounting his learning methods, in other words that he has learned the language by listening to it. He also mentions that *everyone speak English* in for example the stores in Duluth, which seems to have given him an opportunity to learn. However, his expression *I like the learn* shows that he is also motivated to learn the language, and his accounts about his learning strategies hint that there is deliberation in his acquisition of English. This, along with the admittance of trying hard to learn the language which was expressed by John several times, it can be detected that in addition to necessity, John also has a desire to learn English.

(44) Jingo: Well we all spoke Finn at home. And the main thing was to[.] when we went to school was to learn to[.] learn to speak English because most of us knew how to read and write Finnish and we knew our numbers, we could tell time, we didn't need to be taught that. [...]We were punished for speaking Finnish in the schoolhouse and in the school yard. This is after we got the new school and the fence around. And as soon as we got out of the fence then we spoke Finnish all the time, just it was a kind of a backlash, you know.

Jingo's example is the last account of the use of Finnish and English, as she recounts the role of the two languages in her childhood. According to Jingo, the children of the Finnish American community in her childhood spoke Finnish at home and with each other. She also tells how she and the other children could already read and write in Finnish before they started school. This was typical of the time, and for example Kolehmainen (1968: 29) claims that Finnish immigrants considered it important to teach their children these basic language skills in Finnish before sending them to American schools. It has also been stated that it was important for the Finnish community that its members learned English (Heinilä 1995: 23), which Jingo confirms, since she recognizes that learning English was, indeed, the most important reason of schooling for her and her Finnish-speaking friends. In Example 40 David describes being sent home from school when he only knew Finnish when he started school. Jingo also recounts that it was forbidden to use Finnish in the school territory, although she went to school decades earlier than David. She says, however, that outside of the school territory the children would only use Finnish.

Finally, a general note about language use in the documentary can be made. First of all, Art, who only uses English throughout the documentary and does not even talk about using Finnish, performs songs in both Finnish and English, which suggests that he has some competence in Finnish. Secondly, it can be observed that Katri, who uses Finnish in her narratives, changes to English at the very end of the documentary when the film-maker asks her to define the word “sisu”, found in Example 36. In this scene it is revealed that Katri speaks some English, as she is able to have a conversation with the film-maker. Furthermore, John speaks English throughout the entire documentary, even though it is challenging to understand him. The questions asked by the film-maker can be heard in the beginnings of John’s narratives unlike those of other participants. It can be speculated and that it is done on purpose as it makes it easier for the viewer of the documentary to understand what John is saying. However, it seems to be important to John to use English rather than Finnish in his narrations.

The Finnish language is also present in the form of place names in *Tradition Bearers*. Firstly, as Jingo is portrayed playing the guitar and singing in Finnish, the name Toivola, Michigan, appears on the screen. The name Toivola, roughly translatable as a place of hope (Kaups 1979: 31), suggests that the area must be, or at least have been, inhabited by many Finns, as Finnish language place names would be unlikely to appear for any other reason. Another Finnish place name can be noticed in a scene where John works outside his home, as the name Toimi, Minnesota is showed. This name refers most likely to a task or a chore. The Finnish place names indicate that the characters are indeed surrounded by their heritage as the places seem to be, or at least have been, predominantly Finnish areas.

Language is clearly present throughout the data, since although both documentaries are predominantly in English, instances where Finnish is used can be found throughout them. Furthermore, the Finnish language was referred to 28 times and English 14, which sets their occurrence rather high compared to for example the

terms expressing characteristics. The division was uneven in the two documentaries, however, as in *Finnish American Lives* the Finnish language appears 24 times and English only nine, while in *Tradition Bearers* the numbers are more equal as Finnish is talked about in four instances and English in five.

5.5 Customs and traditions

The last one of the categories by which the contents of the documentaries are divided is customs. In this category customs, including culture-related traditions and events, that are typical to Finnish Americans, are examined. Numerically the transmission of customs and traditions is inspected by looking at three verbs in the context of cultural transmission. Firstly, *learn* appears five times in *Finnish American Lives* and four times in *Tradition Bearers*. Secondly, *taught*, the only conjugation of *teach* found, appears four times in *Finnish American Lives* and finally the verb *show* appears four times in *Finnish American Lives*. The verbs are chosen because according to Hummasti (1990: 91) it was particularly important to pass on various Finnish cultural and traditional elements. Next, customary and traditional elements found in the documentaries are examined further, first from the perspective of *Finnish American Lives* and then from that of *Tradition Bearers*.

5.5.1 Customs and traditions in *Finnish American Lives*

(45) Erkki: Then I hearing that many Finnish people, they working in Ironwood [Michigan]. So, then we moving there.

Like already stated in the background, Loukinen (1979: 15) describes that Finns often sought the company of other Finns, giving the impression to people outside of the Finnish American community that they were clannish. This can be explained at least partly by their insufficient language skills in English, which, as we have found earlier, is also how Erkki's and his late wife's English skills can be defined. Therefore when Erkki remembers moving to his current hometown, Ironwood, after having heard that many Finns live there, it can be assumed that he was seeking the company of other

Finns and behaving in a way customary to Finns, perhaps even more than to other nationalities in the United States. This speculation can be supported with the help of the two documentaries, as all of the Finnish Americans portrayed in the documentaries live in Finnish towns and are surrounded by the Finnish language and activities typical to Finnish Americans. None of the older generations of Finnish Americans express desire to separate themselves from the community, and only Erkki's granddaughters Paula and Maria-Lisa, who are third generation immigrants, express their desire to move away from their hometown.

(46) Erkki's son: He taught me a lot of things, you know, and [...] Showed me how to work in the woods. I'm an expert at that. Just like he was. He taught me how to shoot, how to butcher, once you've killed a deer or something, you know, I can do it with my eyes shut.

(47) David: Well, my grandfather, since we moved onto the farm here we've been taking care of him. And, I remember when I was a lot younger, my Grandfather used to let me drive the tractor, I thought "wow", that's a big thrill and everything, driving it. And, he showed me a lot of stuff, you know, like, different, you know, like making hay bales and tying knots in the potato sacks.

When one of Erkki's sons remembers his father in the epilogue, he remembers learning practical skills such as hunting and butchering from him. This can be seen to repeat a pattern which occurs in the documentaries. For example, Irene remembers learning handicrafts from her mother in Example 11, and is also filmed teaching her daughters how to weave Finnish rag rugs. David reminisces how his grandfather taught him practical skills, too, like how to drive the tractor, make hay bales and tying potato sacks. In addition to the examples above, also David's cousins remember learning from their grandfather the skill of making bath whisks, among other things. As was already examined in Section 5.2.1 when discussing work, in this Finnish American community it still seems to be at least partly customary or traditional to pass on practical skills from one generation to another.

It is also interesting to examine the types of activities mentioned in Examples 46 and 47. According to Wargelin (n.d.), there are many Finnish customs that have remained popular among Americans of Finnish heritage, even though they may not be

apparently Finnish to people outside of the Finnish American communities. Such activities are, for example, hunting, carpet weaving and going to the sauna. They are presented in Wargelin's list, and can also be found in this documentary. Therefore in addition to describing a customary way of learning, the participants in the documentaries also describe traditional activities, which can be seen to connect them to their country of origin.

(48) Harold: Well a vihta is a sauna switch. My dad makes the vihta for us, but he's getting old. He don't go out. He probably would pick better material than me. But he told me, he said I get good vihta material. I pick out the young chutes and then they got to be uniform. You can't just take any cedar branch off a tree and make a vihta out of it. My dad takes time tying it. He trims it and I think he makes the best vihta. Anybody can make a vihta with binder twine and tie it but he ties it like Finlanders do in Finland. He ties it with a white birch branch, and he does a good job of it. I haven't, ah, quite learned how to tie a vihta but I intend to before dad passes away.

Example 48 is one of those where sauna is mentioned. Going to the sauna is possibly the best-known Finnish custom, and it is present also in this documentary, even if not as much as one might expect. In this extract Harold talks about his father making bath whisks. When examining Harold's narrative it becomes clear that he appreciates his father as a whisk maker, and intends to learn how to make them as well as his father does before he passes away. Furthermore, Harold states that his dad makes it the way *Finlanders do in Finland*. Thus, this custom seems connect Harold with his roots in Finland, and he seems to set value on the process being carried out in an authentic Finnish way, even if it is not necessarily a skill many Finnish people knew at the time the documentary was filmed. Erkki's whisk making skills are brought up also in another narrative in *Finnish American Lives*, when his grandchildren remember him after his death. Sauna can also seem to have carried an importance in Erkki's life, as in his own narration used in both Example 4 as well as Example 14, he reminisces moving to Ironwood and building the farm. In the narration, he mentions the buildings in a peculiar order: *We built sauna, and barn and house*. Mentioning sauna as the first thing in the list reveals that sauna, at least to him, holds important Finnish traditional value, even though it is only discussed twice in the documentary.

(49) Harold: [Mom and dad] wanted me and my wife to move down to the farm to take care of them in their old age, which we did take care of mother till she died. She wanted to die at home, and my Dad's wishes are to die at home too, so.

(50) Harold: We're glad that [Erkki] died just where he wanted to die. And I'm really proud that I took care of him. He [.] I think he lived his best. And I fulfilled his wishes [.] Mother died here, dad died here.

(51) Harold: I'd like to have my son or daughters come to the farm and maybe take care of me and the wife or mama but I don't think that they'll want to stay on the farm. They'll probably marry some other nationality. I would like them to marry Finns, but we will see.

(52) Irene: In Finland it was a custom that always the older person would stay with you and that got in my mind.

(53) David: so maybe in a couple of years I'll build and stick around here. And then take care of my parents and everything.

In Examples from 49 to 53 the custom of taking care of the oldest generation of the family can be observed from the perspective of three generations. First of all, Harold states that his parents wanted him and his family to care for them and the farm as they grew old. He states that Erkki wishes to die at home, and later, after his death in the epilogue, also states that he was *glad that he died just where he wanted to die*. He also expresses that he is *really proud* of taking care of his parents until their death. Therefore it can be viewed that taking care of one's parents in their old age is a question of pride and also a customary thing to do to the Finnish American community.

Secondly, the suspicion that taking care of the elderly can be classified as a custom is strengthened by Irene, as she explains that taking care of the elderly was customarily done by the younger generation of the family in Finland. As Irene states, *that got in my mind*, implicating that she considered moving on the farm to take care of her in-laws as perhaps a self-evident decision. Even though Irene does not mention the concept of pride or express her happiness in taking care of Harold's parents similar to Harold's pride, she appears to be happy following the procedure. It has to be noted that this custom, even though according to Irene is a Finnish one, may not have been usual in Finland anymore in the 1980's when the documentary was filmed, but it still remains

a Finnish custom to her, and can therefore be included in the category of Finnish American customs.

Thirdly, Irene and Harold's son David expresses in Example 53 that he is also ready to continue the tradition although it is not expected from him, as in Harold's narrative in Example 51 Harold does not believe that his children are prepared to stay on the farm and take care of him and his wife in the future. Furthermore, it is acknowledged in the documentary that Irene and Harold's daughters Paula and Maria-Lisa indeed do not wish to stay in Ironwood because of the lack of activities and opportunities. Even though taking care of one's parents seems to be a custom, it appears that Harold does not expect his children to follow this or other traditions, since he also states that he expects them to marry another nationality even though he does not wish them to. David, however, plans to stay near his parents and continue the Finnish American custom of taking care of them as they age, and also states in Example 23 that has a Finnish girlfriend.

(54) Niilo: We didn't have much to eat, there was potatoes [.]

Harold: meat [.]

Niilo: and milk. And a lot of venison that we ate when we were kids.

Harold: We grew up with venison

Niilo: And fish. Then, if you didn't [.] well you got sick and tired of eating the same meals every night.

Harold: But, the next day you had the same thing, you'd have milk and potatoes.

Niilo: And, if you didn't eat it they used to say, well you'll eat it when you get hungry.

Harold: That's right! One day you had milk and potatoes, next day you'd have potatoes and meat. The following day you'd have potatoes and meat. Two, three days: potatoes and meat! Then fourth day maybe potatoes and milk again. Milk potatoes.

Niilo: A little salt fish, salt fish, homemade bread and butter. We used to keep the butter down in the well, no refrigerator.

As part of Finnish American custom and tradition, also scenes where food is discussed occur in the documentary. In Example 54 Harold and Niilo remember their diet as they were young. They describe their diet as comprising mostly of potatoes, milk, meat, venison and salt fish, with homemade bread and butter. According to Wargelin (n.d.), especially root vegetables, different kinds of meat, fish and dairy products are indeed typical in the Finnish American cuisine. Also the parents'

reaction to complaints about the diet suits the Finnish character: “*you’ll eat it when you get hungry*”. In Finland, a poor nation struck with famines and wars, food has customarily been simple and inexpensive. As, according to Hoglund (1979: 62), most Finns worked in the very bottom ranks and did not have much wealth. Therefore appreciation of simple meals and not complaining about food as long as there was some available was an important value especially among the older generations who had perhaps encountered the poverty at first hand.

The documentary also includes several scenes where coffee is present. For example Wargelin (n.d.) explains that drinking coffee at certain times of the day, including in the evening, is customary to Finnish habits. Also in *Finnish American Lives* David describes his grandfather as having one *last cup of coffee* before going to bed. In Example 9 Irene describes her mother waking her up when she was young, saying that there was coffee ready for her and her sisters. In the scene where Erkki’s birthday party is shown, Irene’s toast in Finnish begins with the words “*Kahvipannusta piisaa*”, freely translated as “there’s enough in the coffee pot for everyone.” Therefore the assumption that Finns consume a great deal of coffee is strengthened by this documentary.

(55) Irene: I love to dance, so there’s a favorite lady who likes to dance polkas and waltzes and whatever, so I dance with her about three or four dances. And she says “now I’m pooped out till next Sunday, and then we’re gonna dance some more.”

Finally, one important tradition found in the documentary is the tradition of music and dancing. Example 55 is an extract from Irene’s description about her work in a nursing home. She talks about a resident, an old lady, with whom she has formed a connection partly because of sharing a love for Finnish dances. This is not unique in the documentary, as Finnish music is present throughout the film, and dancing is also shown in the scene where Erkki’s 92nd birthday party is filmed. In the party, Niilo plays the waltz “*Orpopojan valssi*” and the polka “*Löylyä lissää*” on a harmonica, and the guests dance waltz and polka to the tunes. Also, as already stated in Section 5.4.1 in connection to the Finnish language used in the film, the party guest Oskari

Waltonen also sings a traditional Ostrobothnic ditty. Music is present in the scene of Erkki's funeral, too, as there is a hymn in Finnish playing in the background. The importance of the Finnish language in the religious lives of Finnish Americans was discussed in Section 5.4, and it can be further construed that religious ceremonies were customarily performed in Finnish, especially in the case of the elderly.

5.5.2 Customs and traditions in *Tradition Bearers*

In Section 5.5.1 it was described how Finns were known to be a tight community, even compared to immigrants of other nationalities. Examples 33, 34, and 35 portray cooperation in the Finnish communities. Based on the descriptions it can be observed that John, Jingo, and Katri also lived in tight Finnish communities, since they talk about cooperating and helping members of the community with different sorts of tasks. Therefore it is not only Erkki with descriptions about moving to Ironwood after other Finns in Example 45, but rather it was common, at least based on the documentaries, among especially older generations of Finnish Americans.

Section 5.5.1 also noted skills passing from the older generation to the younger one, and similar narratives are also found in *Tradition Bearers*. In Example 21 Art tells about work in lumber mills, and mentions that he has learned the profession from his father, with whom he says to have worked since he was *knee-high*. Furthermore, as discussed in connection with helpfulness in Section 5.3.2, Jingo, for example, describes in Example 34 how the Finnish community helped to take care of its members by watching the neighbors' children and helping with grocery shopping. Therefore, even though it can be categorized under the characteristic of helpfulness, it can also be seen as a custom. Irene states in Example 52 that it was customary to take care of the older generations, which can be applied also to taking care of others in several times of need. Therefore, depending on the interpretation, cooperation can be seen not only as a Finnish characteristic but also as a custom.

(56) Art: I was a [...] Finnish music has been my big event, and at all times polkas, {chardishes, radicas}, I always feature them and enjoy playing them and it still gives me pleasure to play them and, so that's the way it's been all through my life.

(57) Art: So, we got the chance to start learning to play the piano accordion. I played music the old Finnish music, which I've always enjoyed and played a lot of it for years and years and I always wanted it to be carried on when I'm too old to play, so I have three students they've been with me for a number of years now, going on a fourth year and hopefully they'll stay with it and carry on Finnish polkas, {chardishes} and {radicas} that I enjoy playing and seems like it's coming back pretty strong again and I've survived fifty years of this kind of music and I'm sure it'll stay around for some time from now on.

In Examples 56 and 57, Art talks about his passion for Finnish music. In addition to the chosen extract, there are also many scenes where he plays the accordion and sings in Finnish as well as in English alone and with his students. In Example 56 he says that he *enjoys* playing Finnish music, and furthermore declares that playing gives him *pleasure*. These examples convey the importance traditional Finnish music has to Art. Another feature which can be seen as a tradition, and which was already discussed in Section 5.5.1 is passing on skills to younger generations. In Example 57 Art expresses desire to pass on traditional Finnish music so it would *stay around for some time from now on*. He also explains having students who he will pass this skill on to the next generations. Even though they are not identified, the students are certainly of a younger generation and are seen to keep the tradition going after *Art* is no longer playing the music. Therefore the idea of passing skills on to younger generations can be also spotted from the example above.

