JYU DISSERTATIONS 652

Roman Kushnir

"Becoming a Finn" in the United States

The Representations of Foodways, Language, Sports, and Music in the Processes of Identity Formation in Contemporary Finnish-American Fiction

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores the construction of Finnish-American identities in the United States in Finnish-American fiction published in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Despite the high number of titles, the literature produced by the descendants of Finnish immigrants is understudied in comparison to other ethnic and immigrant literatures in the USA and Canada. The present dissertation contributes to filling this gap. Drawing on the theoretical framework of transcultural and transnational studies, especially Mary Louise Pratt's (1992/2008) concepts of transculturation and a contact zone, the study raises the question what roles four cultural practices – foodways, language, sports, and music – play in constructing the characters' Finnish-American identities through creative cultural fusion.

(1) Foodways are analyzed in Lauri Anderson's collections of short stories *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002), and *Back to Misery Bay* (2007); (2) the roles of languages in creating "American Plus Finnish" transcultural identity in Patricia Eilola's novels of formation *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998) and *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008); (3) sports and transnational and regional identity are analyzed in the collection *Heikki Heikkinen* by Anderson and the novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) by Martin Koskela; and (4) music in *Welcome to Shadow Lake* by Koskela.

The study discusses (1) old and new foodways in relation to ethnocultural boundaries, dynamic intergenerational relations, and strong regional Michigan's Finnish identities; (2) illuminates languages, accents, and names in self-positioning in Finnish- and English-speaking worlds; (3) highlights the Olympic games, winter sports, and the US sports in Michigan's Finnish-American identity-building; and (4) illustrates the significance of live and recorded music in relation to the identity formation of US-born Finnish generations. The analysis of these four practices emphasizes the transcultural and transnational dynamics of identity formation as taking place through constant encounter, negotiation, and mutual influence of Finnish, American, and Finnish-American cultural elements.

Keywords: American literary studies, ethnocultural identity, Finnish-Americans, Finnish-American literature, foodways, language, music, sports, transcultural identity, transnational identity, Lauri Anderson, Patricia Eilola, Martin Koskela

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Kushnir, Roman
"Becoming a Finn": ruokakulttuurin, kielen, urheilun ja musiikin kuvaukset suomalaisuuden rakentajina suomalais-amerikkalaisessa nykykirjallisuudessa
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Tämä väitöstutkimus tarkastelee suomalais-amerikkalaisten identiteettien rakentumista 1900-luvun jälkipuoliskon ja 2000-luvun alun Yhdysvalloissa julkaistussa suomalais-amerikkalaisessa kirjallisuudessa. Suomalaisten siirtolaisten jälkeläisten tuottamaa kirjallisuutta on sen runsaudesta huolimatta tutkittu vähän verrattuna muiden etnisten ja maahanmuuttajaryhmien Yhdysvalloissa ja Kanadassa julkaistuun kirjallisuuteen. Tämä tutkimus täyttää tätä aukkoa. Tutkimus hyödyntää transkulttuurisuuden ja transnationaalisuuden teorioita, erityisesti Mary Louise Prattin (1992/2008) transkulturaation ja kontaktivyöhykkeen käsitteitä ja kysyy, millaisia rooleja kulttuurisilla käytänteillä, ruokakulttuurilla, kielellä, urheilulla ja musiikilla on suomalais-amerikkalaisten henkilöhahmojen identiteettien rakentumisessa luovan kulttuurisen fuusion puitteissa.

Ruokakulttuuria tutkitaan Lauri Andersonin novellikokoelmissa *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002) ja *Back to Misery Bay* (2007). Kielen rooleja tarkastellaan ”amerikkalainen plus suomalainen” -identiteettien rakentumisessa Patricia Eilolan kehitysromaaneissa *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998) ja *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008). Urheilun roolia transnationaalisen ja paikallisen identiteetin muotoutumisessa analysoidaan kahdessa novellikokoelmassa, jotka ovat Andersonin *Heikki Heikkinen* ja Martin Koskelan *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996). Myös musiikin ja identiteetin yhteyttä käsitellään Koskelan teoksessa.

Tutkimus tarkastelee perinteisen ja uuden ruokakulttuurin etnokulttuurisia rajoja, dynaamisia sukupolvienvälisiä suhteita ja Michiganin vahvoja suomalaisia paikallisidentiteettejä. Se valaisee kielten, aksenttien ja nimien rooleja itsemäärittelyssä suomen- ja englanninkielisissä konteksteissä, ja korostaa olympialaisten, talviurheilun ja amerikkalaisten urheilulajien merkitystä Michiganin suomalais-amerikkalaisten identiteettien rakentumisessa. Se myös kuvaa elävän ja nauhoitetun musiikin tärkeyttä Yhdysvalloissa syntyneiden, toisen polven suomalaissiirtolaisten identiteettien muotoutumisessa. Näiden neljän käytännön analyysi korostaa identiteetin rakentumisen transkulttuurista ja transnationaalista dynamiikkaa ja sen muotoutumista jatkuvassa kohtaamisen, neuvottelun sekä suomalaisten, amerikkalaisten ja suomalais-amerikkalaisten elementtien vaikutussuhteissa.

Avainsanat: amerikkalaisen kirjallisuuden tutkimus, etnokulttuurinen identiteetti, Amerikan-suomalaiset, Amerikan-suomalainen kirjallisuus, ruokakulttuuri, kieli, musiikki, urheilu, transkulttuurinen identiteetti, transnationaalinen identiteetti, Lauri Anderson, Patricia Eilola, Martin Koskela

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the years of writing this dissertation I have found out that writing a PhD thesis on the topic of Finnish-American migration is in many ways similar to actually crossing the Atlantic and finding oneself in a new country. Like Finnish-Americans in the early 20th century, I had to venture into a strange alien land with few things in my luggage, some of them to prove useful and some to be (grudgingly) discarded, but all of them to be changed in and by the new country. Fortunately, I was not alone in this long, painful, triumphant, rocky and thrilling journey.

I would like to thank many people who have assisted me with their ideas, discussions, and encouragement. First of all, I would like to thank the reviewers of this dissertation, Professors Joel Kuortti and Beth Virtanen. Beth Virtanen's insightful, helpful, and inspiring feedback on my dissertation manuscript was a true joy to me, and I have done my best to address her suggestions in the final version of the dissertation. Joel Kuortti's commentary was no less astute, encouraging, and thought-provoking. As I am honored to have him as my opponent, I hope for further discussion of his feedback in my doctoral defence.

I also want to express deep gratitude to my supervisors for their guidance, comments, and never-ending patience which have been essential for my work. Over the course of my research, I stumbled and lost my way many times, but my supervisors were there for me to put me back on track. The insight, support, and encouragement along with their great wisdom, optimism, and humor of Senior Lecturer Helen Mäntymäki, Professor Emeritus Gerald Porter, and Senior Researcher Saara Jäntti shone bright like beacons in my not always smooth and easy journey to the doctoral defense. Thank you very much Helen, Gerald, and Saara, - you three have been a source of inspiration for me.

Thanks are also due to Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Sirpa Leppänen. When our Languages Department was transferred from the University of Vaasa to the University of Jyväskylä, they did their best to make this sudden transfer as smooth for me as possible. Their help in incorporating us, the Vaasa people, into the new university and the English Language doctoral group, in organizing everything, and in solving countless big and small issues, was invaluable. I admit that this movement from the coast of Ostrobothnia to the Finnish Lakeland was rather unexpected but at the end of the day their efforts made the surprise a pleasant and advantageous one.

I also wish to thank my colleagues from the research groups at the University of Vaasa and the University of Jyväskylä who have helped me with their suggestions and their support: Sirkku Aaltonen, Karina Doi, Zahra Edalati-Kian, Anu Heino, Päivi Iikkanen, Wiriya Inphen, Noora Karjalainen, Samu Kytölä, Anni-Kaisa Leminen, Sari Piittinen, Tim Reus, Marinella Rodi-Risberg, Harri Salovaara, Rauha Salam, Nestori Siponkoski, Jukka Tiusanen, Minttu Vänttinen, Carola Wide, and those whose names I may have not mentioned here. Over these unforgettable years you all have given me so much, not only valuable comments, discussions, and other help with my research but

also wonderful friendships, interesting conversations, and truly needed words of support. Thank you all. It has truly been an honor to work with you and enjoy your company.

For their most generous financial support I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Finnish Cultural Foundation (the South Ostrobothnia Regional Fund), the Kone Foundation, the University of Vaasa, and the University of Jyväskylä. Their grants have made this research possible. Not only has this support provided me with the chance to acquire necessary books and other material and to attend a number of relevant conferences and workshops, but also importantly it has also made me feel appreciated and given me confidence. I cannot thank you enough.

Contemplating the topic of my future doctoral dissertation after completing my Master's thesis, I planned to continue my research on the formation and transformation of identities in the context of displacement and migration. Yet I also wanted to pay attention to the construction and representation of nations and national identities in literature which was another topic that strongly interested me after I had had the honor to attend the defense of the doctoral thesis *Under Other Eyes: Constructions of Russianness in Three Socio-Political English Novels* (2010) by Galina Dubova. I was a step closer to finding my theme when I read the studies on the images of Finns and Finland in Anglophone literature by William Mead (1963, 1982).

What brought me to Finnish-Americans? Since the early days of my life I have had first-hand experience with these people and their history. My home city, Petrozavodsk (Petroskoi), Karelia, Russia, used to be a center of the "Karelian fever" and "Red Exodus" of Finnish-Americans in the 1930s which left a lasting legacy on the region. In my childhood, I heard the stories about those brave hard-working idealists and their tragic fate. The principal of my school in the 1990s was Pauli (also known as Pavel) Corgan, a son of Oscar Corgan, one of the leaders of the American Red Finns. Later in life, my Masters studies brought me to Ostrobothnia, the Finnish region strongly influenced and shaped by immigration to North America. It was however only with the invaluable help from my supervisors, Gerald Porter and Helen Mäntymäki, and their critical insights and support, that I finally arrived at my present topic.

When I began collecting material for my study, Raija Taramaa's brilliant doctoral dissertation *Stubborn and Silent Finns with 'Sisu' in Finnish-American Literature: An Imagological Study of Finnishness in the Literary Production of Finnish-American Authors* (2007) was my starting point. It offered me important insight into Finnish-American literature and the ways in which it constructs Finnishness. As this work marked the beginning of my journey, I owe thanks to Doctor Taramaa. I wanted to follow in her footsteps, but also to further her research by analyzing both famous and less known Finnish-American writers. To fulfill this task, I asked for and received assistance from the Finnish North American Literature Association (FinNALA). I am grateful for their most generous cooperation. The writers whose texts I finally selected as the research material, Lauri Anderson and Patricia Eilola, also provided me over the course of my work with help and advice that I appreciate so much. The title of my

dissertation is actually based on the title of the section “Becoming a Finn” which opens Anderson’s *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995) collection of short stories. I consider it particularly suitable as it immediately illuminates the ever-ongoing processes of Finnish-American identity formation and draws attention to Finnishness (in the US) as something always in flux, as *becoming* rather than simply *being*.

I am very grateful to the Migration Institute of Finland, the Finnish American Studies Association (FASA), and the John Morton Center for North American Studies at the University of Turku for providing me with necessary information relevant to my study and much-appreciated opportunities to present and discuss my work with true experts in American Studies. I also owe thanks to the staff of the *Journal of Finnish Studies* and especially its editor Helena Halmari who were most helpful during my research and the process of publication. As my first article was published there, they have opened my road to academic publishing. Thanks are also due to Professors Jane Piirto, Hilary-Joy Virtanen, and Carl Rahkonen for their generous and insightful advice.

I also wish to thank my family and friends who have given me so much needed love, support, and encouragement through all my work, especially in times of challenge and stress. This dissertation would have never been finished without them.

Vaasa 15.10.2022 Roman Kushnir

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Literature can be a powerful tool in the formation of different forms of social identities, including both national and ethnic. The representation of identity construction in literary texts is also an important topic as literature is an invaluable source for the research into identity and its formation. This is particularly the case with literature in the context of immigration and ethnic minorities. The significance of immigrants' and minorities' ethnic literatures for forming and maintaining ethnic identity in the new country or in the dominant society cannot be underestimated. The USA as a nation of immigrants known for its historical linguistic and cultural diversity is notable for its great variety of immigrant and ethnic literatures. They have emerged within almost all immigrant and minority groups in America[1] (Blanck 2006: 106). They become a part of the larger American literary history in the same way as newcomers gradually become Americans. As Orm Øverland (1996) states in his study of Norwegian American literature: "this is a history of American literature".

According to Brent Peterson (1989/1991: 58), reading ethnic literature affects the lives of the readers whose inherited culture is no longer adequate for their situation. The narratives published and read contribute to the formation of a new acquired – and hyphenated – ethnic-American consciousness (ibid. 58). These literatures have been extensively but unevenly studied, however, and the writings of bigger ethnic groups such as Asian Americans or Italian Americans have been generally favored over smaller groups as a subject for academic analysis. Among these neglected ethnic literatures there is also the multifaceted literature started by Finnish-American immigrants soon after their arrival in

[1] In this dissertation, the words "America" and "American" are used to refer mainly to the USA. I use the words "Finnish-Americans" and "Finnish America" to refer to the Finnish community in the United States, while "Finnish-Canadians" and "Finnish Canada" are applied in relation to Finns in Canada and their community there. It is also important to clarify that while recent newcomers from Finland living in the USA can be equally named Finnish-Americans, in my research I use the term to refer only to those who came to North America during the period of mass immigration, and their US-born descendants who are in the focus of my analysis.

North America and still perpetuated by their descendants right up to today. Finnish-American literature has historically been their channel to tell about their life in the USA, their gradual adaptation and Americanization as well as the efforts to preserve their Finnish identity. The existing scholarship in Finnish-American culture, however, has dealt only cursorily with their literary activities, let alone the representation of Finnishness and Finnish-Americanness in Finnish-American literature. Analyzing this literature can contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon of Finnish-Americanness in modern America as well as add to the study of the role of the overlooked ethnic groups and cultures in the mosaic of the USA. This can also further the research into the process of ethnic identity formation. To draw much needed attention to this topic and to pave the way for future studies, my dissertation focuses on the representations of Finnish-American identities in late 20th- and early 21st-century Finnish-American literature.

Finland has had a long and rich history of emigration. During the past one hundred years over 1.4 million Finns moved to other countries. They travelled both to such close destinations as neighboring Russia and Sweden, and to such faraway locations as Australia, Cuba and Israel, among many others. One of the most popular destinations, however, was North America: the United States and Canada. During the so-called "American fever" from the 1870s to the 1920s approximately 350,000 Finns left their home country in pursuit of a bright future for themselves and their families on the new continent. This was the consequence of various socioeconomic reasons ranging from famine, unemployment, and the growth of the Finnish population to the Russification campaign, political and religious persecutions, and the search for freedom. Following in the footsteps of many other European migrant groups (although they were latecomers), the Finns were sure that they were heading for the promised land where "streets were paved with gold". Like many other immigrants in America before and after them, on their arrival the Finns quickly realized that the streets were not even paved with gold metaphorically, and that their new country was not the idealized land of prosperity for everybody. They also discovered and experienced at first hand the negative sides of life in America such as discrimination, racism and prejudice, poverty and the language barrier, and so on. Some of the settlers returned to Finland, but the majority stayed to build their lives in the new country. They have had a rich and interesting history in the not always easy process of adaptation to the USA, including establishing numerous ethnic institutions, engaging with political and labor activism to fight for their rights, and finally gradual Americanization and finding their place in America.

Nowadays Finnish-Americans remain a relatively small ethnic group of approximately 674,000 people (U.S. Census Bureau 2008-2010). Although they live all over the USA, there are still the areas of particular concentration such as the Upper Midwest (mostly in Michigan and Minnesota) and Florida (Alanen 2014: 70-71). Hancock, Michigan, where Finlandia University is located, stands out as a contemporary version of an American Finntown, and the Twin Cities

metropolitan area of Minneapolis-St. Paul has the greatest concentration of urban Finnish-Americans in the nation (ibid. 70-71). Michigan and Minnesota in general remain home to the largest Finnish-American population, and the region around Lake Superior can be seen as "the center of Finnish America, where communities maintain close contact, traditions are strong, and many cultural activists are located and cultural activities are initiated" (Lockwood & Lockwood 2017: 115-116).

The first and second-generation migrants (the American-born Finns) in the USA were constantly experiencing the tension between the desire to preserve their ethnic identity and the unavoidable changes caused by integration (sometimes forced) (Toivonen 1999: 101). Driven away from Finland, on the one hand they were not able to preserve Finnish culture while on the other they did not completely accept the American cultures, but instead created something new: Finnish-American culture that draws on both Finnish culture, mainstream American culture and other American ethnic cultures (ibid. 101-102). In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th, in their close-knit ethnic communities or Finntowns, Finnish-Americans had their own theaters, churches, newspapers, and centers of cultural activities, including the clubs called Finn Halls, and other institutions. This institutional activity died after the World War II, when the American-born generation left Finntowns and came to the cities for better opportunities. However, the culture remains and is constantly developing.

Like all other ethnic groups in America, the newcomers and their American-born descendants faced a need to preserve their ethnic culture and identity in the new country (Taramaa 2007: 13). In their pursuit to keep Finnishness alive, they nostalgically reconstructed it in the USA using cultural practices and elements at hand. The immigrants were changed by the new environment, however, and gradually grew to be Finnish-Americans (Karni et al. 1975; Toivonen 1999: 102). Their new Finnish-American culture can be characterized both by the preservation of some archaic elements of Finnishness brought from the old country of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and not necessarily recognized as relevant for Finns in modern Finland, and by new Finnish practices and traditions invented in the new country. While some cultural features of Finnishness have been lost in the new country, many new ones, unknown to Finns in Finland, were born (Karjalainen 2016: 149; Asala 2001; Kero 1997; Stoller 1996). They include but are not limited to new festivals such as St. Urho's Day[2] and Heikki Lunta[3], new foodways, new music, and

[2] St. Urho's Day is, perhaps, the best known new tradition invented by Finnish-Americans in the United States (Leinonen 2014: 311; Virtanen 2012). This festival, first organized in the 1950s in Minnesota, is celebrated on March 16, just one day before St. Patrick's Day, and can be seen as a Finnish-American response to this Irish holiday (Leinonen 2014: 311; Virtanen 2012: 64). The fictitious Finnish saint named Urho is credited for chasing grasshoppers away from Finland and saving Finnish grapes. Today the festival is celebrated annually in many Finnish communities in the United States (especially in the Upper Midwest) and Canada (Leinonen 2014: 312). The festivities usually include a parade and/or a party, dances, songs, jokes, and games, as well as many grapes- and grasshoppers-themed elements. Finnish-Americans also keep inventing new ways and

other examples. New generations use new cultural practices and expressions to construct and manifest their ethnic identity, and these practices are worth studying as valuable resources.

Nowadays Finns in the USA have drastically different experiences from their immigrant forefathers. Their Americanness is uncontested and unquestioned, their ethnic heritage is no longer stigmatized and shunned as it was in the early days of immigration. Today European Americans in general are mostly viewed as old and respected ethnic groups firmly rooted in the new country; they do not face the necessity of abandoning or hiding their ethnicity in favor of wholesale Americanization but it can serve as a positive addition to their American identities. New information technologies allow modern Finnish-Americans to maintain ties with Finland a daily level of contact impossible for their forefathers who often could connect with their old country only through occasional letters back home. For today's Finns in the USA, it is also much easier, faster, and more affordable to cross the ocean and visit Finland in person than it used to be for earlier generations. Yet Finnishness in America also faces challenges: the aging of the ethnically active older generation; the lack of the younger generation's interest in their roots; and the decline of ethnic institutions set up in the early days of immigration to contribute to Finnish-Americans' ethnic survival. So the question of the preservation of ethnic unity is still relevant.

Literature is a prominent part of Finnish-American culture. According to Auvo Kostiainen (2014: 205), cultures of various immigrant groups in the United States were reflected strongly in their literary interests. Unlike many other groups of immigrants, Finns were literate in their own language (Kostiainen 2014: 205), and they also valued literacy and the power of the written word. So, after their arrival in greater numbers in the second half of the 19th century, many types of publishing activities flourished in the Finnish-American community, and a number of books and other publications were issued (ibid. 205). Along with the newspapers and other periodicals as well as religious, temperance, and labor-related materials, Finnish-American belles lettres quickly appeared, and the authors wrote about both the old country and the surrounding American environment and their lives in America (ibid. 206-207; Kero 1997: 166). Originally, the language of most Finnish-American publications was Finnish but eventually it shifted to English (Kostiainen 2014: 215-216). Nevertheless, with few exceptions Finnish-American literature was

traditions of celebration (Virtanen 2012: 65, 69). In Minnesota and Michigan, there are even statues dedicated to St. Urho (Leinonen 2014: 312; Virtanen 2012: 69).

[3] Heikki Lunta is another famous tradition of Finnish America. The fictitious Finnish and eventually Finnish-American snow god Heikki Lunta was created in 1970 in a radio advertisement song for a snowmobile race in the Upper Peninsula (Virtanen 2012: 66). Various winter events in celebration of Heikki Lunta started in the 1970s and 80s, and in the 1990s two annual ongoing festivals in January were born in the UP (Virtanen 2007: 51-52). The Heikki Lunta Winterfest is a celebration of winter and is aimed not only at Finnish-Americans, unlike the Heikinpäivä (Heikki's day) festival, a celebration of Finnish and Finnish-American heritage, where the old-country traditions come together with the new traditions invented in the US (ibid. 53). Like in the case with St. Urho, new ways of celebrating Heikki Lunta are continuously being created (ibid. 54-55).

hardly noticed by mainstream society and publishers until the 1970s (Jarvenpa 1994: 31). In the 1970s and 1980s however the situation drastically changed as many European Americans, the descendants of immigrants, took an interest in discovering and celebrating their own ethnic roots. Finnish-Americans were no exception.

Finnish-American culture and literature experienced a spurt in growth (Kauppila & Wargelin 2005: 741; Jarvenpa 1994: 32), and the phenomenon of Finnish America was noticed both in Finland and in the USA and received long-desired academic attention at FinnForums and other conferences. The largest Finnish-American ethnic festival FinnFest (established in 1983) has been including Finnish-American literature in its program from its inception up to today. A number of small literary presses specializing in publishing Finnish-American ethnic literature (among other ethnic literatures of the Upper Midwest) such as the Aspasia Books, North Star Press of St. Cloud, New Rivers Press, Coffee House Press, Sampo Publishing Company, and several others were created (Jarvenpa 1994: 31; Taramaa 2007: 67; Wilson 2001: 3-4). The seminal anthology *Sampo, The Magic Mill* (1989), a collection of fiction and poetry, gave voice to second- and third-generation Finnish-Americans writing about their experiences and those of their immigrant ancestors (Wilson 2001: 4). It opened the road for a wave of publications from the 1990s to the early 2000s and was followed by the new anthologies such as *O Finland: Works by Finnish-Americans* (1998), *Connecting Souls: Finnish Voices in North America* (2000), and *Finnish-North American Literature in English: A Concise Anthology* (2009). To promote and perpetuate the literary culture of Finnish America, in the early 2000s the Finnish North American Literature Association (FinNALA) was established. There are dozens of different Finnish-American writers of this period. Notable authors of the 1980s-early 2000s include Jane Piirto (b. 1941), Rebecca Cummings (b. 1944), Joseph Damrell (b. 1944), Aili Jarvenpa (1918-2002), Lynn Laitala (b. 1947), Lauri Anderson (b. 1942), and Timo Koskinen (b. 1945) (Kauppila & Wargelin 2005: 741). Although by the 2010s and 2020s the wave of publications has somewhat slowed down, Finnish-American literature is still active, and there are at least several new titles published every year. The most recent authors include but are not limited to Melissa Chichester (b. 1977), Dennis Frahmann (b. 1953), Scott Kaukonen (b. 1968), Sheila Packa (b. 1956), Hanna Pylväinen (b. 1985), and so on. As the success and wide positive acclaim of the novel *Deep River* (2019) by Karl Marlantes (b. 1944), who explores his own Finnish ancestry in this rich family saga, demonstrate, Finnish-Americans are still interested in writing about themselves and their heritage, and their texts can find readers both inside and outside the Finnish-American community.

Finnish-American literature includes all forms and genres, from children's literature to science fiction. One of the most notable parts of it, however, comprises fiction and non-fiction addressing the authors' and/or their ancestors' experiences as Finnish-Americans (Kauppila & Wargelin 2005: 741). As Karni (1994: 37) puts it, these texts are distinctly Finnish-American not because of the genres their writers choose to use but the authors' treatment of

their experiences as second- and third-generation Finns living in the USA. "Each seeks self identity, self definition, interpretation. Each defines himself or herself in the process of writing about the immigrant or the immigrant experience" (ibid.). Their texts can often be characterized as what Ann Rayson defines as the ethnic novel: "the tale of the stranger and his clash with America, the tale of a subculture, the tale of ethnic transplants who maintain their ethnic characteristics, or the exploration of the old and the new countries; it is the attempt to effect a balance between two ways of life with the writer's psyche" (1981: 95). Although the texts by the US-born Finns do not necessarily feature the clash with America, they tell about Finnish-American concerns and draw attention to the specific Finnish-American culture and identity. They demonstrate what the authors consider important for Finnishness now and how the second, third, and other subsequent generations represent their own and their ancestors' Finnish-American identities. Kauppila and Wargelin (2005: 742) point out that to some extent the specificity of Finnish-American literature has worked against it as it may require background knowledge of Finnish history or culture to be fully understood. Common themes include nature and wilderness, work, love, loneliness, and the Finnish national ritual of sauna, as well as the Finnish trait of *sisu* (toughness, stubbornness, fortitude, and determination) (Kauppila & Wargelin 2005: 742). As succeeding generations become more assimilated, these characteristics are less prevalent in Finnish-American literature, but at the same time some authors deliberately cultivate them in order to assure that their work is seen as Finnish (ibid. 742). So, in my study I choose for analysis several such authors in whose fiction various Finnish characteristics prominently feature.

1.1 Aim, approach and research questions

The aim of my dissertation is to investigate how Finnish-American ethnocultural identities are constructed through four cultural practices in a selection of works of fiction by second- and third-generation Finnish-American authors published in the 1990s and 2000s, namely the novels and short stories by Lauri Anderson (b. 1942), Patricia Eilola (b. 1937), and Martin Koskela (1912-1999). The four cultural practices are (1) foodways, (2) language, (3) sports, and (4) music, and I investigate the ways in which they participate in the processes of the formation of the characters' Finnish-American identities as transcultural and transnational. These practices are featured noticeably in the source texts and are most prominently involved in the processes of the characters' identity-building. They are easy to take along and bring to the new country during the process of immigration – after all, the favorite old-country recipes, tunes and songs, sports activities, and the mother tongue do not need much space in immigrants' luggage. Sarah Daynes explains the significance of foodways and music for immigrants as both are "the easiest tools to transport memories, and [...] have an immediate and forceful power of evocation" (2005: 25). Mark Slobin

(1994: 244-245) also tells about the similar potential of food and music as the carriers of memory, and points out that both can be (and usually are) the main means of identification of immigrant groups. It is also food and music which remain among the most notable ethnocultural practices of Finnish-Americans even today. Both are prominent in the program of the FinnFest and other activities (Lockwood 2006/2015: 381). They are also the practices most often found in the texts analyzed by my dissertation. Language and sports activities are also important practices in relation to immigration, identity formation, and the Finnish-American community and literature as well as some of my source texts in particular. This explains my grounds for identifying foodways, language, sports, and music in the selected works of fiction and choosing them as subthemes for my analysis (the significance of these practices is explored in more detail in Chapter 2 "Theoretical framework").

As my dissertation deals with Finnish-American literature, my approach is literary. I have identified four practices – or themes – (foodways, language, sports, and music) as important to the processes of transculturation and transnationalism, and the formation of ethnic identities, and I pursue their literary representations in the primary material (see Chapter 2 "Theoretical framework"). The discussion of the representations of Finnish-American identity formation in the texts through the themes of food, language, sports, and music draws on the theoretical framework of transculturation and contact zones as developed by Pratt. I read the narratives through a transculturation lens and address these practices as transcultural ones involved in the contact zone and as expressions of transcultural identity. In my analysis I also draw on the theories of ethnic and ethnocultural identities, with a special emphasis on the importance of cultural practices in identity formation (see Isajiw 1990). I am aware that my reading of the representations of Finnish-American identity is influenced by my own position as a non-Finn, and as a researcher I construct Finnish-Americanness by focusing on my selection of cultural practices.

The dissertation consists of four articles which are presented in the chronological order of their completion. Each highlights one of the aspects of constructing Finnish-American ethnocultural identity as outlined above, and focuses on texts by one or two authors where a particular practice is particularly prevalent or relevant, in this manner pursuing the following four research questions (one per article).

1: How are foodways represented in relation to the processes of identity formation of different generations of the Upper Midwest Finnish characters in Anderson's short stories and how is food shown in constructing their transcultural Finnish-American identities? This question is explored in Article 1, "Food in Constructing Transcultural Finnish-American Identities in the Migrant Short Stories of Lauri Anderson" (Kushnir 2016).

2: What position do the English and Finnish languages hold in constructing the transcultural identity of the second-generation female protagonist in two novels by Eilola? This question is explored in Article 2,

"Languages in Constructing "American Plus Finnish" Transcultural Identity in Patricia Eilola's Female Immigrant Novels of Formation" (Kushnir 2019b).

3: What roles do sports play in creating transnational and regional Finnish-Americanness of the characters in the short story collection by Anderson and the novel by Koskela? This question is explored in Article 3, "Sports in Constructing Finnish Americanness in Terms of Transnational and Regional Identity in Two Finnish-American Literary Texts" (Kushnir 2019a).

4: What roles do musical activities play in the formation of new transcultural identities in the lives of the immigrants and their descendants as represented in the novel by Koskela? This question is explored in Article 4, "Music in Constructing Finnish-American Identities in the Immigrant Novel by Martin Koskela" (Kushnir 2022a).

Each article therefore contributes to the aim of discussing the theme of Finnish-American identity formation through different cultural practices as each investigates a particular practice in the overall framework of the dissertation. Through all of them I explore the representations of the construction of Finnish-American identity as a transcultural and transnational phenomenon. Together these four articles encompass different material and non-material cultural markers of Finnishness. These cultural practices in the lives of Finnish-Americans, let alone their position in Finnish-American literature, regrettably are unevenly studied or even downright understudied. The articles all contribute to an understanding of how the construction of Finnish-American identities with the help of a variety of cultural practices in different historical settings is represented in late 20th- and early 21st-century Finnish-American fiction.

The argumentation of my analysis is built on the theory of transculturation as developed by Mary Louise Pratt (1992/2008). At its heart lies the idea of a "contact zone", the space in which geographically and historically separated peoples come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations (Pratt 2008: 8). As Pratt notes, "[a] 'contact' perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other" (ibid.). This perspective treats the relations among them not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. The subordinated or minority group appropriates different elements from the dominant one, merging or infiltrating them with their own modes. (Pratt 2008: 8-9). Finnish-American culture and identity in general can be seen as a phenomenon of the contact zone where the meeting between Finnish and American cultures as well as the subsequent process of appropriation, merging, and giving new meanings have taken place. Finnish-American literature has also been produced by that contact zone, and the topic of contact is notable in texts written by Finns in America. In the chosen fiction, the Finnish-American characters are portrayed as experiencing the meeting and interaction of Finnish and American cultures in their lives. My study illustrates the ways in which this encounter leads to the characters' consciously or unconsciously mixing their practices regarding for

example food, language, sports, and music with the practices of the USA, thus constructing their identities as transcultural. To use Celia Jaes Falicov's (2002; Suárez-Orozco 2004: 192) expression, their identities do not require choosing between cultures but incorporate the traits of both. Through everyday repetition of these practices the characters give them new meanings, reconfigure them, incorporate the elements of both Finnish and American cultures within them, and use them to negotiate with both the present and past, Finland and the USA.