Even though the importance of music is not mentioned in *Finnish American Lives*, it was noted that Finnish music is played throughout the documentary and filmed being performed in one scene. Therefore, it becomes perceptible that the tradition of Finnish music existed among Finnish Americans. Furthermore, also older and traditional music choices for the background music of the films support this interpretation as they create an atmosphere of traditional *Finnishness*. Many traditional Finnish folk songs, such as "Säkkijärven polkka" and "Taivas on sininen ja valkoinen", as well as old popular waltzes and polkas, are used.

In this chapter, the associations with *Finnishness* found in the documentary were examined by dividing them to five categories: migrants' memories, work, language, characteristics, and customs and traditions. It was found that the documentaries include numerous associations with *Finnishness*, which are considerably in accordance with the previous studies of Palo Stoller (1996), Susag (1999) and Taramaa (2007), as well as with the descriptions of Finnish American character (Maki 1993-1994). In Section 6, the construction of cultural identity through narratives, as well as through other observations from the documentaries, will be examined.

6 CULTURAL IDENTITY

In this chapter, the cultural identity of five characters from *Finnish American Lives* and four characters from *Tradition Bearers* is examined further. The associations with *Finnishness* from Chapter five are used in this chapter, but also levels of constructing identity by positioning created by Bamberg (1997) and further explained by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 163-164), are observed. Furthermore, attention is paid to adverbs and adjectives, functioning as attributes since they affect the meanings and tones of utterances. Those excerpts that have already been introduced in Chapter five have a reference to the section of their occurrence, and thus the excerpts without references are newly introduced for the current chapter. All of the excerpts can be found in the transcripts provided wholly in Appendixes.

6.1 Identity in *Finnish American Lives*

Firstly, five characters of *Finnish American Lives*, Erkki, Irene, Harold, David and Maria Lisa are examined. It is worth noting that even though David and Maria Lisa, the grandchildren of Erkki and the children of Irene and Harold, are in this study considered third generation immigrants their mother is actually a first generation immigrant. Thus, it would make them second and a half generation Finnish

Americans. However, they can be observed as a more Americanized generation as their father, a second generation immigrant, and having grown up mainly hearing English and only seeing their grandfather, and not their Finnish-born mother, as a link to Finland.

6.1.1 Erkki

Erkki is a central character in *Finnish American Lives*, but his descriptions of his own identity remain few. There are not copious narratives by him as the last part of the documentary is an epilogue filmed after his death, where the bereaved of Erkki remember him and his life. Furthermore, he is portrayed as not having mastered the English language, and therefore his stories are not narrated by him straight to the camera like those of other characters. Rather, they are voice-overs, spoken by a voice actor with an immensely Finnish accent, and are heard while old photographs and other footage are shown in the background. There are, however, a number of accounts about his character as he is perceived as an archetype of a Finn by his family and relatives. Thus it was also considered important to include the few examples about his construction of cultural identity in this chapter.

In Example 1 in Section 5.1.1, Erkki gives an account of his past in Finland, stating that he *“was thinking about the America. Always. I was looking where the sun sets, and I was wondering what kind of [...] how this world looks on the other side.”* Using the adverb *always* indicates that there was a constant longing for a different kind of life. Thus it can also be regarded as a clear example of voluntariness and eagerness to emigrate. From the point of view of cultural identity, then, Erkki expresses desire to make a change and embark on an adventure in a foreign country with divergent cultural customs. It is important to acknowledge the role which voluntariness plays in the process, since it signals that the person has willingly chosen to settle into a new environment, unlike someone who has been forced to emigrate. It is also important to note that Erkki begins his story with the description of his eagerness to emigrate from Finland to

America, rather than presenting himself as having been forced to emigrate, for example under difficult circumstances. Thus, from the perspective of Bamberg's framework (1997: 336-337) we can state that Erkki positions himself to an active role as an immigrant. He continues, though, with an account of the hardships faced in Finland: "*We were very poor and we had nine kids. There was too many feet under one table.*" As surmised in Section 5.1.1, these hardships were one of the reasons for emigration. They can, nevertheless, be also seen as an indication about Erkki's identity.

As Erkki declares, the family was *very* poor, and there were too many children to support. This can be seen as an indication to Erkki's and his family's social role. He wants to identify that the family was not well off and thus belonged to the underprivileged part of the society. It is noteworthy that Erkki admits to being poor, yet he does not take the role of a victim by objecting the situation, but sees himself as an active agent. Therefore this admittance to poverty is also a way for Erkki to position himself. His thoughts about getting *some of that money fever* in relation to talking about poverty support this identity construction since it clearly reveals a thinking pattern according to which he could perhaps dispose of his poverty in America. He does not, however, signal an aspiration towards disregarding his past. This can be noticed from the lack of him covering or downplaying his poor background. Moreover, an appreciation of his culture of origin, or perhaps nationality, becomes evident when examining his values, such as considering his son to have a *good Finnish wife*. Firstly, already the fact that he mentions that his son's wife is Finnish indicates that nationality is not indifferent to him. Furthermore, mentioning that out of his twelve sons, he asked the one with a *good Finnish wife* to move on the farm to take care of him can be interpreted to depict his appreciation of *Finnishness*. The attribute *good* in front of the adjective *Finnish* is a clear expression of Erkki valuing a Finnish heritage. Even though there may also be other reasons for his decision, it cannot be denied that *Finnishness* is not one of them.

In the beginning of this subsection it was stated that Erkki is viewed as the archetype of a Finn by the extended family. Therefore his character is described and admired from Examples 25 to 27 among others, and he can clearly be seen to set an example to the rest of the family about how to be a good Finn. His descendants also compare their lives to the hardships he had to face, and for example David recounts how Erkki was glad to see him work and *get into the community*, which must have been difficult for the first generation Finnish immigrants because of, for example, the lack of language skills. Even though this is not Erkki's own construction of identity, it could be seen to please Erkki as a first generation immigrant that he has cleared the way so that his descendants will have a better opportunity of living a life without having to struggle as much as he had to.

6.1.2 Irene

Many of Irene's narrations in *Finnish American Lives* are accounts of her childhood in Finland. Out of the total of 16 mentions of Finland in *Finnish American Lives*, it appears in Irene's narratives nine times, in other words more than half of the total number of its occurrence. Hence the importance of her Finnish background to her cannot be denied. Many of these childhood memories are work-related, and not all of them are entirely positive. She explains the chores she had as a child, for example herding cows, as well as important skills learned from her mother, such as different kinds of handicrafts. Although these accounts as such do not carry a negative tone, Irene tends to use many words expressing obligation. As an example, she recounts that she *had to* wake up early in the morning, and her mother considering that wasting time is unacceptable by telling her: "*you gotta do something.*" By using the verb *had to* Irene positions herself as a passive object who was affected by external circumstances that made her wake up early and *do something*. Furthermore, in Example 9 in Section 5.2.1 Irene describes being *stuck with cows*, with the adverb suggesting that her wishes were to never have her livelihood depend on cows again. This example, too, implies that Irene, perhaps unlike Erkki, has negative feelings

towards her present state of affairs. However, despite the negativity she still seems to want to work hard. The expressions which carry a negative tone imply that Irene positions herself and thus constructs her cultural identity by using for example verbs and adverbs which reveal dissatisfaction to the state of affairs in the United States and thus setting blame on the state of affairs in the American society, yet indicating that the situation did not differ greatly from what it had been in her childhood in Finland.

Valuing work seems to have remained an important factor of Irene's identity even after her immigration to America. She acknowledges that she has continued to work a lot, as she for examples reports people asking her how come she is able to go to work for a full day after which spend her evenings doing handicrafts. She also informs giving them the answer: "*I keep going.*" It can be interpreted that Irene has acquired this typical Finnish value and expresses acceptance of it. Furthermore, it can be argued that her reply *I keep going* signals an attitude according to which one can work however many hours a day if one simply continues to do work. In addition to working a lot herself, Irene also states that her *daughters and my son is now same thing, they have to work home. Everybody had their chores.* Thus it arises in Irene's discourse that this value is also being passed on to Irene's children, which comes through especially well with the verb *have to*. There is no guarantee that the children accept and share this value with their mother. The statement, nevertheless, strengthens Irene's construction of identity and positioning herself as a member of the Finnish community by accepting the importance of work. Furthermore, it can be seen that she also views it as an important value to pass on to the next generation. This can be interpreted as her positioning her children also as members of the Finnish community.

Valuing work can also be seen as an indication of poverty, since hard work was necessary for those who earned their living from agriculture. In accordance to Erkki's expressions of poverty, also Irene recognizes this as the social position of her family in Finland. She states that her parents owned a farm, but hastens to mention that it

was *not too big* and additionally that they were *poor people*. In line with Erkki's narration, then, Irene seems to identify with an underprivileged social class as well, and the speed of downplaying the size of the farm suggests that it could even be interpreted as a source of pride for Irene. Therefore Irene can perhaps be seen to position herself as a member of the underprivileged social class in addition to the Finnish community. Furthermore, in accordance to Erkki's experiences Irene, too, expresses voluntariness in emigrating from Finland, accounting that as a young girl she *always* said that she *wants* to go to America. Thus, willingness and desire to emigrate is expressed through the verb *want*, and the desire is emphasized with the adverb *always*. In other words, then, Irene, too, can be seen to position her immigrant self as an active agent. Irene also highlights her underprivileged position by mentioning how in the United States one has to *work hard* rather than seeing *money [.] money grow on the trees*. This expression also strengthens the significance of work already discussed above.

Poverty and the appreciation of work display Finnish values, which come through for example in Irene's narration. Religiousness, which has already been mentioned in the background section of the present study as well as in connection to Example 41 in Section 5.4.1, is seen as one of the typical traits of *Finnishness* (Taramaa 2007: 90). Most Finns did, and to the present-day do, belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, and Irene's beliefs seem typical to the Lutheran morals. First of all, she mentions that she goes by her mother's advice: "*Whatever you do for other people you gonna find in front of you someday.*" The thought can be seen as a motivator to work hard and help those in need. Furthermore, Irene also mentions that when she works hard, she will *get a bright, nice crown when I die*. Again, this belief seems to encourage hard work as it promises a better life after death. In these two examples, Irene constructs her identity by using culturally accepted beliefs as justification to her hard work, and expressing her faith in the afterlife and in the golden rule found for example in the Bible. Justification of hard work can be seen as a way for Irene to

position herself for the audience, and furthermore, religiousness just like the other aforementioned values can be used to express belonging to the Finnish community.

In addition to work and religion, Irene also seems to have other traditional values which she has learned back in Finland and which she follows also in the United States. In Example 52, Irene's acceptance of following a tradition according to which younger generations cared for the older generations at home is expressed, as she expresses agreement in taking care of her husband's parents and moving to their farm. She constructs her identity by recounting a *custom* that the older generations would stay with the younger ones, and as stated, accepts it and follows it herself. This shows an appreciation of traditional Finnish customs since one could also reject them and function in a different way. Thus it can be claimed that Irene has maintained many features of the cultural identity she has grown up with already as a young girl in Finland, again positioning herself perhaps especially to the audience as Finnish. After Erkki's death one of the members of the extended family expresses her hopes of maintaining the Finnish heritage in the family by stating appreciatively that "*there's Irene here, being that she is from Finland, it'll [...] it'll keep it more like the same.*" Thus, Irene as the only Finnish-born immigrant of the family can be seen as the archetype of *Finnishness* as well as the advocate of preserving the Finnish cultural heritage.

Under Example 37 in Section 5.4.1 it was already addressed that Irene describes her and her community's language as *not real Finnish nor [...] good English either*. She calls the language *Fingliska*. Although today immigrant languages such as *Finglish* are valued, have been examined, and even described in dictionaries, it is easily observed that Irene does not view *Fingliska* as a respectable variety of a language. Furthermore, rather than expressing that she speaks Finglish, she says that her language has *broken into Fingliska*, and it can be seen that the verb *broken* carries a negative connotation. Rather than the language being seen as whole or complete, it is described being *broken*. Irene's narration about her language skills is in accordance with the view of Martin and Virtaranta (1993: 165), as they report that it is common for Finnish

Americans who are often proud of their Finnish heritage to be ashamed of using Finnish. They often perceive that the variety of Finnish that uses lots of loanwords from English is somehow worse than standard language (Martin and Virtaranta 1993: 166). However, Finnish is just as valuable a variety as any other language varieties, and has evolved to make communication more precise and easy in Finnish American communities (ibid.)

In terms of identity, then, expressing that *Fingliska* is not *real* or *good* language displays that Irene does not appreciate her variation of the language very much, but is rather unhappy to concede that she does not speak the *real Finnish*. She makes a contrast between her community's Finnish and the one heard in a Finnish television program shown in the United States, as she states that it is pleasant to hear *real Finnish*. Furthermore, this can be seen as separating her cultural identity, as well as her view of the cultural identity of the community, from that of those Finns who can speak *real Finnish*.

In the same Example 37 there is also an account of language which can be seen to unite the Finnish American community. Irene describes how it is difficult for a Finnish immigrant to learn English, and how being able to manage with only Finnish skills has a strengthening influence on not learning English. Thus the Finnish language, however *broken* it may be seen to be, is a unifying factor which, as shown in the background section, as for example Susag (1999: 19) claims that this led to the Finnish community being very close-knit. It can be deduced that as the Finnish language caused Finnish Americans at least in this particular community to mostly socialize with each other, their use of Finnish must have also been an important factor in their cultural identity, as it on the one hand united them with other Finnish speakers and on the other hand somewhat separated them from the rest of the society. Irene constructs her linguistic identity by comparing her own language to what she thinks is good language and what is not, but she also uncovers her thoughts

on a wider issue of language use, which gives a broader understanding of the role language use plays on Finnish American cultural identity.

6.1.3 Harold

Harold is the first character examined who was born in the United States. One of the features that recur in his narrative is that he cared for his parents at home until they died. First of all, as stated in connection to Example 49, Harold describes how his parents had expressed desire to have him and his wife to live on the farm and take care of them as they aged. He confirms that together with his wife, they cared for his mother until the end. In relation to Irene's identity, it was stated how she accepted these customary actions like taking care of the older generation. Furthermore, it was also mentioned how Irene positioned herself in the role of a caretaker. These both ways of identity construction also suit Harold because of his acceptance of the tradition of taking care of the elderly. Moreover, Harold also takes pride in his actions as a caretaker, as he states in Example 50 that he is *proud that I took care of him*, as well as *fulfilled his wishes*. These expressions of pride signal that he does not only accept his traditional role but also emphasizes its importance to him as he receives personal satisfaction from fulfilling his cultural duty. Therefore taking care of his parents can be seen as essential to his cultural identity. He can also be seen to position himself to both himself and the audience, since he presents himself as a caring and feeling strong for his family, thus creating an image of a "good" son. In Example 51 Harold also declares that he hopes his children would stay on the farm to take care of him and his wife, but does not expect them to. Therefore he would like to continue the tradition but he seems to accept the inevitable change in it, thus perhaps also positioning himself to a different group than his children, since they are seen to be the generation to break the "Finnish" tradition.

The Finnish language also comes up in Harold's narratives, as he in Example 38 explains how his parents used to ask the children to speak Finnish, and also expresses

his content in living with his father, which gives Harold's children a better opportunity to learn and maintain the Finnish language. However, as already mentioned in Section 5.4.1, it can be interpreted that Harold himself would not use the Finnish language to communicate with his children. He therefore recounts his parents requiring the use of Finnish and suspects that there is a *better chance* for his children to learn Finnish, but does not express visible emotion in relation to the language choices. This can be seen as typical to second generation Finns, as Martin and Jönsson-Korhola (1993: 19) state that unless grandparents were in the same space, the families of second generation Finnish Americans generally spoke in English. In accordance to Martin and Jönsson-Korhola's study, Harold's choice of language in *Finnish American Lives* is English unless he speaks directly to his father, which can be seen as an indicator that Harold's natural choice of language is English. There are no instances, furthermore, where Harold would take an emotional stance on the question of language use, which therefore can be interpreted as a neutral issue for Harold. In the context of cultural identity, then, Harold expresses his appreciation of Finnish and does not imply to be ashamed of it, try to renounce knowing it or avoid using it. However, the use of Finnish language does not come forward as an important way of constructing his cultural identity, unlike it did in, for example, Irene's narratives. It can be argued that one reason for this could be that Irene has grown up using only Finnish and learned English only after immigrating to the United States, whereas Harold, even though as a child of an immigrant family, has grown up in the United States and received for instance his education in English.