I can describe my method as literary analysis and thematic analysis. My tools of analysis are the theories which I draw on (transculturation, transnationalism, symbolic ethnicity, and ethnocultural identity), and the concepts of the roles of foodways, language, sports, and music in the processes of identity-building which I employ to discuss the topic of literary representations of Finnish-American identity formation. So my approach to the literary texts is through the themes of food, language, sports, and music. I read through the chosen novels and short stories to identify these practices in the texts and study them further with the help of my theoretical framework. I have come to identify these particular themes because of the outstanding and long-lasting significance of these four cultural practices in relation to identity formation, especially in the contexts of immigration and immigrant literatures. This leads me to representation which is another important concept that is relevant for my analysis.

In this research I concentrate on the literary representations of Finnish-Americans, often with reference to the history of the Finnish-American community and the historical contexts of the texts analysed. I draw on the concept of representation as "the textual articulation of 'reality' through a symbolic construction of images by means of language" (Dubova 2010: 26). Representations are "cultural constructs" determined by culture and the historical conditions of a specific era (Abrams 1971: 184; Dubova 2010: 34-35). Representation is tightly woven with identity formation when certain ideas and traits, manifested through the individual characters' lives and actions, are ascribed to a particular people or a nation as a whole as their common "typical" characteristics; this may serve to create the sense of unity of one's own group and emphasize the Otherness of others (ibid. 26-27; Porter 2001). In these processes, observable ethnic signifiers such as food, language, music, dress and others are particularly important (Porter 2001: 103-105, 108, 116-117), further supporting my choice of such practices as the themes for analysis.

All in all, I investigate how Anderson, Eilola, and Koskela construct Finnish-Americans and their identities as well as Finnishness and Americanness in their texts. While illustrating similarities and patterns in practices, values, symbols, and traits shown as Finnish in this fiction, I am aware that Finnish culture and national identity have never been homogenous and monolithic. Before their arrival in the US, the immigrants' sense of Finnishness was diverse, despite some unifying characteristics such as language, although even the latter was not universal as there were also Finnish

Swedes among the immigrants. At the same time, as my analysis shows, the Finnish-American communities are not (and have never been) homogeneous either, and their understanding of Finnishness and Finnish-Americanness has also always been diverse, even if there may have been a sense of community or unity based on a shared cultural inheritance. What constitutes "Americanness" is also very flexible, fluid, and ever-changing by default. In the first half of the 20th century, however, when some of the analyzed texts are set, there used to be a clear single idea of Americanness as white Anglo-Saxon culture to which all ethnic and immigrant groups had to conform, and Americanization implied giving up everything that differed from that ideal (for instance, through the "Speak English" campaigns in school or the project to make ethnic and immigrant families adopt "the model American diet"). When I, in my analysis, also use the words "mainstream American culture", I mean the hegemonic, dominant Anglo-American culture against which ethnic cultures are defined and measured, with such characteristics as the English language, the Standard American Diet, the US sports trinity, and so on.

1.2 Research material

I study the novels *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998) and *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008) by Patricia Eilola and *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) by Martin Koskela, and the collections of short stories *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002), and *Back to Misery Bay* (2007) by Lauri Anderson. I selected these authors and texts as the material of my research for several reasons that have to do with the variety of content and settings. Together the chosen texts encompass in their settings roughly a century of the Finnish-Americans' history, from the early 20th till the early 21st century, from their mass immigration to North America and hard years of adaptation till eventually becoming part in the rich US mosaic of cultures and ethnicities. Finnishness has been maintained in different ways in different geographical clusters in North America (Korkiasaari & Roinila 2005: 111), so location is also important. All the texts are set in the Upper Midwest, mostly Michigan and Minnesota, the regions which have been most influenced by immigration from Finland, also known as the so-called "sauna belt"[4]. In the United States, various immigrant groups, sharing the spaces of work, leisure, and residence, have often created a new regional culture, ethnicity, and identity (Conzen et al. 1992: 15). The Finns in the Upper Midwest, along with the Swedes, South Slavs, Cornish, Italians, and other groups have thus developed a strong regional identity and solidarity and a common culture with various practices (foodways, sports, music, and others) brought in by each group denoting the specific regional ethnicity (Conzen et 1992: 15; Holmquist

[4] Wherever Finns settle, typically there are saunas. Cotton Mather and Matti Kaups (1963) in their work use saunas as an index of Finnish-American settlement zones. So Michigan (the Upper Peninsula in particular) and Minnesota, where the concentration of Finns and hence saunas in the USA is the greatest, are often referred to as the "sauna belt".

1981). Besides participating in this common culture, the Finns in the region also have the culture and identity of their own, and with a strong regional flavor. The phenomenon of the unique regional Upper Midwest Finnish-American culture and identity is represented in the chosen texts.

Both the authors and their characters belong to the American-born generations (mostly second and third) who have not had firsthand experience of Finland but have constructed identities as Finns in the new country. Anderson, a Professor Emeritus at Finlandia University, former Suomi College, the only Finnish university in the USA, in Hancock, Michigan (sadly, closed in 2023), is a prolific and versatile Finnish-American author, born to a mixed Finnish-New England family. As the author admits himself, since his childhood he has been particularly intrigued by the US-born second generation, those who speak Finnish but have never been to the old country, and "have one foot in Finland and one in America" (Taramaa 2007: 201-202). They are not completely of either place and are often objects of ridicule and jokes (ibid. 202). As these people cannot tell their stories, Anderson seeks to do so for them (ibid. 201). All his books have a strong Finnish flavor and are full of Finnish-American characters and themes. Anderson's works include the novel *Impressions of Arvo Laurila* (2005), the memoir *From Moosehead to Misery Bay* (2013), the book of poetry *Snow White and Others* (1971), and seven collections of short stories: *Small Winter Wars* (1983), *Hunting Hemingway's Trout* (1990), *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Children of the Kalevala* (1997), *Misery Bay* (2002), *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), and *Mosquito Conversations* (2009). Out of these works, I have decided to examine the three story collections as they share the coherence of being connected – if only loosely – by having the same setting (usually a small town or a rural community in the Upper Peninsula with colourful characters) and a similar warmly humorous and/or bittersweet tone in portraying Finnish-Americans.

Eilola is a third-generation Finnish-American from Proctor, Minnesota, and a former lecturer in English language and literature at Duluth's East High School. She has published four novels about Finnish-Americans: *The Fabulous Family Hölömöläiset* (1996), *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998), *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008), and *Gifts of the Spirit* (2016). Unlike Eilola's two other books, the *Finntown* novels are based on the oral legends circulated within the Eilola family and stories about the family's experiences through decades. I have chosen to focus on them because they are interconnected and deal with the topic of a second-generation Finnish-American's identity formation.

The late Captain Koskela, a US Army WWII veteran and entrepreneur in Michigan, was a second-generation Finnish-American who grew up and lived in the Upper Peninsula, and who published one novel. The publisher presents Koskela as "a second-generation American Finn who was there [in Michigan in the 1920s and 1930s] and remembers" (Koskela 1996: back cover). Sadly, there is little further information about him available.

All of these texts address the topic of being a Finn in the Upper Midwest in different historical settings, and pay a great deal of attention to Finnish-Americans constructing and maintaining their culture and identities in this

region. Anderson in his (tragi)comical, sarcastic, and sad short stories tells about Finns in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, also known as the UP or Yooperland. His characters are mostly hardened rugged Finnish backwoodsmen in the UP who are also called Yooper Finns. They are sometimes tragic figures, sometimes tongue-in-cheek, or a mixture of both. *Heikki Heikkinen* (31 stories) profiles the various aspects of the Yooper Finnish-Americans' everyday lives throughout the 20th century, with a particular emphasis on the 1980s and 1990s. It deals with several central topics. Firstly, it tells about the third- and fourth-generation Finnish-Americans' quest for their Finnishness and their rocky (and sometimes funny) roads to "becoming Finns" in the USA in the late 20th century. Secondly, the collection follows the adventures and misadventures of the titular Heikki Heikkinen, a Yooper Finnish old-timer, a lifelong resident of Michigan who has his own way of seeing and doing things. Thirdly, the book also tells bitter stories of the hard and tragic lives of many different Finnish-Americans ranging from lonely hermits and recluses in the wilderness of the UP to refugees and war veterans. This more serious tone is shared by *Misery Bay* (8 stories) and *Back to Misery Bay* (16 stories). As Anderson warns his readers in a humorous disclaimer, his stories feature the "wrong Finns" such as troublemakers, dysfunctional families, and lonely people haunted by traumas and memories in opposition to the idealized and stereotypical image of Finnish-Americans as prim Lutheran church-goers and a hard-working model minority. It may be remarked that in these collections Anderson's picture of Yooper Finnish-Americanness seems at times like a caricature.

In *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, Koskela also portrays Finns in the Upper Peninsula. This author writes about the daily life of immigrant Finns and their US-born children in a small town in Michigan during the Great Depression. Koskela tells in detail about the challenges, hardships, victories, and losses of these hardworking farmers and loggers dealing with the economic crisis which strikes hard at their community, but being, feeling, and doing things Finnish often help them to persevere. Particular attention is given to the experiences of the "American" generation, the offspring of the immigrants, namely such characters as amateur journalist Dave Leino, farmer's daughter Aura Suomela, and their friends. The novel reveals the dreams and dramas of these youngsters who grow up between their parents' ethnic community in a remote rural area and the big wide world of the mainstream US in the turbulent times of the 1930s. Another important plotline is a conflict over the ownership of a local forest between a Finnish-American timber baron and some Finnish-American farmers[5].

Eilola's two coming-of-age novels also share the topic of Finns persevering in the USA and also examine the experiences of Finnish-American young generation. These texts are a fictionalized story of the childhood and youth of

[5] This plotline is addressed separately in relation to the Finnish-Indigenous relationship (there are some tertiary characters belonging to the Anishninaabeg in the novel), settler colonialism in North America, and their literary representations in my recent article on the subject (Kushnir 2022b).

Eilola's mother, Ilmi Marianna Brosi – Americanized to Marion Brosi – in Minnesota in the 1920s and early 1930s. They profile hardships and achievements in the new country, especially Ilmi's struggle to learn the new language and find her place in the USA. The texts join the tradition of *Bildungsroman* which is prominent in the US ethnic and immigrant literatures. The examples range from the classic immigrant success stories of "becoming an American" of the early 20th century such as *The Making of an American* (1901) by Jacob Riis, *From Alien to Citizen* (1914) by Edward Steiner, and *An American in the Making* (1917) by Marcus Ravage to the more modern ethnic coming-of-age novels such as *The Woman Warrior* (1976) by Maxine Hong Kingston, *Girl in Translation* (2010) by Jean Kwok, and *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991) by Julia Alvarez.

My selection of fiction has a strong regional and ethnic character as it is written, set and published in the same region of the Upper Midwest. Anderson's and Eilola's texts were published by the North Star Press of St. Cloud (Saint Cloud, Minnesota), a publishing house which is one of the largest publishers of Finnish-themed texts (both Finnish-American literature and the translations of Finnish literature into English) in the USA. Koskela's novel was published by the now defunct Sampo Publishing, also known as Sampo Books, located in New Brighton, Minnesota, which also specialized in Finnish-American literature. The publishers present and market these books as distinctly Finnish-American, yet they are read not only in the Finnish-American community. For instance, Eilola's *A Finntown of the Soul* won NEMBA (Northeastern Minnesota Book Award) in 2009. The authors are also involved in perpetuating Finnishness and Finnish-American culture in the USA. Eilola is a member of the Minnesota lodge of the Ladies of Kaleva, the Finnish-American sisterhood maintaining and promoting Finnish heritage, while Anderson participates as a guest writer and lecturer in the numerous Finnish-American ethnic festivals FinnFests and other events and activities.

For the most part, the selected fiction has been studied little or not at all, let alone from the perspective of transculturation. Among other Finnish-American texts, Taramaa's (2007) dissertation explores representations of Finnishness in *Heikki Heikkinen* from the point of view of imagology. There is also the dissertation by Claudia Parletta (2004) which analyzes Finnishness and Americanness in Anderson's book *Children of the Kalevala* (1997). Tim Frandy's articles (2007, 2009) concentrate on interactions with nature and landscape in Finnish-American literature, including in *Heikki Heikkinen* and *Misery Bay*. *Welcome to Shadow Lake* is briefly mentioned in Beth Virtanen's (2007a) article focusing on ideological underpinnings in Finnish-American writing. Eilola's novels have not been studied so far, and research on Finnish-American identities in these texts is needed. There is also an important difference between these studies and the present one since they by and large do not investigate the everyday practices that construct Finnishness, but instead concentrate on other markers of Finnishness such as *sisu*, the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, Finns' affinity with nature, and so on.

1.3 Structure

The structure of this dissertation is as follows: In Chapter 1, "Introduction", I present the outline of the research questions, the research material, and the method of analysis. I also introduce the context of the study, namely the brief history of Finnish-Americans, their culture, identity, and literary pursuits. In Chapter 2, "Theoretical framework", I elaborate on and consider the concepts constituting the theoretical framework and the research approach of this dissertation. In Section 2.1, I examine transculturation, transnationalism, transcultural and transnational identities, and their interconnection in the context of immigration. In Section 2.2, I bring to the fore the relevant theories of ethnic and ethnocultural identities, and concentrate on the roles of foodways (2.2.1), language (2.2.2), sports (2.2.3), and music (2.2.4) in ethnocultural identity formation. In Chapter 3, "Summaries of original papers", I summarize the main findings. In Chapter 4, "Discussion", I reflect on the present research as a whole and address its results, limitations, and implications along with the possible ways to further it in the future. A list of references follows after Chapter 4. The original publications are attached at the end of this dissertation.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter introduces two theories which are applied in my dissertation and are interlinked: the theory of transculturation that is used the most is central to my analysis of the texts, and the theory of transnationalism, which is explicitly referred to only in my article on sports (Kushnir 2019a), and is also important as it can be seen as permeating the whole dissertation since transculturation and transnationalism are interconnected. This section proceeds as follows: I begin by briefly outlining the history of the origin and development of the theory of transculturation and then discuss how it is used in the present dissertation. More specifically, I focus on the way transculturation is used by Pratt (1992, 2008) in relation to travel and exploration literatures, and demonstrate how it can be applied in the context of immigration and immigration literatures. Then I proceed with a discussion of the related notion of transcultural identity (Falicov 2002; Suárez-Orozco 2004; Gilsenan Nordin, Hansen & Zamorano Llena 2013). I examine the definitions of the term, and how I use it in this study. I also briefly present the theory of transnationalism and transnational identity (Kivisto 2014; Portes, Escobar & Redford 2007; Vertovec 1999; Esteban-Guitart & Vila 2015) in the context of immigration, transculturation and transcultural identity formation. In this chapter, I also pay attention to the theories of ethnicity and ethnic and ethnocultural identities.

2.1 Transculturation, transnationalism, and transcultural and transnational identity

The concept of transculturation has earlier been used to refer to the situations of contacts and interactions between cultures. These contacts involve appropriation and convergence, and result in the creation of something new, some new culture and new forms. Nowadays transcultural studies cover a wide range of topics including globalization, migration, colonialism, travelling memory, and other forms of connection and exchange between cultures

(Assman 2014; Graves & Rechniewski 2010; Houswitchka 2013; Gilsenan Nordin, Hansen & Zamorano Llena 2013). The term *transculturation* was coined in the 1940s by the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in his description of Afro-Cuban culture (Pratt 2008: 244-245). He proposed the term to replace the paired concepts of *acculturation* and *deculturation* which described the transference of culture in a reductive fashion imagined from within the interests of the metropolis (ibid. 245). The concept of transculturation has been used by ethnographers to describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture (ibid. 7). Although the subordinated group cannot control what emanates from the dominant culture, they can, to varying extents, choose what they absorb into their own, how they use it, and what they make it mean (Pratt 1992, 6; 2008, 7). However, as my analysis shows, this possibility to choose is limited, shaped, encouraged, and restricted by social/community pressure from both the Finnish-American and mainstream cultures and their representatives who are in unequal hierarchical power relations with one another.

The theory of transculturation can also be applied to literatures representing contact, interaction, and production of new cultures and identities. In the 1970s, the Uruguayan critic Angel Rama introduced the term *transculturation* into literary studies by applying Ortiz's theory in the context of Latin American literatures which represent new cultures formed out of the contact between Africans, indigenous peoples, and Europeans (Rama 1982/2012). In her prominent work *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992/2008), Pratt in turn uses the term to approach travel literature in the context of colonialism. Pratt addresses the construction of colonizers and the colonized via travel and exploration writing, and also self-fashioning and self-invention of the colonized and "travelees" (the local inhabitants of a place visited and described by a traveler) via the elements of the dominant culture and discourse available to them, and their "writing back" when writers belonging to the colonized creatively engage with the colonizers' ways to represent themselves. As Pratt emphasizes, "important historical transitions alter the way people write, because they alter people's experiences and the way people imagine, feel and think about the world they live in. The shifts in writing, then, will tell you something about the nature of the changes" (2008: 4).

Through their literary texts writers from colonized places develop ways of self-representation and self-fashioning (ibid. 8). The parallels can also be drawn between travel writing and immigrant literature as Pratt does in the second edition of her book (2008). Immigrant literature can also be seen as a sort of travel writing since it usually deals with the topic of immigrants moving to new places and encountering new cultures. This typically involves some relations of power (dominant host society and culture vs. minority and marginal immigrant community and culture) as well as the immigrants' self-fashioning and self-representation in the new country and culture. This makes Pratt's concept well

suited for the analysis of transcultural experiences of Finnish immigrants and their encounters with US culture as portrayed in their literature. Although the texts which I study have been produced by the descendants of Finnish immigrants in the late 20th and early 21st centuries and not by the immigrants themselves, I argue that they can be approached as immigrant literature as they tell about the experiences of the first and second Finnish-American generations directly connected with immigration and/or deal with lasting effects of immigration on Finnish-American identity. Overall, a transcultural perspective goes beyond national identification and addresses new forms of belonging, cultural identification, and representations by emphasizing cross-border movements and connections, and it reconfigures established images and concepts (Assmann 2014: 547; Houswitschka 2013: 71-72). This makes it applicable in the context of the United States as a country of immigrants and an interconnected mosaic of cultures and ethnicities which are not equal in relation to each other.

Pratt sees transculturation as a phenomenon of a contact zone which in her study is defined as the space of imperial encounters, "the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (2008: 7-8). The contact zone invokes the space and time where groups previously separated by geography and history are co-present, the points at which their trajectories intersect. Pratt emphasizes that the term "contact" foregrounds the interactive, improvisational dimensions of that encounter. Thus, a "contact" perspective puts an emphasis on how the groups become constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among the dominant and the minority group (in Pratt's case, among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees") not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical power relations. This is represented in writing in various contact zones in which writers develop ways of representing themselves, and the minority group's appropriating, merging or infiltrating the elements of the dominant group with new meanings. (Pratt 2008: 7-9). The concept of transculturation involves an analysis of movements between different cultures and cultural contact zones where spaces, cultures, and identities are subject to constant negotiation, and mediation, and thus to change and development (Hoerder 2004, 2002; Hoerder et al. 2003; Lehmkuhl, Lüsebrink & McFalls 2015), making this notion relevant in the context of immigration and immigrant literatures. For instance, Fred Wah in his culinary memoir *Diamond Grill* (1996) uses the concept of a contact zone to address the experiences of contact between the immigrant culture and the cultures of the new home as well as the resulting new culture and consciousness, and their expressions (Baena 2006; Vernon 2016). Finnish-American culture in general along with Finnish-American identity can be seen as a transcultural product of the contact zone of the encounter between immigrant Finnish culture and the dominant mainstream American culture

along with a variety of other US ethnic cultures, and the ensuing appropriation, merger, ascribing of new meanings, and, overall, mutual influence between Finns and their new home. Finnish-American literature, also a product of that contact, represents the process of the self-fashioning of Finns in North America, of their influencing America and being influenced by it, and their practices produced by this process.

So transculturation highlights that immigrants do not simply "acculturate" into the new society, but they influence and are influenced by the new context, and as they change, their environment also changes as a result, and so do cultural practices tied up in this process (Kath 2016: 30). Previous studies have shown that foodways, music and dance, language, and sports are important practices where the processes of transculturation in the contact zone and the construction of new identities in the new context take place. For instance, immigrants and their descendants can use food creations to provide a space of "intercultural contact, mediating a link between diasporic practices and those of a no longer homogenously 'American' United States in such a way that the *palate* functions as a kind of *contact zone*" (Kunow 2003: 156, original italics; Waxman 2008: 369). Music and dances brought from the old country can also be filtered through the perspectives of the new country and acquire new forms and meanings for immigrants in the construction of their identities in the new home, while simultaneously influencing the latter (Kath 2016). Sports can also function as a contact zone, and immigrants' sports activities can transform in the new country, manifesting their new identities (Joseph 2010). As Joseph (2010: 199) and Brah (1996: 209) point out, sports create contact zones not only for immigrant groups seeking to maintain a connection with their homeland, but also for other inhabitants of the host land, including other immigrant groups. In these contact zones not only majority/minority interactions but also intersections between different immigrant communities take place. Immigrant sports can not only be mainstreamed by the new country, but also fuse and incorporate the elements of different cultures, and thus make a new cultural environment (Joseph 2010: 212-213). This is also true for other practices besides sports, while language may stand out to some extent as an exception since it usually tends to influence the new country less than, say, foodways or music. These practices in contact zones and transculturation are represented in ethnic and immigrant literatures, though more attention has commonly been given to foods (see Waxman 2008, Nyman 2017).

Pratt's concept is well suited for analyzing my selection of Finnish-American texts as they are set in the Upper Midwest because this region can be seen as an especially rich contact zone in which diverse immigrant groups (the Finns, Cornish, Italians, Irish, South Slavic, Swedes and other Scandinavians, and many others) have historically met with America and each other. This encounter has led to new identity formations and the emergence of a distinctive regional culture. In my adaptation of Pratt's contact zone perspective, I have taken into account the special cultural condition of the region and the time that the novels I study concern. This region of the United States did not manifest a

clear-cut model of dominant and subordinated groups in the first half of the 20th century. Instead, various non-American newcomers outnumbered white Americans, thus dominating the area. Eventually, their ethnic activities and institutions were to shape the region in many ways. James Leary comments on the "kindred polyglot, egalitarian, working-class frontier ferment" of the Upper Midwest and calls it "Another America" in contrast with the familiar images of the United States: "[a] territory of deep woods, inland seas, mines, mills, and hardscrabble farms; a place wherein Native peoples, native-born, and newcomers jostled, jangled, and intermingled to forge Another America" (2015: 1). The Upper Peninsula of Michigan, in particular, used to be a place of contact of different cultures and languages (Remlinger 2017: 61-62). In the early 20th century, Copper Country newspapers were printed in at least six different languages: English, Finnish, Italian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Swedish (Thurner 1984; Remlinger 2017: 61-62). In 1908, students enrolled in the Calumet Public Schools claimed 40 different nationalities (Thurner 1994). A number of civic and social organizations, churches, and other institutions offered services and activities in immigrants' languages (Thurner 1994; Lankton 1997; Remlinger 2017: 61-62). As the Finnish-American author Lynn Laitala notes, describing the specificity of the Upper Midwest: "on the Iron Range of Minnesota, there were very few Americans to melt with. Almost all inhabitants were immigrants" (Taramaa 2007: 58). Yet, the pervasive ideology of Americanization that implied conformity to the dominant Anglo-American culture was still present, transmitted for instance through schools promoting cultural and linguistic integration of immigrants (Remlinger 2017: 61-62), and they were influenced by it.

As a result of this encounter between mainstream America and various immigrant groups, they eventually became part of the United States and the Upper Midwest, and a new regional culture, expressed among other ways in such transcultural practices as foodways, language, music, and sports, was born. As Conzen et al. put it, it is "a common culture, of which sauna, bocce[6], pasties[7], potica[8], deer hunting, and hockey became emblematic" (1992: 15). Finnish-Americans have been prominent in shaping the region with their foodways[9] (Lockwood 2006/2015; Lockwood & Lockwood 2017), language

[6] Bocce is a ball sport introduced to the United States by Italian immigrants. It is briefly mentioned in *Heikki* Heikkinen as a marker of the regional UP culture.

[7] Pasty is a type of (meat) pie brought to the Upper Midwest by Cornish immigrants working in local copper and iron mines (Kaplan et al. 1986: 227). Pasties have become a part of Finnish-American foodways in the region and are seen as Finnish by local Finnish-Americans (Lockwood 2006/2015: 384). This product works in some short stories by Anderson as a badge of the regional Yooper culture and a part of local flavor. While interesting in the framework of my article that discusses foodways in Anderson's fiction (Kushnir 2016), the cultural role of this particular food item was not within the scope of the article.

[8] Potica is sweet bread brought to the Upper Midwest by immigrants of South Slavic ancestry (Kaplan et al. 1986: 227).

[9] Moreover, Finnish-Americans have not only brought their foodways to the region and embraced some practices of other immigrant groups, but also influenced local non-Finnish food-related businesses to cater to their tastes. For instance, the UP-based Bosch Brewing Company in the early 1970s produced the Light Sauna Beer to fit into the local Finnish-

(Remlinger 2017), sports (Niemi 2000; Rodgers 2021), and music (Leary 2015), and their influence is still noticeable in these practices. At the same time, for local Finnish-Americans and other ethnic groups their values and practices have eventually shifted away from being a marker of immigrants to a badge of local identity (Remlinger 2017: 66). This phenomenon of the Upper Midwest as a contact zone is represented in Finnish-American literature.

The identities of Finnish-Americans produced by this encounter of cultures (and their literary representations) can be understood as transcultural. According to Irene Gilsenan Nordin, Julie Hansen and Carmen Zamorano Llena's definition (2013: ix), transcultural identities can be seen as "multifaceted, fluid identities resulting from diverse cultural encounters". In my analysis, I also draw on the definition of transcultural identity in the context of immigration as developed by Carola Suárez-Orozco (2004). According to Suárez-Orozco (2004: 174, 176, 188), for immigrants in the new country, especially for the second-generation youth, it is important to negotiate a new identity that synthesizes selected aspects and elements of the culture of origin with those of the receiving culture. One of the solutions for the identity challenge of the children of immigrants is constructing a transcultural identity by creatively fusing aspects of both the parental tradition and the new culture or cultures, and in doing so, crafting new cultural formations out of two systems that are at once their own and foreign (ibid. 192). In this way, they synthesize an identity that does not require them to choose between cultures but rather allows them to incorporate traits of both cultures into something new while fusing additional elements (ibid. 192; Falicov 2002). The concept of transcultural identity is relevant in analyzing the representations of Finnish-American identity formation in the texts studied, as the central characters are mostly children of Finnish immigrants who negotiate their belonging in-between mainstream American society and their ethnic community. However, my study also modifies Suárez-Orozco's notion by expanding it to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Finnish immigrants, third- and fourth-generation Finns who are often protagonists in the short stories by Anderson. They are much more integrated into mainstream America and more distanced from the immigrant heritage than earlier generations, and the identity challenge is less acute for them than for the children of immigrants. Yet it is still present in their lives as they grow up in their communities in the Upper Midwest surrounded by Finnish people and cultural practices which influence the processes of their identity formation.

Transnationalism is also relevant for my analysis as it is important in the context of immigration and can also be seen as interconnected with

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dominated culture (Magnaghi 2015: 41-42). Another UP company, Vollwerth & Co (itself founded by a German immigrant) still produces *sauna makkara* (sauna sausage) side by side with Italian bologna, German wieners, and Polish sausages, reflecting the rich multiethnic (food) culture of the region. Vollwerth's sausages (albeit not *sauna makkara*) are present in some stories by Anderson and can be seen as a marker of Yooperness, although they have not been analyzed in my article on food (Kushnir 2016). I hope I will be able to address them in future research.

transculturation. They are not wide apart from each other as "trans" implies in-betweenness and crossing borders. Steven Vertovec (1999) defines transnationalism as a variety of interactions connecting people and/or institutions, communities, and other social actors across national borders. Immigrant transnationalism can be seen as a subset of transnationalism which refers to the "regular activities across national borders conducted by the foreign-born as part of their daily lives abroad" (Portes et al. 2007: 251-252). As Peter Kivisto notes, transnational immigrants can be seen as "attempting to live with one foot in the homeland and the other foot in the host society, in the process creating an ethnic community that transcends national boundaries" (2014: 298). This is close to transculturation which also emphasizes the contact between the dominant and minority groups, their interaction, and the resulting creation of new forms. Transculturation and transnationalism can be seen as particularly complementary to each other in the context of immigration and immigrants' identity formation. Ways of crossing national and cultural borders between the old and the new country – also with the help of such practices as food, music, and sports – are significant and present in any immigrant community. They are part of the processes of constructing a new life and identity in the new home. Transculturation is not limited by borders between nations or cultural boundaries, however. While the very nature of immigration is transnational, for the descendants of immigrants born in the new country, national borders may be less important in their daily experiences than the boundaries between their ethnic communities and the dominant society. Ethnic culture can still permeate their lives regardless of national borders. Unlike transnationalism, transculturation emphasizes the mutual influence of the groups involved in the contact. This is important in the context of immigration as immigrants inevitably influence and are influenced by the new country and culture.

From letters back home to such modern forms as Skype, Youtube videos, and Zoom sessions, Finnish-Americans have had a variety of ways to connect them with Finland across borders. Their cultural activities and practices, especially foodways, sports, and music, can be characterized as transnational although their importance has varied for different generations. Food, sports, and music have demonstrated the ability to transcend boundaries, be it an import of old-country cookbooks, recipes, food products, a following of Finnish athletes' performance at the Olympics, or a flow of bands and records between Finland and the US. The concept of transnational identity as the identity of those who live in-between two cultural spheres and establish a dialogue between the country of origin ("there") and the host country ("here") (Esteban-Guitart & Vila 2015) is therefore well suited for analyzing Finnish-Americans' experience. Transcultural identity is even more relevant, however, for studying Finnish-Americans, for in spite of the strength of historical connections with the old country and its culture, they have independently constructed their own version of Finnishness by creatively selecting and fusing the elements and practices at hand and inventing something new (also notable in their foodways,

sports, and music). While important, Finnish influences have not been decisive in the formation of Finnish-American culture. Alongside the dialogue between the old country and the new, a dialogue between their ethnic community and the mainstream society has been important in the lives of Finnish-Americans. So in discussing Finnish identity, the theories of transcultural and transnational identity can be seen to complement each other.

While Kivisto (2014: 297-298, 305-306) notes that transnational practices were more common for the first- and second-generation Finns and gradually declined by the middle of the 20th century because of generational changes, the lack of inflow of new immigrants from Finland, and integration of their ethnic community into America, my analysis shows that elements of transnationalism are evident in the literary representation of the Finnish-American community. In all the fiction studied in my dissertation, the authors in varying degrees portray Finnish immigrants' and their US-born descendants' different forms of being in contact with the old country and interlinking Finland and the USA. In Anderson's stories, the characters may have two flags, the Finnish and the UP ones, at home, and possess maps of both the old and the new country; they watch Finland-related news via the *Finland Calling* TV program or fly to the old country on vacations (Anderson 1995: 1, 4, 35, 39, 50). In Koskela's and Eilola's writings, set in the first half of the 20th century, Finnish-Americans' connections across national borders are also depicted, be it via sheet music books imported from Finland and sold in the United States (Eilola 1998: 17) or the immigrants' and their children's pride in Finland's achievements such as paying off its debt to the USA, or the successes of the "Flying Finns" (Koskela 1996: 19-20). My analysis concentrates specifically on sports, however, as this activity is an especially significant transnational practice (Joseph 2010: 199). Sport is closely linked to nationalism and the construction of national rather than cultural identities. Sporting activities are practices in ways that make the competitors representatives of nations. Besides, in the history of the Finnish-American community, their sporting activities have been characterized more clearly than other forms of culture by close ties with Finland (Niemi 2014: 198).

2.2 Ethnicity and ethnic (ethnocultural) identity

In this section, I explain the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic (ethnocultural) identity which I draw on in my analysis of the representations of identity formation. According to Michael Fischer, ethnicity is not something that is simply passed from one generation to another but something dynamic and constantly "reinvented and reinterpreted in each generation by each individual" (1986: 195). The notion of ethnicity as being socially constructed and changing over time is well suited for addressing the experiences of different immigrant groups in the USA, including Finnish-Americans. The self-identities of these groups emerge from a continuous process of redefinition rather than being a set of unchanging attitudes and elements carried from the

old countries by the earlier immigrants (Luconi 1996: 561; Sollors 1989/1991; Conzen et al. 1992: 4-5). Ethnicity can therefore be seen as "a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories" (ibid. 4-5). Ethnic groups constantly recreate themselves in response to changing realities both within the group and in the host society, and expressive symbols of ethnicity (ethnic traditions) are repeatedly reinterpreted in a process of negotiation between the immigrant group and dominant culture (ibid. 5). In such ways ethnic groups invent traditions to amplify communal solidarity and feelings of belonging to the group (Leinonen 2014: 312).

This is also the case with Finnish-Americans whose views on what constitutes a Finnish identity and Finnishness are in a state of constant change (Leinonen 2014: 312). Finnish-Americans continuously recreate their ethnic identities and traditions, and these processes can create divisions within the community, between generations, and between "old-timers", the descendants of the earlier Finnish immigrants of the late 19th and earlier 20th centuries, and "newcomers", namely recent immigrants from Finland (ibid. 310-311). In my dissertation, I concentrate on the representations of the "old-timers" and the traditions, practices, values, symbols, and traits they see as defining their Finnishness. There may be disagreement on what Finnish is between Finnish-Americans and modern Finns, who at times view the culture of the former as stuck in the idealized and romanticized old-country culture of rural Finland, "a folkloric version of Finnish culture" (ibid. 309-311, 313). In addition to the old-country traditions, Finnish-Americans have actively created new traditions in North America, although these may still not be seen as Finnish by today's Finns (ibid. 311-315). This process of recreating and inventing is represented in Finnish-American literature, including the fiction analyzed here.

Ethnicity has been a prominent factor in the process of incorporation of various and numerous immigrant groups into the fabric of the USA. Conzen et al. see the invention of ethnicity as an attempt "to reconcile the duality of the 'foreignness' and the 'Americanness'" (by which Conzen et al. mean the dominant Anglo-American culture) in the everyday lives of immigrants and their children who transform from immigrants to ethnic Americans of one kind or another (1992: 3, 6). In this process, syncretism has occurred as the interaction between the mainstream Anglo-American ethnoculture and immigrant ethnocultures have caused major changes to all the parties involved, and much of ethnic cultures have been incorporated into changing definitions of what is American and what it means to be an American (ibid. 6). In the shaping of ethnicities, it is crucial if the dominant society perceives immigrant groups in terms of a mass with the ensuing labeling and stereotyping that leads to immigrants being lumped together into ethnonational categories (ibid. 12: Portes & Rumbaut 2014: 169). Ethnic consciousness has endured, and ethnic markers, according to which immigrant generations were defined and discriminated against in the early 20th century, have become symbols of pride for later generations (ibid. 169). At the same time, the dominant US society has

encouraged the development of ethnicity as a performance act with a repertoire of "safe" and acceptable aspects chosen from immigrants' heritage such as music, dance, food, costume and so on (Conzen et al. 1992: 13).

This is also the case with Finnish-Americans. During the ethnic revival of the 1960s and 1970s, Finns among other Americans of European descent began to express pride in ethnic roots and identify themselves in ethnic terms. This process can be characterized as what Herbert Gans (1979a) calls "symbolic ethnicity" (Leinonen 2014: 312). It is "a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior" (Gans 1979a: 9). Thus, later-generation European Americans express their ethnic identities in "easy and intermittent ways" by consumption of ethnic symbols not in conflict with assimilation into the American mainstream (Leinonen 2014; Gans 1979b: 193, 202-203; 1992: 44). So nowadays Finnish-Americans often celebrate their heritage in such a way with the help of foods, festivals, and even such mass-produced commercialized forms as t-shirts, bumper stickers, license plates, and suchlike[10], and they may express their Finnishness only occasionally, depending on the situation (Korkiasaari & Roinila 2005; Leinonen 2014; Roinila 2014; Lockwood 2006/2015). This symbolic ethnicity is also represented in Finnish-American literature in which the authors may prioritize certain aspects of Finnish culture and identity, as my analysis shows. The texts studied portray how the characters belonging to the US-born generations select "safe" and acceptable elements, be it foodways, music, or sports, for manifesting their Finnishness in mainstream society. For example as my article on languages (Kushnir 2019b) highlights, the second-generation protagonist of Eilola's novels, who lives under the pressure of the "English only" ideology of Americanization in the 1920s, embraces English and hides her Finnish accent but still clings to some Finnish, such as words related to food. The protagonist does this in order to make her ethnicity and language acceptable to mainstream society. My article on sports (Kushnir 2019a) also notes how in the novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* by Koskela the first- and second-generation characters are encouraged to change the name of their Finn Hall from the politically charged Työväen (Workers') Hall to Nurmi Hall, a name with a positive charge as sports hero Paavo Nurmi and other "Flying Finns" are also popular in contemporary mainstream society.

My research thus demonstrates that Gans' theory, which is focused more on the third and fourth generations, can also be applied to the experiences of second-generation immigrants. According to Gans (2009: 123), symbolic ethnicity proposes the rejection of or a departure from active ethnicity, namely from participation in ethnic groups and ethnic culture. Therefore it can be characterized as passive ethnicity, implying occasional and temporary

[10] In *Heikki Heikkinen*, Anderson portrays the phenomenon of using these US-produced badges of ethnicity such as "Sisu" and "I am from Finland" t-shirts, coffee mugs, and license plates. Anderson also depicts the similar role of modern commercial Finnish brands such as Arabia, Iittala, and Finlandia vodka as symbols of Finnishness for Finnish-American characters.

expression of feelings about the ethnic group or culture through turning to material and non-material symbols (ibid. 123, 129). My research demonstrates however that the second-generation characters, while being more Americanized than their immigrant parents and having other interests outside their ethnic community, still do not sever ties with their ethnic group and culture, although their Finnishness has become more symbolic and thus can be addressed with the help of Gans' concept.

In my analysis, I draw on Wsewolod Isajiw's (1990) definition of ethnic identity as a social-psychological phenomenon that derives from membership in an ethnic group and gives a sense of belonging to individuals (Isajiw 1990: 35). Ethnic identity also provides their ethnic community with a sense of oneness and historical meaning (ibid.). Isajiw distinguishes between external and internal aspects of ethnic identity. The external aspects comprise observable behavior such as speaking an ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, participation in ethnic personal networks (family and friendship) and ethnic institutions and organizations, and so forth. The internal aspects include images, ideas, attitudes, and feelings such as values, solidarity, and the sense of attachment. The retention of ethnic identity from one generation to another does not necessarily mean retention of both its external and internal aspects, or all the components of each aspect. Individuals can identify with their ethnic group without knowing the ethnic language or traditions, or, inversely, one may practice ethnic traditions without feeling an attachment to the group. The same components of external identity may acquire different subjective meaning for different generations, and the ethnic identity retained by the third generation may be of a different type or form than the one retained by the first or second generation. (Isajiw 1990: 36-37). My analysis demonstrates how, for the characters in the fiction studied, external and internal aspects are interconnected as there are values, feelings, and senses attached to their foodways or sports activities. I concentrate however on analysing what I call observable ethnic behavior because, as pointed out by Isajiw (1990), ethnic practices of various forms have greater potential for being retained across generations as compared to internal aspects. Thus, they are of lasting importance for ethnic identity.

It is also important to clarify my use of the terms "ethnic" and "ethnocultural" (identity). In my articles I apply the words "ethnic" and "ethnic identity" to approach the characters' experiences of identification. While working on these articles, I regarded these terms as particularly suitable as they have been widely used in the scholarship on similar topics relating to the construction of identity and its literary representations in the context of the United States. As the term "ethnic" in the widest sense of the word can connote both national/ethnic as well as racial groups with identifiable cultural differences (Eisen 1994: xv), it seemed a good choice for my purposes. Yet, I am aware of its hidden dangers. George Eisen rightfully notes that "in America, in one way or another, we are all ethnics" (ibid. xv). Alexa Weik von Mossner (2022b: 10) also points out that while "ethnic American literature" is a

convenient umbrella term, there is a problem of defining which American literatures and texts can be considered ethnic and which are "simply American". So, with the benefit of hindsight, I admit that "ethnic" perhaps is too broad a term, and "ethnocultural identity" would be better for approaching the characters' identification in the texts chosen. While ethnic and ethnocultural identity overlap and the terms are often used interchangeably (as in my dissertation), the latter term, which emphasizes both ethnicity and culture, is better suited for my discussion of the representations of Finnish-American identities and the role of various practices in their construction. According to Yamada et al., ethnocultural identity puts an emphasis on the behavioral component by focusing "on the extent to which an individual endorses and practices a way of life associated with a particular cultural tradition" (1998: 3). This identity is connected with the situations when cultures come into contact (ibid. 3) which makes it suitable for my discussion of Finnish-American identity in terms of transculturation and contact zones. The interaction of cultures highlights culturally related behaviors which manifest cultural values, styles, customs, traditions, and language, so ethnocultural identity and its changes are indicated through the participation in various practices and activities such as language, dress, food, music, dances, social relations and so on (ibid. 3; Berry 1993: 273; Knight et al. 1993: 106). Because my analysis focuses on the construction and transformations of the characters' identities as demonstrated through their cultural practices, the theory of ethnocultural identity is well suited to my analytical purposes.

The identification of Finnish-Americans (the second and subsequent generations) as represented in the chosen fiction can be approached with the help of Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch's (2003) concept of "American Plus". It is an ethnic identification of those people who are secure in their American identity and do not need to "prove" that they are Americans (Österlund-Pötzsch 2003: 224). "American" is the foundation for their ethnic identity, to which the ancestral ethnic heritage is added as a positive "plus" (ibid. 224-225). Thus, ethnic identity can be experienced as something superficial and symbolic on the one hand, and as an integral and constitutive part of one's life and personality on the other. The ethnic traditions and expressions are seen as a heritage which does not necessarily permeate everyday life, but American Plus can be characterized as a feeling or a knowledge which, when needed or wished for, is brought to the fore. Individuals can choose what expressions and characteristics they want to associate with their ethnicity. There can be a number of various ethnic manifestations: ethnic language, accent, and name can be important and hold a symbolic value, but most common expressions are ethnic performative traditions such as food, music, dance, and suchlike which are widely accepted means of presenting one's own ethnicity in US society. (Österlund-Pötzsch 2003: 224-229).

In this relation, the observable behavior is especially important as the multiethnic USA tends to express national identity less in terms of an ethno-national sentiment based on a common cultural ethos and racial heritage than

on "objectified cultural items such as practices and customs, artifacts and rituals" (Yoshino 1999: 4; Cinotto 2010: 5). The items that symbolize the otherness of ethnic minorities are involved in both the immigrants' production of their own brands of American citizenship and in the process of the US nation-building as a multiethnic nation consuming ethnocultural diversity (Sollors 1989/1991; Cinotto 2010: 5). For instance, food has historically played a central role in American identity formation and in the delineation of "proper" Americans and cultural, racial, and ethnic outsiders (Weik von Mossner 2022a: 134). While ethnic and immigrant foods may be marginalized and stigmatized at first, they can also eventually be included in the mainstream foodways. Since white Anglo-American eaters dominated the food scene for many years, however, "both the food and the people from white ethnic groups were adopted more readily than those of people of color" (ibid. 134; Wallach 2014: 169). Besides foodways, other material and non-material practices which I analyze in my dissertation have also been important for immigrant groups both as criteria for Americanness and a gateway to America. While what is seen as American foods, sports, and music may vary over time, some elements of Americanness such as the English language are lasting. Some sports such as the US trinity of baseball, basketball, and American football also seem to be constants in their association with Americanness.

Only recently however has the importance of a material perspective in migration studies been acknowledged, and the material aspect of migration, especially in relation to identity formation, started to attract academic attention (Wang 2016). Yet given the ambiguous nature of the concept of materiality, the material objects and practices of immigrants can be seen as interconnected with the non-material, as the former are imbued with a number of meanings, feelings, and experiences, including linguistic, cultural, memory, symbolic, and other codes (Wang 2016: 4; Savaş 2014; Pechurina 2020). While in my study I may see certain practices as more "material" than others (for instance, food vs. language, and sports vs. music), the border between material and non-material is actually blurred. Material food can become "comfort food" evoking memories and nostalgia (Jones & Long 2017), while non-material language may have material extensions such as food and other objects (Karjalainen 2012: 2016). As my article on music (Kushnir 2022a) shows, seemingly non-material music is also present in the characters' lives and identities in the form of such material objects as records. So foodways, language, sports, and music can be seen as interconnected as they all are involved in the multisensory construction of memory and identity in the context of immigration. Food, music, and sports are all practiced bodily and are multisensory, yet linked to language – and outside of it[11]. In the texts chosen, these practices are all connected with Finnish

[11] In the history of the Finnish-American community, these practices have often come together. For instance, a cheer once used at Suomi College basketball games to provoke community spirit was "'Silakka, mojakka, hardtack too, come on Suomi, we're for you!' (Herring, stew, crisp rye bread...)" (Lockwood & Lockwood: 2017, 125), which can be seen as the intersection of Finnish and Finnish-American foodways, the Finnish language, and a US sport practiced by Finnish-Americans.

as the food names, sports names, and songs are the most common words and expressions in the language of the old country. They are all represented as connected to the memory of the old country and have a number of symbolic meanings for the characters.

2.2.1 Foodways and ethnocultural identity

In the article "Food in Constructing Transcultural Finnish American Identities in the Migrant Short Stories of Lauri Anderson" (Kushnir 2016), I base my argumentation on the significance of foodways in constructing and retaining ethnocultural identity (Isajiw 1990; Alba 1990; Douglas 1973/2003; Gabaccia 1998). By food and foodways I mean not only foods and drinks, but also practices such as eating/drinking, cooking and other ways of preparing, as well as getting the ingredients for food. David Sutton (2001: 25) and Angus Gillespie (1984) emphasize the role of food-acquisition methods in the process of identity formation and community-building. Eating ethnic food on special and everyday occasions is the most common ethnicity-related activity retained from generation to generation more than any other ethnic pattern of behavior (Alba 1990: 85-93; Alba & Nee 2003: 95, 97; Isajiw 1990: 37, 67). Despite a decrease in the number of those who eat ethnic food from one generation to the next, the percentages of those who consume it often can remain high for the second and third generation (Isajiw 1990: 67-69). David Sutton (2001: 84, 86, 102) accentuates a connection between food, memory, and identity as food "from home" allows immigrants and their descendants to remember their old country and past, evoking a shared identity. Svetlana Boym (2002: 4, 350) also emphasizes the importance of gastronomic nostalgia – longing for the sensations, tastes, and smells of the lost paradise among those who have left home.

Historically, foodways have always played a prominent role in Finnish-American culture and identity. During the heyday of Finnish-American ethnic institutions in the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, numerous food-related businesses and establishments in Finntowns across North America played their part in community-building (Alanen 2014: 63, 66) by producing ethnic food products. Later, the Finnish-American festival FinnFest not only included food in the program throughout its history, but has also had a significant influence on the maintenance, diffusion, and reintroduction of Finnish and Finnish-American foods and culinary practices (Lockwood 2015b: 381; Lockwood & Lockwood 2017: 120, 124). There are also quite a number of various culinary books published by Finnish-Americans in the 20th and 21st centuries: *Fantastically Finnish: Recipes and Traditions* (1985) by Beatrice Ojakangas, John Zug, and Sue Roemig; *Suomi Specialties: Finnish Celebrations, Recipes and Traditions* (1998) by Sinikka Grönberg Garcia; *Homemade: Finnish Rye, Feed Sack Fashion, and Other Simple Ingredients from My Life in Food* (2016, cookbook-memoir) by Beatrice Ojakangas, and *Tastes of Finnish America: Foods That Make Us Smile* (2018) by James Kurtti. While other aspects of Finnish identity such as language may have lost their significance for many Finnish-

Americans today, foodways remain a badge of their symbolic ethnicity. Food is the most often mentioned feature of Finnishness among them, and for many, it is the last remaining vestige that keeps alive a small connection to Finnishness (Roinila 2014: 320; Roinila, Österlund-Pötzsch & Larson 2009). Food has great symbolic value and can function as a means to affirm one's Finnish identity (Lockwood & Lockwood 2017: 119). Foodways have also been instrumental in creating and manifesting the regional identities of Finnish-Americans. For instance in the Upper Midwest, regional products, foods from nature along with various ways of getting them via hunting/poaching, fishing, and other forms of living off the land have become ethnic symbols for local Finns (Frandy 2009; Lockwood 2006/2015). It would not be too far-fetched to claim that for Finnish-Americans in the 21st century food will remain one of the most viable and living aspects of Finnish-American culture and identity.

Ethnic practices such as foodways may acquire different subjective meanings for different generations, and may be lost or transformed (Isajiw 1990: 37; 1993: 418-419). While immigrants generally cling to the old-country foods, the gradual transformations of their food practices in the new homeland are usually inevitable, and their position in-between cultures and cuisines makes their diet prone to changes (Tuomainen 2009: 528; Anderson 2005: 203). These transformations are linked with various factors, including changing ethnic identities, and immigrants, especially the new country-born generations, can negotiate their relationship to their heritage through the negotiation of food (Tuomainen 2009: 528; Gillespie 2000: 199-200). Mary Douglas (1973/2003: 29) points out that where ethnic identity is a vital issue, ethnic foods are revived in order to maintain it, and new items are recruited to the old traditions. Ethnic cuisine is capable of absorbing new foods from the outside, giving them new meanings, including them into its system, and thus even using alien items for the maintenance of ethnic identity (ibid. 29-30). As Simone Cinotto (2013: 4-5, original italics) notes, immigrants and their descendants are "*inventive creators* rather than cultural conservatives", and via their food practices they create and redefine their identities. This is the case with Finnish-Americans whose foodways are "the result of multiple generations of development" (Lockwood & Lockwood 2017: 115). While there are some products of Finnish origin (although frequently transformed in and by the new country), which are still a part of Finnish-American daily diet, a number of their foods, which they may regard Finnish, have been invented in North America (ibid. 115; Lockwood 2015; Lockwood 2006/2015: 384).

As in my analysis I do not focus on Finnish-American foodways per se, but rather on their literary representations, it is worth saying that food is a prominent topic and trope in ethnic and immigrant literatures in general and laden with numerous meanings and connotations. In quite a number of such texts, the importance of foodways can be spotted as early as in the titles: *The Language of Baklava* (2005) and *Life Without a Recipe* (2016) by Diana Abu-Jaber (Arab American), *Sour Sweet* (1982) by Timothy Mo (British Asian), *The Mistress of Spices* (1997) by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni (Indian American), to name but a

few. In these literatures, especially in the context of the USA, the language of foodways is significant and plays various roles such as remembrance, nostalgia, cultural contact, assimilation, and integration (Gardaphe & Xu 2007: 5-7). Food is featured in close connection with the characters' identities, and it can be read as an important site where community building, identity formation and negotiation take place (ibid. 9-10). The search for identity expressed by cooking, eating, and food is one of the recurring themes and motifs in immigration literary texts (Vlasta 2015: 51):

> Literary depictions of eating and descriptions of dishes and meals have highly symbolic value, and can reveal a lot about the characters' identity or their search for it. In migration literature, this becomes particularly apparent as the necessity for a re-negotiation of identity is often a main topic that is discussed via food and eating (Vlasta 2015: 102).

Naturally, the foodways brought along by immigrants from their old home are often depicted as important in immigration poetry, fiction, and life-writing in relation to the process of identity formation of the newcomers and their descendants (Reichl 2003: 177-178). This food can signify ethnic integrity and solidarity (Mannur 2007: 13-17, 28). In the new country, the "old" foods and drinks can be used to construct a "home away from home", so they become "soul" food that provides a taste of "home" and a link to it, even for those characters who, unlike their parents, have never been to the old country (Reichl 2003: 178, 190, 192). So food can evoke memories and nostalgia (Vlasta 2015: 107-108) for the idealized image of the old homeland and the past as the "good old days".

Yet, while foodways can build a bridge to the lost homeland, they can also stand for (a literal) internalization of a new way of life (Vlasta 2015: 52) and hence new identities. Through eating, differences between generations can be expressed, and the generation gap can be illustrated by food (ibid.). As Jopi Nyman (2009: 282) notes, the tropes of food in ethnic and postcolonial literature function both to unite the group and separate it from dominant groups. While their foodways hold immigrants together, these food practices may simultaneously separate them from the eating habits of mainstream society in the new country (ibid. 297), and this is why the characters may seek to dissociate themselves from their (parental) ethnic heritage by rejecting their ethnic foodways (Gardaphe & Xu 2007: 6). At the same time, food also has the potential to bridge cultural differences and create new transcultural identities (Nyman 2009: 282). With the help of foodways, the characters can negotiate with cultures of both the old and new home, blend them, and construct new (food) practices, and thus food can be involved in forming new traditions, communities, and identities (Mercer & Strom 2007: 36). Thus, food illustrates immigrant characters' position in-between the cultures of the old and new countries, and a fusion of two (food) cultures can represent their new identities (Svensson 2010: 78, 95).

Foodways are widely featured in Finnish-American literature and seem to play an important role in constructing Finnish-American identities for the characters. For Finnish-American writers, food "provides a language by which to evoke memories and a sense of Finnishness", and there are a number of titles commemorating the importance of food and food-related rituals in Finnish-American culture (Lockwood & Lockwood 2017: 124). For instance in the (autobiographical) short stories by the distinguished Finnish-American author Jingo Viitala Vachon (1918-2009), there are such titles as "Old Time Berry Picking", "Frog in the Kala Mojakka" (a Finnish fish stew), and "Old Finnish Cooking" (1973) (ibid.). Other examples include the story "Kalja" (a beer-like Finnish and Finnish-American beverage) by Finny Lager (1979/1983), and the poems "Mojakka" (a Finnish and Finnish-American stew) by Jim Johnson (1989), "Coffee Talk" by Kathleen Halme (1996), "Reikäleipä and Viili" (Finnish rye bread and a yogurt-like dairy product) by Bernice Rendrick (1996), and "Amerikan Pie"[12] by Mary Kinnunen (1996) (ibid.).

Foodways are portrayed as facilitating the Finns' integration into the USA and the UP, and as moving them closer to other ethnic groups in Michigan (Nikkola 2015: 147). At the same time, foodways can also embody cultural contrasts between Finns (especially the immigrant generation) and mainstream Americans and other ethnic groups, or between less Americanized generations and their more Americanized descendants. Despite expressions of generational differences, food remains however an important positive identity marker also for the more Americanized generations, whose Finnishness has become more symbolic (Nikkola 2015: 149). Descriptions of eating and drinking habits are used to construct identities in terms of difference and they manifest traits (frugality, self-sufficiency and self-reliance, closeness to nature and so on) that distance Finns from others. This construction of difference is done both by non Finns and Finnish-American characters themselves. For instance, Jari Nikkola (2015: 147) illustrates such an accentuation of Finnish-Americans' difference through the images of foodways in Vachon's short stories about the UP. In Anderson's books, foodways are also especially noticeable as one of the central topics in his portrayal of the Upper Peninsula Finns, their daily lives, and their strong regional identities. Anderson tells about the importance of foodways in his memoir *From Moosehead to Misery Bay* (2013) in the following way: "The kitchen, the sauna – these are my work and my spirit" (2013: 153). In my article on foodways (Kushnir 2016), I point out how in Anderson's fiction Finnish foods and sauna can come together, for instance through their potential to cure soul wounds of the Finnish-American characters.

As nature holds a special place in Finnish-American culture and literature (Kauppila & Wargelin 2005; Johnson 1996), so do nature-related foodways. Numerous Finnish-American texts depict characters who live off the land fishing, hunting/poaching, gathering, farming and gardening. For instance berry-picking holds a special place in Finnish and Finnish-American culture,

[12] In this poem, a Finnish immigrant grandmother's kitchen and her pies stitch together several generations of a Finnish-American family in a flow of memories and experiences.

and is portrayed as having spiritual meanings for Finnish-Americans and connects them to their Finnish heritage (Lockwood & Lockwood 2017: 124; Johnson 1996: 249; Virtanen 2007b: 91-92). The importance of blueberries can be seen in such titles as *Blueberry God* (1979) by Reino Hannula, *A Field Guide to Blueberries* (1992) by Jim Johnson, and "Blueberry Season" (1983/1989) by Jane Piirto. Other wilderness experiences and foods are also noticeable in numerous Finnish-American writings by such authors as Lauri Anderson (running practically throughout his texts), Joseph Damrell, Lynn Laitala, and Timo Koskinen, to name a few. Besides emphasizing the characters' strong regional affiliation, especially with the Upper Midwest and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in particular, these nature-connected food practices function to demonstrate their Finnish-American traits: a special affinity with wilderness and land, ruggedness, earthiness, groundedness, frugality, fierce independence, anti-elitism, and at times troublemaking and being at odds with the law and authorities. Although these foods and habits are by no means present in all Finnish-American literature (after all, for Finnish-Americans characters in urban settings they are naturally less important in their daily lives than for those who live in rural wooded areas), there are quite a number of the texts that feature them as integral components of Finnish-American identities.

Food in reality and literature is hardly inherently or statically "ethnic" though, but rather "may be *used* either ethnically or nonethnically, as the participants see fit and the nature of social relationship dictates" (Wong 1993: 70, original italics). Loving and longing for food as a connection with home and giving it special meanings can appear only after leaving the homeland (Mannur 2007: 11-12). This is the case with Finnish-American literature in which foodways are not to be viewed as fixed and unalterably "ethnic" but rather as prone to changes and ruptures – for instance between different generations. In different circumstances and situations, characters use the food differently, and the same food item can be either ethnic or non-ethnic according to the situation: coffee may be a mundane product without ethnic connotations in some circumstances, while in other circumstances it is "Finnish coffee". When food is involved in the construction of identities, it is "ethnicised" in the process. In their social rituals, Finnish-American communities or families can use foodways as a means of cohesion as Finnish-Americans. Certain feelings and meanings such as nostalgia, homeliness, kinship, and a sense of belonging as well as values and traits marked as Finnish-American such as frugality, diligence, and *sisu* may also be attached to certain foods and food practices.

Food is often seen by today's Finnish-Americans as a universal and the most viable aspect of their Finnishness (Roinila 2014: 320), and it is also an important theme in the literary production of the Finns in North America. Despite differences in settings, timeframes, topics, and themes in Anderson's, Eilola's, and Koskela's writings, various food practices in the characters' lives are depicted in all of them. I have paid attention to a similar tendency in Finnish-Canadian literature, for instance in such texts as *Second Watch* (2005) by Karen Autio, *The Finnish Baker's Daughters* (1986) by Aili Grönlund Schneider,

No Words in English (1999) by Elizabeth Kouhi, *Letters from an Immigrant Teenager* (2012) by Varpu Lindström, and *Under the Northern Lights* (1994) by Nelma Sillanpää. Food is a salient aspect of the Finnish-American cultures, for which reason references to food in Finnish-American and Finnish-Canadian literatures are so ubiquitous. Moreover, for Finnish-Americans Finnish food and language often come together. Anu Karjalainen (2012, 2016) sees food as a positive material extension of the Finnish language which makes Finnish-Americans' daily experiences with Finnish visible. Österlund-Pötzsch (2003: 124), in her study of Finland Swedes in North America remarks that those who do not know their forefathers' language still know their ethnic food names. This can be equally applied to Finnish-Americans. Taramaa (2007: 137) in her analysis of a selection of Finnish-American texts, notes that the most common Finnish words used in them are food names. The same observation can be made in the fiction studied in my dissertation, and the connection between foodways and language in the texts is noted in my articles on the short stories by Anderson (Kushnir 2016) and the novels by Eilola (Kushnir 2019b). This also leads me to the topic of language in identity formation.

2.2.2 Language and ethnocultural identity

The topic of language(s) is present in all the texts studied in this dissertation. They are similarly peppered with Finnish and dialectal Finnish-American words here and there, but the role of language in the characters' identity formation varies. In *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, the decreasing role of Finnish for the second generation is briefly noted: the young US-born protagonist and his peers have some difficulty following the comedy in "pure Finnish" at the Finn Hall, but they understand enough to enjoy it with their parents (Koskela 1996: 231). In *Heikki Heikkinen*, a couple of humorous stories highlight the role of languages. For example in "Sam Dorvinen", the lack of Finnish skills is one of the many factors "diluting" the Finnishness of the hapless fourth-generation Finnish-American youngster, and in his quest for "the self" he becomes a student of Suomi College in order to learn the Finnish language and culture and to become "a professional Finn" (Anderson 1995: 4, 8-9). In "Jussi Aho", the eccentric Yooper Finnish recluse with "badly fractured English [...] spiced with broken Finnish" experiences difficulties in modern Helsinki, where nobody can understand either of his languages (ibid. 88, 90). But it is only in Eilola's fiction that language holds a central position in the protagonist's identity-building, as demonstrated below.

Many scholars emphasize the role of language as a constituent of an ethnocultural identity. Gloria Anzaldúa points out that "[e]thnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language" (Anzaldúa 1987: 59). Manuela Matas Llorente (2001: 71) emphasizes that ethnic and linguistic differences are intimately related. Isajiw (1990: 36; 49) notes that speaking an ethnic language is an aspect of observable behavior that is important for the retention of ethnic identity as language has often been considered one of the most socially significant ethnic patterns. Yet the role of language in identity tends to

eventually diminish across generations in comparison with other ethnic practices such as foodways (ibid. 50-55; 67). In my article "Languages in Constructing 'American Plus Finnish' Transcultural Identity in Patricia Eilola's Female Immigrant Novels of Formation" (Kushnir 2019b), I draw on Frances Giampapa's (2001) theory of the role of language in ethnic identity, and Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge's (2006) ideas about a connection between language, identity, and power. A speaker can use languages, language choices, and linguistic practices to negotiate their identities to position themselves in a particular way across/within multiple worlds (the old country, the new country, and an immigrant community) and discourse sites such as home, workplace, peer group social sites, university, and so on (Giampapa 2001: 279-81; 284). In a multilingual setting, languages and language choices are connected to power relations, and language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities as a society may value speakers of certain languages or varieties over others (Labov 1966, 1972; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2006: 1; 15). Language can therefore be not only a marker of identity, but also a site of negotiation/renegotiation of identity, resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination (ibid. 3-4).

This is especially notable in the context of immigration as immigrants oscillate between their ethnic language and the language of the mainstream society, and may use both in constructing their identities and presenting themselves in different ways depending on the situation. Languages and language choices are of particular importance for the identification of ethnic and immigrant groups in the USA, where the mainstream ideology of linguistic loyalty and "English only" together with the view of languages as potent markers of Americanness/"un-Americanness," and hence social status, have historically been prominent (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998: 151, 158; Portes & Rumbaut 2014: 242-245). Throughout the history of the US, immigrants have been expected to replace the traits that make them different with those characteristics such as English that make them appear more "American" (Blackledge 2006: 73). For those who seek acceptance from the dominant culture, English is a sign of prestige, and they may place particular emphasis on acquiring perfect fluency to assert their American identities, while they may also reject their ethnic language to dissociate themselves from their ethnic group (Tse 2000: 195-196). This is relevant when discussing the process of identity formation in Eilola's novels, where the protagonist Ilmi Marianna/Marion experiences the US society's pressure to Americanize immigrants via "Speak English" campaigns and the shunning of ethnic languages at school. For the protagonist it becomes important to choose which language to speak, when and where.