Even if the Finnish language is not an important feature of Harold's cultural identity, Finnish ethnicity, nationality or culture, or perhaps all of these features, come forward in his narration as important. In Section 5.2.1, an extract where Harold and his brother Niilo converse while chopping firewood is included in Example 10. In the extract, Harold calls him and his brother *crazy Finlanders*, as they prepare firewood for the winter in the middle of the summer. This statement can be seen as a construction of cultural identity, as Harold clearly implies belonging to the Finnish community,

being a *Finlander*. Thus, even though he may be more comfortable using English, and indeed also in this extract speaks English with his brother, he still underlines his Finnish character when describing himself *crazy* from the perspective of the majority, or perhaps anyone who is not of Finnish origin. This can again be interpreted as positioning himself to the audience as a member of the Finnish community. Another feature of Finnish character Harold uses to construct his identity is his will to live on the farm. In Example 13 Harold's expression about wanting to *hobby farm* is expressed. Even though he does not wish to make his living in agriculture, he still states never wanting to move to the city. Especially Finnish immigrants were often from rural areas, and the expression, *I never want to move out into the city*, includes a strong, negative opinion about living in an urban area. Therefore Harold can be seen to construct his cultural identity by this statement, sympathizing with the rural Finnish American community.

Harold's appreciation of Finnish culture can also be spotted from him marrying a Finnish woman. He constructs his identity by stating that his mother and father *were both real pleased that I had a Finnish girlfriend*, and is also hoping that his children would marry Finns, even though he states that they will *probably marry some other nationality*. Harold also expresses appreciation, even admiration, when he talks about the Finnish sauna switch, *vihta*, and how his father is great at making it. As already examined in Section 5.5.1, in Example 48 Harold states that everyone can make them *with binder twine and tie it but he ties it like Finlanders do in Finland*. Therefore, also this example provides the viewer with a very positive idea of Finnish culture and the skills Finnish people supposedly have. Connecting his father's skills to those of real Finns and expressing hopes of one day acquiring similar skills is a clear example of Harold on the one hand constructing positive Finnish identity, but also on the other hand distancing himself from the *Finlanders in Finland*, even though this distancing is not done in a negative manner, as he hopes to become more alike those Finns. Therefore Harold can be seen to position himself into the Finnish American community, and also to construct more of a Finnish American than Finnish identity.

6.1.4 David

David is the son of Harold and Irene, and is the first representative of the third generation of Finnish immigrants. Throughout *Finnish American Lives*, David attempts to construct a cultural identity very typical to first generation Finnish Americans. It is apparent that David appreciates Erkki very much and sees him as an archetypical Finnish character, which is also a prevalent opinion in the extended family. David refers to his grandfather several times in the documentary, and praises him for his skills and character. In Example 47, for instance, David praises his grandfather's little practical tricks, like his way of tying a sack of potatoes, and appreciates having learned them from him as well. David also mentions a number of times, how his grandfather was delighted to see him work hard and earn money. This suggests that it is a source of pride for David to get acceptance and admiration from Erkki, and thus David positions himself in relation to the Finnish community by comparing his actions to his grandfather's values. He also presents himself to the audience as having many Finnish qualities.

David is surrounded by the Finnish heritage not only at home but also at work and in his free time. He appears to have learned Finnish as his first language, judging from his narration of not knowing English when he went to kindergarten. In Example 40, David expresses his concerns about the loss of Finnish language in the Finnish American community. He states that he has many Finnish American friends who have *lost the language*. He also states that those who have forgotten are *sorry about it*. Furthermore, he claims that they *try to learn*, and that when he teaches them new words *they're all proud*. David describes being sorry about not speaking as much Finnish as he used to, and explains trying to maintain his language skills by using it whenever he can. It can be observed that David places rather strong value on knowing Finnish as part of his cultural identity. He describes himself and others feeling *sorry* about *losing* the language. Feeling *sorry* indicates that he wishes to speak Finnish more fluently and that he is not ashamed to express this desire. Furthermore,

he describes forgetting Finnish with the negative term *losing* it; making it seem like a loss of something treasured. It is noticeable, then, that he constructs his cultural identity through these statements of regret about forgetting his language of origin. In addition to constructing his own identity, he also constructs a suggested identity of his co-workers from his own perspective, claiming, for example, that they are *proud* to learn new words, and therefore makes them seem as if they agreed with him about the importance of Finnish and about the regrets about forgetting it.

The last obvious way of David's construction of his cultural identity is relating to living in a rural area and liking solitude and freedom. As portrayed in Example 23, David expresses his wishes to stay in his home area for the rest of his life, and articulates that he would not be comfortable living in a city. Furthermore, he reveals his intentions of taking care of his parents as they age. David tells about his girlfriend who has a Finnish heritage, too, and constructs also her identity to be a solitude-seeking Finn. As already mentioned in Section 5.3.1 and in the background, being close to nature and enjoying the freedom of the countryside is found to be central to the Finnish American character. Even though it might not hold true to the modern Finnish way of life, the stereotypical characteristics familiar to the descendants of immigrants can be their conception of real Finns, especially since many of the first generation immigrants came from the rural parts of Finland and thus set such example also to later generations. To David, this is the example after which he constructs his Finnish cultural identity. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that his father also constructs a similar identity as examined in Section 6.1.3.

6.1.5 Maria Lisa

Maria Lisa is the daughter of Harold and Irene, and is the other representative of the third generation of Finnish immigrants. She is featured in the film less than David, which means that also less material is available from her discourse than from, for example, David's discourse. It is important, however, to examine her viewpoints

which offer another perspective to the cultural identity of the third generation of the family, as there are both similarities and differences in David's and Maria Lisa's narratives.

The first noticeable way of Maria Lisa's identity construction is her expressions of the will to please her grandfather Erkki, which is in accordance with David's behavior. Maria Lisa states, for example, she has a habit of entertaining Erkki by pretending to be a visitor of the house and greeting her grandfather in Finnish. She continues that her grandfather *gets a kick out of, you know how younger kids can make that much money now*. Maria Lisa's positive narration reveals that she, at the very least, has a close relationship with her grandfather, and by expressing happiness about receiving acceptance and respect from her grandfather. Thus Maria Lisa constructs her cultural identity by accepting her social role in the community, by fulfilling the expectation of working hard, as well as being proud of it. Furthermore, by appreciating Erkki, Maria Lisa also appreciates her heritage, even if she is not committed to following in the footsteps of her parents.

It can be assumed that Maria Lisa is not striving for a life similar to her parents' life because she clearly states that she does not intend to stay in her home region. As she expresses it: *"I don't want to stay here not too long because if not, you can't find that many good jobs up here, you know, that in the field that I want to go into."* This remark reveals her negative view of the job opportunities provided by her home area, and displays her eagerness to move to a different area, especially as she continues by saying that she yearns for more people around her. In addition to Maria Lisa, also her sister Paula expresses will to move to another area. Both girls justify this desire to move also by wanting to travel and see different places in the United States. This contradicts with their brother David's plans of staying near to his parents. By expressing willingness to move to a different location, Maria Lisa constructs her cultural identity by disagreeing with the Finnish American norm and therefore can be seen to seek distance from her Finnish American community and perhaps even to assimilate better

into the American society. This can also be examined from the perspective of positioning. Maria Lisa positions herself in relation to others in the community and thus her identity construction includes more “American” features than that of the other characters examined in this section.

Finally, Maria Lisa’s identity construction happens also through her accounts of language use, more specifically her knowledge and usage of Finnish. In Example 39 she describes her language use by saying that she can manage in Finnish, and although she acknowledges that there are things she cannot say and words she does not know, she says that she can understand when people talk to her in Finnish. Unlike her brother David already examined in this section, she does not seem to be sorry about not being able to use fluent Finnish. Her statements, such as *sometimes I get stuck on a word* and *I just skip over [words I don’t know] and I just say the rest* can be interpreted as very neutral, since she does not express much negative or positive emotion towards the Finnish language. However, in connection to entertaining her grandfather Maria Lisa explains greeting him saying *päivää* in Finnish and pretending to be a strange Finnish visitor, which shows that she uses the language voluntarily. Furthermore, she is also shown working in a bakery and serving a customer in Finnish, which proves that she has some knowledge of the language. Therefore in the context of cultural identity the importance of Finnish language seems to have little importance to her, with the exception of conversing with Erkki.

6.2 Identity in *Tradition Bearers*

In the following sections, all characters of *Tradition Bearers*, Katri, John, Jingo and Art are examined from the perspective of cultural identity using the observations of chapter five with the help of Bamberg’s (1997) levels of positioning one self.

6.2.1 John

John is a first generation Finnish immigrant, who arrived in the United States in 1903. John is interviewed in English, which can already be seen as a way for him to construct his cultural identity. As Katri Saari speaks Finnish throughout the documentary, it is likely that if he wanted to, John could have chosen to conduct his narration in Finnish. However, he has chosen to use English, even though it is often difficult and at times even impossible to understand his narration. The importance of knowing English is also strongly present in John's narratives and lexical choices. In Example 6, John reports that his intention was to stay in America only for a few weeks. As present in Example 6, however, John considered the United States to be *a good country* and therefore decided to stay. John mentions twice that he felt obligated to learn English. Firstly, he states telling himself after arriving that he has to *learn this language*. Later on in his narration he repeats this obligation by stating that he has *to learn the language if you mean to stay here*. As already mentioned when examining Example 43 in Section 5.4.2, John expresses obligation by using the verb *have to* in connection to learning English. Nevertheless, he also states that he likes to learn, which indicates that he himself has set this goal of learning the language, and also views it in a positive manner. Thus it can be construed that he constructs his cultural identity by emphasizing his linguistic adjustment into the new community, and it can be viewed that as a demonstration of this he also uses English rather than Finnish in his narration. John positions himself in relation to the surrounding English-speaking society rather than only as a member of Finnish American community.

The determination of learning English becomes also apparent in John's narration. As was discovered in Section 5.4.2, he firstly tells about the way he learned English by stating that he *tried pretty hard*. He then recounts how he learned by listening to English speakers in Duluth, for example while running errands in a grocery store. John appears to pay more attention to the English language than some other Finnish immigrants, since he mentions that *everyone speak English* in a store in Duluth. This differs from for example Irene's narration in Example 37 where she mentions that her in-laws never learned much English as they lived in Finnish communities where one

could get by without knowing the language. There is no indication of what kinds of communities John lived in, but for example Duluth was a city of a large Finnish immigrant population. Furthermore, he does mention cooperating with Finnish neighbors, which suggests that he also has the opportunity to communicate in Finnish. It appears, thus, that he does not settle for associating with Finns, but expresses interest towards the host culture as well. John also seems to position himself as an active agent in the process of learning and perhaps even adapting to the American society.

It is worth mentioning that John is the only person in all of the data who mentions the citizenship of the United States. In relation to arriving to the United States John mentions instantly getting citizenship: *"I get them and I'm citizen of United State (sic) then when I get the papers."* Based on this comment it can be observed that he constructs his cultural identity by highlighting his American citizenship, and therefore sees himself more as an American after getting the citizenship.

As it has been mentioned in chapter four, it was interesting to observe that not much contrast is being expressed between Finland and America. Even though John highlights his American citizenship, he also directly states that there is not much difference between Finland and the United States. The film-maker is heard asking John directly, what the differences between the two countries are. John answers: *"Oh well, well, pretty much the same thing as here. I don't [.] I don't [.] I never can see any difference. Everybody get married when they're around that age. Almost everyone. Joo."* His answer reveals that in his opinion life in Finland and in the United States does not differ greatly from each other. This statement also reveals something about John's cultural identity, as he expresses thoughts of equality of the two places, and furthermore does not set emotional significance to either of the places.

His narration in general expresses gratefulness to the United States for providing him with a sufficient living, and while constructing his cultural identity he focuses on the

positive rather than emphasizing any possible hardships of an immigrant's life. John's construction of his cultural identity reveals that he is content with very little. He does not only value his newfound American identity, but his actions and narration also indicate values typical to Finns. He is portrayed working as a woodcarver which he also talks about a number of times. His expressions of appreciating nature and specifically wood become visible for example as he states that he does not create something completely new but only modifies pieces of wood a little to turn them into usable commodities. He is shown carving spoons as he explains that it is his evening work because he does not want to go to bed early in the evening. This, as well as the numerous scenes of him doing different kinds of chores, represents him as a hard worker. By talking about his work and nature, he constructs his identity using more Finnish features.

6.2.2 Katri

Katri, a first generation Finnish immigrant, emigrated from Finland in August 1913. She is the only character in the film who has chosen to narrate her stories in Finnish. This choice of language can be examined as the first sign of Katri's identity construction, although its importance cannot be paralleled to that of John's language choice since John has chosen to use his weaker language. However, at the very least it can be interpreted that Katri has stronger skills on Finnish than in English and thus finds it easier to narrate in Finnish than in English. Furthermore it can be then interpreted that Katri has maintained a connection with the Finnish speaking community, which consequently may be presumed to already be a feature constructing her cultural identity. The only exception of Katri's language use is a short exchange of ideas in English with the film-maker at the very end of the documentary. Moreover, she uses the English word for an item which she supposedly uses quite often, *skein maker*, in Finnish *vyyhdinpuu*, as the English version of the word might have transferred to her Finnish lexicon. The American influence can also be observed in her Finnish in the form of typical American Finnish words such as

kitsi, maini and *piltata*, all of which can be found in the dictionary of American Finnish (Virtaranta, 1992). In terms of language use it can be interpreted that Katri constructs her identity through using Finnish language, but also through mixing Finnish American and English words to it.

In accordance to Erkki's and Irene's background, also Katri comes from a poor family. She explains that there was not much money, yet it was not essential for them as the family was mainly self-sufficient. Already mentioning that a great deal of money was not needed by the family can be seen as constructing a poor, underprivileged cultural identity. Similarly to Erkki and Irene, Katri does not conceal her poverty or seem to be ashamed of it, but rather positions herself to the audience as part of that group. Poverty can furthermore be seen as an important part of identifying oneself as being tough and a hard worker. As everything was homemade, also Katri recounts having to participate in the work. She describes her chores as helping *with inside tasks and carding and everything else that I could learn to do. But this was pleasant work for me, and has continued to be throughout my life.* It is noteworthy that even if Katri was obliged to work, she still describes the chores with the adjective *pleasant* to emphasize her positive attitude towards work. Thus, although an outer force can be detected to have affected her childhood in the sense of doing lots of work, it is not used in a negative way, and she does not position herself for example as a victim. It can be observed from Katri's narration that work is an important value to her, as there are 13 references to it in her narration. Furthermore, Katri is working and presenting different chores throughout the documentary, which supports and strengthens the significance of work. Thus it is detectable that Katri takes an active role in maintaining Finnish cultural identity by centering much of her narration on work.

As previously mentioned in the present study, the Finnish work ethic was also valued by employers in the United States. Katri explains her boss saying that *Finnish girls, even though they could not speak English, knew how to work.* Katri's narratives reveal that she identifies herself as a Finnish immigrant who, even though not capable of

speaking English, was confident that as a hard worker she could make a living without knowing the language of the host society. A slight change, however, can be observed in Katri's work ethic as she recounts her position as a cook in the mine owner's home. She explains having wondered why one person is *so much better than another, that the other person must serve him with such precision*, and admits having grown tired to the point of resigning. As the admittance of growing tired and in a way giving up is not typical to the Finnish work ethics, this provides a distinct way of constructing cultural identity, and can be seen as an example of identity, indeed, being on a constant move.

The concept of *sisu* is mentioned by Katri as the only person in the documentary, even though numerous characteristics attached to it can be detected in the narrations. Katri defines the word and states that she thinks that she also shares this typical Finnish characteristic. It can be determined, thus, that by accepting this characteristic as part of her identity, she also makes a connection between herself and what she sees as being typically Finnish.

6.2.3 Jingo

Jingo is one of two second generation Finnish Americans in *Tradition Bearers*. In her narrative, she states that, although being born in the United States, she along other second generation immigrant children spoke Finnish at home. The most important task for them at school was to learn English. Mentioning that Finnish was the language of the home and that English was only learned at school can be seen as a construction of cultural identity since it becomes clear from her narration that the Finnish community where she lived was tight enough to keep their American-born children monolingual in Finnish before school, and therefore through this account Jingo also positions herself in the Finnish American community and language group and by accepting this role. She continues by stating that at school the children were punished if they used Finnish, but explains that after school the language would

change back to Finnish. This observation strengthens Jingo's construction of a Finnish American cultural identity since she first of all brings out the majority's view about her expected language of use represented by the school system, after which she positions herself and her Finnish speaking friends in an almost resistant place, as they rejected this view outside of the school. The narration on the one hand positions her into the Finnish American community, and on the other hand slightly distances her childhood self from the American society because of the rejection of the English language.

As discussed in connection to Erkki, Irene and Katri, admitting to poverty and belonging to the underprivileged part of the society seems to be an important way of constructing their cultural identity and positioning themselves in relation to the society. Jingo, too, admits to having *very little money* during the depression but continues to an account of how the people in the community *made* their own fun by having parties, dances and turning for example old clothes into new ones. Furthermore, Jingo states that some people *don't want to admit that they were ever poor*, and that she thinks *it's stupid*. This piece of narration is a clear construction of identity. First of all, Jingo discursively positions herself into the section of the society which had financial difficulties during the depression. Secondly, she does not complain about or reject the situation, but rather expresses pride over how she was able to maintain a joyful, if not a prosperous, living by recounting the entertainment which was available during the time of poverty. Lastly, she states thinking that not admitting to poverty is *stupid*. The lexical choice *stupid* can clearly be seen as criticism towards those people, and through this criticism Jingo's impression of how one should regard poverty comes apparent. Thus it can be stated that Jingo constructs her identity by declaring that taking pride in surviving during the time of poverty is the appropriate thing to do, while hiding it is foolish. Proudly admitting to having been poor is one of many examples of honest behavior found in Jingo's narration. In Example 32 she describes her father's teachings according to which one cannot be very wrong if one does not feel the need to *sneak to do* something. As already

discussed in Section 5.3, being direct can be seen as an important value in both documentaries. Jingo constructs her identity by stating this instruction and by indicating that she herself also behaves in this manner. This behavior agrees with that of the previous paragraph, i.e. that one should be honest about poverty, and it can be added up that Jingo constructs her cultural identity by recounting behavior in the manner that her Finnish father taught to her.