My article on languages (Kushnir 2019b) demonstrates that such language attributes as accents and names are also depicted as being actively involved in the protagonist's identity construction. The article relies on Manuela Matas Llorente's view on accents as constituting "undeniable marks of a person's belonging to and simultaneously being estranged from a given cultural and

value system" (2001: 69). Matas Llorente emphasizes the importance of accents in the context of immigration, especially in the USA: "In the case of immigrants, when speaking the language at all, their accent often contributes to delimit (sic) their place in the realm of America's cultural displacement" (ibid. 69). In North America, the devaluation of a person because of their accent continues to be an issue today, and accents even in totally fluent English remain one of the most important markers of Otherness, "difference", and often inferiority (Tomic 2013: 6, 11, 13). So, for the protagonist Ilmi Marianna it is vital for her self-positioning not only to master English, but also to sound native by hiding her low-status Finnish accent and acquiring a prestigious native-like accent. This process can be characterized with the words of Alene Moyer (2013: 62), who notes that accent as an essential aspect of identity can be the site of resistance when people do not want to yield their established sense of self, or it can be the gateway to integration into another culture. Thus, with the help of pronunciation, a speaker can imagine a new identity and gain access to an imagined community of speakers of the language[13] (LeVelle & Levis 2014: 131-134). In Eilola's fiction, Ilmi Marianna/Marion's self-positioning in different settings via her languages is also connected with her use of two names, the Finnish and the English ones. This is in line with Michael Aceto's (2002: 590) concept of the connection between languages and names which can be viewed as symbols of different social identities invoked by language choice. Ethnic names index both ethnic and linguistic identity, and like languages names are involved in the negotiation of identities (ibid. 579, 589). Alternative or multiple names signal the emphasis or construction of an imminent or latent identity or the rejection or concealment of a previous identity correlated with such socially constructed components as language, social status, ethnicity, nationality, and others (ibid. 582). Among immigrants in the new country, making a name appropriate to the linguistic surroundings and a practice of multiple naming are common (Puskás 2009: 168). It is also noticeable in the USA, where many immigrants have anglicized their names or adopted anglophone names for exclusive use among English speakers, while maintaining original or ethnic names for in-group usage (Aceto 2002: 584, 603).

Languages have played a significant role in the history of Finnish America. For Finnish immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was a challenge to learn English (Leinonen 2014: 288; Johnson 1996: 243). The language barrier in the form of a lack of English or lack of fluency in English not only prevented newcomers from better employment and opportunities, but also kept them isolated in the host society by making Finns stick together in their close-knit ethnic communities, often called the Finntowns (Leinonen 2014: 288-289; Alanen 2014), that serve as the setting in Eilola's novels. In these communities, learning English might not even have been necessary (Leinonen 2014: 288). The first generation was strongly rooted in the Finnish language, and

[13] Benedict Anderson, in his seminal work *Imagined Communities* (1983/2006,) has much earlier noted the potential of languages in forming the imagined communities of nations and creating national identities.

during the heyday of Finnish America in the first half of the 20th century the Finnish-related ethnic institutions and activities such as theatre, media, and many others flourished (Roinila 2014: 321; Kostiainen 2014; Virtanen 2014: 183-184). Shifting to English began in the 1920s and 1930s because of the dwindling inflow of immigrants from Finland, the aging of the immigrant generation, and pressures from the host society[14] (Kostiainen 2014: 215). The adoption of the new language was apparent in most of the Finnish-American ethnic activities either before the World War II or during the post-war decades (ibid. 215). For the second generation it was easier to learn English and to adapt to the American way of life, and, while they often lived a dual life with Finnish at home and English elsewhere (as in the fiction by Eilola), many sought to distance themselves from their immigrant heritage by avoiding speaking Finnish, at least in public (Leinonen 2014: 287; Roinila 2014: 319). Only a minority of them and their descendants preserved the Finnish language (ibid. 319). Despite this development, there are still some linguistic pockets of Finnish in the Upper Midwest. Roinila (ibid. 320-321, 323) points out that today the language mostly plays a minor role in the lives of Finnish-Americans and, unlike foodways, is hardly seen as an important feature of Finnishness by most, though there is a willingness to learn Finnish among some of them.

Languages, accents, and names hold a special position in ethnic and immigrant literatures, especially in the USA. Their significance in identity formation, as shown in the late 20th and early 21st-century literatures, can be noted in numerous texts as diverse as *The House on Mango Street* (1984) by Sandra Cisneros, *Lost in Translation* (1989) by Eva Hoffman, *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991) by Julia Alvarez, *Fault Lines: A Memoir* (1993) by Meena Alexander, *Wild Meat and the Bully Burgers* (1996) by Lois-Ann Yamanaka, *Girl in Translation* (2010) by Jean Kwok, *Americanah* (2013) by Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie, *We Need New Names* (2013) by NoViolet Bulawayo, and *Foreign Gods, Inc.* (2014) by Okey Ndibe, to name a few. Many texts give central importance to the linguistic encounter between Anglophone America and a non-anglophone immigrant group (Rosenwald 1998: 341). They also feature the effect of this encounter on immigrants' identities as one of the central topics. The trope of "becoming American" through learning the new language has been notable in US ethnic and immigrant texts during the 20th and 21st centuries, particularly in life-writing and novels of formation which also address the roles of languages in negotiation and renegotiation of immigrants' identities (Pavlenko 2006: 36-41, 50-54, 61-63; Seyhan 2001: 88). The new language is the most distinct marker of cherished public identity in the new culture, and the mastery of it is shown as giving visibility and power (ibid. 88). In ethnic and immigrant texts, special attention may be given to the younger generation's position in-between two languages and the influence of such a position on their identities

[14] To "fit in" US society, Finnish-Americans often had not only to learn English, but also adopt new "American" names. Shortening and Anglicization of their Finnish names or a completely new name to conform was a common practice among them (Uschanov, Björklund & Korkiasaari 2013: 15). In Eilola's novels, this process is depicted as crucial for the protagonist's identification as an American.

(Vlasta 2015: 60). Languages can be used to illustrate the generation gap as children and adolescents learn the new language more easily, leading to a growing distance between them and their parents (ibid. 52, 60-62). Besides languages, accents are also presented as important since for immigrant characters it may be vital not only to master English, but to shun their accents so as not to be marked as foreigners but to rather "sound American" (Rezaie 2021: 117). At the same time, a return to ethnic accents can be a gesture of resisting Americanization and embracing one's ethnicity (ibid. 117).

Language-related aspects in identity-building are also present in Finnish-American literature. Finnish and English feature prominently in the texts set in the early days of Finnish America. They often depict the voicelessness and powerlessness of the newcomers due to their lack of English. The stories also often portray the younger generation's experiences of living a split or dual life between the Finnish-speaking ethnic communities and mainstream society, and speaking two languages and at times having two names to identify them. For instance, this topic is addressed in Mavis Hiltunen Biesanz's *Helmi Mavis: A Finnish-American Girlhood* (1989), in Paula Erkkila's "On the Road to Rock: A Search for Identity" (1989), and in Mary Caraker's *Growing Up Soggy* (1995). In Finnish-Canadian literature language is dealt with in Nelma Sillanpää's *Under the Northern Lights* (1994), in Aili Grönlund Schneider's *The Finnish Baker's Daughters* (1986), and in Elizabeth Kouhi's telling title *No Words in English* (1999). For instance in *Helmi Mavis*, the narrator tells about her own coming-of-age with two names, mirroring the situation in Eilola's novels and epitomizing the experiences of many, real and fictional second-generation Finnish-Americans. This is described in the following words: "Now that split-level name may symbolize my life. On the one hand, I absorbed the difficult language, the songs, food, customs, traditions, and values of an Old World culture - and I still treasure them. On the other, I was eager to be a good American, for early in the century the pressure for Americanization was very strong, particularly in school. I am Finnish Helmi and American Mavis" (Hiltunen Biesanz 1989: 117). In the writings telling about the experiences of later generations, the language is no longer so significant for them, though there are exceptions, such as in the poetry by Marlene Ekola Gerberick (1989), where the author bemoans the loss of the Finnish language and names, and the ensuing rift between generations.

2.2.3 Sports and ethnocultural identity

The role of sports activities in identity formation varies in different texts studied in my dissertation. While practically absent in the novels by Eilola, sports are represented as integral to Finnish identity in *Welcome to Shadow Lake* by Koskela and *Heikki Heikkinen* by Anderson, though much less significant in his two other collections. This explains my choice of these texts for the analysis of sporting practices as a site of ethnocultural identity construction in the article "Sports in Constructing Finnish Americanness in Terms of Transnational and Regional Identity in Two Finnish American Literary Texts" (Kushnir 2019a).

Sports are an important environment for constructing, manifesting, and negotiating identity as they provide people with a sense of difference, and a way of classifying themselves and others (MacClancy 1996: 2; Cronin & Mayall 1998: 2, 7). According to Jeremy MacClancy (1996: 3), sport is not just a marker of an already established identity, but also a means to create a new identity for oneself. It provides a major avenue for the expression of local, regional, ethnic, immigrant, and national identity as sports and various sports events such as the Olympics can contribute to people's sense of community (Cronin & Mayall 1998: 9; MacClancy 1996: 9; Dyreson 2013: 262-263). These international sports events are a way of imagining nations in terms of Benedict Anderson's (1983/2006) imagined communities. A sport can also be identified as being ethnically specific (Pons et al. 2001: 235). Different sports have played an instrumental role in creating both Finnishness and Americanness. Sports are tools for national self-definition and consciousness; sports have put Finland on the world map and Finnish athletes have become strong national symbols (Tervo 2003: 47, 363, 366; Taramaa 2008: 78; Sironen 2005: 104). Winter sports, particularly skiing, have been important in the Finnish national imagery and in the construction of Finnishness (Tervo 2003: 91-92; Koski & Lämsä 2015: 425, 429). At the same time, in the USA sports, especially "[t]he home-grown national trinity of American football, baseball and basketball", have been equally crucial in creating the sense of Americanness and American exceptionalism (Bradley 1994: 19; Dyreson 2005: 941; Markovits & Hellerman 2001). As the American cultural historian Jacques Barzun (1954) points out, "[w]hoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball, the rules and realities of the game". It is important to pay attention to both Finnish and American national sports in the fiction by Anderson and Koskela because these sports, together with the Olympic games, play vital roles in the characters' identity formation.

Sports understandably hold a notable position in the construction of identity in the context of immigration. On the one hand, the immigrants' sports activities support them in forming their ethnic communities in the new countries, keeping their heritage alive, strengthening ties to their ethnocultural background, and expressing their sense of ethnic pride (Cronin & Mayall 1998: 4, 9; Lee 2005: 488; Pons et al. 2001: 231). Their sports also allow them to maintain ties to the old countries (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000: xiv-xv). In the first half of the 20th century during the heyday of Finnish-American ethnic institutions in the US, numerous athletic clubs and sports events were important for Finnish-Americans as these activities were characterized by close connection with Finland (Virtanen 1995: 2014, 197-198; Niemi 2000: 155). In Finnish Canada, sports activities were also significant in the cultural life of the community (Virtanen 2014: 198). Although Finnish sports activities and associations in North America diminished together with other institutions after the World War II, Finnish-American spectators still find some interest in Finnish sports and athletes (Virtanen 1995; Virtanen 2014: 197-198). For instance, Finland's successes in the Formula One races and ice hockey have

become new symbols of Finnishness for many (Saarinen 2002: 212-213). As the recent 2022 Winter Olympics demonstrated, in Finnish-American social media groups the old country's sports performance still attracts a significant number of followers, and the achievements of Finnish athletes remain a source of pride for Finns in North America.

On the other hand, in addition to keeping alive ethnic heritage, sports can hold a notable position in the adaptation and integration of immigrants, and the construction of new identities in the new country (Cronin & Mayall 1998: 9; Pons et al. 2001: 232; Stodolska & Alexandris 2004). Through sports immigrants can both maintain traits of their own culture and adapt to a new environment by acquiring traits of the host culture (Pons et al. 2001: 232). Both George Eisen (1994: xi) and Yomee Lee (2005) emphasize the role of sports in uniting and integrating groups of immigrants into mainstream American society, because of the great potential of sports as a means of assimilation. The mainstream American sports in particular have functioned as a route to assimilation and acceptance in US society for different immigrant groups (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000: xii-xiii), and sports have played their part in the Americanization of Finns (Virtanen 2014, 197-198). The fiction by Anderson and Koskela represents these sports, especially baseball, in the lives of the characters and their identification as Yooper Finns. Historically, sports participation has also supported ethnic communities' belief in social mobility, self-esteem, and community pride (Eisen 1994: xii). Thus sport has functioned as a gateway to acceptance in America for numerous ethnic, immigrant, and minority groups as their sporting prowess has the potential of not only to evoke a sense of pride but also to create a more positive image of them in the eyes of mainstream society, thereby generating a better attitude towards the whole group, not only athletes themselves[15] (Roberts 2011; Reich 2010). Sports successes could be instrumental in immigrants' "passing to (or as) American" (Reich 2010: 457). In the history of Finnish America, the achievements and popularity of Paavo Nurmi and other Finnish and Finnish-American athletes were significant in creating a positive image of Finns and Finland, elevating Finnish-Americans among other immigrant groups, and making them "American" (Virtanen 2014: 195-196; Salonen 1978: 57-58; Berg & Dyreson 2012: 1039-1040, 1045-1046, 1050-1052). It is thus not surprising that Finnish and Finnish-American sports heroes are also portrayed as important for the characters in the texts by Anderson and Koskela.

Ethnic and immigrant sports activities in the USA have been Americanized and this development has added to the potential of ethnic and immigrant sports to take root in America and evolve into mainstream US sports (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000: xiii-xiv).This can also be a sign of ethnic and immigrant groups' becoming "American". Moreover, certain elements from mainstream and immigrant sporting activities can be selected in order to create new sports that contain characteristics from both cultures, and because of this blending the American sporting tradition has been enriched by the

[15] This phenomenon also has parallels in other countries. See Andrew Ritchie (2011) and Sean Brawley (2011) on similar roles of sports in Australia.

contributions of many groups (ibid. xiv-xv). In the history of Finns in North America, both being influenced by the new country and influencing it in terms of sports can be seen as illustrating the construction of new identities and becoming part of America. This is especially notable in the Upper Midwest, where Finnish immigrants along with other Nordics "imported" skiing and ski-jumping to the USA and to the Upper Midwest, the UP in particular (Niemi 2000, 156-157; Allen 1990; Rodgers 2021). The oldest US ski jumping tournament was begun and perpetuated by Norwegians and Finns at Suicide Hill in Ishpeming, Michigan, where one of the major ski jumps of the UP was later built (Niemi 2000: 156-157). The U.S. National Ski Hall of Fame (also known as the Ski and Snowboard Hall of Fame) is located in Ishpeming, and a number of Finnish-American ski legends of the Upper Midwest hold a prominent position in this Hall (ibid. 156-157). Sports can contribute to the sense of regional identity (Tonts & Atherley 2010: 384; Bale 2003: 16-18), and in Anderson's and Koskela's texts the characters' strong regional Yooper Finnish identities is also demonstrated through the imagery of sports. For instance Suicide Hill and/or other local ski jumps are mentioned in both authors' writings which prominently feature the roles of skiing and ski-jumping in local Finnish-Americans' identification with the region.

Sports in identity-building are also closely tied with gender and class, especially in the context of the US and Finnish America. Sport is traditionally seen as a key constituent of masculine identities, an area where men can play "heroic roles" (Messner 1988; Tonts & Atherley 2010: 384-385). Sports, which are characterized by masculinity tend to involve danger, challenge, risk, violence, speed, and endurance; such sports typically include baseball, boxing, football, ice hockey, the martial arts, motor sports, rugby, and wrestling among others (Koivula 2001; Klomsten, Marsch, & Skaalvik 2005). In the process of Finnish nation-building, sports, gender, and class were intertwined, and the image of the Finnish population as a "male race" of equally tough athletes and workers was often promoted as a national ideal (Laine 2013). The "Flying Finns" may be seen as exemplifying that manly ideal of Finnishness, and, as Ossi Viita (1997, 2003) notes, because of their working-class background they also had a particular appeal to workers both in Finland and Finnish America. In the history of Finnish-American communities, sports have had ties with class, with many athletic organizations and activities in the first half of the 20th century being associated with the socialist and labor movements (Virtanen 2014: 193-198). The image of Finns and Finnish-Americans as heroic strong men, workers and athletes alike, was persistent and, to an extent, still remains. The traditionally Finnish trait of *sisu*, often seen as a primarily male quality[16] and

[16] It is worth saying that *sisu*, especially seen as toughness and overcoming hardships, is by no means an exclusively male trait. In Finnish-American literature, there are a plenty of manifestations of *sisu* as expressed by female characters. Especially when reflecting on the experiences of immigration and early years in the US, the figure of a Finnish woman is emphatically present as a strong and enduring character which counters traditional male-centered understandings of immigrant history (Nyman 2010: 100). For instance, the protagonist Ilmi Marianna/Marion in Eilola' fiction, analyzed in my article on languages (Kushnir 2019b), embodies the idea of *sisu* as she continuously overcomes seemingly

usually associated with working and fighting hard, has also become connected with playing hard in manly sports both in Finland and Finnish-American communities. At the same time, a similar ideal of the masculinity of sports and labor came to be associated with the kind of Americanness that embraced hard work, health, and sports triumphs (Dyer 1998; Reich 2010). This opened the road to "becoming American" for white male athletes of immigrant and often working-class background (Reich 2010), the idea of "the American dream", with its worship of heroic figures, making Finnish and Finnish-American athletes popular (Virtanen 2014: 196). This intersection of sports, gender, and class is present in Anderson's and Koskela's texts where they have an important role as part of the characters' Finnish-American identity-building, as discussed in my analysis in the article on sports (Kushnir 2019a). While sporting activities, for practitioners and spectators alike, are entangled with social class and class affiliation (Bourdieu 1978, 1984; Besnier, Brownell, & Carter 2017), these associations may also intersect with gender (for instance, some sports are seen as associated with working-class masculinity as opposed to middle-class masculinity) and region (when certain sports may be associated with a certain region and its distinctive characteristics, including class and gender) (Besnier, Brownell, & Carter 2017). My article on sports (Kushnir 2019b) illustrates how various sports activities, often seen as rugged, cheap to practice, and nature-related, are present in the male characters' lives and demonstrate their belonging to the Upper Peninsula with its strong working-class masculinity.

The imagery of sports is present in ethnic and immigrant literatures but sports seems to be featured more rarely in relation to the characters' identity formation in comparison with food or language. This is most likely the reason why sports and identity seems to have attracted less academic attention. Carmen Zamorano Llena comments on the potential of sports activities in literature to act as symbols of forging new identities in America (2013: 13-17). In the sports-centered life-writing by ethnic and immigrant athletes such as Jack Johnson (1914/2007), Bruno Sammartino (1990), and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (1983), to name a few, becoming accepted and "becoming American" through sporting prowess can be seen as a notable part of their self-made success stories. This can also be seen as exemplifying the above-mentioned gender and class dimensions of sports (easier acceptance of "strong men") in the context of the US. The topic of acceptance through participation in sports, and especially baseball, can also be found in sports fiction and coming-of-age novels featuring younger generation immigrants such as *The Celebrant* (1983) by Eric Rolfe Greenberg and *A Long Pitch Home* (2016) by Natalie Dias Lorenzi. Outside sports-themed texts, however, this practice is not as prominent. For example in

impossible challenges, though the term *sisu* is not used explicitly much in the novels proper. Throughout the novels Ilmi becomes stronger because of her in-betweenness and her new transcultural identity which also seems to be founded on her *sisu*. Sadly, this connection has not been made in my analysis of the texts by Eilola in my article. Although the topic of *sisu* is not within the scope of my dissertation and my analysis of *sisu* is incidental, I admit that the analysis ignores its manifestations as depicted by female characters. I hope I will be able to address this shortcoming in further research.

Finnish-American and Finnish-Canadian literatures sports are not as strongly present in constructing Finnish identities as other ethnocultural activities. While in the texts set during the heyday of Finnish America or Finnish Canada athletic organizations may be portrayed among other ethnic institutions of the community, and hence various sports are depicted as important for characters[17], in more modern settings they are less frequently seen, though there are some region-specific mainly winter activities connected with regional identity in the Upper Midwest-based texts such as the "Northern" series of short stories (1992, 1994, 1995) by Jerry Harju, the novels *Gift* (1992) and *Billy Maki* (1997) by Joseph Damrell, and the short-story collection *Down from Basswood* (2001) by Lynn Laitala. Skiing and snowmobiling, however, are not necessarily shown as sports but rather as practices of a rural way of life in the rugged winter landscape of the region.

The imagery of sports activities can be used to accentuate the traits seen as Finnish such as endurance, strength, and *sisu*[18], and to demonstrate the characters in contrast to non-Finns who cannot match them. Sports can also illustrate the Americanization of Finnish-American characters who embrace the mainstream US sporting activities. The similar tendency of Americanization through embracing the mainstream ways can also be observed in the representation of music, which I discuss in the next subsection.

2.2.4 Music and ethnocultural identity

Like the topic of foodways, music can be found in all of the texts studied in my dissertation and it plays a role in the characters' identification as Finnish-Americans, but in my article "Music in Constructing Finnish American Identities in the Immigrant Novel by Martin Koskela" (Kushnir 2022a) I analyze its representation in one novel only. In Koskela's text, the position of music in identity-building is more prominent in comparison with other writings, and this novel describes music from several perspectives such as genre, situatio and source (live, radio, and recorded) and ways of engaging with it (both listening and performing).

Music, and I use the word "music" to include both music and dance, plays a significant role in constructing and negotiating identity (Slobin 1994; Stokes 1994; Frith 1996; Born 2000; Volgsten 2014). Music stands for and offers the immediate experience of collective identity, and by listening to music individuals are brought together in specific alignments and drawn into emotional alliances with the performers and their audience (Frith 1996: 121; Stokes 1994: 12). Music is involved in identity construction by providing "means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (Stokes 1994, 5). Georgina Born (2000: 31-32) notes that music has a formative role in the construction, negotiation, and transformation

[17] See the books by Jingo Viitala Vachon, Karen Autio or Nelma Sillanpää.
[18] See Pekka Laaksonen (2005: 136) who comments on the connections between sauna, *sisu*, and Finnish sports successes.

of identities, and it can both construct new identities and reflect existing ones. Music is prominent in constructing national identities as musical styles, national composers, and even musical instruments can be emblematic of national identities (Stokes 1994: 13; La Rue 1994: 189-190). Music has also been actively involved in creating Finnishness. Finland is a nation well-known for its music traditions, and many Finns consider enthusiasm for music a fundamental feature of the Finnish national character (Heinonen 2012: 157). The Finnish composer Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) is one of the most prominent figures associated with the construction of Finnish identity, and his music is seen as a crucial symbol of Finnishness both at home and abroad: Finland is known as the "the land of sauna, sisu, and Sibelius"[19] (Heinonen 2012: 158-161; Taramaa 2007: 77). So Finnish immigrants came from the country of rich musical traditions and took them to the new home, as demonstrated in the novel by Koskela.

Music holds a notable position in constructing ethnocultural identities in the context of immigration. In Victor R. Greene's words, "virtually all immigrant groups […] bring with them musical traditions from their homeland, including both the most private and intimate family lullaby and the most public national marches and airs" (1992: 17). As soon as an immigrant community arrives in the new country, it organizes networks to enjoy familiar food and music (Daynes 2005: 25). Music can be the main means of identification of immigrant groups, as they strongly identify themselves through their music, "[w]hether through the burnished memory of childhood songs, the packaged passions of recordings, or the steady traffic of live bands" (Slobin 1994: 243; 245). It can link the old country and the new, evoke memories, be a source of pride for an immigrant community, and thus help to build its ethnocultural boundaries (Daynes 2005: 25; Slobin 1994: 243, 245; Stokes 1994: 3; Ceriani 2013: 115-116). At the same, immigrant music is not simply "carried" from one place to another but is rather "created anew in different locations, continuous with history but in relation to new circumstances" (Negus & Román-Velázquez 2002: 138). Mutual influence between immigrant music and the music of the host country is common, and may result in the creation of new forms for articulating the new identities of the newcomers (Daynes 2005: 25; Baily & Collyer 2006: 174). Greene (1992: 31-32) comments on the dual function of music in the lives of immigrant groups in the USA: on the one hand, it helps to maintain the old-country traditions, but, on the other it can be an Americanizing force by assisting groups to feel a part of their new environment and influence it.

[19] Sibelius has also been important for Finnish-Americans, and this importance can be demonstrated by the fact that the world's first association named after Sibelius was the Finnish American musical club *Sibelius Seura* [The Sibelius Society] established in 1915 in Monessen, Pennsylvania (Goss 2014; Kero 1997: 187, 189). Among other Finnish composers and musicians, he visited the USA, and these visits helped to add to a sense of Finnish identity among the immigrants (Virtanen 2014: 191-192). Remarkably, there is practically no reference to music by Sibelius' music either in the novel by Koskela or in other texts analyzed in my dissertation. Sibelius is mentioned only briefly in some stories in *Misery Bay* and *Back to Misery Bay*.

Music has been important also in the history and construction of Finnish America. At its heyday, the community was characterized by vigorous musical activity entwined with Finnish identity, and music and dances were prominent at various gatherings and festivities, especially at those social centers of Finnish-American settlements, the Finn Halls (Greene 1992: 29; Virtanen 2014: 188-189; Jacobson 2012: 124). Their music survived the institutions' decline, and while it has undergone significant transformations by blending with numerous US musical traditions, it has been preserved as the cultural treasure of Finnish America and still remains important (Greene 1992: 29; Lockwood 2006/2015: 383; Virtanen 2014: 192). Finnish-American music's blending with other musical American traditions and its impact on the new country are evident.

Music is significant in many ways in immigration and ethnic literatures. For instance, Christin Hoene (2015), who addresses music in postcolonial narratives, sees it as playing a central role in identity formation. Musical references in literary texts can be interpreted in relation to characters' identities and cultures since they can act as symbols and metaphors, and show the characters' identification with their cultural heritage and surroundings (Hoene 2015: 2). For them, music can be not only an identity marker but also a means to define and express themselves as it can provide them with "the powers [...] to negotiate their identities across time and space, that is between past and present and between here and there" (ibid. 2, 17-18, 151). Jopi Nyman (2020: 47-48, 50-51) also comments on the potential of literary representations of music in relation to the topics of belonging, border-crossings and cultural encounters, and the production and negotiation of new immigrant cultures and identities. John Lowney (2015) also demonstrates the role of music in literature as a mode to affirm one's heritage. In the US ethnic and immigrant literatures, there are a great deal of music-centered texts such as *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love* (1989) by Oscar Hijuelos, *Jazz* (1992) by Toni Morrison, and *The Fisher King* (2000) by Paule Marshall (to name a few), in which music is featured as crucial for the protagonists' identity-building. In Finnish-American and Finnish-Canadian writings, the topic of music (although it is usually not central in the texts) is present relatively often, and it is notable in relation to the characters' sense of identity, especially in those texts which, like Koskela's novel, are set in the first half of the 20th century at the peak of Finnish-American organized musical activities[20]. Yet the music depicted in Finnish-American literature is diverse and ranges from the ancient mystic kantele-playing of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, the old-country Lutheran hymns, and Finnish children's lullabies, to jazz, country, blues, and other US genres embraced by Finnish-American performers. This demonstrates the existence of the rich imagery of music in Finnish-American texts and calls for further analysis.

[20] See the texts by Jingo Viitala Vachon, Lynn Laitala, Lauri Anderson, Nelma Sillanpää, and Aili Grönlund Schneider.

3 SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL PAPERS

In this section, I summarize the four articles which constitute this dissertation. The articles are presented here in the chronological order in which they were written[21]. The order of the articles reflects the way my thinking has developed in the course of the research process.

3.1 Article 1: Food in Constructing Transcultural Finnish American Identities in the Migrant Short Stories of Lauri Anderson

This article explores the construction of transcultural Finnish-American identities in Lauri Anderson's three collections of short stories, *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002), and *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), through the prism of foodways. It investigates the position of food in the process of the US-born characters' identity formation in the context of the Upper Peninsula in Michigan. The article recognizes the changing character of identity. Instead of relying on fixed perceptions of the allegedly unchanging Finnishness of food, the article illustrates how food practices take on different meanings in the processes of identity formation.

I demonstrate three ways in which foodways are involved in the identity-building of the mostly male characters who look back at their Finnish heritage with nostalgia and use food to establish their own versions of Finnishness. First, food expresses ethnic solidarity and difference by distinguishing Finnish-Americans in US society and uniting them as Finns. The article explores how the characters' foodways and their understanding of Finnish and US foods are used to maintain or cross ethnic and cultural boundaries. Second, foodways are

[21] My dissertation is article-based, which implies sometimes lengthy processes of reviewing, revising, and resubmitting the manuscripts. For that reason, the order in which some of the articles were published does not necessarily correspond to the order in which they had been originally written.

involved in intergenerational relations and conflicts to demonstrate the dynamic differences between different generations of Finns in the USA in relation to their Finnish heritage. While the older generation may cling to the old eating practices, the younger generation can rebel against their Finnish heritage or return to it with the help of foodways as well as invent new culinary symbols of Finnishness. The article thus highlights generational variation in relation to food and Finnishness as represented in the short stories. Third, the characters express their identities through their relation with nature in the Upper Peninsula via food-related practices such as various ways of living off the land. While the characters view these practices as expressions of their affinity with nature and Finnishness that distinguish them from average American men, my article highlights their association with both Finnish and US models of outdoors masculinity. All in all, food from nature and the ways of getting it accentuates the characters' Yooper Finnish identities.

In this article I explore how food and food-related practices are used in Finnish-American literature to construct new identities negotiating with both the past and present, Finland and the USA. Given the sometimes exaggerated picture of Yooper Finnish-Americanness in the source short story collections, it is important to limit the scope of representation to Anderson's fictive creation (which is not representative of a larger construct of Finnish-American identity but rather is the writer's own take on Finnishness in the UP) and to avoid generalizations. In the texts by Anderson, by inventing new foods and reconfiguring and incorporating the elements of both the old-country and US food cultures, different generations of Finnish men establish particular Finnish-American identities with a strong regional Yooper character, which can be addressed as transcultural. These identities can be characterized by the adoption of new ways. Even those conservative old-timer characters, who see their food practices as "old" and "pure Finnish", in fact also demonstrate the Americanization of their tastes, though that Americanization is on their own terms. Many of their Finnish foods are in fact Finnish-American such as the regional UP foods or the fusion foods invented in the new country. Moreover, some food items such as the stew *mojakka* and the coffee bread *nisu*, while only regionally known foods in Finland, are constructed as Finnish for the characters in the US. This brings forth the ever-changing nature of what Finnish foodways are and Finnishness itself. In the texts by Anderson, the process of the characters' transcultural identity formation with the help of food is also shown as gendered, as their identities combine elements of rugged backwoods and outdoors Finnish and US masculinities into a new Finnish-American model. So their food practices are portrayed as helping them to find their place in the multifaceted US society, among many other cultures and cuisines. The article addresses the rarely studied trope of food in Finnish-American literature and thus adds to the larger research into foodways in identity formation in (the US) ethnic and immigrant literatures.

3.2 Article 2: Languages in Constructing "American Plus Finnish" Transcultural Identity in Patricia Eilola's Female Immigrant Novels of Formation

This article focuses on another vital aspect involved in identity formation - language(s). It analyzes the roles of the Finnish and English languages in the identity construction of the young second-generation protagonist Ilmi Marianna/Marion in the novels *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998) and *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008) by Patricia Eilola. The article brings forth the rarer perspective of a woman on the construction of Finnish-American identity, with the protagonist initially portrayed as powerless and voiceless due to her position as both a migrant and a woman.

The analysis explores Finnish and English as central to the identity formation of Ilmi Marianna/Marion and her *Bildung* in general. The article focuses on these two languages as well as such language-related aspects as accents and naming. It demonstrates how they all play prominent roles in Ilmi's life regarding power relations in her ethnic community, family, and mainstream US society. Ilmi/Marion is portrayed as using Finnish and English and her two names, the Finnish and the American, to shape and reshape her identity both to empower herself and to find her place in America. She switches between languages, accents, and names according to the situation to position herself in her two different worlds.