Jingo does not only talk about his father's advice but also about his past in Finland and his migration to the United States. By explaining the hardships he had had back as a boy in Finland, it is also indicated why he had decided to move to America. According to Jingo, her father had heard that *a man had a chance in America*, and as he was a very poor and had to beg in order to make a living. Jingo also recounts the phases of her father's life in America, and describes them in quite a neutral, yet somewhat positive manner. She, for example, tells about her father owning a small boarding house, building a sailboat, and getting his own homestead. By telling the story of her father, Jingo justifies him leaving Finland, and also constructs a positive picture about what her father accomplished as an immigrant. By this account, it can be interpreted that Jingo constructs a connection to the United States by showing how her father benefited from immigration. She also constructs a more positive image of the United States in relation to her father's life than she does, for example, with her accounts of the rule against using Finnish at school. The story about her father can, therefore, be seen as a construction and a justification of positioning herself as a person born in the United States.

An indisputable feature of Jingo's identity construction is her work as a storyteller. She describes her writings as retelling events that either she has lived through or heard from the elder generations of her community, rather than creating stories. In *Tradition Bearers* also pictures about her printed stories, along with her illustrations are showed to the viewer. Although written in English, the stories are specifically about events in Finland or in Finnish American communities, with quotes attached to

the illustrations in Finnish. The images support Jingo's narration and can be added to the interpretation of her construction of cultural identity, since they prove the contents of her stories to be about Finns and Finnish Americans. Therefore her narration about writing based on her own experiences and stories by other people connect her to her Finnish American background and even to her roots in Finland. By stating that she does not *create stuff*, it can be speculated that she constructs her identity also by writing realistic or even true stories about her community, as it seems to hold special importance for her.

As well as a process about nationality, Jingo also constructs her identity as an independent woman, distancing herself from the traditional gender roles. She tells how for twenty years after she got married she was *thoroughly domesticated*, meaning that she accepted her gender specific role which her community required. She continues by describing how she slowly began to write when her children were all in school, and how she *got braver and braver* about sending her stories to newspapers. Although it can be interpreted that the word *brave* is used to describe the courage it takes to send one's personal writings to newspapers in hopes of getting them published, it can also be seen to describe the braveness of breaking the social norm of a woman's behavior since in the narration it is connected to the comment about having been *thoroughly domesticated*.

6.2.4 Art

Art is the second of the two second generation immigrants in *Tradition Bearers*. His stories are not as diverse as those of the other characters as he mostly talks about lumberjacks and music, but his construction of cultural identity can nevertheless be perceived in some parts of his narration. Even though he does not mention features of identity typical to the other characters in the two documentaries, such as discuss using or having used the Finnish language, his narration reveals another connection he has to the Finnish language. In relation to Example 56 in Section 5.5.2, Art's

enthusiasm about music has already been described and examined. His construction of cultural identity can, however, be also spotted from these examples. He defines Finnish music as his *big event*, and says he gets pleasure from playing it. He is also shown playing the guitar and the accordion and singing in Finnish, which is not mentioned directly in his narration. Therefore the scenes support and strengthen the assumption that when talking about Finnish music he also means music which is sung in Finnish. Art's cultural identity can be seen to include the Finnish language used while singing Finnish music. It must be mentioned, however, that in addition to singing in Finnish, Art is also pictured singing his own song about lumberjacks in English, which reveals that it is not only Finnish that is his musical language but also English is used in his hobby.

Music is also discussed with Example 57 in Section 5.5.2 where Art describes the state of Finnish music at the moment. He mentions again how he enjoys playing it, but continues how he does not want it to disappear and thus has begun to teach it to some students, so the tradition is guaranteed to continue. He also states that he has *survived fifty years of this kind of music and I'm sure it'll stay around for some time from now on*. His remark *survived* indicates that Art does not consider Finnish music to be hugely popular, even if he believes in the continuation of the tradition. Thus it can be surmised that he constructs his cultural identity through expressing attachment and passion to traditional Finnish music.

In addition to music, there is one other trait of *Finnishness*, which Art can be interpreted to use in constructing his cultural identity. In Example 21 in Section 5.2.2, Art is quoted describing his love for logging and forests. As noted many times, the love of nature is a feature often considered typical to Finns and also valued among Finnish Americans. Art's expressions such as *I still like to be in the woods*, and *enjoy seeing logging going on* can be interpreted as constructions of cultural identity, as he makes an attachment between himself and this characteristic typical to Finnish Americans. Furthermore, as examined in Section 5.2.2, Art could also be seen to

construct his identity through the expressions of work he uses in this same example, since it is also a typical Finnish value, which Art agrees with by stating that *used to work in my dad's sawmill ever since I was a knee high*, and that he *did some sawmill work on my own and logging*. Art positions himself to belong to the Finnish community by accepting this typical trait of Finnish values. He also states that he must have gotten some sawdust stuck in his ears because of his past in the lumber mills, which implicates that it is a quality or a value learned in early childhood, which has affected him the rest of his life and which is a learned custom rather than a personal interest, and furthermore a personal choice.

When we examined these characters of the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers*, a lot of agreement can be detected in the ways in which identity was constructed. In the next chapter, this agreement is examined as the findings are discussed and evaluated.

7 DISCUSSION

In this chapter the findings of the present study are summarized, after which they are discussed in comparison to previous research on Finnish Americans. Furthermore, the relevance of the present study is evaluated, and lastly topics for further studies are suggested.

7.1 Summary and key findings

In the present study, there were two central aims; firstly, to portray how *Finnishness* is present in the documentary films *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers*, and secondly, to examine the narratives and the construction of cultural identity of the main characters in the documentaries. We considered the two documentaries to be resourceful in portraying views and thoughts of Finnish Americans, and furthermore could not find comparable research on them. For example questionnaires, interviews

and fictional texts have been used as data in studies about Finnish American identity. However, the documentaries provided us with a different glimpse to the lives of Finnish Americans in the 1980's, than solely textual sources would give. Furthermore similar data could not be collected anymore.

The data consists of two documentaries, *Finnish American Lives* (1982, epilogue 1984), and *Tradition Bearers* (1983), directed by Professor Michael Loukinen. The first documentary centers around a Finnish American family who live on a farm in Ironwood, Michigan. The documentary captures three generations living and working together, and telling stories about themselves and each other. The second documentary depicts four Finnish American folk artists who narrate about topics featuring *Finnishness*. Their stories cover, for example, narratives of the past and descriptions of their daily actions. To accentuate the stories, black-and-white photographs and video clips about the artists' typically "Finnish" actions are shown in the background, with Finnish folk music often playing in the background. The overarching theme of both documentaries is *Finnishness*.

The starting point for the analysis of the data was the transcription of the two documentaries, as well as viewing the documentaries with the help of the transcripts. As advised by Dörnyei (2007: 246), certain thematic categories were discovered from the data before making finalized decisions about the methods of analysis. Furthermore, following Dörnyei's (ibid.) suggestions, the documentaries were transcribed without editing or leaving out any spoken data, but also without marking stresses or intonation, as speech patterns are not examined in our study. The current study used a discourse analytic framework for investigating cultural identity, and concentrated especially on narrative analysis of the lexical features found in the narratives. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic feature of integrating and differentiating oneself from the surrounding cultural context suggested by Bamberg et al. (2011: 184) was also considered in the analysis. As discussed in Section 4.2, the categorization of associations with *Finnishness* that could be detected from the documentaries were

created on the basis of previous research on Finnish Americans by Palo Stoller (1996), Susag (1999) and Taramaa (2007), all of which categorized features of *Finnishness*. In addition to the thematic categories, the construction of cultural identity by the main characters of the documentaries was studied by deepening some observations of the thematic categories as well as adding significant excerpts which were not relevant for categorization under the five associations with *Finnishness*. The construction of cultural identity was studied mainly by investigating expressions of (not) belonging suggested by De Fina (2003), such as accepting or not accepting common values, and ways of positioning oneself in relation to one another, the audience and oneself, introduced by Bamberg (1997). Furthermore, also relevant audiovisual elements were considered, such as the scene from *Finnish American Lives* where Erkki's birthday was celebrated, and the scene from *Tradition Bearers* where John was showed doing all kinds of manual work in his backyard.

The findings of the analysis concerning the five thematic categories created by us are, first of all, that the categories were found to be relevant, as examples of each category could be found from almost each of the main characters' narratives. An exception here is that migrants' memories are generally not told by second or further generation immigrants, and thus Jingo was the only one who was discovered to tell a story about her father's migration. Therefore an excerpt from her narration is included as an example about a migrant's memory, although she herself is had not experienced immigration first hand. Furthermore, not all characters were represented equally much in the documentaries, and accordingly for example Maria Lisa's narration, which adds up to 272 words, lacks references to for example characteristics, where as Irene's narration of 1 094 words contain several remarks about characteristics. Next, the findings of each category are briefly reported and discussed.

Examples of stories about the first category, migrants' memories, were found by all of the first generation main characters in both films, as well as Helmi, who has a minor role in *Finnish American Lives*. Furthermore, one account about migration was

provided in *Tradition Bearers* by Jingo, who told about her father's emigration from Finland. All of the first generation immigrants except for John reported financial reasons and therefore dreams of wealth as the reason behind immigration, as it comes up in Erkki's, Irene's, Katri's and Jingo's accounts of memories about Finland. Out of these four, all of the first generation immigrants, Erkki, Irene and Katri, also revealed feelings of disappointment for life in America as they reported working harder than expected with low income. Moreover, Katri expressed hopes of helping her family in Finland by sending them money, while John recounted plans of only staying in America for some weeks in order to earn money, after which he intended to return to Finland. John's story contradicted with the accounts of the other characters, as his narration suggested that he was truly content with his life in America. He did not mention once hard work as a negative aspect of immigrant life in America. On the contrary, his narrations portrayed the United States in a rather appreciative light.

The second category was work, which came up in all five main characters' narration in *Finnish American Lives*. It thus mentioned by Erkki, Irene, Harold, David and Maria-Lisa, and additionally by the side characters Helmi, Harold's brother Niilo and Erkki's grandson who only gave sparse comments at the end of the documentary. In *Tradition Bearers* work was mentioned by all of the characters. Accounts of work occurred frequently with description of various jobs. The tasks appeared to be gender-specific, as mostly all tasks explained by women were domestic tasks, while men talked mostly about physical labor outside of the home. Irene and Katri described doing lots of handicrafts, and furthermore Katri described for example working in the kitchen. Selina is described as having baked, washed the dishes and taken care of cows, the last of which was also mentioned by Irene several times. Also Helmi explained having done lots of domestic work, although did not specify which kind. When looked at the tasks described by men, David reported doing many manly activities such as plowing the fields and other farm work as well as was shown working on a construction site, Harold talked about hobby farming and working in the lumber mills. Also Erkki described working on a farm, and he and Art talked

about having worked in the lumber mills. Furthermore both mentioned mining copper. As an overarching theme it can be detected that the characters recognize the importance of work. Another unifying feature of many narratives can be observed to be the emphasis on working hard.

Characteristics was chosen as the third thematic category, and accounts of Finnish American character could be identified in the narratives of Irene, David, Harold, Erkki's son, Erkki's grandchild and Helmi in *Finnish American Lives*, and all of the characters from *Tradition Bearers*. The characteristics could be suspected to be related to gender, as all of the main male characters spent a great deal of time describing their love of nature, such as the woods as well as the big open country they occupied, while none of the female characters really mentioned it, even though David described that his Finnish girlfriend likes to stay in the countryside. Women seemed to mention for example helpfulness more, even though it arose also in John's narration. The concept of *sisu* only came up twice, but toughness, persistence, frankness and stubbornness, which can be linked to it, appeared in almost every main character's narration with the exception of Maria-Lisa in *Finnish American Lives* and Art in *Tradition Bearers*. Other mentionable characteristics included humility, appreciation of homemade items and thus also austerity, as well as hospitality. Occurrences of Finnish American characteristics were also searched numerically. Specifically in this category the findings were few because the characters did not use only one term but rather many euphemisms to describe Finnish American characteristics. This proves that with the data like ours, quantitative methods may be used to support the qualitative findings but the analysis should not be solely based on numeric findings.

The fourth category observed the use and discussion of language. Firstly, among the narrations of the first generation Finnish American immigrants apart from Erkki, an overarching theme concerning language use was learning English. Furthermore, although Erkki did not mention language in his narration, Irene recounted how he never learned much English. The perspective of learning language varied slightly, as

Irene concentrated on the difficulties of language learning while John, for example, described the process of learning as well as liking to learn the new language. As the only character in the documentaries, Irene also talked about the variety of Finnish used by the community of Finnish Americans, since she thought it was not real Finnish anymore. The third generation Finnish Americans described knowing and losing the Finnish language, with David taking a very emotional attitude towards this language of origin, whereas Maria Lisa and Paula reflected on their use of Finnish. Finally the two second generation characters elaborating on language use, Jingo and Harold, had quite different perspectives on language use. Jingo talked about only knowing Finnish before going to school and speaking Finnish with her friends outside of school as it was forbidden at school. Harold, did not express any emotion towards Finnish, as he only reminisced his parents telling him to speak Finnish, and expressed content with his children learning Finnish from their grandfather.

The final thematic category examined by the present study was called customs and traditions. Under this category, several customary actions, ideas, values and other equivalent factors which were difficult to define were included. Most of the extracts were from *Finnish American Lives*, where Erkki recounted moving to an area where many other Finns lived, which was seen as customary to Finnish immigrants even more as to many other ethnic groups. Erkki's son, whose name was not indicated in the film, talked about the traditional way of learning from his father, and furthermore described the activities very traditional to Finnish Americans. This same tendency can be spotted from David's narration, as he recounted how he learned many practical actions, such as driving the tractor and making hay bales, as well as to some extent also from Harold's accounts of hoping to learn to make a bath whisk as nicely as his father. Furthermore, also Irene remembered learning domestic chores from her mother and is filmed passing on the knowledge of how to work with looms to her daughters. Another feature which came up in several narratives is the custom according to which children should take care of their parents when they age, which was mentioned by Erkki, Harold, Irene and David. The rest of the accounts were

about the importance of music, which was the only feature in this category found in *Tradition Bearers* and specifically reported by Art, but also present in *Finnish American Lives* in Irene's narration and in the scene where Erkki's birthday was filmed.

One important observation must be raised from the categories in Chapter five. There are clear cause-and-effect patterns which have affected immigration both according to the documentaries as well as from a wider historical perspective. As an example, the lack of livelihood led to the desire to emigrate from Finland, and often the stories of the land of gold caused the destination of emigration to be the United States. The lack of English skills led to tight-knit Finnish communities, and the communities on their part prevented the immigrants from easily adapting into the local society. It is noteworthy to consider how these causalities, and the overall findings in the analysis of the thematic categories, supported the historical information reported, for example, in Chapter three of the present study. A case in point was Irene's account about her parents-in-law not learning English, a phenomenon which is described by Hoglund (1979: 113). According to him, many Finns struggled with learning a language so different from Finnish, and had problems in particular with pronunciation. Furthermore, the reasons behind emigration appearing in the stories of the first generation immigrants were very similar as those listed in the historical literature on Finnish Americans. For example Kolehmainen (1977: 4) mentions a conflict faced at home in Finland as one of the reasons behind emigration, which was experienced by Helmi in Example 5. Furthermore, Kero (1986: 92-93) acknowledges the lack of work as an important reason for emigrating, which came up in the narrations of Erkki, Irene, Katri, and Jingo. The legends about the riches of America are also described by Kero (1986: 124), and were disclosed by the characters in the documentary films. However, also differences between the characters of the documentaries and historical research can be spotted. Unlike Kero's (ibid.) descriptions of immigrants boasting about their fortunes in letters to Finland, the characters of the documentaries did not brag about money. Quite the contrary, they emphasized the difficulty in making money in America. Nevertheless it could be observed that many historical facts can

be accurately identified from the associations with *Finnishness* placed in the thematic categories.

The associations with *Finnishness* were also used in constructing Finnish American cultural identity. The construction of cultural identity of the five main characters in *Finnish American Lives* and all of the characters in *Tradition Bearers* was examined in Chapter six. The findings are briefly reported first from *Finnish American Lives* and later on from *Tradition Bearers*.

Erkki and Irene both constructed their cultural identity by positioning themselves as active agents and thus expressing their desire and willingness to emigrate. Furthermore, both were observed to express belonging to the poor and hardworking section of the society. Especially Erkki could be seen to construct his Finnish American cultural identity by appreciating authentic Finnish concepts and people, such as his son's good Finnish wife. Unlike Erkki, Irene did not position herself only as an active agent in the immigration process but also as an object, who was forced by circumstances to a certain kind of life in the United States, such as being stuck with cows and having to work hard for a living. Finally, Irene also constructed her Finnish American cultural identity through accepting Finnish values such as taking care of her in-laws and working hard, and through comparing the real Finnish language with *Fingliska*, the variety that she and her community in the United States used, expressing preference of the real Finnish. Harold was found to share Irene's acceptance of taking care of the older generation by expressing pride and joy in taking care of his parents until their death, and also shared Irene's appreciation for *Finnishness*, for example, by comparing his bath whisk tying skills to the skills of real Finnish people in Finland. Finally, Harold was observed constructing his cultural identity by expressing his love of nature and rejection towards life in the city.

The third generation characters, David and Maria-Lisa, constructed their cultural identity through observations about their grandfather Erkki, for example by

expressing their contentment in making Erkki happy by behaving in a manner approved by him. Both David and Maria-Lisa accepted the importance of work. David constructed his cultural identity by emphasizing the importance of the Finnish language to him and was found to evaluate other people's Finnish skills as well. Maria-Lisa evaluated her own language skills and demonstrated that she could speak some Finnish, but was not detected to consider Finnish language very important. Finally, like his father David also rejected life in the city, and thus constructed his solitude-loving Finnish American cultural identity, whereas Maria Lisa distanced herself from the norm of a nature-loving, solitude-seeking Finn and rather expressed desire to move to a bigger city and tour places in the United States.

In *Tradition Bearers*, John, was seen to already construct his cultural identity by choosing to tell his story in English even though he had a thick accent and his way of speaking English seemed to prevent him from elaborating on the topics covered in the narration. John also spent quite a lot of time speaking about learning English, and was the only character who constructed his cultural identity by mentioning being a citizen of the United States. Furthermore, John denied that there was much difference between Finland and the United States. According to him, most matters in life are universal. This was seen as a factor unique to him in constructing cultural identity, as other first generation immigrants reminisced old times in Finland with at least a little bit of nostalgia. John's narratives of appreciating nature and carving wooden items were interpreted as expressions of Finnish values and thus also considered as part of constructing one's identity.

The love of nature was shared by Art's narration. As a second generation Finn, Art expressed having learned to love logging and forests from his father. Furthermore, he constructed his cultural identity by expressing interest in Finnish folk music. The other second generation character, Jingo, was seen to construct her identity by recounting how she spoke Finnish as a child in the Finnish American community and did not learn English before school started. Jingo also expressed having belonged to

the underprivileged class and disputed its denial as stupid. Jingo was also found to construct her identity by learning from his father to appreciate honesty. The other first generation immigrant, Katri, was seen to construct her cultural identity, first of all, by using Finnish as her language of narration. Like Erkki, Irene and Jingo, also Katri positioned herself into the poor section of the society, and thus constructed her identity as a poor person. Finally, she also connected her personality to the Finnish concept of *sisu*, which was seen as a narrative construction of cultural identity.

A connection between the associations with *Finnishness* and the construction of cultural identity can be distinguished when examining the ways which the characters use when constructing cultural identity. Most associations with *Finnishness* observed in the narrations of the characters can also be detected as ways of marking cultural identity. Features which were perceived as typical to Finnish culture were used as comparisons to the lives of the Finnish American characters. As an example Irene compared her Finnish to the Finnish language spoken in Finland whereas Harold wished that some day he would learn how to tie a bath whisk like Finnish people do in Finland. On the one hand, these features connected to *Finnishness* were often seen as the desired attributes and outcomes of learning. On the other hand, however, especially among third generation those features were also used to express what was not desired from life.

Next, the key findings of the current study are presented, first from the perspective of the thematic categories, and secondly from the point of view of identity construction. The most important thematic category, as well as the most distinguishable feature discovered in the analysis was the overall dominance of work as a Finnish American value. As mentioned in the beginning of section 5.2, the word *work* is mentioned in the documentaries the total of 72 times in addition to one non-translated occurrence of *työ*, which is much more than any other theme. As an example, the word *Finnish*, which is the second most frequently occurring word in relation to the thematic categories only comes up 40 times. This difference in the number of occurrences

epitomizes the importance work has in the documentaries. Work also came forward in other thematic categories. First of all, in the first category, migrants' memories, poverty and hard work in the rural areas of Finland were highlighted as the most important reasons for migrating, and stories of work in the new country had an essential role in the narratives. Secondly, in the category of characteristics, diligence and hardworkingness were valued as very important and identifiable characteristics of Finnish Americans. Finally, in relation to the thematic category of customs and traditions, learning practical skills from the older generation was mentioned and valued by the characters of both documentaries.

The key observation about the construction of Finnish American cultural identity was that Finland and *Finnishness* had a great importance for the characters and their cultural identity. It was hypothesized that in line with other discourse analytic studies about cultural identity, also the characters in the documentaries would consider the differences between their culture of origin and the host culture as means to construct cultural identity. However, such comparisons were surprisingly few, and it was found that the characters mostly constructed their cultural identity by comparing themselves to their impression of Finnish people living in Finland, Finnish language, Finnish habits, and what they saw as "Finnish actions", such as tying the bath whisk or making hay bales.

Another important observation about constructing cultural identity was how it was done through notions of language use. Language use as a theme occurred quite often in narratives discussing for example the importance or insignificance of the Finnish language by the individual speakers. These contemplations were found to be central to the construction of cultural identity, as they could furthermore be construed as attempts of connecting oneself to or distancing oneself from a certain cultural group, in this case mostly the Finnish community. Such examples are David's enthusiasm in maintaining his Finnish skills, and Irene's contrasting of less valuable *Finglish* and *real Finnish*. Furthermore, language was used in the construction of cultural identity by

considering it important for a special purpose, as for example Art used Finnish in his free time as a musician.

In addition to the importance of *Finnishness* and Finnish language, especially first generation immigrants were seen to construct their cultural identity by positioning themselves as active agents in the process of migration, since all of the first generation immigrants expressed voluntariness and active engagement towards emigrating from Finland.

To draw a conclusion about the findings, there seemed to be a clear connection between the different features examined in the thematic categories as well as in the chapter of the construction of cultural identity. As an example, the poverty faced in Finland was an important factor in causing emigration, and in a time when earning a livelihood was especially difficult to those with a poor background, diligence and hard work were appreciated and essential for survival. The appreciation and actions of work were observed to have transferred to the United States with the immigrants, as well as the cherishing of Finnish traditions, customs and the Finnish language. These traditions, customs, and also the language evolved to create own, Finnish American traditions in Finnish American communities. However, from the narrations of especially the third generation the traditions could be seen to further evolve, as for example two out of three third generation characters expressed wish to move to a bigger city, away from the Finnish community.

7.2 Evaluation

The results of the present study are mainly in agreement with previous research conducted on Finnish Americans. Palo Stoller's (1996) study is probably the most comprehensive one, and the results are also in line with the results of the present study. Palo Stoller interviewed 34 second and third generation Finnish Americans and divided features of the interviews about ethnic identity into four categories;

ethnicity and the self, orientation to Finland, real world ethnicity and ethnicity as a social construction, and furthermore to subcategories. Especially the findings of the first category can be generalized as similar to the findings of the present study. Firstly, the importance of Finnish identity is recognized by both studies, although Palo Stoller emphasized the importance of on the one hand *Finnishness* and on the other hand other features of identity to her interviewees, whereas the present study examined features which were used to construct any kind of cultural identity. Secondly, she found that behavioral traits and characteristics are important to ethnic identity, which the present study also agrees with and even dedicates a category of its own to characteristics. Thirdly, Palo Stoller found patterns such as eating habits, which were connected to ethnic identity, and in the present study, some narrations about food but also about several other patterns typical to Finnish Americans such as the tradition of caring for one's parents in their old age, were acknowledged. Finally, Palo Stoller separated symbolic ethnicity as one feature of ethnic identity, and although it is not considered as its own feature in the current study, similar attributes were detected in the categories, especially as part of Finnish customs and traditions such as Finnish music, religious ceremonies and for example with the importance of the bath whisk.

Secondly, the current study also agrees with Taramaa (2007), as she examined traits of *Finnishness* from five fictional and semi-autobiographical literary works. In addition to Palo Stoller's results, also Taramaa's findings were an inspiration to the thematic categories of the present study, as she found typical characteristics of Finns to be for example honesty, cleanliness, love of nature, diligence and helpfulness, many of which were also discovered from the data of the present study. Furthermore, important symbols of *Finnishness* were also found in Susag's (1999) study on Finnish American ethnicity. Among these symbols were for example sauna, home and honesty, also perceivable in the present study.

The present study, however, also differs from the previous studies of Finnish Americans. First of all, cultural identity is raised as one of the two central interests, as it is the central interest in the second research question. Although the aspect of identity is also central to Palo Stoller's study, it is not included in either Taramaa's or Susag's studies. Even Palo Stoller is interested in particularly sociological features of identity, and not the construction of it. Palo Stoller also uses the term Finnish ethnic identity, which is not completely equivalent to Finnish American cultural identity. In the present study, thus also American and other cultural features of identity were included, not only features which can be specifically labeled as part of Finnish culture. Susag's and Taramaa's studies also use the word ethnicity rather than culture, which, even though maybe not a completely separate matter, can at the very least be seen to have a different subtlety to it.

A key difference between the present study and the reported previous studies on Finnish Americans is certainly the data. Our study examined two documentaries filmed by a sociologist in the 1980's, where *Finnishness* and the construction of cultural identity were examined through analyzing the narratives of the characters as well as investigating still and moving images of the documentaries. Thus, we conducted a case study on pre-existing data. Although Taramaa used pre-existing data as well, her data vastly differed from that used in our study. Whereas Taramaa used partly fictional and partly semi-autobiographical novels as her data, we used one film-maker's audiovisual and narrative representation of the Finnish American community as our data. The current study, furthermore, was interested in the associations with *Finnishness* as well as the construction of cultural identity by all three appearing generations of Finnish Americans, while Palo Stoller, Susag and Taramaa were all interested in features of *Finnishness* found in the lives of second and further generation immigrants. It must be noted that the data used in the present study, as well as the data of the studies by Palo Stoller and Susag, is collected from people who voluntarily participate in the research on Finnish Americans, although the characters of the documentaries examined by our study have voluntarily

participated in making the documentaries, not in this particular study. Also the data by Taramaa, although consisting of fictional and autobiographical literature, examines works created by people with an interest to Finnish Americans.

The distinctive nature of the data also affected our approach to the research questions. The first research question, “what kinds of associations with *Finnishness* could be found in the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers?*” was initially created from the basis of Taramaa’s categories for the purpose of examining Finnish characteristics. The thematic categories were then created according to the initial observations from the documentaries as well as with the help of Taramaa’s, Palo Stoller’s and Susag’s studies. Even though discourse analytic tools and content analysis were used as methods of analysis, the categorization was ultimately done by close-reading the documentaries and their transcripts. The findings were quite expected, since the importance of work, characteristics such as diligence, persistence, helpfulness and austerity, and the value of customs and traditions are also found to represent *Finnishness* in previous studies. However, the importance of work was even more prominent than expected, as in the previous studies it was an important value but not a value above anything else, but in the current study it is mentioned 73 times. Furthermore, there were many references to memories about Finland, namely 23. As the previous studies have not examined memories as a separate category or feature, the importance of memories about Finland by the first generation immigrants, as well as references to Finland as the country of heritage by further generation Finns, suggests that Finnish Americans in the 1980’s remained to have a somewhat sentimental attachment to Finland.

As mentioned earlier, quantitative methods were used to support the findings of the five thematic categories. They, however, did not offer enough findings from our data in order for us to conduct a valid and reliable research based on quantitative methods. The reason for this is simply that the transcripts of the two chosen documentaries functioning for a platform for the numeric findings consist of roughly

10 600 words whereas corpora are usually larger collections of texts, consisting of millions of words and therefore enabling higher word frequency than the data of the present study.

The second research question aimed to examine the ways of constructing cultural identity through the narratives of the characters. Our initial intention was to choose a set of linguistic tools, namely pronominal and lexico-grammatical choices, and belonging was going to be studied from a similar perspective to De Fina (2003) and Mrowa-Hopkins and Bouvet (2011). However, such linguistic features did not occur frequently in the data, as especially references to the surrounding society were few. Thus, as explained in Section 7.1 in more detail, Bamberg's (1997) ways of positioning as well as other lexical choices which expressed attitude or (not) belonging were combined for the purpose of gaining information about how Finnish American cultural identity was constructed in narratives. The results about the construction of cultural identity revealed that all of the main characters constructed their cultural identity by expressing ways of belonging to the Finnish American community, which was quite expected. Furthermore, identity was constructed with references to the associations of *Finnishness*, which was also an anticipated result. Finally, positioning oneself as either an active agent or an object was detected like in Bamberg's model. The lack of references to the United States, however, was unexpected, although not peculiar. The reason behind this can only be speculated, as we do not have contact with the characters, many of whom have already passed on. Perhaps it was the filmmaker's deliberate choice to focus on *Finnishness* rather than Americanization. Nevertheless, we surmise that by recording narratives freely, without editing or arranging the narratives to the art form that the documentaries are, more features about the United States as a country, Americans as a people and contrasts between Finland and the United States might have occurred.

The present study provides new information about the people and the community which the documentaries depicted, and could offer information to Finnish Americans

who are interested in their heritage. It also provides support to several studies on Finnish Americans as well as to the many active Finnish Americans who have continued to write journal articles in publications such as *Finnish Americana*. The appendixes of this study offer the transcripts of the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers* for those who are interested in familiarizing themselves with or even studying this Finnish American culture in the 1980's. Although a transcription of *Finnish American Lives* was found online, it proved to have some errors and inconsistencies, and thus we have attempted to provide a more accurate transcription of the documentary. The current study connects historical information already known about Finnish Americans to the time frame of the 1980's when the documentaries were filmed, concretizing the historically described features with the help of the personal accounts found in the documentaries. Finally, the present study is a case study which only examines certain Finnish Americans, but could be used as a support for an overall image of the associations Finnish Americans have with *Finnishness*, as well as for representations of Finnish American cultural identity.

In addition to providing information about Finnish Americans, the present study could be considered valuable from the current perspective on immigration to Finland. As the documentaries present immigrants from Finland struggling with, for example, finding work and adapting to the local culture, they could also help us understand the hardships immigrants who come to Finland from a very different cultural and linguistic background have to experience. These hardships may be easier to recognize after gaining an understanding of what it must have felt like for individuals who share a similar heritage with us with possibly similar kinds of ideologies and values as we have, to adjust into a foreign culture which differs from their own background.

Overall, the data provided a research gap for us to fill with the current study. However, a larger amount of data would have been necessary for a more comprehensive research, especially if quantitative research methods had been properly applied to the study. With the current amount of data, then, if the study was

revised, the approach to the construction of cultural identity would possibly be shifted towards a sociological perspective, and furthermore an audiovisual methodology would be added. However, with the current framework, the lexical and semantic features appeared to provide quite a comprehensive, linguistic image about the associations with *Finnishness* and the construction of cultural identity.

Although many features of *Finnishness* were included in the present study, there are also many potential elements about the Finnish American phenomenon which could be further studied. Any of the features found in the thematic categories could be examined further individually, especially combined with additional data. Also the construction of cultural identity could be studied from a different perspective, for example including the audiovisual features discussed in the paragraph above. Examination of the individual characters could be taken further as well, since a newer documentary of Jingo Viitala from the 2000's, called *American Jenny*, for example, is available. The third generation characters of *Finnish American Lives* are still alive, and therefore a follow-up study could be conducted on them, if they agreed to be interviewed and if there were enough resources to conduct such interviews.

Some features, such as generational differences could be further observed from the data, as they were not included in the center of our study. Moreover, the difference in gender roles could be studied, since it was not a main focus in the present study either. However, especially since there was such a limited amount of data, research on representations of gender could benefit from additional data. Finally, Finnish American identity and representations of *Finnishness* could be examined for example using newspaper articles, autobiographies and such, and compare for example the representation of Finnish Americans at different times.

It must be realized that both the previous research presented as well as the current study mostly examine those Finnish Americans who have voluntarily participated in the research, especially in contemporary times when permissions are generally

needed from participants in order to use them as data. Thus they might have a different approach to being Finnish than those Finnish Americans who do not wish to participate in such research projects and are not active in the Finnish American community or interested in their heritage. Furthermore, the documentaries as an art form paint a picture with the standpoint of their creators. It is likely, therefore, that ethnographic, or interview data where narratives are displayed and examined completely would give slightly different results.

8 CONCLUSION

The aim of the present study was to examine the documentaries *Finnish American Lives* and *Tradition Bearers* for facets which were represented as Finnish and categorize them, as well as observe how these features along with other lexical choices in the narrations were used to construct cultural identity. The data proved to be a nice representation of Finnish Americans in the 1980's, when some Finnish Americans including the characters of the documentaries still lived in predominantly Finnish communities, a phenomenon which would be difficult to find in the present day United States.