In the article I examine Ilmi's experiences with two languages in her dynamic relationship with her family, the Finnish community, and US society represented by her teacher and other school officials. I illustrate how Finnish and English eventually help the protagonist manifest herself not as a powerless immigrant torn between two worlds, but as an empowered transcultural "American Plus Finnish". The language is instrumental in forming an identity which incorporates Ilmi's belonging to both Finnish and the US cultures. Österlund-Pötzsch's concept of "American Plus", where "American" is the foundation for ethnic identity, to which the ancestral ethnic heritage is added as a positive "plus", describes well the process of Ilmi's identity construction Yet I modify this theory by demonstrating that it can be applied not only to the descendants of immigrants without any first-hand experiences of immigration (which is how Österlund-Pötzsch originally uses it), but also to the younger generations like Ilmi's who have the immediate experience of immigration. Overall, my article draws attention to the changing role of language for the Finns in North America as represented in their literature. It also contributes to a larger understanding of representations of language and language-related aspects in ethnic and immigrant literatures.

3.3 Article 3: Sports in Constructing Finnish Americanness in Terms of Transnational and Regional Identity in Two Finnish American Literary Texts

This article extends my discussion of the representations of the construction of Finnish-American identities by addressing the rarely studied topic of the representations of sports in ethnic and immigrant literatures. I analyze sports activities in constructing Finnish-American identities in the collection of short stories *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995) by Lauri Anderson and the novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) by Martin Koskela. I approach these activities in the lives of Finnish-American men beyond the well-studied "Flying Finns" and sports associations of the immigrant era, and pay attention to the various other ways in which they engage with sports in the late 20th century.

In analyzing the representations of sporting practices in the texts, I draw on a combination of the theories of transnationalism and transnational identity (Portes et al. 2007; Vertovec 1999; Kivisto 2014), and regional identity (Zimmerbauer 2008), concentrating on three aspects. First, my analysis focuses on the roles of Finland's Olympic successes in evoking the shared sense of cohesion and pride as Finns that links the characters with the old country at the same time as they contribute to the construction of a regional UP Finnish community. Second, I pay attention to the position of winter sports, namely skiing and ski-jumping, as both manifesting the male characters' continuity with Finland and demonstrating their connection with Michigan. Third, I bring forth the role of the so-called US sports trinity i.e. American football, basketball, and especially baseball, in highlighting both the US identities of Finnish-American characters and their strong affiliation with their region.

The article exposes the prominent position of various sports activities, including both participation and spectatorship, in the lives of the Finnish-American male characters and in their identity formation. The findings of this article reveal that these practices play an important role in the construction of their sense of Finnish-Americanness which is a combination of transnational and regional identity. I also highlight the connections between sports, class and gender in this process of identity-building. At the same time as the male characters' sporting practices form a link between the old country and the United States, they also link them with Finnish models of masculinity, exemplified by the "Flying Finns" and other prominent athletes. The characters' sports also help them to manifest their particular affiliation with Michigan and, more specifically, with the UP, and to emphasize their belonging to this region. Through their sporting practices outdoors, the male characters demonstrate their connection with the landscape and environment of Michigan. As the regional UP identity has connections with gender and class in the form of strong working-class masculinity, local Finnish-American blue-collar workers and athletes in the texts through their manly sporting exploits also demonstrate their affiliation with the region. I admit however that the article overlooks the

exaggeration in Anderson's at times caricature-like picture of Yooper Finnish-Americanness and Yooper Finnish masculinity. The article illustrates how the Finnish-American male characters of different generations incorporate the elements of various sports activities – Finnish, mainstream US and the Upper Peninsula – in which they have the potential to manifest the Finnish characteristic trait of *sisu* in its stereotypically masculine form. My analysis brings to the fore the contact between the Finnish and the US cultures, their mutual influence, and new forms and meanings produced in their contact zone in the Upper Midwest. The intersection of Finnish and US masculinities is also noted in my article on foodways (Kushnir 2016), so parallels between the representations of food and sports, both of which bring together two models of strong outdoors masculinity, can be drawn. While female characters are painfully entirely absent from my analysis of sports and Finnish-American identities in this article, I hope I will be able to address this important limitation in future research.

3.4 Article 4: Music in Constructing Finnish American Identities in the Immigrant Novel by Martin Koskela

This article also examines Koskela's novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) and focuses on the representation of music. I analyze what roles music and music-related activities such as dances play in constructing the identities of the characters, who are Finnish-American immigrants and their US-born descendants in the 1930s. The article thus concentrates on another aspect of Finnish-American culture which has been notable throughout the history of Finnish America.

My analysis shows that various types of music (Finnish, American, and new Finnish-American ones) hold a significant position in the lives of the characters in the novel. The analysis concentrates particularly on live and recorded music. First, I highlight how dances and live music performed by the characters' Finnish band and by visiting musicians are involved in building their Finnish community, but also make this "little Finland" a part of the Upper Midwest and the USA in general. I admit that there might be some generalization in my analysis when it sees possible commercialization of ethnic heritage in the characters' music as the manifestation of Americanness. Second, my article shows how recorded and radio music provide the characters with a gateway to America and new symbols of Finnishness. In such ways therefore music enables different generations of Finnish-Americans to negotiate their identities with the past and present, the old country and the new.

This article highlights that while music is not a central element of the novel or not as prominent as foodways in the stories by Anderson (Kushnir 2016) or language in the novels by Eilola (Kushnir 2019b), it is nonetheless depicted as important for the characters' identity construction. It is involved in

their community-building, uniting different generations, passing on Finnish ethnic heritage, and constructing new forms of Finnish-American culture and identity. Besides performing the old-country and American music, the characters also select and incorporate elements of both and thus produce new Finnish-American music. This can be seen as a process of constructing Finnish-American identities as transcultural, and as something that helps them to find their place in the mosaic of cultures and music world of the USA. On the whole, the article draws attention to the roles of music as a component of Finnish identity in North America as well as to the notable position of Finnish music in the rich musical landscape of the Upper Midwest. By paying attention to the roles of recorded and radio music in Finnish America, and especially by exploring the issue in literature, the article fills a gap in previous scholarship.

4 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

As stated in Section 1.1, the aim of this dissertation is to investigate the representations of identity formation in the selected Finnish-American fiction through four cultural practices that are featured as important for the construction of the characters' Finnish-American identities. The research thus concentrates on analyzing the practices of foodways, language, sports and music, as they are portrayed as prominently involved in identity-building in the source texts. The analysis approaches these practices in the processes of the characters' identity formation. For that purpose, in the integrating chapter, I have presented my research material and approach, the context of this study, and the theoretical framework of the study.

The source texts by different writers portray different generations of Finnish-Americans in distinct historical settings and timeframes between the early decades of the 20th century and the early 2000s. They foreground various aspects of the characters' Finnish-American identities and feature various cultural practices through which these identities are constructed. In presenting foodways, language, sports, and music, the authors depict contact and interaction between the Finnish and the US cultures, explore how they mutually influence each other in the region of the Upper Midwest and depict new forms of being Finnish-American that are born out of this interaction. This subsequently creates a distinct, regional Upper Midwest Finnishness, highlights the transcultural character of Finnish-American identity and demonstrates the applicability of the theoretical concept of transculturation to the analysis of Finnish-American literature and similar ethnic and immigrant US literatures. The dissertation thus inquires into the ways in which Finnish-Americanness is understood in the USA in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, and illuminates cultural practices that are seen as important to Finnish-Americanness.

In analyzing the chosen texts, I have combined theories of transculturation, transnationalism, symbolic ethnicity, and ethnocultural identity to explore the roles of cultural practices in ethnocultural identity formation. This dissertation has illustrated the applicability of the concept of

transculturation for analyzing the literary production of Finns in North America. My thesis has pointed out the ways scholars can draw on transculturation in studying various material and non-material practices in identity formation as represented in Finnish-American literary texts. There is however a need to further develop the ways this theoretical framework can work as a standpoint for inquiring not only into Finnish-American literature, but also into Finnish-American culture in general. Such further research will add valuable knowledge about the experiences of people of Finnish heritage living in the USA and Canada. The combination of theories which I have used in my study can also contribute to furthering theoretical and methodological advances in the study of ethnic, immigrant, and other minority literatures both in the USA and elsewhere as it can open new ways of analyzing representations of various material and non-material practices in the processes of identity formation as portrayed in literary texts. While in the collection *Transcultural Identity in Contemporary Literature* (2013) some attention has been given to foodways and sports in literary representations of transcultural and transnational identity-building in the context of immigration, there is still much to be done in the field. My study, focusing simultaneously on food, language, music, and sports, is another step forward in the academic work on representations of ethnocultural identity formation and the variety of practices involved in it.

Throughout my analysis, I emphasize the significance of literature as a socio-cultural phenomenon that effectively represents a number of processes central to identity-building. My study draws attention to how immigrant literatures deconstruct essentialist/essentializing understandings of ethnocultural identity as shared belonging to one fixed "true" culture with unchanging nationalities, ethnicities, and worldviews (Hall 1990, 1996). It demonstrates transcultural and transnational dynamics of immigrant cultures and identities, and the gradual development of new cultures with new practices and forms in the contact zone. This highlights the fluid and flexible nature of ethnocultural identity, thereby providing arguments against essentialism. In the current context of mass immigration and heated debates about the meaning of Finnishness and Americanness alike, my study, by exploring Finnish immigrants' experiences in the US during the past century, offers a non-essentializing perspective on Finnish and Finnish-American cultures and identities. It portrays them as a combination of diverse cultural elements and practices in flux. Thus, my study highlights how research on ethnic and immigrant literatures can contribute to the understanding of the processes of identity formation. Besides, my dissertation brings forth the importance of minority literatures for understanding the phenomenon of the United States.

Furthermore, my dissertation approaches the phenomenon of Finnish-Americanness beyond ethnic institutions by concentrating on the representations of everyday cultural practices of Finnish-Americans. The existing scholarship in Finnish-American culture and identity often prioritizes the history of Finnish America. It focuses on the roles of such institutions and

organizations as trade unions, labor and political movements, the Lutheran church, Finn Halls, theater and so on rather than everyday practices and items formerly considered mundane.

This dissertation concentrates on the literary representations of material culture and brings forth the significance of everyday activities, experiences and items such as foods, drinks, phonograph records and sports equipment. Wang (2016) emphasizes the importance of the material aspect and everydayness in making and understanding "migrant worlds". So, to understand the "migrant world" of Finnish America as depicted in literature, I focus on the representations of foodways, sports, and music and also pay attention to the material extensions of language in my analysis of the latter. While these practices have received academic attention in scholarship that deals with Finnish-American culture and identity, they have been studied unevenly. Foodways (Lockwood 2012; Lockwood & Lockwood 2017; Lockwood 2015) and language (Halmari 2019; Karjalainen 2016; Remlinger 2016) are addressed in more detail than for example music (Rantanen 2019; Virtanen 2014; DuBois & Cederström 2020) and sports (Virtanen 2014).

This study also contributes to the wider context of ethnic and immigrant literatures, especially US ones. In these literatures, foodways, languages, sports, and music are often presented in relation to characters' identity-building. Also, in the wider field of immigrant literatures, more academic attention has been given to the representations of food (Abarca 2012; Nyman 2009; Ryan 2013; Warnes 2004; Weik von Mossner 2022a, 2022c) and language (Matas Llorente 2001; Montes-Alcala 2012; Otano 2001, 2004) than to sports (Zamorano LLena 2013) and music (Hoene 2015; Lowney 2015). Moreover, various US literatures are also studied unevenly. For instance, much of the scholarship on food and ethnic identity focuses on Asian American literature, while similar explorations of other ethnic American literatures are less common (Weik von Mossner 2022a: 135). This is also true of other practices which I study. My thesis thus adds to the scholarship on these literatures and especially to the study of the representations of cultural practices in the processes of characters' identity formation.

My research also has some limitations. I initially planned to travel to the USA to have some first-hand experience and to witness today's Finnish America and Finnish-American culture. Unlike Raija Taramaa however, with her noteworthy study on Finnish-American literature, I could not visit the Upper Midwest to understand the specificity of this region or meet the authors in person. Being able to could have helped me to understand Finnish-American culture better and also to assess my selection of cultural practices for analysis. Unfortunately, I also could not physically attend the FinnFests. However, I did interact with the authors and several other important figures of Finnish America via email and attended the virtual FinnFest in 2021. Furthermore, as most of the chosen texts are written by men and feature male characters more prominently, there is a gender bias and focus on masculinity in my work, which is explicitly addressed in the article concerning sports (Kushnir 2019a) and to

some extent in the article on foodways (Kushnir 2016). Also, my dissertation focuses mostly on the Upper Midwest, whereas other regions of Finnish America and their texts deserve attention too.

4.1 Implications of the research

This study has both academic and societal implications. Finnish-American literature is often not noted, or at least not enough, and, when mentioned, not addressed in detail even by scholars of Finnish America who tend to concentrate on other aspects of Finnish-American history and culture. The connections between Finnish-American literature and Finnish-American identity have also been little studied so far. My dissertation draws attention to literary representations of Finnish-American identity. It has illustrated the importance Finnish-American literature as a source for research into Finnish-American identity construction.This theme of Finnish-American identity forms an organic part of the great perennial American themes of the search for identity, belonging and allegiance throughout American literature since its foundation novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. My thesis foregrounds the roles of material and non-material cultural practices featured in the selected texts as vital in the processes of the characters' identity-building, and there is scope for developing further such focus in future research. Hopefully this dissertation will inspire deeper analysis of the practices I have addressed, and of others, in the works of the authors presented in this study and in other Finnish-American writers. I also hope that my thesis has paved the way for future investigations of Finnish-American literature in general and the representations of Finnish-American identities in particular. Besides, this dissertation calls for more attention to Nordic American identities, cultures, and especially literatures, in general. Finnish-American literature has so far attracted much less scholarship in comparison with other Nordic immigrant literatures (Nyman 2010: 97) and in fact the entire field of Nordic American literary production craves for more interest, which I hope to promote with my study.

As for the societal implications of this research, it raises awareness of the Finnish-American community and of Finnish-American literary activities. It seeks to make this literature more visible in Finland as well as in the USA, and it serves as a way of supporting Finnish-American culture more generally, encouraging people to familiarize themselves with Finnish-American migrant communities and their literary activities, and thereby playing its part in contributing to the preservation of Finnish America in the stormy and turbulent 21st century.

Another societal implication of my dissertation is drawing attention to minority literatures in general in the US and elsewhere. Raising awareness of such overlooked Finnish-American literature brings into view albeit indirectly

other similarly less noticed literatures. This contributes to making ethnic and minority voices heard as they express themselves in their literary texts.

4.2 Suggestions for further research

By addressing the literary representations of cultural practices as diverse as foodways, language, sports, and music, I have illustrated the multifaceted and heterogeneous character of Finnish-American identities and communities, as well as the practices that form, shape, and transform them. This contributes to the understanding of the fluid and ever-changing nature of the phenomenon of Finnish-Americanness (and any new culture produced by immigrants and their descendants in the new country) in terms of shared histories, memories, experiences, and practices. In the wider context of other (US) ethnic and immigrant literatures, my dissertation draws attention to the roles of a variety of material and non-material cultural practices in the representations of identity formation in different historical and geographical settings. My study encourages scholars to take a broader view of the representations of identity-building with the help of cultural practices and to include several practices in their analysis rather than focusing on one or two such as food or language. I invite them to take the untrodden paths by paying attention to the representations of understudied practices such as music and sports.

I would like to propose the topic of identity formation in Finnish-Canadian literature as a way to further my research into the literature, culture, and identity of Finns in North America. This literature is investigated even less than Finnish-American literature (one of the very few studies is a recent article by Samira Saramo (2017)). This mirrors the situation in the scholarship on Finns in North America where the focus has been on the US. Scholars might use my study to engage with the representations of various cultural practices in the processes of identity-building as portrayed in Finnish-Canadian literary texts. They may apply my selection of food, language, sports, and music or go beyond it by studying such practices as, for instance, ethnic costume, drinks, and festivals. The investigation of Finnish-Canadian literature may be useful in illuminating differences between Finnish-Americans' and Finnish-Canadians' experiences and in the processes of their identity formation. It would also be fruitful to study the texts focusing on Finnish-Americans in other regions of the USA, besides the Upper Midwest, such as the fiction by Mary Caraker and Karl Marlantes (the Pacific Northwest), Paula Ivaska Robbins (Massachusetts), and many more writers. This can allow different perspectives on Finnish-Americanness to be seen along with the practices presented as important for it. Another interesting direction is a gendered approach to Finnish-American literature. In part of this dissertation I have addressed the topic of differing experiences of men and women of Finnish-Americanness (see my article on Eilola's novels (Kushnir 2019b)) as well as the topic of Finnish-American masculinity (Kushnir 2016; Kushnir 2019a). Women's perspectives on Finnish-

American culture and identity as represented in the literary texts of Finns in North America deserves further attention, and so do the literary representations of Finnish-American masculinity in relation to other US masculinities. I would also propose for academic analysis the more recent and practically unexplored Finnish-American literary texts produced in the 2010s and 2020s, some of which are listed in Chapter 1 "Introduction". Last but not least, I am very interested in further studying the literary representations of Finnish-American foodways. As eating and drinking practices are perhaps one of the most long-lasting elements of Finnish-American culture, the topic of food deserves deeper investigation.

The future of Finnish-American literature in the 21st century is inextricably connected with the future of Finnish-American culture and identity, and there are both optimistic and pessimistic views on the perspectives of Finnish America and hence their literary activities. On the one hand, in recent years the Finnish community in North America has experienced several hard blows including the closure of some of their most renowned, long-lasting, and prominent media such as the *New World Finn* newspaper (once involved in promoting Finnish-American literary pursuits) and the *Suomi Kutsuu, Finland Calling* TV program, and the loss of such cherished ethnic sites as the Finnish Labor Temple and the historic Hoito Restaurant in Canada, and Finlandia University in Hancock, Michigan. Pandemic restrictions have also affected many Finnish-American ethnic and academic activities such as the FinnFest which is an important channel for presenting, disseminating, and making visible Finnish-American literature. Furthermore there is already a sixth generation of Finns growing up in the USA, which means that the ties with Finland and Finnish culture as well as with the traditions of the earlier generations involved in activities related to Finnishness have been seriously weakened (Kettu, Koutaniemi & Seppälä 2016: 18). Today's Finnish-Americans are well assimilated into mainstream US society, so they may be not interested in their ethnic heritage (Roinila 2014: 320). Or, even if they are proud of their Finnish roots and heritage, they may still identify themselves not as Finnish-Americans, but only as Americans (Marttinen 2021). Rayson sees this assimilation as a wide tendency among Euroamericans: "[m]ost European immigrants have assimilated to the degree that they have foregone their specifically ethnic conflicts with the culture of America," leading to the eventual disappearance of European American ethnic literatures (1981: 98). Taken together, all of these developments throw into question the future of Finnish-Americanness and hence Finnish-American literature.

On the other hand, there is also an optimistic view of the future of Finnish-Americans and their culture, or, as Mika Roinila (2014: 321) calls it, a transformationalist view, in which the Finnish-American community answers to the challenges and problems with new visions and new ways of engaging themselves with their Finnish heritage and new forms of connection with Finland and cohesion among Finnish-Americans. Efforts are being made to preserve Finnish-American identity, so perhaps even in the 21st century Finns in North America will be able to find the opportunity to maintain their

distinctive culture and identity, and their literature will be preserved. Besides, in the history of Finnish America there have already been periods of ethnic decline (for instance, after the World War II) and even the presumed death of Finnish-Americanness, yet the Finnish-American community is still around.

To conclude, further studies on the literature of the Finnish-American community and especially literary representations of Finnish-American identities are needed. I hope that this dissertation will play its part in drawing more attention to this topic and channeling academic and non-academic attention towards material and non-material manifestations and cultural practices of Finnish-Americanness both in their literature and beyond it. As my last words I urge Finnish America to live on and thrive. It was my pleasure to explore it. Kiitos!

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Tämä väitöstutkimus tarkastelee suomalais-amerikkalaisten identiteettien rakentumista 1900-luvun jälkipuoliskon ja 2000-luvun alun Yhdysvalloissa julkaistussa suomalais-amerikkalaisessa kirjallisuudessa. Suomalaisten siirtolaisten jälkeläisten tuottamaa kirjallisuutta on sen runsaudesta huolimatta tutkittu vähän verrattuna muiden etnisten ja maahanmuuttajaryhmien Yhdysvalloissa ja Kanadassa julkaistuun kirjallisuuteen. Tämä tutkimus täyttää tätä aukkoa. Tutkimus hyödyntää transkulttuurisuuden ja transnationaalisuuden teorioita, erityisesti Mary Louise Prattin (1992/2008) transkulturaation ja kontaktivyöhykkeen käsitteitä ja kysyy, millaisia rooleja kulttuurisilla käytänteillä, ruokakulttuurilla, kielellä, urheilulla ja musiikilla on suomalais-amerikkalaisten henkilöhahmojen identiteettien rakentumisessa luovan kulttuurisen fuusion puitteissa.

Ruokakulttuuria tutkitaan Lauri Andersonin novellikokoelmissa *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002) ja *Back to Misery Bay* (2007). Kielen rooleja tarkastellaan ”amerikkalainen plus suomalainen” -identiteettien rakentumisessa Patricia Eilolan kehitysromaaneissa *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998) ja *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008). Urheilun roolia transnationaalisen ja paikallisen identiteetin muotoutumisessa analysoidaan kahdessa novellikokoelmassa, jotka ovat Andersonin *Heikki Heikkinen* ja Martin Koskelan *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996). Myös musiikin ja identiteetin yhteyttä käsitellään Koskelan teoksessa.

Tutkimus tarkastelee perinteisen ja uuden ruokakulttuurin etnokulttuurisia rajoja, dynaamisia sukupolvienvälisiä suhteita ja Michiganin vahvoja suomalaisia paikallisidentiteettejä. Se valaisee kielten, aksenttien ja nimien rooleja itsemäärittelyssä suomen- ja englanninkielisissä konteksteissä, ja korostaa olympialaisten, talviurheilun ja amerikkalaisten urheilulajien merkitystä Michiganin suomalais-amerikkalaisten identiteettien rakentumisessa. Se myös kuvaa elävän ja nauhoitetun musiikin tärkeyttä Yhdysvalloissa syntyneiden, toisen polven suomalaissiirtolaisten identiteettien muotoutumisessa. Näiden neljän käytännön analyysi korostaa identiteetin rakentumisen transkulttuurista ja transnationaalista dynamiikkaa ja sen muotoutumista jatkuvassa kohtaamisen, neuvottelun sekä suomalaisten, amerikkalaisten ja suomalais-amerikkalaisten elementtien vaikutussuhteissa.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

FOOD IN CONSTRUCTING TRANSCULTURAL FINNISH AMERICAN IDENTITIES IN THE MIGRANT SHORT STORIES BY LAURI ANDERSON

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Food in Constructing Transcultural Finnish American Identities in the Migrant Short Stories of Lauri Anderson

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Abstract

In this article, I analyze the position of food in constructing the transcultural identities of Finnish migrants in three collections of short stories, *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002), and *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), by the Finnish American writer Lauri Anderson. The American-born settlers look back at their Finnish heritage with nostalgia and use foodways to establish their versions of Finnishness. First, food serves to express the migrants' ethnic difference and sameness by separating them from Americans and uniting as Finns. Second, food is a part of the settlers' intergenerational relations when Anderson's younger-generation characters invent new culinary symbols of Finnishness and rebel against their Finnish heritage or return to it with the help of foodways. Third, the migrants express their Finnishness through their relation with nature in the form of living off the land. At the same time, the characters incorporate the traits of Finnish and American cultures within their identities, which can be addressed as transcultural.

Keywords: Finnish Americans, foodways, transcultural identity

Introduction

In three collections of migrant short stories[2] by the Finnish American author Lauri Anderson, the role of food is instrumental in constructing the migrants' identities.

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2 These collections are *Heikki Heikkinen and Other Stories of Upper Peninsula Finns* (1995; 31 stories; hereafter HH), *Misery Bay and Other Stories from Michigan's Upper Peninsula* (2002; 8 stories;

The characters' food practices serve them as what Angus Gillespie (1984, 148) calls "a badge of identity," as visibly uniting the migrants, distinguishing them from others, and also allowing them to find their place in the mosaic of an already multifaceted American society. In this article, I will analyze the roles of food in constructing the identities of Anderson's migrant characters as transcultural. The Finnish American[3] settlers live in what Mary Louise Pratt (1992, 6) defines as the contact zone—the social space where Finnish and American cultures meet and interact. These encounters lead to the formation of identities which, to use Celia Jaes Falicov's (2002; Suárez-Orozco 2004, 192) expression, do not require choosing between cultures but incorporate the traits of both of them. The characters use their foodways to nostalgically reconstruct Finnishness in the USA as well as to negotiate their identities with the past and the present, old and modern, Finland and America. The resulting food practices comprise Finnish and American features, and demonstrate that the characters' identities selectively incorporate traits of both cultures.

I want to concentrate especially on three aspects of this identity construction. First, I will focus on the role of food in expressing the migrants' ethnic difference and sameness. Eating habits stitch the characters together, and distinguish them from Americans, but at the same time bridge these differences. Second, I will concentrate on food and intergenerational relations. Food simultaneously binds the generations of the migrants together and divides them. Through their eating practices, the young Finnish Americans negotiate their relations with their Finnish heritage and manifest either a rebellion against it or a return to it. Different generations have different culinary markers of Finnishness. The younger and older migrants both actively use the old foods from Finland in their own ways and also invent the new "Finnish" practices. Third, the characters' identities are constructed through their relations with nature in the form of living off the land by hunting and fishing. On the one hand, these practices manifest the characters' Finnishness by portraying them in accordance with the myths of a special Finnish affinity with nature. On the other

hereafter MB), and *Back to Misery Bay: "Dostoevsky's Three Annas" and Other Stories from Michigan's Upper Peninsula* (2007; 16 stories; hereafter BMB).

3 An intense migration from Finland to North America took place from the late nineteenth till the mid-twentieth century, but Finnish Americans remain a relatively small ethnic group in the USA (approximately 650,000 people). They have been active in the production of their ethnic literature, which experienced a growth spurt particularly in the late twentieth century because of the third-generation writers' activity in producing socially realistic fiction reflecting their experiences as Finnish Americans (Kauppila and Wargelin 2005, 741). Notable authors include Jane Piirto, Rebecca Cummings, Aili Jarvenpa, Lynn Laitala, Lauri Anderson, and Timo Koskinen (ibid.).

hand, their hunting and fishing also demonstrate the adaptation of the migrants and their Finnish identities to the United States.

The author of the stories, Lauri Anderson, is a professor at Finlandia University in Hancock, Michigan, and a second-generation migrant himself. Anderson has written a novel, a memoir, a book of poetry, and seven collections of short stories, all with Finnish characters and themes. In *Heikki Heikkinen*, *Misery Bay*, and *Back to Misery Bay*, he primarily writes about the second-, third-, and fourth-generation Finnish Americans living in Michigan, in the Upper Peninsula, also known as the UP or "Yooperland"—one of the centers of their concentration. The texts profile the comic and tragic aspects of their daily lives from the early to the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, and the stories are primarily set in the 1980s and 1990s. Although some stories focus on Finnish American women, the protagonists in Anderson's fiction are generally men. Anderson revises often-held assumptions of Finnish Americanness. In a humorous disclaimer in *Back to Misery Bay*, he warns his readers that in all his stories he portrays the "wrong" Finnish Americans (such as troublemakers and divorcees) rather than stereotypical hard-working Lutheran church-goers (*BMB*, v).

Heikki Heikkinen includes mostly comical stories and is divided into three sections: (1) Becoming a Finn, (2) Heikki Heikkinen, and (3) An Odd Collection of Finns. The first section consists of three stories: "The Author," "Eddie Maki," and "Sam Dorvinen" (all analyzed in the section "Food and Intergenerational Relations of the Finnish American Characters" below). In these stories, the protagonists, third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans, learn how to "become Finns" in the late twentieth century. The second section includes twenty interconnected stories, which feature the one and the same second-generation protagonist, Heikki Heikkinen, a stereotypical old, rugged, and stubborn Upper Peninsula Finn with a strong love of beer, hunting, and fishing. The texts describe his adventures and misfortunes through the 1980s and 1990s. These adventures are not unlike the ones of the proverbial Finnish simpletons Hölmöläiset.[4] The third section comprises eight stories, which tell about the hard and often tragic (nonetheless, also not without a hint of humor) lives of various Finnish Americans, who range from lonely hermits to World War II refugees to ultra-conservative church-centered families.

4 See the tales about the Hölmöläiset in the collections of Finnish folklore, *Tales from a Finnish Tupa* (2009), edited by James Cloyd Bowman and Margery Bianco, and *The Enchanted Wood and Other Tales from Finland* (1999), edited by Norma J. Livo and George Livo.

Misery Bay and *Back to Misery Bay* are far less lighthearted than *Heikki Heikkinen* and mostly tell the bitter stories of the Finnish Americans' losses, tensions, and family tragedies. *Misery Bay* is set in the Copper Country, an area in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and is divided into the sections named after the local Finnish-inhabited towns and communities: Coppertown, Misery Bay, Ramsay, Watton, Toivola, and Tapiola. *Back to Misery Bay* is mainly set in the Upper Peninsula, but it also tells about the Finnish Americans from this region who now live in California, Colorado, and Illinois. The loosely connected stories in these two collections revolve around the topics of loneliness, family problems, and other troubles; the characters range from farmers and loggers to high school teachers, senior citizens, and war veterans.

Food holds a prominent position in Anderson's fiction as the titles of the stories in *Heikki Heikkinen* indicate. "Fishing," "Hunting Deer," "Taking the Smartass Fishing," and "The Poaching Hall of Fame" tell about skills of the protagonist, Heikki Heikkinen, and other Upper Peninsula Finns for living off the land. "Growing Tomatoes," "Old Finnish Cooking," and "The New Barbecue Grill" concentrate on Heikki's food conservatism and his stubbornness in keeping his own ways of cooking and eating. Anderson describes in detail the migrants' cooking and eating practices, the acquisition of the ingredients, and food-related rituals. As he often exaggerates and uses parody in portraying the characters, in some stories their foodways (such as drinking thirty cups of strong coffee a day) also become exaggerated. The foodways from Finland also have ritualistic and supernatural significance, as for instance the potential to cure soul wounds (not unlike sauna). In the stories "Uuno" in *Misery Bay* and "Another Soldier's Home" in *Back to Misery Bay*, food, hunting, and fishing, alongside sauna bathing, help "to cleanse [. . .] (the) soul" (Anderson 2007, 129) of the protagonists, a World War II veteran and a modern-day soldier returning from Afghanistan, both of whom are haunted by memories of war.

Although there are some studies on the short stories by Anderson (primarily *Heikki Heikkinen*) (see, for instance, Frandy 2007; Taramaa 2007a), the role of foodways in his fiction has not been explored before. Raija Taramaa's (2007b) dissertation *Stubborn and Silent Finns with 'Sisu'*[5] *in Finnish-American Literature: An Imagological Study of Finnishness in the Literary Production of Finnish-American Authors* focuses on the representations of Finnishness in several Finnish American literary texts, including *Heikki Heikkinen*. Taramaa's research pays some attention to the characters' coffee-drinking in constructing their Finnishness, but it does not address the role of

5 The Finnish word for strong will, determination, and perseverance, one of the key components of Finnishness.

other foodways. Furthermore, she mostly concentrates on the Finnish side of the settlers' identities, and does not approach them from the perspective of transculturation. Tim Frandy's (2009) article "Ecology and Identity in the Northwoods: Finnish American Poaching Techniques and Narratives" explores the role of poaching for constructing Finnish American identities. Frandy briefly discusses the representations of this practice in Finnish American fiction, including *Heikki Heikkinen* and other short stories by Anderson. Anderson's *Misery Bay* and *Back to Misery Bay* have not been studied before, and my article attempts to fill this gap.

Food and Identity in a Diasporic Context

In my analysis of the stories, I draw on the concepts of a connection between ethnic identity and food developed by Wsewolod Isajiw (1990, 1992), Mary Douglas ([1973] 2003), and David Sutton (2001). I approach the characters' identity formation as a dynamic process of locating themselves in relation to the Finnish American community through their cultural practices and lifestyle choices such as foodways. According to Isajiw (1990, 35), ethnic identity as a social-psychological phenomenon that derives from membership in an ethnic group gives to individuals a sense of belonging and provides the ethnic community with a sense of oneness and historical meaning. This identity is in the process of change, and new forms of it may emerge, as some aspects may gradually lose their meaning or acquire a new one (Isajiw 1992, 418). Observable behavior, such as foodways, is notable for the way it constructs and retains ethnic identity; ethnic foodstuffs, along with other ethnic traditions, constitute one basic part of a culture that makes it unique (Isajiw 1990, 37, 67). Douglas ([1973] 2003, 29) also comments that where ethnic identity is a vital issue, ethnic foods are revived in order to maintain it, and new items are recruited to the old traditions. In Anderson's stories, the characters' ethnic foodways play the roles outlined by Isajiw and Douglas, as they are prominent in constructing and manifesting the migrants' sense of affiliation to their ethnic group and in reviving their Finnishness.

The characters primarily do not have any memories of Finland of their own, and they use the practices of the first generation to look back to the past from which they are otherwise distanced. Sutton (2001, 84, 86, 102) describes this connection between food, memory, and identity in the following way: the food "from home" allows migrants to remember, reconstruct, and return to their home and past, and it evokes a shared identity with fellow people who eat the same. The Finnish American settlers use food to construct their own version of Finnishness by re-creating the

culture of "home," which in fact has never been their real home because they have never lived there. This process can be characterized by Svetlana Boym's (2001, 38) concept of nostalgia as missing and longing for what people have not lost. Through their food, the Finnish Americans nostalgically reconstruct an idealized and romanticized version of their past. They form their identities by inserting themselves into this past in order to create the continuity between themselves and Finland. Thus, the Finnish American settlers' foodways mark their common ancestry and togetherness.

In migration and ethnic literatures, the language of food is prominent and plays different roles including remembrance, nostalgia, cultural contact, assimilation, and integration (Gardaphe and Xu 2007, 5–7). Foodways can be read as a significant site where community building, identity formation, and negotiation take place (ibid., 9–10). First, food has the potential to unite migrants in their new home. The food from the old country is a vital recurring topic in migration fiction and non-fiction. The familiar foodways have the power to evoke memories of the settlers' homeland and hence to evoke and construct their identities. As Edward Steiner puts it, "[. . .] noodle soup, with the right kind of seasoning, touches more channels of memory than—say, a lullaby or even a picture of their homeland" (1914, 68).

The old food signifies the ethnic integrity (Mannur 2007, 13), or, in other words, the sameness of the migrants in the new country. For them, cooking becomes a site where they nostalgically seek to produce the sense of home and the version of their oneness (ibid., 14–17, 28). Second, the tropes of food in ethnic and postcolonial literature function to separate characters from the dominant group (Nyman 2009, 282). In doing so, food constructs their identities in terms of contrast and difference. Defining "difference" and creating the other are significant in establishing identity (Porter 2001, 101–2), and eating habits are instrumental in demarcating "us" and "them" (Ashley, Hollows, Jones, and Taylor 2004, 83). Moreover, migrant foodways have been traditionally perceived by mainstream culture as markers of ethnic inferiority, and, accordingly, in migration literature characters often try to dissociate themselves from their ethnicity through a disavowal of their ethnic foodways (Gardaphe and Xu 2007, 6). Third, food is also connected with the negotiation of migrants' identities in the context of the dominant culture of their new country. Food tropes have the potential to bridge cultural differences between characters and the dominant group and to create new transcultural identities (Nyman 2009, 282). In migration literature, foodways can blend the past with

the present and the migrants' old home and culture with the new ones; as a result of this blending, new traditions and new identities are formed (Mercer and Strom 2007, 36).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that migrants often cling to the food of the former homeland, their food practices are not to be viewed as static and fixed. Food cultures and national foods are in a constant process of flux and change (Raento 2010, 298; Ashley et al. 2004, 89). The gradual changes of the migrants' foodways in a new country are usually inevitable and are linked with various factors, including changing ethnic identities (Tuomainen 2009, 528). The degree of the settlers' accommodation to the food culture of their new home may vary, but, on the whole, the food habits of the second generation are often a mixture of the various cultures in which the migrants are embedded (ibid., 528). In migration literature, the foodways demonstrate the ambiguous situation of the settlers. On the one hand, they often view their old homeland and cuisine as an unchanging cultural essence, and seek to reproduce their "authentic" and fixed identities through their "authentic" and "original" foods (Mannur 2007, 14–15). On the other, during their attempts to reproduce "authenticity" the migrants demonstrate a great deal of creativity and innovation (such as using the ways of their new home in cooking the old food) as well as their adaptation and belonging to their new adopted country and its cuisine (ibid., 15–16). Anderson's stories, such as "The Author," "Old Finnish Cooking," and "Sam Dorvinen," demonstrate this mixed character of the protagonists' diet in which the components of the old-time Finnish cuisine stand side by side with the products of various food cultures of the USA.

As the migrants' Finnishness is not unchangeable, different generations of the characters construct their ethnic identities in different ways and use different foodways in this construction. As Isajiw (1990, 37) puts it, the ethnic identity retained by the third generation may be of a different type or form than the one retained by the first or second generation. The same external aspects of identity, such as ethnic practices, may acquire different subjective meaning for different generations and may be lost or transformed in the course of time (Isajiw 1990, 37; 1992, 419–20). In Anderson's stories, the ethnic foodways are of different importance for the second, third, and fourth generations. The characters' juxtaposed "old-fashioned tastes" and "new-fangled ways of cooking" (Anderson 1995, 29, 72) distinguish older and younger Finnish Americans, less and more Americanized. In addition to abandoning some old food practices or giving them new meanings, the migrants recruit from their American environment new items, with the purpose of using them

as the culinary markers of Finnishness. Ethnic cuisine can absorb new foods from the outside, provide them with new meanings, include them into its system, and use alien items for the maintenance of ethnic identity (Douglas [1973] 2003, 29–30). Furthermore, in Anderson's texts the younger generation uses food for the purpose defined by Marie Gillespie (2000, 199–200): to negotiate their relationship to the parental culture and their ethnic heritage by the negotiation of food. The young Finnish Americans rebel against or return to their Finnishness with the help of eating practices. In this article, I will thus concentrate on the position of foodways in the characters' intergenerational relations and will view food not as a fixed entity (notwithstanding many migrants' culinary conservatism) but rather as a dynamic process of appropriation, reconfiguration, and transculturation.

In addition to food, the characters' ways of getting food are also instrumental in constructing their identities. According to Sutton (2001, 25), food-acquisition methods are crucial for identity formation as they can be used to show one's skills and to build a reputation in a community. In the stories, the migrants' ability to acquire their food from the land plays a strong role in the formation of their Finnishness. Angus Gillespie (1984, 150) points out that the traditions of hunting and fishing can transfer cultural values between generations and carry memory. According to him, food hunted or gathered from nature can provide settlers with independence from the larger civilization, and customs of hunting and gathering pass on the value of self-sufficiency. As a result of this, living off the land can be a symbol of separation from the surrounding urbanized culture, but at the same time it can adapt to satisfy the needs of the outside culture (150, 153). Thus, on the one hand, the characters' Finnish tradition of an affinity with nature unites them as self-reliant Finnish backwoodsmen and distances them from modern mainstream Americans who lack the necessary skills of hunting and fishing. On the other, the settlers' old ways of living off the land are influenced by surrounding American culture, adapt to it, and develop into the new forms bridging the gap between Finns and Americans.

The resulting identities constructed by the characters' foodways can be addressed as transcultural. In my analysis, I will draw on the concept of transculturation as developed by Pratt (1992). According to her, transculturation is a phenomenon of cultural exchange in the contact zones where the encounters between the dominant and the minority culture lead to mutual cultural influence (ibid., 6). The subordinated or marginal groups use the materials transmitted by the dominant culture, select and invent from them, and incorporate them into their own culture (ibid., 6). In the contact zone of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the minority

culture of Finnish migrants encounters the mainstream culture of the USA, and selectively adapts to it. The culture of the settlers is both influenced by and in turn influences America in the form of creating the new Finnish American culture in the host society. This leads to the formation of new identities with the help of food. The Finnish American characters manifest multiple affiliations, to Finland and to the USA, by the incorporation of the elements of two cultures into their cuisine. Their identities are established as hyphenated and combine several identities or, in other words, as "American Plus Finnish." Suárez-Orozco (2004, 192) views the process of constructing a transcultural identity as a creative fuse of the aspects of the migrants' parental culture and their new culture or cultures. As a result, the migrants synthesize an identity that allows them to incorporate the traits of both while fusing additive elements (Falicov 2002; Suárez-Orozco 2004, 192). The foodways comprising Finnish and American features construct the characters' identities as simultaneously Finnish and American, selectively incorporating the traits of both cultures and adding new elements such as "Finnish" practices invented in the USA.

Food and the Construction of Identities

In Anderson's stories, it is the characters' daily food practices rather than some ethnic feasts that connect the migrants with their past and construct their identities. Food and memory come together on the level of daily life, not only at "loud" ritual occasions (Sutton 2001, 28). The characters use foodways to reconstruct their Finnishness chiefly at mundane occasions. Their daily products remind them about their past, link them with their forebears, and bring Finland to the USA.

The migrants' food practices unite them as Finns and distinguish them from others but simultaneously allow negotiating their identities with Finland and the USA. As was stated in the previous section, generalized representations of "our way" of eating unite "us" around mundane items and activities and simultaneously distance "us" from the foodways of "others" that may cause suspicion and fear (Raento 2005, 50; Ashley et al. 2004, 89). The Finnish Americans' daily food habits are a visible marker of their cultural distinctiveness in the USA, and by eating in their own specific way the characters manifest who they are. For example, in "Santtis" in *Misery Bay*, a story featuring a Finnish American family of three generations, the grandson's clinging to Finnish eating habits is viewed by his grandmother as one of the signs of his being a true Finn: "He looks like a Finnish hero with his blond hair, blue eyes and broad shoulders. Plus he loves smoked fish and everything pickled [. . .]. For breakfast, he gobbles up blood sausage and blood pancakes. [. . .]

Even his eating habits are heroic" (*MB*, 58–59). Moreover, to accentuate the difference between Finnish and American, and to communicate the Finnishness of the foods, the texts often use the original Finnish and dialectal Finnish American words without any translation or explanation. An example of this can be found in the story "Old Finnish Cooking" in *Heikki Heikkinen*: "His homemade *viili* [Finnish sour curd] was stringy but rich and creamy, far superior to Dannon" (*HH*, 29, original italics). Yet another example is present in the story "Heikki Rejuvenated" in *Back to Misery Bay*: "He [. . .] made himself a breakfast of fresh bacon, eggs, and *nisu* [the dialectal word for a traditional Finnish wheat sweet bread]" (*BMB*, 103, original italics). The strategy of using the original food names is powerful in ethnicizing food products and adding an exotic flavor to them (Girardelli 2004, 314–15). The juxtaposition of the migrants' foodways with the practices of Americans and other ethnic groups constructs their identities by manifesting who they are not, through contrasting themselves with culinary "others" (see the previous section). However, the migrants' foodways not only demarcate and retain the boundaries between the Finnish American diaspora and the majority culture, but also allow the characters to cross these boundaries by including the foods of their new country into their diet and drawing on both cultures.

Food embodies cultural contrasts between the Finns as migrants and the Americans as hosts. In "Eddie Maki," in *Heikki Heikkinen,* a story about a mixed Finnish-New England family in the 1960s, the differences of eating habits demonstrate how distinct the family's two heritages are. The text juxtaposes the Finnish and New England grandparents of the protagonist, the third-generation migrant Eddie, and food is no less powerful than class, language, and religion in demarcating them. Not only did the newcomers from rural Finland speak "little English," live "in the log farmhouse," and attend "the Lutheran church when the service was in Finnish," but they also "had odd customs and ate strange food—pickled fish, yogurt, heavy dark bread with smelt inside" (*HH*, 11). Meanwhile, Eddie's mother's forebears, wealthy New England urban dwellers, proud of their heritage and considering themselves ideal Americans, "lived through history," tracing their roots back to the original colonies and "did not associate with newly-arrived immigrants" such as Finns (*HH*, 11). They "attended a Congregational Church" and "ate plain food without seasoning—roast beef, boiled vegetables, potatoes, and beans" (*HH*, 11). Through the imagery of food, the text demonstrates the alienation and displacement of the first-generation migrants in the United States. The settlers' Finnish eating habits accentuate their exoticism from the perspective of the American majority

culture in the early twentieth century and their failure to comply with the ideals of culinary Americanness as it is understood by Eddie's mother's family. Thus, food is influential in drawing a visible border between Finns and Americans.

Eddie's father, a second-generation Finn, manages somehow to cross this border by marrying Eddie's mother and consequently eating the food she cooks, but his and her foodways still mark their difference and link them to their different pasts. Husband and wife keep their foods separate and treat each other's cuisine with disgust. Eddie's mother "prepared the same plain foods that her mother had prepared. She refused to make any un-American foods except spaghetti and pizza, but her Italian cooking had a peculiar New England flavor" (*HH*, 12). She "found Finnish incomprehensible and Finnish food disgusting" and "could not comprehend how anyone could eat fish roe in eggs, animal organs, or fish preserved in lye. Yet she had married a man who ate all these things." (*HH*, 12) Eddie's father in turn "abhorred his wife's cooking. Often he prepared Finnish food [. . .]" (*HH*, 12). The difference between the Finns and Americans is constructed from both inside and outside, by the foodways of the dominant and minority group. Although Eddie's father (very unwillingly) eats what his wife cooks, he is not eager to share her culinary Americanness. He prefers to cling to the old Finnish foodways of his parents and manifests his Finnishness through this choice and the emphasis of his difference from his wife.

Eddie's father's foodways also function to establish his identity in terms of ethnic sameness with other Finns and to re-create Finland, nostalgically, in the USA. He turns the old food practices into a business and runs an ethnic grocery store selling Finnish foods to the local Finnish Americans:

> The Maki store was popular with Finns because Eddie's father stocked Finnish foods, made his own blood sausage, pickled his own tripe, and salted his own salmon. He spoke their language and understood their wants. (*HH*, 11–12)

His foods unite him with other Finnish Americans who eat the same. This is in line with what was presented by Sutton (2001, see above): the food "from home" brings the migrants memories of their homeland and evokes a shared identity with fellow eaters. Accordingly, besides the familiar food, Maki's ethnic grocery store offers also a sense of shared belonging, understanding, and nostalgia. It reconstructs the past by reproducing the characters' forebears' products, and in doing so it brings Finland to the USA, at least in terms of eating. This is missing and longing for what

they have not lost (Boym 2001, 38). The American-born characters have not lost Finland but they, nevertheless, miss it and try to reconstruct it. On the whole, the shared Finnish food practices allow the migrants to be independent of the food practices of the majority culture and to live in their own little diasporic world.

In the stories about Heikki Heikkinen, food also has the potential to divide. Heikki's foodways, on the one hand, set him apart from mainstream Americans and other ethnic groups, such as Italian Americans. He is an "old-fashioned Finn with old-fashioned tastes in food" (*HH*, 29), and his food practices link him with his past as he likes "to eat the kinds of food his grandparents ate in Finland" (*HH*, 29). Part of the construction of Finnish identities draws on the appropriation of American food traditions. Although Heikki is persuaded by his younger and more Americanized relatives to try such American practices as barbecue and grilling, his complete failure with barbecuing and his subsequent throwing away of the grill in the stories "Old Finnish Cooking" (*HH*, 31) and "The New Barbeque Grill" (*HH*, 71–72) demonstrate his difference from mainstream modern American culture. This illustrates that he is not a prototypical American as understood by Heikki's family. The protagonist is very conservative in his eating practices and stubborn in keeping his own ways:

> Heikki was not an okra or kohlrabi kind of guy. Artichokes totally baffled him. He didn't know if they were a fruit or a kind of thorn bush. He knew his Italian neighbors ate them, but he didn't know how or why. He stuck to root vegetables, like turnips, rutabagas, carrots, and beets, but sometimes he would eat corn, green beans, cabbage, or peas. Other vegetables didn't exist in Heikki's world.
>
> The proper way to cook a vegetable, said Heikki, was for a long time in a lot of water. Then he drained it and greased it up with thick slabs of butter and sprinkled it liberally with salt and pepper.
>
> Today there are crazy people out who spice their foods with garlic and hot pepper, and a whole slough of other condiments. Heikki thought these people should not be allowed across the Mackinac Bridge. (*HH*, 29–30)

On the other hand, food also has the potential to bridge the differences between the migrants and the dominant culture. Despite the fact that Heikki clings to the old Finnish foodways, he also likes to eat in the old-fashioned, American way:

> Heikki's idea of a good American meal was canned and frozen in the forties and fifties. He preferred beef to other meats and liked it fried or roasted. He liked to fry his steak in butter to a crisp, even, dark color on the outside and dry gray inside." (*HH*, 29)

This illustrates the generational difference between Heikki and his relatives as they have different understanding of what is "American" food according to time in which they live. Heikki considers American the food practices of his youth, whereas his relatives view modern barbecuing and grilling as American practices. Moreover, Heikki does not only eat American, but also uses the American foods to express his belonging to Michigan and to the USA in general. The stories "Old Finnish Cooking" and "Taking the Smartass Fishing" emphasize Heikki's passion for growing and eating the American varieties of potatoes:

> Potatoes were close to Heikki's Finnish heart. He could wax eloquent about potatoes, especially Michigan Reds, Kennebecs, and Green Mountains. New potatoes fresh from the garden sent him into paroxysms of rhapsody. (*HH*, 65)

He views this passion as a sign of his being American, and juxtaposes potatoes with "un-American" foods:

> Heikki was a real fanatic about potatoes. He liked them with nearly every meal. He preferred the red ones. Rice was for sissies and the hordes of Asia, he said. Pasta was for people who never quite became real Americans. (*HH*, 30)

Heikki seems to consider himself as having already become a "real American" in contrast to Asians and Italians. At the same time, potatoes are not only markers of Americanness, as they also are a significant part of Finnish cuisine. So, Heikki's Michigan "Americanness" has a Finnish taste to it. His identity constructed through food selectively draws on the elements of both Finnish and American cultures, and Heikki sees no controversy in his being simultaneously "an old-fashioned Finn" and "a real American."

Food allows the migrants to express solidarity, belonging, and inclusion on the basis of their shared practices through which they reconstruct Finland in the USA. Food also manifests exclusion and repulsion. The characters repulse the foods of

the culinary others, and their own Finnish practices are repulsed by others in turn. At the same time, the migrants both resist and embrace changes in their foodways. They use the new food to express their belonging to the USA and thus demonstrate their being both a part of the minority and a part of the mosaic dominant culture. This illustrates the transcultural position of the Finnish Americans. They are in the contact zone as defined by Pratt ([1991] 2005; 1992, see above): the space where the encounter of Finnish and American cultures leads to the migrants' selective adaptation to the dominant culture and the use of its materials and subsequent formation of the settlers' new culture and identities. This leads me to the question of how different generations of the migrants approach their dual heritage through their food.

Food and Intergenerational Relations

In Anderson's stories, the migrants' transcultural identities are negotiated differently by different generations. As the stories follow the lives of multigenerational Finnish American families, the texts often use food to illustrate the shifts and confrontations of cultures and identities in the lives of less and more Americanized migrants. An example of this is in the way in which foodways are involved in the characters' intergenerational relations and conflicts to demonstrate the dynamic differences between the generations. On the one hand, while fathers cling to the old eating practices to remember about their heritage, trying to pass them on to their children, the younger generation may reject the old foods as a gesture to forget the past and abandon their Finnish heritage. On the other hand, the younger Finnish Americans may use foodways to demonstrate the return to Finnishness and, in other words, "becoming Finns." They do not necessarily embrace the practices of the older generation but rather reconfigure the old Finnish foods according to their needs. They also invent their own "Finnish" practices with the help of the American environment and use contemporary, commercialized, and mass-produced symbols of Finnishness. The stories also accentuate the culinary Americanization of the younger generations who are eager to accept the eating habits of the mainstream American society and to Americanize the foods of their forebearers. Nevertheless, despite the juxtaposition of the foodways of the older and younger generations, the practices of the older Finnish Americans also demonstrate the adaptation to the USA, appropriation of the new food items and recruitment of the American foods as the markers of Finnishness. This illustrates the way that, in spite of their differences, both younger and older Finnish Americans negotiate their identities with both Finland and the past, and the USA and the present, and synthesize the new

form of identities in the American context. They become "American Plus Finnish" in the multifaceted society of various "Americans Plus" (Italian Americans, Irish Americans, Jewish Americans, and so on).

Food is a place of an intergenerational rebellion of the migrant children against their traditionalist parents. For instance, in the story "Eddie Maki" the protagonist's father tries to introduce Finnish heritage to his son. He often cooks Finnish food which he and his son eat together (*HH*, 12). When Eddie associates his father's and other elder-generation Finnish Americans' values and way of life with the migrants' lower status in America, unattractive job as miners, and lack of prospects, he tries to distance himself from their diaspora. Among other things he does this through rejecting his father's Finnish food:

> Eddie reacted by refusing to eat his father's favorite foods—*mojakka* [the dialectal Finnish American word for a stew, popular among the migrants in Minnesota and Michigan], *nisu* [the dialectal word for a traditional Finnish wheat sweet bread], and *sillikaviaari* [herring-caviar]. (*HH*, 16, original italics)

As was stated by Marie Gillespie (2000, see above), the rejection of the parents' food is a gesture expressing the desire to gain some independence from the family culture. In migration literature, characters can disavow their ethnicity by rejecting their ethnic foodways (see above). Therefore, while Eddie's father, through his foodways, seeks to create a sense of continuity between generations, Eddie uses his eating practices to distance himself from his father's generation and to break away from their "Little Finland."

However, the story later demonstrates a dynamic and transcultural character of Eddie's identity, which can draw on Finland and the USA and synthesize the elements of both into something new. When Eddie again negotiates his identity through foodways in order to reconcile with his Finnish heritage, he does so with the help of his Finnish American diaspora as well as American society. Among the Finnish Americans in his hometown, hunting/poaching is popular and provides them with food and an opportunity to show oneself as a "real" man (*HH*, 17). When Eddie's friend Paavo teaches him to hunt, "[f]or the first time, Eddie felt at least a little bit like a Finn" (*HH*, 17). Then Eddie decides to use the Finnish Americans' passion for hunting to find his place and respect in their community. He goes to university to study wildlife management and becomes a game warden, a figure of power for the

local hunters and poachers. This finally reconciles him with his Finnish heritage and gives a sense of belonging:

> Eddie smiled. [...] He felt he was home at last. "I'm a Finn after all [. . .]. For a while there, I just wasn't aware of it." (*HH*, 23)

Both the practices of the Finnish American diaspora and the American university help Eddie to "become a Finn," or rather a Finnish American, and settle for this transcultural identity as he incorporates the elements of both Finland and the USA in it.

The clash between the different generations' foodways and the mixture of Finnish and American practices are also present in the story "Sam Dorvinen" in *Heikki Heikkinen*. However, the text also demonstrates that both the younger and older generations are open to Americanization and the synthesis of different foodways in constructing their transcultural identities. The story features a fourth-generation Finnish American youngster in a quest for Finnish identity in the 1980s and 1990s. The protagonist's father reminds his son about their common Finnish heritage by telling about his youth and the camaraderie of Finnish American loggers and miners in the past:

> In the old man's stories, every self-respecting Finn had driven a pick-up and had worked in the woods or in the mines. [. . .] They had all worn ragged and stained flannel shirts as a sign of their fortitude, their *sisu*. (*HH*, 4, original italics)

The father praises their eating habits and associates them with shared experiences of the hard work of the tough and hardboiled Finnish migrants in the past:

> Every tough old guy had eaten pickled eggs, pickled fish, and beef jerky at the Mosquito Inn. Every one of them had guzzled gallons of Stroh's mixed with cheap brandy. (*HH*, 4)

Naturally not every Finnish man was as tough as Sam's father claims. He wants to impress his son, and in his nostalgic stories reinvents the past as what Lupton ([1996] 1998, 49–50) calls the idealized fiction of the past. In doing so, the father draws on both the old Finnish products such as pickled fish and pickled eggs, and more modern American foods and drinks such as beef jerky and Stroh's, the beer of the

Michigan-based company and the same signifier of regional Michigan identity as flannel shirts.

For him these foods manifest "true" rugged Finnishness, and later in the text they are juxtaposed with the eating habits of his son, influenced by American mainstream culture:

> Sam's Finnishness was greatly diluted. He couldn't even speak the language [. . .]. He preferred pizza, Twinkies, and Coke to pickled eggs and beer. (*HH*, 4)

There is a paradox: while some American foods and drinks (including regional-specific items such as Stroh's) are put along the foods from Finland in representing Finnishness for the father and his generation (and do not "dilute" that Finnishness), the American foods and drinks of his son "dilute" it.

Nevertheless, Sam seeks to negotiate his identity with his Finnish heritage through his foodways but uses other markers of being a Finn than his father, even though—just like the father—Sam draws on both cultures in constructing his identity. The protagonist uses more modern, mass-produced, and commercialized symbols of Finnishness:

> By his teens, Sam wore his Finnishness like a badge of honor. Through his T-shirts, he was always daring the world to insult his heritage. [. . .] The only liquor he would drink was an occasional nip of Finlandia vodka. (*HH*, 5)

The father clings to the foods brought by his forefathers from Finland in the early twentieth century, but his son prefers Finlandia vodka, first imported to the USA in the 1970s. It is almost exclusively directed at the export market and is one of the most iconic and recognizable Finnish drinks and brands associated with Finland by foreigners worldwide. So, Eddie's drinking Finlandia vodka signifies that that he longs for Finnish heritage and wants to manifest himself as an iconic rugged and masculine Finn with a love for strong spirits. Despite seeming differences, both the father and the son select and incorporate within their diet the elements of Finnish and American food cultures and invent new symbols of Finnishness in the USA. This constructs their identities as transcultural—negotiating with the past and present, and comprising belonging to both Finland and the USA with no need to choose between the two cultures.

While the foodways inherited from the first generation demonstrate the characters' continuity with their ancestors and Finland, the new mixed practices illustrate the change in Finnishness from the newcomers' to their descendants' generations and the adaptation of this Finnishness to the USA. A powerful metaphor of the migrants' transcultural identities is the characters' new foods that fuse the elements of Finnish and American cuisine together. One noticeable example is Jell-O, the American gelatin dessert, which is served with dill by the migrants. It naturally does not belong to the foodways that came from Finland with the first generation. Furthermore, Jell-O is not generally supposed to be served with dill. As the stories are not aimed at the realist representation of Finnish Americans, Jell-O with dill seems not to be a real Finnish American food. Rather it is the author's comical exaggeration of the passion for dill that is for some reason considered Finnish by the characters, or even a parody of culinary Finnish Americanness mixing seemingly incompatible elements. However, the product stands side by side with the real items of the Finnish cuisine. In "The Author" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, a story following a life of the third-generation narrator, from the early days of his life surrounded by Finns in his little town in Michigan, the Jell-O with dill is one of the essential products making him realize his Finnishness: "I also knew I was a Finn because all fish in our house were pickled, all potatoes were boiled, and the Jell-O had to have plenty of dill" (*HH*, 1). For the protagonist who "becomes a Finn" in the USA, the Jell-O with dill does not seem strange. After it has been reconfigured in accordance to the migrants' tastes, it functions to manifest the characters' version of Finnishness and to unite the narrator with his family. This composite product illustrates the migrants' position in the contact zone between cultures and highlights their opportunity to use the elements of both in constructing their identities. It can be viewed as a metaphor of transculturation when two diverse elements of the dominant and minority culture, American Jell-O and Finnish dill, come together, blend, and form something new.

Both older (in spite of their conservatism and claims for authenticity of their food) and younger migrants adapt their Finnish cuisine to the American environment and invent new mixed food practices which construct their transcultural identities. An example can be found in the story "Old Finnish Cooking." In spite of Heikki's inclusion of some American foods and drinks such as canned meat Spam, Van Camp's pork and beans (*HH*, 32), and the Michigan-produced beer Old Milwaukee (*HH*, 30) into his diet, he takes pride in the authenticity of his home-made Finnish products and laughs over his younger relatives' Americanized habits. When they try to

introduce him to the modern American eating habits and put his own habits "under siege," he is not going to change his tastes:

> "Even if it's good," he said, "I'm not going to like it!" He had *sisu*. (*HH*, 32, original italics)

When his younger relatives try to cook "Finnish" (although in an Americanized way), Heikki does not consider their store-bought and haute style-served food authentic:

> He ate his home-pickled fish right out of the jar with his fingers and didn't understand why his chic granddaughter served store-bought pickled herring in cream sauce on a platter with a toothpick stuck in each piece. "A toothpick is only useful with peanut brittle," he said. (*HH*, 29)

Nevertheless, Heikki's own eating habits demonstrate a great deal of appropriation and Americanization, when he also invents new foods based on the elements of Finnish and American eating practices:

> Two ingredients were usually essential when Heikki cooked American—cream of mushroom soup and Jell-O. He stirred the soup into all leftovers and called it a casserole. He added a can of mixed fruit to the Jell-O. For a Finnish touch, he mixed dill into both. (*HH*, 29)

Heikki treats the American ingredients in his own way to conform to his tastes and to make these foods "Finnish" to stand along with the ones of his forebearers. If his original Finnish foodways construct Heikki's Finnishness in terms of continuity with Finland and the past, through such composite dishes as the Jell-O with dill, his identity is also negotiated with the USA and the present. So, the eating practices of both Heikki and his younger relatives highlight their position between cultures, countries, the past, and the present. Their food practices illustrate their being both Finns and Americans, and simultaneously neither Finns nor Americans, but something new.

There is a paradox, however: Heikki resists the Americanization of his habits without noticing that they have already been Americanized. Some food products of the USA, for him, are more "Finnish" than others. This represents the generational differences between the migrants in their ways of life and position in the USA. The generation of such old-timers as Heikki was generally confined to the jobs of loggers,

miners, and farmers and to isolated life in their close-knit ethnic communities in the rural areas of Michigan. The American foods that were present in their lives comprised mainly rough foods and drinks of miners and loggers such as beef jerky and local beer, as well as canned products and concentrates such as Jell-O or Campbell's condensed cream of mushroom soup. Consequently, these products have become more "Finnish" for Heikki and other old-timers. The younger generations of the Finnish Americans have had better opportunities in the American society; they have left the rural ethnic communities in favor of urban life (often outside Michigan) and, therefore, have had access to more varied American foods.

On the whole, food in Anderson's stories both divides and unites different generations of the migrants, and illustrates continuity and change between them. The younger generations are more Americanized than the older ones and do not necessarily retain the old food practices. Instead of clinging to the parents' and grandparents' Finnish foods, the characters use modern and mass-produced symbols of Finnishness such as Finlandia vodka. They use food items from the American culture to revive their Finnish identity or, in Douglas' ([1973] 2003, 29) terms, they "recruit" the new items and eating habits to the old traditions. The older generation's food practices also have the potential of adaptation. This demonstrates actual sameness between the older and younger migrants, whose eating habits construct their identities as drawing on and blending their Finnish and American heritages. These intergenerational differences and sameness are also manifested in the characters' food-related practice of living off the land, which will be discussed in the following section.

Food from Nature in Constructing Identities

In Anderson's stories, Finnishness is expressed not only in terms of the characters' ethnic difference and sameness and their continuity between generations, but also in terms of the their relation with nature, which provides them with food. The Finns' commitment with it is considered a vital component of Finnishness because nature and living off it have been a common factor in Finnish life (Johnson 1996, 243). Therefore, a far-reaching myth about Finnish people is the myth of forest dwellers and people living close to the land (Taramaa 2007b, 74). Anderson's stories portray the characters in accordance with this myth, as in the majority of the texts they are actively engaged with nature in the form of skiing, snowmobiling, living in the wilderness, gathering, hunting/poaching, and fishing.