The data was divided into five thematic categories of associations with *Finnishness*: migrants' memories, work, characteristics, language, and customs and traditions. Some features found in the associations were then further analyzed by examining the construction of Finnish American cultural identity in discourse. Our study revealed that there were a number of features that were considered Finnish by the characters in the documentaries. Such features included for example hard work, the most unanimously valued association with *Finnishness* in the data, as well as the passing of traditions down from one generation to the other. Furthermore, it was discovered that the characters constructed their cultural identity by agreeing with these associations. It came also apparent that Finnish American cultural identity was frequently constructed by expressing belonging to the community or distancing from it, and

finally that the characters positioned themselves in some cases as active agents and in others as dependent objects.

Much remains to study about the topic of Finnish Americans, although especially small-scale studies on Finnish Americans are constantly being conducted. In addition to Palo Stoller (1996), Susag (1999) and Taramaa (2007), current and recent research projects have been conducted by, for example, the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland. However, a comprehensive study about what remains of the Finnish American cultural identity or Finnish tradition would help to create understanding of how Finnish American identity has changed in the past few generations, and whether it can even be separated from the present day's American identity.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Transcript of *Finnish American Lives* (1982, epilogue 1984)

[The song Mustalainen playing]

Erkki: In Finland when I was a young boy, I was thinking about the America. Always. I was looking where the sun sets, and I was wondering what kind of [...] how this world looks on the other side. Farm there was too small. We were very poor and we had nine kids. There was too many feet under one table. Older sisters they, they go away first. One go America and she write home saying, "lots the work here in America." Many young people they, they get America fever and I think that I get some that money fever too.

Irene: I always said "Minä haluan mennä Amerikkaan", "I want to go to America!"

Erkki: I know when everybody comin' here and they get the lots of work, and food, good food, and clothes and everything.

Irene: They always tell me that money grows on the trees, so that's what I come here, and I never see money [...] money grow on the trees. You gotta work hard here.

[Title]

Irene [shown herding cows in the field]: When I was a little girl in Finland it was my job to watch the cows. We took the cows 7:30 in the morning in the woods. They had lots of good hay there. There were three, four families went together. We took our lunch with us. And, also we got some kind of handwork. We stayed from 7:30 till 6:00 o'clock in the evening. We were having lots of fun there. That's what they call in Finnish "paimentyttö".

I hate to get up in the morning, and we had to get up 5:00 o'clock to milk those cows. So my mother used to say that, "Oh there's some nice coffee I just made, come on girls, wake up." And I still hear my mother wake me up in the morning. Then I thought: When I can move here, I thought I get away from cows. But, two years we were without the cow, and then we got the cow. That's I'm stuck with.

Harold: Dad and mom were both real pleased that I had a Finnish girlfriend and finally did get married. And, he wanted me and my wife to move down to the

farm to take care of them in their old age, which we did take care of mother till she died. She wanted to die at home, and my Dad's wishes are to die at home too, so.

Erkki [shown sharpening the scythe with the help of Irene]: I was born in Töysä, Finland 1888. Sixty years now I live here in Ironwood, Michigan working this farm. Here, Selina and I, we raise fourteen kids. Then we getting old and last year Selina die. So I asking my young boy with good Finnish wife to come work this farm with her.

Irene: In Finland it was a custom that always the older person would stay with you and that got in my mind.

David [Shown driving the tractor with a trailer full of firewood]: Well, my grandfather, since we moved onto the farm here we've been taking care of him, and, I remember when I was a lot younger, my Grandfather used to let me drive the tractor, I thought "wow", that's a big thrill and everything, driving it. And, he showed me a lot of stuff, you know, like, different, you know, like making hay bales and tying knots in the potato sacks. Cause every time I seen him put potatoes in the sack and I'd move it over and I'd try to put a knot in it, and it would fall over and there would be potatoes all over the ground. And, he showed me all these short tricks and all he'd learned; and, he's taught me a lot.

Paula: And, its pretty fun having him, you know, he'll [.] you'll come in and he'll ask you a whole bunch of questions, you know, cause he wants to find out what everybody else is doing, cause he's mostly in the house.

Maria Lisa: Sometimes, when I come home, you know, I'll just goof around, he'll be sitting at the table or something, you know, and I just act like I'm somebody new or something, I just come in and say "päivää, päivää". And, you know he'll get a kick out of it. He starts [.] he'll start laughing, you know, at the table. You know and then, like he always asks [.] You know, I say that, "today I got pay day at work" and everything, and he gets a kick out of, you know how younger kids can make that much money now you know.

[Irene "interviewing" Erkki]

Irene: Mitä te ajattelitte sillon, ajattelitteko te, että siellä on kovasti rahaa, ja raha kasvaa puussa vai?

(What did you think? Did you think there would be plenty of money and that money grew on trees?)

Erkki: Joo joo. Minä aattelin että minä voin vaan lapioida sitä, puissa kasvaa
(Yeah. I was thinking that I would shovel some of that money. A big pile of money!)

Irene: Mutta eihän sellaista ollu?

(But it wasn't like that?)

Erkki: Ei se ollu sellasta.

(No, it wasn't that way.)

["Taivas on sininen ja valkoinen" playing in the background]

Erkki: I was twenty years old when I coming America. I work many those Finnish towns. Then I hearing that Selina, she washing dishes in this Munising lumber camp. And, I having eye on Selina already in old country. So, I drying dishes many times late at night. Oskari Waltonen, my, my good friend, he say that he play music free for me if I marry that Selina. But then he say that if I don't marry her, he marry her! That no good. So, I quick ask Selina, "You marry me?" And, we had big wedding, two days wedding. Altogether, Selina and me, we have fifteen cows and fourteen kids.

[Harold and Niilo are shown chopping firewood]

Harold: There was twelve of us boys and two girls. Starting from the youngest was Kenny, Lauri, Niilo, me, Toivo, Sulo, Wille, Arvo, Oiva, Ilmi, Lillian, Jani and Eino.

Niilo: There was a lot of lunch pails. Mother used to bake bread. She used to make eight loaves of bread and it was all gone when she got through with the lunch pails.

Harold: Some of these are hard splitting. Must be, uh, crazy Finlanders here, making this much wood. Must have [.] get a hard winter.

Niilo: They're really crazy when fish are biting were making wood.

Harold: Yeah.

Niilo: We didn't have much to eat, there was potatoes [.]

Harold: meat [.]

Niilo: and milk. And a lot of venison that we ate when we were kids.

Harold: We grew up with venison

Niilo: And fish. Then, if you didn't [.] well you got sick and tired of eating the same meals every night.

Harold: But, the next day you had the same thing, you'd have milk and potatoes.

["Taivas on sininen ja valkoinen", photos in the background]

Niilo: And, if you didn't eat it they used to say, well you'll eat it when you get hungry.

Harold: That's right! One day you had milk and potatoes, next day you'd have potatoes and meat. The following day you'd have potatoes and meat. Two, three days: potatoes and meat! Then fourth day maybe potatoes and milk again. Milk potatoes.

Niilo: A little salt fish, salt fish, homemade bread and butter. We used to keep the butter down in the well, no refrigerator. No there was no televisions. No telephones. If you wanted to do something, talk to your neighbor, you had to either go lay a visit, or, they'd come over and visit you.

Harold: And, we'd carry a lantern when we went visiting.

Niilo: And, every time you went visiting you'd bring something, either a homemade biscuit, or a loaf of bread, or some cookies or something.

Harold: Always something.

Niilo: We'd all get together and have a big blast once in awhile.

[Erkki's 92:nd birthday party, playing and dancing polka, family members present, chattering in both Finnish and English, the following dialogue can be detected:]

Erkki's daughter 1: Ei se vissiin, oo se on vissiin [inaudible]

Niilo to Erkki's daughter 1 [Niilo's sister]: You've got to put that evil, fancy step into it.

Irene [giving a toast]: Pankista [.] eiku [.] Kahvipannusta piisaa ja kah [.] pankista saa, elämää huolettoman mukavaa.

Erkki's daughter 1: Joo pitää tanssia valssia

Erkki: Ei en minä pysty, kyllä osaisin mutta en mää pysty.

Erkki's daughter 1: Joo, kyllä valssia pittää jaloilla [inaudible] ottamaan kuvia.

[Irene and Erkki dancing waltz to Orpopojan valssi]

Everyone: Happy Birthday to you, Happy Birthday to you, Happy Birthday dear father, Happy Birthday to you.

Oscar [singing in Finnish]: Hei, huputiti juputiti jalatiti jallaa, {simpsu} on vierel aina, [inaudible] heilan minä itselleni, komian ja reilun, kotiin oli matkani, hilsu se nauro ja hevosenkin harja se heilu, [inaudible] olet sinä vullan hassu, sait istua kulkurin polvella ja kaulallasi oli snassu.

[applause]

[“Löylyä lissee”, Irene and Harold dancing, Niilo playing the harmonica]

Irene [weaving Finnish rag rugs]: When I was a little girl my mother always show us what to do, so [.] She always said that you're not supposed to waste your time that you gotta do something. So this was [.] this carpet weaving was our evening work. We worked all day at the field and then in the evening my mother start

making rugs, so she said, "come on girls now you gotta come and look how I'm gonna make, because you're gonna learn to do this after when I'm gone. So, we used to come and sit next to her, me and my sister. She always told us that when you learn when you're young, you never forget that. When you make homemade it's gonna last you forever.

Irene: Pull it real hard [instructs Paula]. Put your hand like this. You think you can learn how to make this someday?

Harold: Well, we're kinda fortunate to have Dad here, cause when I was a kid, or when me and my brothers were kids mother and Dad used to always say that, "talk Finn!"

Harold: Heinät on sisällä.

Erkki: Alkaa, laulattamaan pian

Harold: Kato, se on Suomen, Suomen olutta isä.

Harold: Juo loppuun se

[incomprehensible]

Harold: So with Dad here now I guess my kids have a better chance of learning Finn, and, keeping up with the Finnish language.

Maria-Lisa: No I can you know, I can manage, you know I can [.]

Paula: But some words we don't know.

Maria-Lisa: Sometimes, sometimes I get stuck on a word, you know, I don't really know what to say, you know, so I just try saying it, saying it in a different way.

[At the store, where Maria-Lisa is working]

Customer: Kuinka se menee, Maria-Lisa?

Maria-Lisa: Well, hyvin. Kuinka te ootte?

Customer: Hyvin. Ja kuinka hyvin isoisä Erkki voi?

Maria-Lisa: Se on oikein hyvin. Voinko minä auttaa sinua?

[inaudible]

Customer: Pari pastia

Maria-Lisa: Ei oo. Ne on kaikki myyty. Ei oo enää.

Customer: Jollei pastia oo niin mä ostan pari pussia niitä suomalaisia

[incomprehensible].

Maria-Lisa: Joo tässä on [.] Kaksi pussia?

Customer: Kaks pussia.

Maria-Lisa: Täs on. Kiitos, kiitos.

Customer: Ei ansaitse.

Maria-Lisa: Näkemiin!

Customer: Joo oli hauska nähä sinua.

Maria-Lisa: When people talk, you know I can understand them [.] You know I can talk to them back but some of the words like "of" and you know all the little words, you know I just skip over them and I just say the rest of it.

David: I got a lot of friends who are of Finnish, eh, heritage, but they've lost the language throughout the years. It's that they haven't been really close to people who spoke the Finnish. And they're sorry about it. They try to learn the Finnish language, but it's hard after you have [.] haven't spoke it for a while.

[David working in a construction site with other men]

David: At work there's sometimes they try to say Finnish words, you know and I'm sitting there going, "what? what?", you know "I can't understand you." And then they ask me the true scene. For two or three hours here, I just hear this one Finnish word, you know, all through the day, and all, that's all they do is holler at me this one Finnish word and they're all proud, you know.

When I went to kindergarten school, that's the only language I knew was Finnish. And the teacher sort of got mad. She sent me home many times during the first week cause I didn't know no English words. That's all I'd do was sitting there chattering in Finnish, and I was getting little temper tantrums. I started screaming in Finnish, and teacher didn't know what to do so they'd have to send me home, and [.] My sisters, they speak Finnish, but I think, overall, I can speak a little better than they can because I've been around my Grandfather more and I'd [.] have to speak the Finnish language to understand. And, now, throughout the years I haven't spoke it as much as I used to, and I'm kinda sorry, so I'm trying to make a little habit out of it that whenever I can I try to speak as much Finnish as I can.

[Family sitting around dinner table]

Irene: Nyt syömähän, syömähän ja sitten navettaan ja sitten saunaan.

Irene: When you come from Finland, and you don't only know the Finnish language [sic], it's hard to start learn English. And, that's why I think my father-in-law and mother-in-law they haven't really learned that much English. But, those days they really didn't have to learn no English, because there's too many Finnish people around them. Every place when they went to, even in the stores here in

Ironwood they went, and they can talk Finnish. And, they can ask in Finnish, so it wasn't so important to learn English.

In the evenings I just sneak here I don't even tell to anybody where I go because everybody is watching TV, and, summer evenings I just make, ah, rugs at the summertime because I don't know where to put in the wintertime, these carpet looms take so much room. Um, so then they after while they come outside, and they hear this pounding so they know where mother is, that she's pounding rugs in the garage there. But, in Finland, we used to have it in the house, ah, two or three sets of carpet looms, and, there was some lots of noises then, so nobody can even go sleep. My mother and father they had a farm, it's not too big, but there's the six, seven milking cows it was and [.] We were poor people I member [sic] when we all go in the field. We used to cut the oats and the barley. My mother always said, "do this, do that." I always member [sic] when she took the knitting along when we walked through that field there we have to walk pretty far, so she always was knitting and she never have to look and she knit. And she said, you should take the knitting with you when you walking, you walking always with empty hand. My daughters and my son is now same thing, they have to work home. Everybody had their chores.

David: Yeah, my mom and dad, they both worked, you know ever since they, you know, got out into the world. They have always worked. And, they still work, they work really hard. And, now when I work too, I've been working on the farm here and [.] every time I'd come home from my regular job, and I always seem [.] I always seem to be pushing it, do this and do that and, like plow the fields and feed the dogs. The chores get kind of tiring after a while, but this is a little challenging, you know, plowing the fields, cutting hay. It just keeps you in shape, and you're out in the outdoors actually, that's where I like to be.

Harold: Dad started farming here he started off with two, or three animals, and he gradually brought his herd up to maybe fifteen head. Regulations got tougher. It costs too much money to invest in machinery. So the farming started to drop off. Dad cut down on the milk cows; and finally, his age gave out, and he sold his cow. And, so I took over and I got one cow. I've worked in the lumber mills all my life. I love to be on the farm. I never want to move out into the city, but I'd never farm for a living. I'd want to work out and hobby farm.

[Erkki putting wood in the stove]

Irene: I go to work and my husband go to work, kids go to school, so Grandpa keeps the fire going. That's his job. He feels that way that we need him yet.

[Erkki having dinner]

Erkki: When I coming to America I go working those ore docks in Marquette, Michigan. That very hard work. Then I get the job at Quincy Mine at Hancock. I working ten hour days, three years I mining that copper. No good that job. I go to Munising Lumber camps, and there I working in woods, swinging that cross cut saw. Then I hearing that many Finnish people, they working in Ironwood [Michigan]. So, then we moving there. 1920 I borrow that money and buy that Victor Maki 40 acre farm. When clearing this land I borrow that neighbor's horse to pull those big pine stumps. We working day and night. We built sauna, and barn and house. Wintertime, I go back working those lumber camps. And, all the time, Selina, she back on farm with those cow and kids. Just to think that this is our farm. I was thinking back in Finland about having my own land, having my own farm. Then I getting old. Woods take back my land, and I can't work no more.

Irene: I've been working now at Hautamaki's Nursing Home. So many people [.] Finnish people come there. They came from Finland and I met a few people from my hometown even. And, it's so interesting to talk to them and they get so close to me because I always like to talk to them from Finland, and ask them a question about what it was like when they came from Finland. A lot of them, they've been here fifty, sixty, and they've never gone back to Finland. They didn't have enough money, I suppose, to go back for a visit, or maybe they had some bad feelings about why they left, and why they came here. Many never wanted to go back. Sunday morning they gather around the TV and watch that Finland Calling, Suomi Kutsuu.

[Residents watching the show]

TV narrator: This is "Finland Calling," America's only Finnish language program featuring the sights and sounds of Finland including the Finnish devotional. Here's the host of Finland Calling, Carl Pellonpaa.

Carl Pellonpaa: Hei, monet terveiset teille ja hyvää huomenta; taas on näin se "Suomi Kutsuu" ohjelma, näin elänyt tässä televisio-ohjelmassa ja aseman puolesta nyt yli yhdeksäntoista vuotta. (Hello, many greetings to you and good day. This "Finland Calling" program has been brought to you live from this station now for over nineteen years.)

Irene: It's nice to hear that Finnish language, the real Finnish language, because mine is like everybody else's. It's broken to Fingliska. It's not real Finnish nor is it good English either.

Carl Pellonpaa: Tapsa nyt esittää niin kuin Tapio Rautavaara, "Kotimaani Ompi Suomi" (Tapsa will now present Tapio Rautavaara "My Homeland in Finland.")