In *Heikki Heikkinen*, *Misery Bay*, and *Back to Misery Bay*, the characters, both young and old, have the reputation of being prominent hunters, poachers, and gatherers of

the Upper Peninsula, and their practices of living off the land and woods construct the settlers' identities as transcultural. They link the migrants to the past, bind different generations, distance them from mainstream Americans, and unite as Finns who are frugal, independent, and close to nature. Marjatta Hietala (2003) refers to Ojakangas, Zug, and Roemig's (1985) Finnish American booklet *Fantastically Finnish: Recipes and Traditions*, which demonstrates that even the third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans praise nature's gifts as an essential component in the Finnish diet. They consider closeness to forest and the love for natural ingredients as something inherent in their Finnish identity, and they consequently view picking berries and mushrooms as the activities central to it (Hietala 2003, 195). Within the Finnish American community in Michigan and Minnesota, such form of commitment to nature as hunting/poaching has become some kind of an ethnic symbol, and the Finnish Americans have long been regarded as the region's most notorious poachers (Frandy 2009, 130). Nature and relationship with it hold a central place in Finnish American literature (Johnson 1996, 244–45), and many popular Finnish American writers, including Anderson, have used poachers as protagonists in their fiction (Frandy 2009, 130). In addition to manifesting the characters' Finnishness, the practices of living off the land demonstrate their adaptation to American culture and the incorporation of its elements. Wilderness is viewed as the basic ingredient of American civilization and the symbol of American identity (Nash 1982, xi). A dominant model of American manhood has been created from men's experience in nature, and many famous American men from presidents to folk heroes exemplify that model and gain their reputation at least partly through their exploits in the wilderness (Allister 2004, 2). The characters' food from nature brings them close to their Finnish forebearers as well as to the iconic heroes of America such as Natty Bumppo, Frank Buck, Daniel Boone, Henry Thoreau, and Ernest Hemingway. In doing so, food levels out the differences between Finns and Americans.

The practices of living off the land also illustrate the generational differences in their integration into American society and highlight the migrants' transcultural identities. While among the less Americanized older generation hunting and fishing are considered a survival activity, the younger generation transforms and commercializes the old practices in accordance to the new conditions. The survival activity is influenced by the characters' American environment and turns into a sports activity, a business, or a lifestyle that has not been caused by necessity. This adaptation constructs the Finnish Americans' identities as transcultural, creatively fusing the elements of their parental culture and the culture of their new country.

Through the practices of living off the land, the characters pass on the values and skills of their ancestors from one generation to another, which creates a sense of continuity among Finnish Americans and unites them around their heritage. For example, in "Arvo Salonen" in *Misery Bay*, a story portraying a hard life of the third-generation Finnish American lecturer, the traditions of frugal and self-reliant life in the wilderness bind together three generations of his family in distinct historical settings from the 1920s to the 1980s. Arvo's grandfather had brought these traditions from Finland and transferred them to his son, who was born in the USA:

> From the time he was a little child, the father taught the boy survival skills [. . .] The boy became an excellent hunter and fisherman. (*MB*, 79–80)

The latter in turn passed on these skills to his own son Arvo: "His [Arvo's] father taught him the same survival skills that he had learned as a boy" (*MB*, 84). For Arvo's grandfather, a former Finnish peasant, frugality and living off the land were natural. For Arvo's father, who grew up during the Great Depression, these skills and values were necessary to survive in Michigan. But for Arvo, a lecturer in the 1970s–1980s, who can afford to buy any products in supermarkets rather than get food himself, such frugality has not been caused by actual necessity. However, the frugality of his father and grandfather and their food acquisition methods have become enrooted in his lifestyle, and he continues their tradition of living off the land to reconstruct the past, or, as the author puts it, "to live as if the present were the past" (*MB*, 83):

> From his Depression-era father, Arvo learned to be frugal and hard-working. [. . .] Much of his food came from the land. (*MB*, 84–85)

Despite the changes in society from his grandfather's times and Arvo's distance from the first generation, he replicates their food acquisition methods and tries to be as frugal, independent, and self-reliant as his father and grandfather. The continuity of the Finnish practices in the life of Arvo's family creates a sense of their affinity as Finns, who know how to live off the woods.

These practices set the characters apart from mainstream Americans of Anderson's stories, who either lack the skills of hunters and fishermen or view these activities not as food acquisition methods but as leisure. In an era of supermarkets, those who take pride in their self-sufficiency and outdoor skills and pass on these skills to their children are in sharp contrast with mainstream Americans who are

primarily food-consumers rather than food-producers. The stories contrast different roles and attitudes to hunting and fishing: survival versus recreation. Finnish foragers who could be "frugal with the little they had" (*BMB*, 21) and consider fish and meat from the woods "all free food" (*BMB*, 24) are contrasted with American sportsmen who do not need the catch. In the story "Fishing" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, Heikki's attitude to the catch distances him from mainstream American sport fishermen on TV-shows: "He was horrified that the fishermen on those shows always released their catch. Heikki saw no sense in that. "'If it's big enough to catch, it's big enough to eat,' he said" (*HH*, 54). In "Eddie Maki," the rugged Finnish American backwoodsmen laugh at the city hunters, totally incompetent in the woods:

> The hunters hailed from places like Detroit and Lansing, and they had no intention of actually hunting. They had no knowledge of the country and no bait stands. They stayed up late, playing cards with cronies and drinking beer. [. . .] Eddie, Paavo and other locals gathered to stare at these phony hunters [. . .] Eddie and the others exclaimed over the downstaters' stupidity. "Dumb bastards can't tell a cow from a deer," said Paavo, voicing the town's clichéd wisdom. (*HH*, 18)

Accordingly, the characters' outdoors skills serve as a symbol of their difference from modern mainstream Americans and their culture. On the other hand, the stories emphasize the fact that the migrants' food from nature also constructs the characters' identities as negotiating with both Finland and America. The Finnish American backwoodsmen are close to and compete with famous outdoorsmen who are the real and fictional icons of masculine Americanness. In the story "Hunting Deer" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, Heikki is portrayed as "a real hunter—every bit as daring as Frank Buck or Ernest Hemingway" (*HH*, 28), who sees himself "as a kind of Finnish Natty Bumppo" (*HH*, 27). In this story, eating venison makes the characters no less daring than Daniel Boone, an American pioneer and frontiersman: "I would soon be eating North American big game! Daniel Boone, watch out!" (*HH*, 28). Moreover, the characters consider living off the land and ruggedness so inherently Finnish that they view these iconic Americans as "a kind of Finns." In the story "Heikki" in *Misery Bay*, the protagonist wants to read a book by a Finnish author, and his friend offers him Hemingway's Michigan stories such as "Big Two-Hearted River."[6] There

6 References to Hemingway are abundant in Anderson's fiction. For example, one of his first collections of the short stories is titled *Hunting Hemingway's Trout* (1990) and revolves around people somehow influenced by Hemingway and his literary legacy. In the title story, two young

is no surprise in this choice, as Hemingway frequently visited Michigan himself to enjoy the natural environment, and in his several texts the characters explore the landscapes of the Upper Peninsula, familiar to and inhabited by Finnish Americans. Heikki identifies himself with one of the most iconic American male writers, whose features of strong masculinity and ties to Michigan he shares:

> "He's [Hemingway] a kind of Finn," he said.
>
> "That's not a Finn name," said Heikki.
>
> The professor agreed. "Hemingway has no Finnish blood," he said, "but he acts like a Finn."
>
> Heikki wanted the professor to explain.
>
> "Hemingway loved to hunt and fish, and he was prone to flannel shirts," the professor said. "He had sisu, too. He could be stubborn as hell sometimes—could even punch a guy out if it came to that."
>
> Heikki thought that Hemingway sounded a lot like himself. (*MB*, 17–18)

At the same time, hunting and fishing demonstrate that the characters are in a state of negotiation not only with Finland and the USA, but also with the past and present. Different generations approach their outdoors practices differently, and many of the characters incorporate them into the mainstream culture and turn them into a business, sports or leisure activity, or an eco-friendly lifestyle. On the one hand, the migrants' clinging to the old practices creates a sense of continuity between generations, but, on the other, the reconfiguration of these practices demonstrates the contrast between them. For instance, in the story "Taking the Smartass Fishing" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, Heikki's attitude to fishing is contrasted with the one of his more Americanized nephew whom he invites to fish with him. The nephew's releasing of his catch irritates Heikki as a waste of food: "'That kid's been watching one too many of those fishing shows off Channel Six!' said Heikki, referring to the fact that the nephew then released the trout back in the pool" (*HH*, 64). Heikki "wouldn't fish with the nephew again," as "he wanted that trout for bragging" among his friend, and then for cooking "his favorite dish—a mixture of cubed cooked beets, raw onions, pickled fish, and mayonnaise" (*HH*, 64–65). Later, Heikki finally gets the trout by dynamiting the pond, and thus wins. For him, fishing should be a means of acquiring food, but his nephew considers it a sport and a leisure activity, in accordance to the views of the modern mainstream American culture.

Upper Peninsula Finns in the 1980s try to find Hemingway's fictional Big Two-Hearted River and to relive his fishing experience.

In Anderson's fiction, the migrants also use their inherited outdoors superiority over modern Americans for their profit and turn the ancestors' skills and ideals into a business.

The traditional roles and skills of living off the land can be used to serve the needs of the outside culture, and a survival technique can be transformed into a sports or business activity (Gillespie 1984). The first generation hunted out of necessity, whereas the second- and third-generation migrants hunt not only to provide their families with meat and fish, but also to make money. They commercialize their hunting and sell American nature to Americans who want trophies but who, in the words of one of the characters are "just too damned lazy or incompetent to shoot" on their own (Anderson 2007, 26). In "Dostoevsky's Three Annas" in *Back to Misery Bay*, a story about the life of a Finnish American family in the 1970s, the generational shift in hunting is vividly described. The third-generation characters "poached, just like their fathers, but once they started, they quickly changed the rules" (*BMB*, 25). The youngsters "transformed poaching from a family necessity to a business, a livelihood that, in part, supported their families, but that also paid for their gas and cigarettes and put money in the bank" (*BMB*, 25). On the whole, they have fused together Finnish outdoors skills, American entrepreneurship, and the view of hunting as a sports activity by mainstream American society.

The migrants also reconfigure their inherited practices of living off the land to be their eco-friendly lifestyle and a means of finding harmony as they follow the footsteps of Finnish and American outdoors heroes. For instance, in the story "Isaac Tikkanen" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, a third-generation migrant returning from Vietnam decides to go into the woods and live there independently from civilization in order to find harmony in his life. He has money to live on, but prefers to rely on hunting and fishing. He is inspired by the example of both his Finnish ancestors, the fictional icons of Finnishness such as Väinämöinen, and Henry Thoreau, the American naturalist who lived in the wilderness:

> "I'm going into the woods," said Isaac. "Thoreau did it, and he was sort of the ideal Finn. I want to live my life following his teachings. I want to be like Vainamoinen [sic]. I need to be away from people for a while. I need to find harmony in my life." (*HH*, 125)

The story demonstrates that for Isaac's identity his Finnish and American heritage are equally important, and they are somehow intertwined in manifesting who he is.

On the whole, food from nature, the characters' badge of Finnishness, is simultaneously a mark of Americanness. The migrants who cling to the practices of living off the land are represented as competing with the heroic Americans and hence as being more American than modern Americans. Their values construct their identities in terms of transculturation—being alike both Finnish and American heroes, belonging to both Finland and the United States, incorporating both cultures with no need to choose. The exchange between Finnish and American hunting cultures in the contact zone of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan leads to mutual influence, and the formation of new practices and identities.

Conclusions

In Anderson's stories, the position of food is as significant as in many other multi-ethnic literatures of the USA such as African American, Asian American, or Italian American, which are filled with the language of food (Gardaphe and Xu 2007, 5). The migrants use food to explore their Finnish cultural heritage. The familiar eating practices mark the Finnish settlers' common ancestry and connect them with their past. Foodways invoke nostalgic memories and function as the ground on which to construct a common Finnish identity in the new home country. The characters use their foodways to manifest their ethnic sameness and difference from Americans, seek to unite different generations through eating, and express their Finnishness in terms of affinity with nature by living off the land. However, like any food culture and national food, their cuisine is in a process of continuous transformation. Among the characters, the notion of "authentic" and "original" Finnish foods is under constant redefinition. As the stories often use humor and parody in the portrayal of the migrants' diaspora, they are not aimed at realist representation and instead revise conventional understanding of Finnish Americanness. The migrants' "authentic" practices are often parodied, exaggerated, and even mocked to demonstrate that there is no such thing as fixed and unchangeable Finnish foodways—nor Finnishness itself. Despite the fact that the characters seek to reaffirm their Finnish identity, they and their Finnishness become more and more Americanized.

With the help of my theoretical framework of Douglas's, Isajiw's, and Sutton's notions of food and identity as well as Pratt's theory of transculturation, I have demonstrated that the migrants construct their identities as transcultural. They invent new foods and practices that allow them both to use their past Finnish heritage and to come to terms with their modern American environment. The migrants

construct not Finnish or American identity, but combine the third kind of identity in the American context. The new transcultural form of identity draws on belonging to both Finland and the USA, and selecting, incorporating, and creatively fusing elements of both Finnish and American cultures. On the whole, the characters have kept their heritage but have adapted it to the Upper Peninsula, the place for contact, transformation, and cultural exchange. The migrants are both influenced by the USA and influence their new home in turn by forming a new Upper Peninsula (or Yooper) Finnish American culture and a strong regional identity. As the culture (including of course the food culture) and identity of the USA are mosaic, the migrants use their food practices to find their place in already multifaceted American society and become a patch in the mosaic of the United States—among Irish Americans, Italian American, Jewish American, and many others.

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II

LANGUAGES IN CONSTRUCTING "AMERICAN PLUS FINNISH" TRANSCULTURAL IDENTITY IN PATRICIA EILOLA'S FEMALE IMMIGRANT NOVELS OF FORMATION

by

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Languages in Constructing "American Plus Finnish" Transcultural Identity in Patricia Eilola's Female Immigrant Novels of Formation[1]

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Introduction

Patricia Eilola's novels of formation, *A Finntown of the Heart* (1998; hereafter *AFH* in references) and *A Finntown of the Soul* (2008; hereafter *AFS* in references), emphasize the central role of languages in the process of identification of the young second-generation Finnish immigrant protagonist Ilmi Marianna/Marion. She negotiates her identity between the pressure of the mainstream American society to speak English and her Finnish-speaking family and ethnic community. Throughout the novels, she is portrayed as using her languages to position herself in her two different worlds. This article claims that the process of Ilmi's identification can be addressed with the help of the notion of transculturation as developed by Mary Louise Pratt (1992). According to Pratt (1992, 6-7), transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone, which is a space where cultures geographically separated intersect and interact with each other, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. This interaction between a dominant culture and a subordinated one results in mutual cultural influence. While the subordinated groups cannot control what emanates from the dominant culture, they can select what they incorporate into their own and what they use it for (Pratt 1992, 6). Ilmi lives in such a contact zone as she interacts with

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the mainstream American society and is both transformed by it and transforms it. This article demonstrates how this transculturation produces a new identity for the protagonist. Ilmi does not want to be a powerless migrant and seeks to become an American citizen. She does not embrace wholesale Americanization and resolves her identity conflict by constructing an empowering transcultural identity, both American and Finnish. I will approach her identity with the help of Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch's (2003) concept of "American Plus". The "American Plus" identity is an ethnic identification of those people who are secure in their American identity and do not need to "prove" it (Österlund-Pötzsch 2003, 224). "American" is the foundation for ethnic identity, to which the ancestral ethnic heritage is added as a positive "plus" (Österlund-Pötzsch 2003, 224-5). This article will analyze how Ilmi uses her languages and such language-related aspects as accent and naming to negotiate an "American Plus Finnish" identity in her dynamic relationship with her family, ethnic community, and the mainstream American society. Eilola's novels modify the concept of "American Plus" since Österlund-Pötzsch applies it to the descendants of immigrants, but my analysis demonstrates that it can be equally applied to the immigrant younger generation (born in the new country or arriving there very early in their life) like Ilmi, who is both an immigrant and not. She was born in the new country, but is still considered alien by the mainstream society as she has grown up in her ethnic community surrounded by Finnishness from her first days. So, it takes her time and considerable efforts to become secure in her American identity before she can add a positive Finnish "plus" to it.

I draw on Frances Giampapa's (2001) notion of the role of language in ethnic identity as well as Walt Wolfram's and Natalie Schilling-Estes' (1998) theory of the role of language in status, and William Labov (1966, 1972), Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge's (2006) concept of a connection between language, identity and power. According to Giampapa (2001, 281), ethnic identity is a socially constructed act (always in negotiation) describing one's relationship to the world. With the help of languages, language choices, and linguistic practices speakers can

negotiate their identities in order to position themselves in a particular way across/within multiple worlds and discourse sites (Giampapa 2001, 279-81; 284). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006, 15) add that languages and identities are embedded within relations of power. The linguistic ideology of a society may regard speakers of official languages or standard varieties as having more worth than speakers of unofficial languages or non-standard varieties (Labov 1966, 1972; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2006, 15). For instance, Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes (1998, 151) highlight a particularly important position of language and language-related aspects in the USA where the association of language variation with social status and ethnic identity plays a significant role. According to them, "[o]n the basis of status differences, speakers may be judged on capabilities ranging from innate intelligence to employability and on personal attributes ranging from sense of humor to morality" (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998, 151). There are both socially prestigious and socially stigmatized variants of speaking which function as linguistic markers of high- or low-status groups (Wolfram and Estes 1998, 158). Therefore, in a multilingual setting, language choices and attitudes are inseparably connected with relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' view of their own and others' identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2006, 1).

These theories are relevant in the analysis of Eilola's novels, which emphasize the influence of the mainstream society's ideology of Americanization on Ilmi's identification. She lives in a society that values English more than the languages of the newcomers who are encouraged to Americanize and identify themselves with their new country, whereas the immigrants' ethnic mother tongues and even accents are stigmatized or at least frowned upon as linguistic markers of low status. Thus, for Ilmi, it is important what language she speaks in different settings and also how she speaks her English. Her interactions with Finnish and English can be addressed in terms of codeswitching and language choice which convey the sense of her dual Finnish American identity. For instance, Helena Halmari (2014), in her analysis of

codeswitching patterns of young Finnish American bilinguals demonstrates how they can switch between their languages in different situations to communicate their strong Finnish identity and to highlight the degree of their acculturation into the American way of life. Ilmi switches between her languages (although mostly not within the same speech situation) in pursuit of better status in the mainstream society and her ethnic community. This phenomenon is described by Agnes Bolonyai (2005), who points out how young bilingual immigrant girls manage relations of power and status through their language choice to establish a superior identity in conversation. Given the importance of her new language as a marker of the high-status group, the process of Ilmi's acquiring English can also be approached with the help of the concepts of linguistic acculturation and assimilation. According to Schumann (1986, 379), acculturation is the social and psychological integration of the second-language learner with the target language group. The learner may regard the target language speakers as a reference group whose life style and values they want to adopt (Schuman 1986, 380) which is the case with Ilmi's aspiration to learn English in order to become an American. Her desire to identify herself with the English-speaking mainstream society can be approached in terms of assimilation: the second-language learning group's giving up their own life style and values in favor of those of the target language group (Schumann 1986: 381). However, she later chooses what Schumann (1986: 381) defines as adaptation strategy: adapting to the life style and values of the target language group, but maintaining the life style and values of her own language group for intragroup use.

The author, Patricia Eilola, is a third-generation Finnish-American from Proctor, Minnesota, and a former lecturer in English language and literature at Duluth's East High School. She has published four novels about Finnish-Americans. *A Finntown of the Heart* and *A Finntown of the Soul* are a fictionalized biography[2] of the author's mother, Ilmi Marianna Brosi/Marion

[2] Life-writing is popular among different migrant groups in the USA. Since the 1980s, it has become an important genre in Finnish-American literature (Kauppila and Wargelin 2005, 742).

Brosi, a Canadian-born daughter of Finnish migrants, told in the first person. Ilmi is both the protagonist and the narrator telling the memories of her life retrospectively. The books describe her childhood and youth in Minnesota, one of the centers of Finnish concentration, in the 1920s and early 1930s. *A Finntown of the Heart* focuses on Ilmi's hardships and achievements in the new country after her family's (Ilmi, her parents and her younger sister Lillian/Margie) arrival from Canada to the USA. She immediately discovers that her mother tongue is "gibberish" for Americans, and associates it with her powerlessness as a voiceless[3] immigrant. To get away from the linguistic isolation of her ethnic community, a Finntown, Ilmi actively learns English and quickly becomes a fluent bilingual who can easily cross back and forth over the border between the Finntown and the mainstream American society. Her English teacher also convinces Ilmi Marianna to Americanize her name to Marion[4] but in fact, the protagonist grows up with both names. In *A Finntown of the Soul*, the main character grows into womanhood. She continues to learn English, graduates from high school, becomes a teacher, and comes to understand herself as an "American Plus Finnish".

Ilmi's story has strong parallels with *Letters from an Immigrant Teenager: Letters from Varpu in Canada to Kaisa in Finland, 1963–65* (2012) by the distinguished Finnish Canadian scholar Varpu Lindström. Both texts address the experiences of a young Finnish immigrant in the new alien environment, her (linguistic) isolation and the hard process of overcoming it, a painful feeling of being torn apart by the life between two languages and a teenager's existential anguish - all told from the perspective of a girl growing up. However, Eilola's novels are remarkable because, unlike Lindström's book and many similar immigrant fiction and non-fiction, the protagonist/narrator is in fact a native-born American (born in Canada and raised in the USA). She

[3] In *Debating Diversity: Analysing the Discourse of Tolerance*, Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren (2002: 111) use the term "voiceless migrant" to describe the experiences of those migrants, who are denied the means to express their opinions by the dominant society.

[4] The change of personal names to conform to the new country was a common practice among Finnish-American migrants (Uschanov, Björklund and Korkiasaari 2013, 15).

belongs to the USA by birthright, as it is revealed in the second novel that Ilmi's biological father was an American. As a result, there are some factors in the process of Ilmi's identity-formation which differ from other ethnic immigrant stories in which central characters “remake” themselves from the old-country identity in their new country. In contrast with them, Ilmi does not have any experience of living in Finland as having been born to a Finnish mother, she only knows her Finnish self through her displaced immigrant family's experiences of the new country and their memories of the home country.

The titles of the novels can be interpreted as accentuating Ilmi’s transcultural identity and revealing the role of languages in her identification. Firstly, as the titles suggest, much of the action takes place in various urban and rural Finntowns. The Finntowns comprising various Finnish-speaking ethnic institutions and activities were a prominent phenomenon in the social and cultural lives of the Finnish immigrants (Koivukangas 2004, 1). Learning English there might not have been even necessary (Leinonen 2014, 288). The Finntowns also functioned as the migrants’ gateway to the USA by providing language mediation through the services of translators and intermediaries. Throughout the novels, Ilmi herself seeks to be such a mediator between two worlds. Secondly, the titles suggest that for Ilmi, a Finntown can be something inner and hidden, a feeling rather than an actual ethnic community. Her Finnishness is portrayed as being in her heart and soul, unbeknown and invisible to the mainstream American society but still always present in Ilmi’s life. This is in line with Österlund-Pötzsch’s concept of “American Plus” identity. Although ethnic heritage does not necessarily permeate everyday life, the “American Plus” identity “is at times characterized by a feeling or a knowledge which, when needed or wished for, is brought to the fore” (Österlund-Pötzsch 2003, 224-6). Thus, the titles can be interpreted as indicating Ilmi’s position between two worlds and her experiences of living with a mixture of inner Finnishness and more prominent and noticeable external Americanness.

The novels can be addressed as ethnic novels of formation or *Bildungsroman* since they concentrate on Ilmi's growth: she learns, matures, and finds her place in the new country. They can be seen as an example of what Rosemary Marangoly George (1998, 135) describes as weaving the "coming-to-America narrative" into the coming-of-age plot. They are also in line with what Stella Bolaki (2011, 94) writes about the ethnic Bildungsroman as they dramatize the protagonist's "constant 'border crossings' and negotiation of belonging in distinct territories". Eilola's novels are also a language learning biography, as acquiring the new language is intertwined with Ilmi's growth. She does not know any English at the beginning, learns it throughout the novels and finally masters it to the point of even thinking in English and becoming an English teacher herself. The plot is reminiscent of the archetypal American trope of the "self-made-person": Ilmi overcomes various difficulties by her own efforts and becomes "a master [sic] of her fate" and "a captain of her soul"[5] (*AFS* 266). The novels also utilize the trope of "becoming American" which has been popular in American ethnic life-writing and novels of formation. In the early 20th century, books such as Jacob Riis's *The Making of an American* (1901), Edward Steiner's *From Alien to Citizen* (1914), and Marcus Ravage's *An American in the Making* (1917) portray learning English as an idealized successful process facilitating the transformation of immigrants into "self-made" Americans (Pavlenko 2006, 36-41; 50-54). More recent immigrant life-writings such as Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1989), Sandra Cisneros' *The House on Mango Street* (1984), and Meena Alexander's *Fault Lines: A Memoir* (1993) offer a more nuanced view by focusing on the role of languages in the shaping and reshaping of the immigrants' multiple identities, and the contradictions and painful experiences of this process (Seyhan 2001, 88; Pavlenko 2006, 61-3). Eilola's novels, written by a contemporary author and told from the perspective of the immigrant protagonist in the 1920s and 1930s, are a combination of these approaches to languages. On the one hand, Ilmi whole-heartedly craves for Americanization and seeks to be "made over" and to

[5] This is a reference to the poem *Invictus* by William Ernest Henley (1875).

"claim America" by learning and speaking English. On the other hand, the novels highlight her experiences (often painful) in shaping and reshaping her identity with the help of languages.

According to Rocio Davis and Alicia Otano, the figure of the child and the child's perspective of presenting a story recur in postcolonial and migration literature that deals with a meeting of two worlds, between-world characters, and the experiences of adaptation and learning in a new environment (Davis 2001, 200; Davis 1999, 139-40; Otano 2001, 61). Children who are in the process of formation grow up between the cultures (as well as the languages) of the old country (in their family, ethnic neighborhood) and of their new country, and negotiate their identities with both affiliations. Immigrant children also recognize the role of language as a powerful ethnic and social marker as they are aware that different groups require and accept different forms of speaking (Otano 2004, 219). Thus, the novels by Eilola are similar in many ways to other coming-of-age novels dealing with the protagonists' (linguistic) experiences in the new country such as Julia Alvarez's *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991), Lois-Ann Yamanaka's *Wild Meat and the Bully Burgers* (1996), and Jean Kwok's *Girl in Translation* (2010). Like them, Eilola's novels illustrate the younger immigrant generation's identity conflicts, power struggles, generational gap, and dual life caused by growing up in two languages.

As Finns in America in the late 19th and early 20th century had difficulties learning English and their linguistic isolation made them cluster together, the topic of languages recurs in Finnish-American literature, especially in life-writings and coming-of-age novels[6]. However, there are not many studies on this topic. Raija Taramaa's dissertation *Stubborn and Silent Finns With 'Sisu' In Finnish-American Literature* (2007) briefly addresses the roles of languages in fiction and non-

[6] The examples which highlight the role of languages in the immigrant children's and adolescents' identification in the USA include but are not limited to *Helmi Mavis: A Finnish-American Girlhood* (1989) by Mavis Hiltunen Biesanz, "On the Road to Rock: A Search for Identity" (1989) by Paula Erkkila, and *Growing Up Soggy* (1995) by Mary Caraker. Such autobiographies as *Under the Northern Lights* (1994) by Nelma Sillanpää and *The Finnish Baker's Daughters* (1986) by Aili Grönlund Schneider also offer a Finnish Canadian perspective on the similar experiences of Finnish girls growing up in the new English-speaking environment.

fiction, while K. Marianne Wargelin's article "Speaking the Lost Language: The Multi-Media Poetry of Marlene Ekola Gerberick" (2007) analyzes the impact of languages on identity as portrayed in poetry. Nevertheless, the process of identification through languages in the context of Finnish-American literature has not been approached from the perspective of transculturation so far, nor have the novels by Eilola been studied either. These texts are interesting subjects for research into the literature by Finnish-Americans as the novels blur boundaries between fiction and non-fiction since they are based on Eilola's mother's reminiscences, family legends and the history of Minnesota and the local Finnish community as seen through the lens of the writer's imagination. Moreover, the novels with a strong female figure as protagonist and a particular focus on the experiences of Finnish American women offer a rare perspective on Finnish immigrant history.

Finnish and English in Negotiating Ilmi's Identity as Transcultural "American Plus"

In the novels, Finnish and English stand side by side in the process of Ilmi's self-formation but have different status. On the one hand, Eilola accentuates the role of mastering English in developing Ilmi's sense of self. According to Azade Seyhan (2001, 88), in the writings of exile and diaspora the new language is the most distinct marker of cherished public identity in the new culture, and the mastery of this language is portrayed as giving the immigrants visibility and power. Eilola highlights Ilmi's experiences of double oppression as an immigrant and as a woman, and her seeing the English language as the means of empowerment. By acquiring and speaking fluent English, she resists being positioned as an immigrant by the mainstream American society and seeks to position herself as Americanized instead. Ilmi's new language also empowers her to be independent of the gender role prescribed for her by the old-country culture of her abusive father and other Finnish American men. Consequently, she is portrayed as valuing "richly beautiful" English (*AFH* 45) over her mother tongue and preferring to speak English whenever and wherever

it is possible. On the other hand, Ilmi's mother tongue also holds a prominent position in her life. To illustrate this, there are Finnish and dialectal American Finnish[7] words and expressions (sometimes translated or explained by Eilola and sometimes not) in the texts. Thus, the novels can be seen as language-mixed writings as they make Ilmi's Finnish voice be heard through the inclusion of these words in otherwise English texts but at the same time accentuate her position between languages. According to Cecilia Montes-Alcala (2007, 77; 80-1) and Lourdes Torres (2007, 76), this code-switching in ethnic literature is a stylistic device which is used to communicate the discourse of the border and the bilingual and bicultural background of the characters and atmosphere of the narration. Although the novels highlight Ilmi's initial desire to leave Finnish behind, she gradually begins to see it as a new opportunity as she grows up. This coexistence of two languages illustrates the in-between position of Ilmi and accentuates the pressures from both sides that she experiences in her self-formation.

The first novel opens with a prologue that sets the tone for Ilmi's further experiences with languages. This introduction positions English and Finnish as central in the process of Ilmi's growth, self-formation, and empowerment. The protagonist narrates in retrospect (years afterwards) her first encounter with the new language in her childhood, and its effect on her identity when the six-year-old Ilmi and her family leave their Finntown in Canada and move to the USA. Ilmi is shocked to find out that without English they cannot speak with a Canadian ticket master and are looked down upon as "the less" (*AFH*, x). This encounter accentuates the asymmetrical relations of power between the immigrants and the dominant society as the newcomers' speechlessness makes them and their ethnic language completely powerless in a new alien world: "we could no longer rely on or trust in those [Finnish] words. They had lost their power, and in

[7] In this article, American Finnish means a new dialect produced by Finnish migrants in North America. For more information, see *Specimens of American Finnish: A Field Study of Linguistic Behavior* (1976) by Siiri Sahlman-Karlsson, "Finskan i Amerika" ["Finnish in America"] (1971) by Pertti Virtaranta and *Amerikansuomi* [American Finnish] (1993) by Virtaranta et al.

their lea we too drifted, helpless" (*AFH*, x). Eilola also highlights the empowering potential of English when Ilmi for the first time speaks it (in fact, by mimicking the words she has just heard) with the ticket masters. She not only gets relative control over the situation, but also unintentionally positions herself in a more positive way as she is both praised for her "ability" to speak English and distinguished from her speechless family by the ticket masters (*AFH*, viii-x). Eilola emphasizes the moment of Ilmi's realization that English is a "key to her own power" (*AFH*, vii) as a turning point in her life. English can be seen as promising her the American dream of becoming a new person through her own efforts in the new country. Although Ilmi cannot control where her family moves, she at least sets a destination for her own inner journey of growth and self-formation: "I had identified where *I* wanted to go: to the land of the literate. An English land" (*AFH*, xii, original italics). The topic of a journey is highlighted in both novels and can be approached as a symbol of Ilmi's *Bildung*: the journey between places, childhood and maturity, languages, and identities.