Irene [Black-and-white photos in the background]: I left my hometown, Koitesjärvi, Finland, twenty-two years ago. That was in 1959. It was hard, I'd cry many times. And, I thought I'm never gonna learn this language. It's so hard because when you come as a small town girl, you come to this big land here and you feel like you're lost. I love to dance, so there's a favorite lady who likes to dance polkas and waltzes and whatever, so I dance with her about three or four dances. And she says "now I'm pooped out till next Sunday, and then we're gonna dance some more." One of my best friends, or I say "my best pet." We call the "pets," you know. We get attached with some of those people more than others. That Helmi, when she came there she started talking about how she came to this country, and she has a sad story. And I adopted her. I feel like she's a little bit like my mother.

Helmi: When I was in Finland and I was a young girl, I think "Never! Never! I never leave my country." But just the same things go different way. My ma get sick and she passed away. My father he married the second time, and I don't like that step mother. And, I said, "I'm not gonna stay home no more." I leave my home, and then I started to come to this country in 1916 and I was 20 years old. I didn't even speak English. But, I know I had to go, go do the work, to do my living. And then we put ad in the New York Times. We said that old country Finnish girl like to have some housework, and she can't speak English. I've been to many different places, and I can hardly talk in English, but I get along just the same. I know how to work and I know how to do my living. That has got to have Sisu. Nobody have to do nothing. Nobody have to come in and help. To be all alone and work. Thanks go to be Sisu. Suomalainen Sisu, that means Finnish people so tough and good fighters, something like that. So, ne on riskiä, Suomalaiset on hyviä tappelee ja riskiä ihmisiä. (They are energetic. Finns are good fighters and an energetic people.)

Irene [The Ironwood Lutheran Church is shown]: A lot of people ask me, "How come you work eight hours, then you come home and you do lots of handwork?" And, I just say that, "I keep going."

Pastor: Olen suuresti iloinen siitä, että vanhempani ja Suomesta tulleet monet opettivat minulle ja monille muille minun sukupolveen kuuluville tämän rikkaan ja rakkaan suomen kielen. Tämä suomen kieli on ollut kautta elämäni minun

hengellinen kieli. (I rejoice that my parents and others who arrived from Finland, taught my generation the rich and priceless Finnish language. Throughout my life Finnish has been my spiritual language.)

Irene: My mother always said that: "Mitä hyvää toiselle teet sen edestäs löydät." That means: Whatever you do for other people you gonna find in front of you someday.

Pastor: Herramme Jeesuksen Kristuksen ruumis. (The Body of Christ given for thee.) Herramme Jeesuksen Kristuksen veri. (The Blood of Christ shed for thee.) Herramme Jeesuksen Kristuksen ruumis ja veri kätkeköön teidän ruumiinne ja sielunne iankaikkiseen elämään. Jääkää Hänen rauhaan. Amen. (May the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your bodies and souls unto everlasting life. Remain in His peace. Amen.)

Irene: When I work hard and a get bright, nice crown when I die. When you look back at your life what kind of memories come to you? Would you live it over again?

Erkki: No way! I was too poor when I was young. I don't want to go back. You see that sauna over there? When I was building that I worked day and night, no sleep hardly at all.

Harold: Well a vihta is a sauna switch. My dad makes the vihta for us, but he's getting old. He don't go out. He probably would pick better material than me. But he told me, he said I get good vihta material. I pick out the young chutes and then they got to be uniform. You can't just take any cedar branch off a tree and make a vihta out of it. My dad takes time tying it. He trims it and I think he makes the best vihta. Anybody can make a vihta with binder twine and tie it but he ties it like Finlanders do in Finland. He ties it with a white birch branch, and he does a good job of it. I haven't, ah, quite learned how to tie a vihta but I intend to before dad passes away.

David: Someday I'll be telling my grandchildren about my grandfather and what he was like. What he did and he's seen a lot and I wish I could see the same things he has. He'll tell me about the stuff he did. It just makes you start to think and wonder what it would have been like. But I suppose in my generations I will be telling my grandchildren and that about how it was and they'll start to wonder and just want to keep all their thoughts too.

Harold: Any winter now, or summer, I think my barns give out. I like to farm. I love animals, but when the barn goes I will definitely get rid of most of my animals. So I'll probably end up giving up the farm – as farming wise – but I'll still live here and, ah, I like to have my son or daughters come to the farm and maybe take care of me and the wife or mamma but I don't think that they'll want to stay on the farm. They'll probably marry some other nationality. I would like them to marry Finns, but we will see.

Maria-Lisa: I don't want to stay here not too long because if not, you can't find that many good jobs up here, you know, that in the field that I want to go into. There's just like small businesses up here, but there are not many opportunities. I'd like to travel and I like to go meet new people. I'd like to go not really into the city, city, you know, like New York, nothing like that, but, someplace where there's more people that up here. I wouldn't mind coming back here, but I don't want to stay here for, you know. I'd like to move and just travel and go places: Bahamas and Hawaii. Just travel and see what it's like in other places than here.

Paula: I don't want to stay here either when I get older, cause there's nothing to do around here. It's all boring. And I'd like to go and see what it's like in other parts of the states, and everything; and, meet new people.

David: I don't really want to move out of this area, cause you know, I've been born on a farm and, you know, raised-up on a farm. I can't give up all the freedom, you know. I can't stand to open up my window and seeing, you know, seeing brick, and black top playgrounds and all this. No, it's not for me. It's just where I can relax, come home and not worry about nobody bothering me, and have my fishing and hunting and anything I want to do [.] And it's, it's really nice living out here, you know, being alone, you know and I think if my future years, maybe a couple of years I'll be, if I make a few more dollars and save it up I'll [.] I'm gonna build my own house around here, I'll probably build it right on this property too, somewhere close. And I'm gonna stick around here, raise up my own family and [.] Right now personally I'm, you know, my girlfriend, she's a Finlander too, and she likes, you know, she likes this open country too, and she says she'd rather move out here, so maybe in a couple of years I'll build and stick around here. And then take care of my parents and everything.

[Grandfather sitting on a swing outside of the house, Irene and Harold with him]

Harold: Jaaha, että isäkin pääsee elokuviin.

Irene: Jaa, mee sää istumaan siihen kanssa niin mä haen [.]

Harold: Että isä pääsee elokuviin

Erkki: [inaudible] enää tartte [.]

Harold: [inaudible] No eilen oli [.]

Irene: Olitteko te yhtään ulkona tänä päivänä?

Erkki: No en minä [.] Ei oo porstuassakaan käyny.

Irene: No, no [.]

Erkki: Hehe, ei ollenkaan.

Irene: Noo, mutta teidän pitää tulla nyt kun on näin sievä ilma, ni tulla vähän tänne ulos istumahan.

Harold: Enempi kävelemään näin kuumana päivänä ja [.]

Irene: Summertime, every summer, grandpa likes to come here early in the morning, when he get up he drinks that first cup of coffee. He, umm, comes here and sit down and you can hear this little squeak here that then we know that grandpa's sitting outside here and lookin', you know, cars going by and [.] and then when pretty soon haymaking time is, so he comes to the house and said that I think the kids that now we should start making hay pretty soon then. Heinät hedelmää jo. So we usually start haymaking after [.] a week after Fourth of July, that's grandpa used to always start making hay.

[Hay making with the whole family, Finnish polka in the background. GF sits in a garden chair and watches]

Irene: Isän pitää tulla tänne kans vähän heinäpeilille ottamahan.

[Empty swing filmed]

[Epilogue, Harold and others digging a grave]

Paula: They called from the hospital, and the doctor said that, you know, this is doctor Potter and I asked what it was and he says, we're sorry but we couldn't save your grandpa. And I got so mad I threw the phone down, and I started crying and I just waited for my mom and dad to come home and when they came home, my mom and my aunt were crying you know when I told them what [.] that the guy had called, and I figured from there I says, well he's gone now. And I just thought, well, what am I gonna do, you know, I've lived with him since I was two years old. And it's a long time. So I don't know, I'm really sad that it happened and I don't know what I'm gonna do, it's gonna be hard for us to know that he's gone and stuff [.] I got so many memories of him that, uh, it's gonna be really hard. So I don't know what we're gonna do we're just gonna have to [.] keep the good thoughts and everything and know that he had a long life, and not that many people live that long.

Irene: So I think grandpa wanted to go this way. Because he was that kind of man, he didn't want any [.] He didn't want really anybody to be sick, you know, he didn't wanna see anybody sick. Because, all his life, he was two times in the

hospital all his life. He wasn't a sick man, he was a strong man. And, it's so empty with him now that I [...] we all gonna miss him. His bedroom gonna be empty long time.

[In front of St Paul Lutheran church, a minister with traditional Lutheran robe walks ahead of the pallbearers. The coffin is taken into a hearse. Sons speak English together.]

Harold: But [...] now our lifestyle is probably gonna change lots. With both gone and [...]

[The hearse drives to the gravesite, mourners are there, coffin is buried in the ground. Hymn "Siipeinsä suojassa turvattu olen" plays in the background]

Pastor: Isän ja Pojan ja Pyhän Hengen nimeen, Amen. Maasta olet sinä tullut, maaksi pitää sinun jälleen tuleman. Herramme Jeesus Kristus on sinut viimeisenä päivänä herättävä kuolleista. Me kiitämme sinua, että olet päästänyt tämän väsyneen matkamiehen tämän elämän rasituksista, ja antanut hänen toivon mukaan tulla lepoon. Ja Jumalan sana sanoo meille: autuaat ovat ne kuolleet, jotka tästä lähtien Herrassa kuolevat, sillä Henki sanoo, he saavat levätä heidän vaivoistaan, sillä heidän tekonsa seuraavat heidän mukanaan, Amen. Nyt me yhdymme Isä meidän -rukoukseen.

[Everybody saying Isä meidän (Our Father) -prayer. Coffin descending underground]

David: Uh, it's definitely quiet around the house now. Yeah. Uh, like, when I come home from work it's late in the evening by the time I get back from my traveling, it's an hour drive back home. And [...] when I get home my parents are usually in the barn or anything or my sisters are at school with their extr[...] you know, with their activities there. And [...] when I come in usually it's grandpa and me just there when I'm eating my supper after we heat my supper up and everything and it's usually me and him we're having supper but [...] kinda quiet now when I come home there's nobody around, uh, solitude you know, very quiet around the house now. I think it's [...] everyone's really gonna miss him a lot.

Grandchild: He always had a smile, he never talked down anybody. He [...] I've never heard him say one bad thing about anyone at anytime. If anything he'd just maybe shake his head and go "oh", you know, "what the hell"

John (grandchild 2): "Too bad", he'd say, "too bad".

Grandchild: He always thought of his grandchildren and his kids, he always thought of my brother John and I. We were [...] you know [...] um [...] he, whenever we came here we were included in anything they did. Whether it be work, play, go

to town, go for a ride in at a tractor, he'd pu[.] you know, like I said in the wintertime he'd take us with the sleigh and [.]

John: He was like another dad.

Grandchild: Yeah, just like my dad.

John: And grandma was like another mother

Grandchild: Right. More that way than [.] Say we spent all our free time here, weekends and summers, so it was just like being raised here, basically.

Son: He taught me a lot of things, you know, and [.] Showed me how to work in the woods. I'm an expert at that. Just like he was. He taught me how to shoot, how to butcher, once you've killed a deer or something, you know, I can do it with my eyes shut.

Harold: Well, dad was strong, he was strict. But [.] he wanted us here, me and Irene, and, [inaudible] here we are, now he's gone.

Son: And if somebody told him what he didn't want, he wouldn't beat around the bush, he'd tell you right now. He'd tell you in the face [inaudible] whether you like him or not [.] that was it. That's what I think most of my dad. He was just like a [.] oh he was just like a big solid oak tree. That's what he seemed to me like, you know.

Grandchild: He always thought, and the same thing with my [.] my grandma, they never thought about themselves. It was always somebody else. Even new people I brought to the farm. They could never get over the hospitality that was there, you know, it was open door [.] open door policy.

John: That's right.

Grandchild: You nev[.] They never could give you enough of anything, you know. And then like when [.] when we were old enough to work, you know, get jobs in high school or whatever, I'd tell them how many hours a day it was, you know, and it could be ten hours a day. And they've worked fourteen hours a day, and they'd tell you "oh, you're working too much, you're working too much." You know.

David: Just the idea of how he was thrilled to see me working, a young guy like that, I mean right off the back, right out of high school and that [.] get a good job and get into the community and that [.] he [.] for him, in order to get a job, he had to struggle so far. But it was so easy for us younger children to get a job and [.] I think that's my strongest memory of him. His excitement every time I'd come

home with the lunch pail and [.] or my paycheck and I'd tell him how much I made in that and it was just [.] he'd get a kick out of that and that smile. I think that's what it's gonna stick with me all that time and that smile that [.] every t[.] every time he'd got that [.] that look in his face when I told him where I worked and how much I'd made that day. That little smile and that smirk, and then he'd sit back in his chair like he was satisfied that his last boy was home and [.]

Harold: We're glad that he died just where he wanted to die. And I'm really proud that I took care of him. He [.] I think he lived his best. And I fulfilled his wishes [.] Mother died here, dad died here [.] That's it.

Grandchild: Every time I go in the sauna I think of grandpa. Every time I look at that sealer switch [.] [laughing] [.] I'll never figure out [.]

John: That's for sure when you look at that tractor [.]

Grandchild: never figure out how to tie that sealer switch the way he did with that birch root that's [.]

John: That was something that he could really do.

Grandchild: He kinda kept it a secret though. You could watch him do it as slow as he could do it and you'd never

John: He had [.] he had some kind of a special twist he'd give it that nobody could seem to follow [.] When he tied it.

Grandchild: It was [.] it was [.] it was great.

David: He wouldn't go to sleep until I'd get home, though, he'd wait to make sure I was safely at home and everything. And then he'd be satisfied and he would have his last cup of coffee for the evening and then be off to bed, knowing that the whole family was safely home.

Old man: Well we had lots of fun.

[Taking pictures and a social gathering after the burial at the farm. Lots of family present, drinking beer, exchanging words in Finnish and English]

Mother of a small boy: Is that how Grandpa drove the tractor, huh?

Boy: Big. Big.

Mother: It's big, yeah. How does he drive it?

Boy: Brrrrrrmm

Erkki's granddaughter: There'll always be someone here.

Erkki's daughter 2: Yeah, that's the good thing, there's always gonna be someone here

Erkki's granddaughter: Yeah, yeah. And [.] there's Irene here, being that she is from Finland, it'll [.] it'll keep it more like the same.

Erkki's daughter 2: It'll always be home, you know. I will still be coming here. Won't be the same without mom and pop. But there'll always be someone in the family here. Hmmm. Yeah. I love it here. So peaceful.

Appendix 2: Transcript of *Tradition Bearers* (1983)

[John sitting on his front porch]

Film-maker: How long did you think you would stay in America?

John: Well, first thing, yea, I [.] I [.] I [.] I figured I don't stay {if there was this way} [Incomprehensible] {if it was that way today} like the Washington some mix up. I[.] I thought after two weeks back. But then this country was a good country when we come. Joo.

[Jingo sitting in a rocking chair on a porch]

Jingo: Well I was a teenager during the depression, that's when I was growing up. And it was rough. We [.] we had a lot of fun, we didn't have [.] we had very little money, but we never went cold and we never went hungry. And the main thing is that we had parties and dances and we had the kind of fun that money has nothing to do with. And we made do, we made clothes over and we made our own fun, we made things to have fun. And some people want to [.] don't want to admit that they were ever poor and they don't want to admit to a lot of things that they had to put up with during the depression and this is so stupid. I think it's stupid.

[Dancing and singing to Kulkurin valssi, accordion played by Art at his bar]

Art: I was a [.] Finnish music has been my big event and at all times polka's, {chardishes, radicas}, I always feature them and enjoy playing them and it still gives me pleasure to play them and, so that's the way it's been all through my life.

[Katri carding wool at home]

Katri: Nämä villat ovat suoraan lampaasta ja nämä ovat likasia. (These wools are directly from sheep and are soiled) Ja ne täytyypi karstata ensiksi yhen kerran. (First they must be carded) Ja tehä tätä työtä pitkä' aikaa ennen ku ne ovat selvästi puhtaita. (This must be done for a long time until they are clean) Ja täytyy karstata pitkän aikaa ennen ku ne ovat siinä kunnossa, että näistä voipi tehä lankaa. (And you have to card a long time before they are suitable for one to make yarn) Ja tämä on työtä, jota meidän suomessa piti alkaa tekemään nuoresta lapsesta. (And this is work which we had to begin to do in Finland from early childhood)

[Title, to melancholic Finnish music.]

Katri: Meitä oli lapsia. Suuri perhe. Ja äitilläni oli suuri työ kun hänen piti kutoa ensin vaatekankaat ja sitten neuloa. (In our family there were many children and my mother was kept very busy weaving cloth and then sewing) Isäni teki työtä pellolla. Aamusta iltaan, pitkiä päiviä. (My father worked long days on the field from morning till night) Ja toimeentulomme me saimme maasta, että ei meidän kaupasta tarvinnut kauheesti ostaa (Our livelihood came from the land so we didn't have to buy much from the store), mutta rahantulo oli meillä pieni. Mutta eihän me sitä paljon tarvittukaan, kun kaikki työ tehtiin kotona. (Our cash income was small but we didn't need much since most everything was homemade) Ja minun piti auttaa sisätöissä ja karstaamisessa ja kaikessa mitä minä voin oppia tekemään. Mutta tähän oli mieluista työtä minulle, ja on ollut koko elämän ajan. (And I had to help with inside tasks and carding and everything else that I could learn to do. But this was pleasant work for me, and has continued to be throughout my life)

[Old black-and-white pics about Finns working traditional jobs (woodwork, fieldwork, spinning, weaving, fishing etc)]

Film-maker: What was it like when you were there as a young man?

John: Ai in Finland?

Film-maker: Yes.

John: Oh well, well, pretty much same thing as here. I don't [.]I don't [.] I never can see any difference. Everybody get married when they're around that age. Almost everyone. Joo.

Katri: Olin kuullu puhuttavan Ameriikan kultalasta. Sinnehän minunkin pitäisi päästä. Mutta milläläilla? Mitään mahdollisuutta ei ollut saada rahaa kasaan niin paljon, että olisi voinut ostaa matkalipun. Mutta, minä olin kuullut puhuttavan eräästä farmerista, joka halusi lähettää tytöille tikettiä, jos he tulevat tekemään työtä sen edestä.

(I had heard tell about America, the land of gold. And that is where I wanted to go. But how? I had no opportunity in Finland to get enough money to gather to buy passage. But I had heard of an American farmer who would send passage money to girls who would agree to work for it)

Ja niin sieltä tuli tiketti minulle. Ja ajattelin suurin toivomuksin; nythän minä voin lähettää Ameriikan kultalasta vieraan maan rahaa, että saan auttaa vanhempia, ja siskojani Suomeen. Mutta ajatukset eivät ihmisellä aina toteennu.

(And so a ticket came and I was filled with hope; now I can go to America, the land of gold, and earn money to help my parents and sisters in Finland. But such hopes are not always fulfilled)

Ja lähtöni tapahtui, elokuun neljäntenä päivänä yhdeksäntoista sataa kolmetoista. Muistan sen aamun. Isäni valjasti hevosen kärrien eteen. Kanteli minun matkalaukkuni ja eväskorini ja pisti sen kärryille, odotellen minua. Ketään ei näkynyt huoneessa, kenelle olisin voinut hyvästin heittää. Äitiä ei näkynyt, siskoja ei näkynyt. Vain pieni Tapani-veljeni makasi aamu-untaan vielä kehdoissaan. Vilkaisin hänen tyköönsä, suljin oven, ja viimeisen kerran astelen kotiportaita alas. (I left home August fourth 1913. I remember that morning. Father harnessed the horse to the cart, carried out my suitcase and lunch basket and waited for me. In the house there was no one inside to whom I could say goodbye. Not mother, not my sisters, only my baby brother Tapani lay sleeping in his cradle. I glanced at him, closed the door, and for the last time walked down the steps of my childhood home.)

[Katri continues spinning]

[Säkkijärven polkka playing in the background, pictures of traveling to America]

Film-maker: What was America like when you first came here?

John: Oh jaa that's a, that's a good country. We get the pretty small wages but they just enough to get the [...] pay the board on the boarding house we boarded at the boarding house lots of boarding house at that times yeah [incomprehensible]. And we like it the [...] but the winter time I went down the [...] in the summer time I work on the [...] every summer I work in the Duluth. I work the {Marshall Wells, with wholesale house [Incomprehensible]} And then, then, then but then in fall when the fall came, I'll go to lumber camp. I don't want to stay on the city on the [...] summ[...] on the wintertime because we can stay on the woods and no wind so bad.

Katri: Tämä on skein maker [Spins yarn around a wooden, rotating machine]

Tiketin lähettäjä oli Charles Hill. Ja hänellä oli komia maalaistalo. Kuusi mailia Duluthista Cloquet'n.

(The person who sent me the passage money was Charles Hill. He had a beautiful country home six miles west of Duluth toward Cloquet)

Ja ensiksi minä löysin kitsissä kahvia keittelemässä, aamukahvia keittelemässä, vanhan naisen, jota sanottiin "Vanhan Maan Meeriksi".

(The first person that I met in the kitchen making morning coffee was an elderly woman called "Old Country Mary")

Ja hänelle tuli aina vahingoita. Hänelle tuli aina vahingoita kun hän teki työtä ja hän joka kerta vain sano "oh shit".

(She had accidents frequently as she did her work. Each time she would say “oh shit”)

Enkä minä ymmärtänyt mitä tämä sana meinasi, minä vaan ihmettelin, tällaistako englannin kieli on että tämä sana aina sanotaan, aina vaan sanotaan eikä mitään muuta, kun muut ihmiset olivat suomalaisia.

(I didn't understand what she meant or why she kept repeating it so often, and I wondered is this what English is really like)

Film-maker: How did you learn English?

John: Well I tried pretty hard. I tried pretty hard. When I come here and I told myself; you have to learn this language.

Jingo: Well we all spoke Finn at home. And the main thing was to [...] when we went to school was to learn to [...] learn to speak English because most of us knew how to read and write Finnish and we knew our numbers, we could tell time, we didn't need to be taught that.

John: That's the way I learn when I went the store in the Duluth, they speak [...] everyone speak English and I [...] I listen so good. I can [...] I [...] I like the learn. And I tell the [...] myself: Have to learn the language if you mean to stay here.

Jingo: [laughing] We were punished for speaking Finnish in the school house and in the school yard. This is after we got the new school and the fence around. And as soon as we got out of the fence then we spoke Finnish all the time, just it was a kind of a backlash, you know.

[Midsummer bonfire, children playing around it; song “Äitini”]

[Jingo playing guitar with a band, song Kuuliaiset Kottilassa]

Jingo: Dad had it pretty rough in Finland. He was a beggar boy. He went around with a little pack sack on his back and [...] worked for a few crusts of bread and stuff and he wanted to come to America because he had heard a man had a chance in America. And so he came to Calumet and he worked there in the mine and got married and [...] they had a little boarding house, not a big one, a little boarding house and [...] his wife more or less ran the boarding house. And then dad built a sailboat, did some commercial fishing. And then he had a chance to get a homestead. He got the homestead and brought his family and his belongings from Calumet in the sailboat. And worked the homestead, and his first wife died and left a sma[...] left five children including a small baby. But a couple of years later he

married my mother and they had eight more children. So [.] they had fifteen altogether, two died in infancy, but thirteen grew up. I'm the fifteenth. I was the youngest and I guess I was more or less in the way at home. [laughing] So, every place where dad went I trailed along with him and [.] Then when I was about six years old I started trapping weasels. And [.] I tried trapping for coyotes but my brother and the state trappers I guess had cleaned them out by then. The coyotes were bad when I was a little kid. They killed sheep. Now we used to have sheep too but they didn't kill ours, they killed the neighbor's though. In broad daylight. But [.] I don't know [.] I've always said I quit trapping when I trapped my husband. [laughing] I was 21. [laughing] Well for almost 20 years after I was married I was thoroughly domesticated. All I did was I took care of the house and I had eight kids. And by the time the kids were all in school I started writing. We lived in St. Ignace and I was sending my stuff down state. And I got braver and braver, I started sending articles out and the darn things were selling. And I really got brave, I decided to go to Kincheloe air force base and take college composition. The teacher more or less condemned my writing, she said I was using offensive words, and [.] I'm not talking about nasty four-letter words, just offensive words, like using butt; b-u-t-t, for a behind and things like that. She just said that wasn't right. She really worked over my stuff, and [.] I tried to write like that, and [.] my bosses at the Lapeer county press told me that, forget everything that I had learned and to stick to my original style. And they told me to cut out the big words, I thought I was showing how smart I was or showing all those big words, you know. "Write the way you think". Apparently it worked because the stuff kept spreading and I kept selling. Pretty soon I was writing for nation-wides. I write about things that I knew about. I don't create, I don't create stories, I write about things that I have personally lived through and also about time [.] um [.] stories I write about before my time [.] are by people who have told me stories, older people who told me about things that happened.

[Images about Jingo's stories and drawings, "Väliaikainen" playing in the background]

Jingo: We had a woman there; boy she was really a gossip. And she liked to talk about the young people, me especially. And she had started a; oh she'd started I don't know how many stories about me that I was in the family way, which of course I wasn't. And [.] So one day another girlfriend and I we took off for a walk past her place and I had everything all planned out. I took my sweater and I ro[.] and I folded it up and I put it under my shirt. And I carried it like this, you know, like I was trying to kinda hide my stomach, you know, but yet at the same time showing that my stomach was getting kind of big, and looking kind of guilty and humped over. And we walked past her place and she was outside working in the

garden and oh we saw her drop her hoe and run into the house. And [.] We figured she'd have a story. There were no phones then, thank heaven, and [.] Anyway a big dance was supposed to be kept at the hall, which it was and she had the story, I guess she had told everybody by the time Saturday night rolled on and she had told everybody that I was highly in the family way, and of course when I did go to the dance I was as slim as I could be. And boy I'm telling you that poor woman sat there, you know, she really looked [.] well she didn't know what to say because she had already told everybody, you know. But she had it coming.

And my dad told me that it's important what you think of yourself, it's not that important what other people think of you, he said, as long as you know you're right, he said, don't ever sneak to do anything. He said if you have to sneak to do something, you're wrong. But he said, if you, if you have the guts to do something in front of people you can't be too far wrong.

Katri: Ja sitten minä menin mainin omistajan Albert Coatesin kokiksi. Ja olin siellä yli vuoden. Hän piti suomalaisia tyttöjä, hän sanoi että suomalaiset vaikka eivät osaa puhua, ne osaavat tehdä työtä.

(And then I went to work as a cook for the mine owner Albert Coates. He said that Finnish girls, even though they could not speak English, knew how to work)

Ja niin minä olin yli vuoden, mutta sitten kun tämä oli niin kovin vaativa paikka, minä jollakin tavalla väsyin, ja rupesin ajattelemaan, että minä olen orja, kun kaikki pitääpi olla niin kovin justiin minuutin päälle, miksikä toinen ihminen on niin paljon toista ihmistä parempi, että toisen ihmisen täytyy niin kovin säännöllisesti tehdä sille palveluksia.

(I was there over a year, but then, because it was such a demanding place, I became tired and began to think that I was a slave. Everything had to be so exact, right on the minute. Why is one person so much better than another, that the other person must serve him with such precision)

[Pictures about miners, the song Kaivostyömiehen laulu playing]

Katri: Ja minä pelkäsin kovasti sitä mainia. Monta kertaa oli pudonnut kivi päähän niin että verta vuoti kun hän ulos asteli.

(I was so afraid of that mine. Many times a rock would fall on a miners head and he would be bleeding as he walked home.)

Art: When the copper country's strike came along, that's when great many of the miners moved out into the country and got into farming and whatever they could find. And a big percentage of them went into the logging camps and became lumberjacks. I guess I have some sawdust in my ears cause I used to work in my dad's sawmill ever since I was a knee high I guess, and I learned to do just about

everything that a small sawmill needed to do. Then of course later on I did some sawmill work on my own and logging and I still like to be in the woods and I have some logging going on in my timberlands right now it's [...] I take a walk every now and then and enjoy seeing logging going on so I guess it never wears off of you. Sawdust stays in your ears I guess.

Then I got to know a lot of these lumberjacks, the more colorful ones, that I, I really enjoy their company, and when these lumberjacks came to town, which I call rough and ready -guys, they were rather gentle and generous when they got to town with their paychecks, and most of them that I've seen were very generous towards the kids with their money and candy bars. And when their paycheck was gone in town, they'd head for the farms and work for their boarding room and clear the farms, hack away at the stumps and the trees and the brush and that is one way most of these farms got cleared off with the lumberjack help. All rough and ready guys with lots of muscle. They worked hard. They also played hard when they got to town. So, that's the story of the lumberjack, really.

[Art singing and playing about lumberjacks in English, his own "Lumberjack song"]

Art: My oldest brother had been working in a mine up in the coal mines up in Virginia area and his partner got killed in a mine so all his stuff was auctioned off, and that is where my brother got this piano accordion and sent it home. So, we got the chance to start learning to play the piano accordion. I played music the old Finnish music, which I've always enjoyed and played a lot of it for years and years and I always wanted it to be carried on when I'm too old to play, so I have three students they've been with me for a number of years now, going on a fourth year and hopefully they'll stay with it and carry on Finnish Polkas, {chardishes} and {radicas} that I enjoy playing and seems like it's coming back pretty strong again and I've survived fifty years of this kind of music and I'm, and I'm sure it'll stay around for some time from now on.

[Art and three ladies playing piano accordions "Löylyä lissää"]

Katri: Ja se oli vuosi yhdeksätoistasataa kaksikymmentäkaksi, toukokuun kymmenes päivä, kun me tulimme tänne maalle. Kova täällä on ollut työ, pellot on pitänyt perkata, suuret kannot olivat [inaudible], ja hitaasti leipä [inaudible].

(We moved out here to the country on May tenth, 1922. The work here has been hard, fields had to be cleared from forest, huge stumps removed, but our living conditions slowly improved)

Film-maker: Tell us how you were born in Finland

John: Joo, I born in Finland 1886. That's right. What year I [.] you remember what year I came to this country?

Film-maker: 1903.

John: Joo, 1903. Joo. I came this country. And later I take the citizens paper and, and I, I get them and I'm citizen of United State then when I get the papers. Joo. And later I, I prove this [incomprehensible].

[Photos and scenery from Toimi, Michigan, which strongly resembles a Finnish farm. John sharpens a scythe, cuts hay, rakes the cut hay, hoes a potato field, chops wood]

John: Joo then I got the lots of things, then [.] there's hardly any meaning on [.] Like this here [shows wooden items carved by him] Well that's [.] that's same thing as a nothing, no [.] good for nothing. But then you can [.] you can fix that and put some right on the barrel and make the nice thing, if you like to do. Like the this thing. You can, you can cut right there and put on [.] on some place and make the nice thing. Same as [.] same as this. That's nothing. But the good for here, the see, how many different kind of a wood come out the woods, without the making. I didn't make this, I didn't make [.] I just peel it. Joo, joo. I never made this. They just [draw] incomprehensible].

Film-maker: Do some people think this is silly?

John: Joo, well, I guess they lots of people think but then I don't give a shit. My... my mind don't have. Just look how [.] how nature draw many different things. That's what the [.] the only idea I got.

I sit usually sit right here and then I make [.] Right there. In the evening when the long nights [.] the work on the outside but then I sitting here don't like to go to sleep so early. That's why I make these spoons. Joo that's [.] [carves a wooden spoon]

[song Väliaikainen]

I don't buy anything what I can make. I [incomprehensible] the young Toivonen don't buy anything but he can make. Self. Like the axe handles and pickaroon handles, I don't buy. You see on the camp. I make the first cabin. That's the axe I make. Was in the first cabin. But then I lost that we [.] maybe [incomprehensible] cutting [.] leering land but ten years after I found. See? To be around so many years. But then I made the handles. I made that. Pretty much [.] [incomprehensible] don't need any bigger saw. You put this right in and put on your back and start walking [.] Joo. I hardly can tell anything else. I can do anything on the wood. Even men I can do. If that I have to make this for life I can make them. The [.] the [.] This high and I turn either way. The log and they [.] they make this move. You hardly can see the joints on the thing. But then much bigger baskets. I made this table. This [.] the birch [.] birch tree. This is made a little difference [incomprehensible]

put inside this stub one. You everybody you're [incomprehensible] Like the spoon what you use. You can even [.] [demonstrates eating] make the inside put the pore {porridge} inside here. Because that's the made for that for. What the I [.]

Film-maker: Tell me about cooperation among neighbors.

John: Joo. They [.] every, every neighbor must cooperated. When we come here. And start building the [.] the houses there. Joo. Everyone. Even one [.] I member one, one newcomer the burn, the, the house was burned but the people went the build the new house. All the logs and everything. That's the way we did.

Jingo: Well they all cooperated. Everybody helped the other. When they took out for groceries they went by sailboat and they brought each other's groceries and [.] You had to stick together to survive. And if somebody had to leave to go someplace, one family would take care of the other's children. And if somebody got sick, you didn't hire someone for money, somebody else would run over there. Having a baby you didn't get a doctor, the neighbor woman ran over.

Katri: Naapurit olivat oikeen ystävällisiä toisilleen sen syyn takia tietenkin, kun jokainen tarvihti työapua, ja rahaa ei ollut työapua maksaa. Toinen teki työtä toiselleen. Jos jossakin piltattiin sitä hirsikämpää, naapurit auttoivat että saatiin pian katto päälle, jotta uusi tulokas pääsi taas asumaan sisälle.

(The neighbors were friendly and depended on each other for help with their work. They did not have money to pay for such help. If a log cabin needed to be built for a new family, the neighbors pitched in to get the roof on it in a hurry so that they could move in.)

[Art and a guitar accompanist playing and singing in Finnish, people dancing polka]

Film-maker: What is the meaning of Finnish Sisu?

Katri: Minä ymmärrän että se meinaa sitä, että suomalainen yrittää, vaikka ei se enää jaksaisi.

(I understand it to mean that a Finn will continue to struggle even though he no longer has the strength)

Film-maker: Do you have it?

Katri: I guess I have. I guess I have. You think so? [laughs] I can make this one more if you want. Look it. [weaving a carpet]