This travel can be also addressed as a metaphor of Ilmi's being in a contact zone, since she is portrayed as being constantly on the move between her family, ethnic community, and the mainstream American society as she encounters and interacts with them, leaves and returns, and constructs herself in this space of in-betweenness. According to Pratt (1992, 6), a "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects of an encounter are constituted in and by their relations to each other. In and by her relations with her family, Finntown and the mainstream America Ilmi invents and reinvents herself. As an immigrant child arriving to the new country, Ilmi is presented at the beginning as a tabula rasa, a blank page that she gradually fills up little by little. With the help of the topic of languages Eilola illustrates the tragedy of the younger immigrant generation which is in-between, neither here nor there, and may feel nowhere at home. Ilmi was born in Canada, moves to the USA but initially speaks only the language of the old country she has never seen. She settles in a Finntown but is contrasted with adult Finns clinging to this familiar Finnish-

speaking space as she does not feel at home there because of its linguistic isolation. Eilola accentuates Ilmi's sense of having no place in America because of her language problems or, in the narrator's own words, a feeling of non-fitting in anywhere, "not into this new country with its bewildering though richly beautiful language, […] certainly not into the circle of Finnish family and friends" (*AFH*, 45). Her desire is "to move out of their narrow boundaries into the great world, the English-speaking world, where my words could earn me position and power" (*AFH*, 45). She is portrayed as trying to define her place and to make something of herself with the help of her languages.

Initially Ilmi embraces the language ideology of Americanization which is promoted by her school system. As the novels are primarily set in small communities full of different immigrant groups, school (and later high school) is presented as the most important part of American society in Ilmi's life. School promotes the ideal of becoming an American through speaking English and discarding the immigrants' heritage such as ethnic languages (the so-called "Speak English" campaigns). Ilmi values education and puts particular emphasis on acquiring English as soon as possible. According to Carola and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco (2002, 103), for the children of immigrants in the USA learning to speak English is not only a way of communicating, but also becomes an important symbolic act of identifying with the dominant culture. Ilmi is portrayed as internalizing the promise of America and the American dream of being made over as she sees her school as "the source of inner change" (*AFS*, 68) and hopes to become a new self-made person by learning English: "so that I who took every word of my class work seriously was gradually turning into an American. Becoming an American, speaking English, doing what Americans do had always been immeasurably important to me" (*AFS*, 68). The new language signifies a new identity for her as by speaking English she seeks to position herself not as an immigrant but as already Americanized. In Blackledge's (2006, 73) words, the immigrants in the USA have often been expected to replace the traits that make them different with those characteristics (such as English)

which make them appear more "American." Giving up the mother tongue to acquire the language of the dominant group is a symbolic act of ethnic renunciation (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995, 73). Although Ilmi does not give up Finnish completely, she is portrayed as positioning herself by willingly limiting the use of her immigrant language. She whole-heartedly supports the school "Speak English" campaign (*AFH*, 21) and starts her own campaign outside school with her like-minded Finnish friends (*AFH*, 73; *AFS*, 13). By doing so, she seeks to show her loyalty to America and to distance herself from the Finntown and her immigrant heritage.

Ilmi's relations with her family accentuate the tensions and identity conflicts that Ilmi experiences in her attempt to become such an ideal model of an American that is promoted by the mainstream society. Jopi Nyman (2009, 115) points out that the family often plays the role of nation in literary representations. Ilmi's relationship with her family can be approached as her relationship with the old country and its heritage. Since her family mostly does not speak English, Ilmi experiences what James Vigil (1988, 41) defines as "language inconsistency at home and school", and consequently cultural inconsistency caused by it. The novels emphasize that in her in-between space Ilmi is torn between affection to her Finnish family and the school ideology of Americanization, between speaking and feeling Finnish and American (as Ilmi understands it). This is illustrated in the episode when she sings a Finnish song together with her family: "I knew I should be translating […] into English, as prescribed by the […] "Speak English" campaign. But […] I could not think in English. The beauty of the music was intrinsically Finnish, and it made me proud to be, too". (*AFH*, 17). She recognizes that she "lapses" into Finnish when it comes to Finnish songs which "often lost something in translation" (*AFH*, 22), and considers this a shameful violation of her loyalty to the "Speak English" campaign and feels guilty (*AFH*, 23). This moment can be considered as Ilmi's identity conflict. She "fails" to position herself as an American and doubts that she is Americanized enough. Although Ilmi is partly ashamed of it, she realizes that she still belongs to the old country and appreciates her ethnic solidarity with her family. This stands

in sharp contrast to Ilmi's earlier naïve dream of making out of herself a new person, a one hundred percent "American" by leaving her heritage behind.

The novels illustrate how Ilmi eventually resolves this kind of identity conflict by recognizing the potential of Finnish in her self-formation. She moves from public Finnishness as a source of shame (speaking the low-status ethnic language) to such acts of public Finnishness, which can be seen as socially acceptable by the mainstream society. This can be exemplified first by the protagonist's invitation of her English teacher, Miss Loney, who is Ilmi's American role model and "idol" (*AFS*, 232), to a Finnish[8] coffee party with her family, where *pulla* (Finnish coffee bread) is served, as a gesture of gratitude for the teacher's role in her Americanization (*AFH*, 24-6). Besides songs, food names are the most prominent Finnish and dialectal American Finnish words[9] in the novels and can seen as what Montes-Alcala (2012, 75; 77) calls "culturally-charged items" carrying special cultural connotations. According to Anu Karjalainen (2012; 2016), material objects such as food can be positive material extensions of the Finnish language which help the Finnish Americans experience their heritage and make daily experiences with Finnish visible. Österlund-Pötzsch (2003, 124) also points out how language competence is connected with ethnic foodways for the immigrants in the USA: even those US-born generations, who do not know their ethnic language, still know their ethnic food names. The coffee party, where *pulla*, which is "the epitome of all that was special about Finnish cooking" (*AFH*, 25) for Ilmi and the only ethnic food with a Finnish name in this situation, is served alongside with more Anglo-American cookies, pound cake and chocolate cake, highlights Ilmi's position in-between two cultures and languages in a positive way. *Pulla* can be seen as her way of making her ethnicity and language pleasant and palatable for mainstream Americans, and presenting it in such a way that even her assimilationist-

[8] Pia Lane (2009) in her analysis of Finnish Canadians highlights the symbolic value and social meaning of material items referred to as "Finn" for the identities of Finnish Canadians. In Eilola's novels, it is a Finnish coffee-party and Finnish foods that are important for Ilmi.

[9] According to Davide Girardelli (2004, 314-5), the language strategy of using the original food names is powerful in ethnicizing foods and adding an exotic flavor to them.

oriented teacher likes. The party is enjoyed both by Ilmi, her mother arranging it, and Miss Loney, which can be seen as Ilmi's starting to close the gap between her Finnish and American worlds and to enjoy her ability to be in both, here and there. The act of sharing Finnish ethnic foods is Ilmi's way to make her ethnicity be positively recognized by the mainstream society, and given that eating ethnic food is participating in the culture, Miss Loney's reaction is a sign of at least somehow accepting her pupil's Finnishness.

Later Ilmi gets older and moves to a new school, where her new teacher, Miss Heino, a Finnish American herself, does not "demean" the pupils' Finnish heritage (*AFS*, 68) although she still puts an emphasis on their Americanization. Ilmi continues her eventual acquiring a more balanced attitude to her Finnishness. Instead of seeing her heritage as an obstacle to her Americanization, Ilmi is portrayed as seeing it as her strength that gives her more opportunities than to an average American. Her in-between position and two languages now enable the protagonist to move freely between the two worlds and finally feel at home in both. This is exemplified by another food-related episode when Ilmi enjoys her being "here and there" when her worlds overlap at the Christmas celebration for the pupils and their families in her American school:

> Because the school board had decreed that the schools of the Unorganized Territory were to present their programs only in English, the story was told as much in pantomime as in words, for few of the adults spoke English. But I will never forget the sense of belonging as the curtains were pulled back and we all drank hot coffee, ate homemade Finnish *limpaa* [my translation: bread], lighted the tallow candles on the balsam tree, and sang the Christmas carols Miss Heino had taught us (*AFS*, 42, original italics).

Yet again Finnish food is involved in helping Ilmi to enjoy a comfortable moment of her two sides and her two worlds coming together peacefully. It functions as what Karjalainen (2016, 156) defines as a personally important and culturally significant object allowing Ilmi to position herself "in some way more different than 'just' an American". The coffee party and the Christmas pageant can be approached as signifying a gradual deep transformation in Ilmi's identification. In contrast with her earlier sense of being outside her two worlds, now she finds belongingness. In doing so, Ilmi can be seen as finding in her languages the power to resist the mainstream ideology of wholesale Americanization as she identifies with her new country and feels herself belonging to it without discarding her ethnic heritage. She negotiates a path between the mainstream American society and her Finnish background. Yet she does so in the way that does not counteract the assimilationist (language) policy by using the "safe" acts of expressing Finnishness such as eating Finnish foods rather than speaking Finnish in public. Ilmi's Finnishness can be seen as symbolic. In Herbert Gans' (1979, 9; 1992, 44) words, symbolic ethnicity can be characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation which can be felt without incorporation in everyday life but expressed through consumption of ethnic symbols, the practices retained from the older ethnic culture but "abstracted" from it. For Ilmi, Finnish food becomes such an ethnic symbol of Finnishness.

The novels emphasize that in Ilmi's identification Americanness comes first for her. Although she comes to appreciate her mother tongue, she is portrayed as still moving persistently to "the English land" of her dreams. When she masters English, a linguistic marker of high-status group, her proud understanding that she has even begun "to think in correct though somewhat stilted English" (*AFS*, 4) can be seen as signifying that Ilmi is now secure in her Americanization. Although Ilmi's mother tongue is important for her, it plays a less prominent role in her daily life than English. This is illustrated in the episode when Ilmi listens to her mother speaking Finnish, and Eilola describes her feelings as follows: "I don't know why what she [mother] said always

sounded better that way. […] It made me wish that in my wholehearted desire to learn English I had not let my Finnish lapse" (*AFS*, 257)[10]. Although she regrets this "lapsing", yet she recognizes it as a part of her growth in the USA. As Österlund-Pötzsch (2003, 224-6) writes about the identity of "American Plus", ethnic traditions and expressions such as language are seen as heritage that does not necessarily permeate everyday life. Ilmi's speaking the language of her new country better than the mother tongue (but still being able to speak Finnish) can be seen as a signal of her identifying herself as an "American Plus Finnish" rather than a Finnish American.

Negotiating her identity as "American Plus" also empowers Ilmi in terms of gender and class. By becoming an American with additional advantages (such as being able to mediate between two worlds as a bilingual), she seeks a better position that is given to her as a female and as an immigrant by both the mainstream society and her ethnic community. Without English the immigrant women are mostly either confined to hard and low-paid jobs such as maids or to the dependent role of housewives. Ilmi is portrayed as not fitting into the traditional model of (immigrant) womanhood as she is "inept with many of the basic womanly tasks" and asks questions "instead of keeping still as a woman should" (*AFS*, 121). She seeks to use her ability to be both Finnish and American for her better self-actualization as a mediator between two worlds, a teacher or an interpreter, to make use of her Finnish background "to help others become Americanized" (*AFS*, 120). The empowering potential of "American Plus" is most prominently illustrated in the episode when Ilmi's American values of personal achievement and independent individualism clash with the old-country values of woman's domestic role embraced by her father and some other Finnish men. When Ilmi's family has financial problems, her irresponsible father and another Finnish American, Mr. Aro, arrange her marriage to Mr. Aro's son, whom she despises (*AFS*, 141). She rebels against the role of a farmer's wife, refuses the marriage and sees her

[10] In Lindström's (2012, 55; 111) book, the teenager immigrant narrator expresses similar concern about the weakening of her Finnish in the new English-speaking environment.

languages, education and a language-related job as her tools of self-emancipation. By persevering to achieve her American dream, Ilmi is portrayed as wanting to "win over" her father: "I remembered Pa and swore to show him that I could do it. I could become an interpreter or a teacher. […] I would make my own success" (*AFS*, 213). When she eventually becomes a teacher in a rural school for immigrant children, this can be seen as her "victory" over the old-country (as well as the new country) gender role as she becomes not only an independent self-made woman, "the master of her fate, the captain of her soul" (*AFS*, 266) but also more successful than her father and many other male immigrants.

By using both her languages to claim a position in the new country for herself, Ilmi challenges the mainstream ideal of becoming a new person by discarding the immigrant heritage. Instead, Ilmi's heritage helps her find her place in the USA, and she rewrites the American dream by demonstrating that it is possible to identify herself as both American and Finnish by having both languages in her life. To use Österlund-Pötzsch's words (2003, 225), Ilmi has all the advantages of being an American citizen, plus the advantages given by her ethnic identity. However, unlike in Österlund-Pötzsch's concept dealing with the situation in the today's USA allowing difference and diversity, Ilmi has to be very careful in expressing her Finnishness in order not to contradict the (linguistic) policy of Americanization. So, her Finnishness is symbolic and mostly expressed through the hidden way such as consuming ethnic symbols and material extensions of the Finnish language rather than through the "loud" way of speaking the language itself.

The Role of Accent in Negotiating the Protagonist's "American Plus" Identity

Eilola's novels also pay a great deal of attention to the role of Ilmi's Finnish accent in negotiating her identity. Manuela Matas Llorente (2001, 69) considers accents as constituting "undeniable marks of a person's belonging to and simultaneously being estranged from a given cultural and

value system". According to her, the accent in immigrants' speech "often contributes to delimit their place in the realm of America's cultural displacement" (Matas Llorente 2001, 69). Like in the case with her languages, Ilmi's relations with her accent illustrate her desire to reinvent herself and to become a new person in America. The novels emphasize that by trying hard to eliminate the "immigrant" accent Ilmi seeks to position herself and to be positioned by others on her own terms. She is portrayed as managing to hide her Finnish accent successfully but failing to erase it altogether, which can be interpreted as a marker of her "American Plus" identity, Americanness with a hidden ancestral ethnic "plus".

For Ilmi's identification it is an important question not only of whether she speaks English but also of how she wants to sound in English. She is influenced by the mainstream language ideology, which considers ethnic-minority accents to be something inferior. In the new country, Ilmi quickly becomes aware of her Finnish accent. Like an ethnic language, it signifies a distance between the settlers and mainstream Americans as well as her fantasy of America. Along with Finnish the accent functions as a label of her otherness and constantly reminds her that she does not belong to America: "every time we opened our mouths, we confirmed the fact that we were not Canadians and certainly not Americans. We were Finns" (*AFH*, x). Ilmi is portrayed as quickly recognizing the potential of accent in making herself anew. According to Alene Moyer (2013, 62), "[a]ccent, as an essential aspect of our identity, can be the site of resistance when we do not wish to yield our established sense of self, or it can be the gateway to integration into another culture." For Ilmi, accent is also the site of resistance when she resists her established identity as an immigrant since she does not want to be positioned as one. Her attempts to eliminate her Finnish accent and to sound native can be connected with the process of her empowerment as she wants to make her own choices how to position herself. When she is fluent in English, she also begins to work on her accent to make her linguistic outward appearance fit her new image as Americanized. Her own "Speak English" campaign accentuates her desire to show her loyalty to the mainstream

society by the "purity" of her English while the Finnish accent is presented as a dangerous social stigma that can betray Ilmi as "un-American": "Not only did we honor English, we tried to enunciate clearly in order to eliminate even the brogue, the Finnish lilt that lurked insidiously on the fringes of words, the borders of sentences" (*AFH*, 73). Throughout the novels Ilmi seeks to gain greater exposure to English not only to speak it better but also to erase her ethnic accent in order to manifest her Americanness and hide her Finnishness.

Accent is also actively involved in the process of Ilmi's self-making in terms of class. As Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 158-9) point out, in the USA differences in speaking English can be correlated with socio-economic differences, and positively valued linguistic forms are associated with a high-status social group and carry overt prestige and recognition for a speaker. As English is her key to a better future, Ilmi sees the Finnish accent as a possible obstacle to her self-actualization. Moreover, as she associates native-accented English with the upper class and refined lifestyle, the Finnish accent is seen as a marker of the immigrants' confinement to the lower classes and a hard life. Ilmi wants to negotiate her identity as American by wishing to speak English fluently and to sound like the upper class. Her attempts to erase or to hide her ethnic accent and to sound native signify her identification with those who are successful as she also seeks to make her own success and models her speech on them. After working for bed and board in her high school principal's American family, Ilmi is presented as desiring to model herself on them also in terms of speaking:

> [T]hey introduced me to a…different way of life. I don't want to speak English with a Finnish accent. I want to earn enough money so that I can buy a house with a living room and dining room. […] I want to speak better English, how to live more … graciously, how to entertain… with poise and dignity. […] I belonged to the class of people who ate

> in the kitchen, not in the dining room. I'd like to be able to speak correctly and have a lovely home, too (*AFS*, 280-1).

In the novels, accent is connected with Ilmi's dream of becoming a self-made American. As native speakers have higher status than immigrants, the American accent also has a higher status for Ilmi, who associates it with cultured, successful and educated Americans. By erasing her Finnish accent Ilmi distances herself from her ethnic community's way of life where most immigrants cannot afford education and have to struggle daily for survival. It is not only that native-accented English brings better opportunities in employment but it is also a distinctive marker of the class to which Ilmi wants to belong. For her, a prestigious native accent is a status thing, a way of showing her formal education, which is seen as "a benchmark in [...] Americanization" (*AFS*, 39) by the characters, her wide reading and extensive social contacts beyond her Finnish world.

The eventual changes in how Ilmi sounds in English can be interpreted as signifying a deep transformation of her sense of self towards the model of "American Plus Finnish." When she grows up, she feels proudly that she has finally erased her Finnish accent, although not completely: "the only residue of Finnish was a slight lilt I could not control in times of stress" (*AFS*, 244). As Ilmi masters English and becomes indistinguishable from native speakers, she feels that she is accepted by the new country. Losing one's native accent as a visible marker of difference and distance recurs in migration and ethnic writing as a metaphor of Americanization[11]. Ilmi's achievement of native-like English pronunciation is a marker of her fully embracing English as crucial for her sense of self. It signifies that Americanness comes first for Ilmi. By portraying her as speaking English (almost) without an accent the novels present her as gaining access to her desired "English land" and becoming a part of it. The ethnic accent reduced to a "slight lilt" cannot betray Ilmi as an immigrant any longer; her Americanization is now unquestioned and she does not need to prove it

[11] See, for instance, *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991) by Julia Alvarez.

anymore. At the same time, English with a “slight” but still present Finnish lilt signals the transculturation that Ilmi experiences in negotiating her identity. In a contact zone between the two languages, their interaction leads to mutual influence. On the one hand, English erases Ilmi’s ethnic accent, but, on the other, a remaining lilt is still added to her English in the same way as Ilmi’s Finnishness is added to her Americanness as a “plus” in her identification. This lilt can perhaps be recognized by other Finns but is hidden from mainstream Americans and thus symbolizes Ilmi’s ability to be in both worlds with her “American Plus Finnish” identity. As Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, 159) put it, besides the high-status linguistic forms carrying overt prestige in the wider society, there are also the forms which carry covert prestige which is related to solidarity with more locally defined social groups, irrespective of their status. A socially stigmatized variant of speaking in one setting can have covert prestige in another (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998, 159). Thus, Ilmi's lilt still signals her ethnicity and carries covert prestige by manifesting her solidarity with her Finnish community. However, it is a “safe” ethnic symbol as a slight ethnic lilt in otherwise perfect American English still places Ilmi above heavily accented immigrants and makes her own Finnishness pleasant or at least socially acceptable for the mainstream American society.

The novels present Ilmi as associating her affiliation with the degree of her accent. The less noticeable her Finnish accent is, the more secure in her Americanness Ilmi feels. According to Kimberly LeVelle and John Levis (2014, 131-4), with the help of pronunciation a speaker can imagine a new identity and gain access to an imagined community of speakers of the language. When Ilmi erases her Finnish accent, she manifests that she is now an insider in the English-speaking community. In contrast with the Finnish language, her accent is not portrayed as an advantage. On the contrary, Ilmi thoroughly shuns and hides it. As in Österlund-Pötzsch’s (2003, 225) model of ”American Plus”, Ilmi's ehnic identity can be present without being expressed publicly. Although she still speaks Finnish and considers it important for her sense of self, by

eliminating her "loud" Finnish accent she decides herself when and how to use her Finnish heritage, whether to express it or not, while the heavy accent can mark her immediately.

Naming in Manifesting the Protagonist's "American Plus" Identity

Naming also plays a central role in the process of Ilmi's *Bildung* in terms of "American Plus". Throughout the texts Eilola illustrates the importance of naming (and renaming) in the experiences of Finnish immigrants in America. There are references to how, immediately after the settlers' entrance to the USA, Ellis Island officials forcibly changed some newcomers' Finnish names that were hard to pronounce for English speakers (*AFH*, 119). Other immigrants decided to change their names themselves or had to live with multiple names (often one Finnish and the other American) for a variety of reasons (*AFH*, 119). Some of Ilmi's relatives also gradually Americanize their first names or plan to do so in the course of the novels. The imagery of the new names signals the influence of the new country on the immigrants, and also accentuates the traumatic experiences of those who "have lost their home country, their own names, any kind of personal identity" in the USA (*AFH*, 119). Ilmi is also portrayed as experiencing a name change and simultaneously maintaining two first names, Finnish "Ilmi Marianna" and American "Marion". According to Tünde Puskás (2009, 168), making a name appropriate to the linguistic surroundings and a practice of multiple naming are common among settlers in a new country. Eilola presents Ilmi's naming as connected with her pursuit of Americanization and empowerment through mastering English. In Michael Aceto's (2002, 590) words, names can be seen as symbols of different social identities, often invoked by language choice. So Ilmi uses the name "Marion" to position herself in accordance with her projected self-image as an English-speaking American. As in the case with her languages, Ilmi initially values the American name over the Finnish one and wants to leave the latter behind but gradually sees its potential for her sense of self. Both names play an active role in negotiating her identity as "American Plus Finnish".

The novels connect Ilmi's naming with the mainstream language ideology. She is influenced by the "Speak English" campaign which also prevents the use of non-English names. One of Ilmi's ways to demonstrate her loyalty to the campaign is to call her mother and her mother's best friend "Marys," as opposed to the ethnic community, which calls them "Maijas" in the Finnish way (*AFH*, 13). When the eleven-year-old Ilmi begins to speak English fluently, her teacher imposes a name change on her in order to present one of her best pupils to the visiting superintendent in accordance with the school ideology of Americanization. According to Grit Alter (2016, 5), "name changes can be seen as one means of cultural assimilation to a new community." In Aceto's (2002, 589) words, ethnic names index both ethnic and linguistic identity. For Ilmi's teacher, the Finnish name signifies speaking the immigrants' language and belonging to the immigrant ethnic community. The teacher sees the change of this "certainly not English" and "ugly" (*AFH*, 23) name as a marker of Ilmi's successful Americanization, while the maintenance of the ethnic name is shown as a violation of the school language ideology: "To have your name as director of the play on the program as…,' she shuddered, '*Ilmi Marianna*…is to controvert the very basic presumption of the Speak English campaign'" (*AFH*, 23, original italics). Ilmi agrees that her name is "ugly", and is willing to change it (*AFH*, 23) which signifies her desire to step further into the "English world." Acquiring a new American name is also an act of distancing herself from her ethnic community, as she is portrayed as wanting a kind of non-Finnish name that can "make a difference" in her self-positioning in the Finntown. When her teacher suggests the name "Mary", Ilmi refuses: "'There are already too many Marys around, and everyone who's Finnish will call me Maija just as they do Ma.' It would make no difference" (*AFH*, 23). She finds the name "Marian" (later transformed to "Marion"), the name of Robin Hood's love, Maid Marian, in the dictionary, "so full of rich, new words" and "as sacred as the Bible" for her (*AFH*, 23). This choice does not only illustrate the role of the English language (and Anglophone literature) in Ilmi's identification but can also be a symbol of Ilmi's being a strong female figure, assertive and

rebellious against her prescribed role, since Maid Marian is often interpreted as a prototypical strong female character.

The novels connect this name change with the immigrant American dream of being made over in the USA, as Ilmi is presented as seeking literally to become a new person, the American "Marion", by discarding her "inferior" immigrant heritage in the form of her ethnic name in favor of the "superior" English one. According to Aceto (2002, 582), alternative or multiple names signal the emphasis or construction of an imminent or latent identity or the rejection or concealment of a previous identity correlated with such socially constructed components as language, social status, ethnicity, nationality and others. Ilmi's name change is a symbolic act of identifying herself with the English-speaking mainstream society and rejecting or leaving behind her Finnishness.

> The prospect of change had taken on a magical element for me, as if in becoming "Marion", I could shed an old-country skin and don one that was new and fresh and untried and beautiful and full of hope for a similar future. I was certain that a "*ruusu*" [my translation: a rose] or "*ruusunnuppu*" [my translation: a rosebud] could never smell nearly as sweet as a rose[12].
>
> And so it came to pass that the first steps were taken in my transmogrification from the Finnish "Ilmi Marianna" to the truly American "Marion." […] We threw "Ilmi" into the middle, but Ma suggested we change its spelling, too, to "Elmi", just to be creative and make it look a bit less Finnish. (*AFH*, 27, original italics).

By changing her name she is also creating herself to make her own success, since presenting her as Marion "in the most auspicious possible light" (*AFH*, 22) to the superintendent who hires

[12] The obvious reference to Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii, 43-44: "What's in a name? That which we call a rose By any other word would smell as sweet".

teachers for country schools is shown as a way to help her to pursue an academic career in the future. In her dreams, she plans "to cross the line between Finntown and the future" and sees herself as the girl whose name is Marion, not Ilmi Marianna (*AFH* 205). Her names are involved in Ilmi's self-presentation through the choice of high-status and prestigious linguistic markers, and when she accidentally speaks Finnish and uses her Finnish name in a non-Finnish setting, she quickly "corrects" her language and appellation by switching to English and "Marion" (*AFH* 103).

As in the case with the Finnish language, the novels construct Ilmi as quickly realizing the naivety of her illusion of being easily made over into an ideal one-hundred percent American by discarding her ethnic heritage. Ilmi cannot erase her Finnish name and instead lives with two names reserved for two different language settings. She is Marion in the English-speaking setting, but still remains Ilmi Marianna in her family and the Finntown. Although maintaining two names, one for exclusive use among English speakers and the other for in-group use, is common among immigrants in the USA (Aceto 2002, 603), in the novels this situation is initially presented as a source of tensions and identity conflicts for Ilmi. The novels describe her as sincerely wanting to "become" Marion only and yet realizing that it is impossible as she still does not fully feel herself as Marion: "Life had begun to move too quickly. For all her faults, I knew 'Ilmi Marianna.' I was unfamiliar with this new 'Marion,' with what she was doing, with where she was going" (*AFH*, 45). Her two names can be seen as a metaphor of her two competing identities and accentuate the duality of her life: she is in-between, in a contact zone between languages and cultures, and is pulled in different directions. She is on the move between her English and Finnish worlds, switches between her languages and names, an insider and outsider at the same time, which yet again highlights her feeling of non-belonging anywhere. Ilmi's ethnic name constantly reminds her of her "failure" to be the model Americanized immigrant. In her own words, she cannot become Marion when "most of her" is still Ilmi Marianna (*AFS*, 9). Although Ilmi is portrayed as seeing her ethnic name as an obstacle to her Americanization, her recognition of its role for her sense of

self signifies her appreciation of the Finnish heritage in contrast with her initial desire to leave it behind.

As the novels develop, Eilola uses the topic of naming to demonstrate how Ilmi resolves her identity conflict through negotiating her sense of self as "American Plus." When she grows older, matures and moves to the new school with the new "mentor," Ilmi demonstrates a more balanced attitude to her heritage through her relationship with her two names. Her new Finnish-American teacher does not demean Ilmi's Finnish name and in fact gives her a choice of which name to use in school. In this situation her voluntary reverting to "Ilmi Marianna" can be seen as a sign of coming to terms with her Finnish heritage in contrast with her earlier anxiety about it and her desire to shun or hide her Finnishness. Moreover, she is even portrayed as using her Finnish name to introduce herself to the same superintendent who had been the reason for her name change (*AFS*, 115), and this demonstrates that Ilmi is no longer ashamed of her ethnic name and does not consider it a marker of "un-Americanness" in defiance of the mainstream ideology. Although she plans to "step out into the great world" as Marion by enrolling to high school under her American name, Ilmi chooses the Finnish name to be printed on her rural school diploma (*AFS*, 109). This can be interpreted as Ilmi's act of manifesting ethnic solidarity and connection with her family and ethnic community, whom she wants to thank for their support and care. This is also an act of resistance to wholesale Americanization as she now publicly recognizes her Finnishness before the mainstream American society.

At the same time, her graduation from the rural school becomes a breaking point in Ilmi's life since from now on she begins to use her American name in the first place. In contrast with her not feeling herself as Marion earlier, she is now ready to see herself as Marion, which demonstrates her moving further towards Americanization and to another stage of her growth. In other words, she has learnt enough to feel herself comfortable as Marion and "outgrows" her Finnish name.

Moving from Ilmi Marianna to Marion signifies her moving from school to high school, from childhood to adulthood, and from Finnishness to the model of "American Plus." High school is her passage to the "English world" in which she is Marion. This is exemplified in the episode when Ilmi meets her Finnish childhood friend, who has known her as Ilmi Marianna, and is asked about her name. The protagonist's answer, that she "used to be" Ilmi Marianna but now in high school is "mostly called 'Marion'"" (*AFS*, 255), accentuates the transition in her own identification. She now wants to use her "grown-up American name" (*AFS*, 152). Switching to it demonstrates that Americanness comes first to her in her identification. The Finnish name in her school diploma also manifests that she does not deny her Finnishness but adds it as a positive "plus" to her American identity, although in the narrator's own words, "in after years I might have to explain who that was!" (*AFS*, 109). Ilmi is secure in her Americanness and, to use Puskás' (2009, 167) expression, identifies herself as a well-integrated member of the host society who can "afford" to maintain a marker of ethnic otherness in the form of her Finnish name in the diploma.

The role of Ilmi's naming in her relationship with her family also accentuates her eventual *Bildung* as "American Plus Finnish." Initially she is portrayed as using only her Finnish name in the home setting. However, she associates it with her childhood and dependence. This is exemplified in the situation when Ilmi writes a letter to her father and asks for his help. "The signature gave me pause. Should I, I wondered, use the name "Marion"? Perhaps not, a small voice within me answered. Perhaps it would be better to remind him that I was not yet an adult, that I was still a child" (*AFH*, 187). She plans to use the name "Marion" at home as a badge of her empowerment when she considers herself grown-up enough. In contrast with her sister Lillian/Margie, who also Americanizes her name but wants to stay in the Finntown, Ilmi's becoming "Marion" concerns her mother, who is afraid of losing her daughter to the new country.

> "Do you want to be Marion?" Ma asked, but quietly, as if she really wanted to know the answer.
>
> I thought about that question for a long time, too.
>
> "Yes. I think so. Someday. Maybe when I go to high school or college and am more English than Finnish. 'Ilmi Marianna' is a mouthful for anyone who isn't Finnish."
>
> "And what will happen to Margie and me when you become Marion?" she asked, a tremble in her voice.
>
> "I think," I said, after another long pause, "that by then it will just be natural – sometimes I'll be Ilmi Marianna, especially when you are angry with me" (*AFS*, 10).

This demonstrates that, although Ilmi appreciates her family and their common Finnish heritage, she also wants to position herself as an American in the first place. While by "sometimes being" Ilmi Marianna for her family she maintains the sense of their ethnic solidarity, her family's beginning to call the protagonist her "grown-up" name (*AFS*, 191, 226) (although they also still use her Finnish name) manifests their recognition of her "American Plus" identity.

Although the mainstream society practically imposes the new name on the protagonist, the novels point out that Ilmi decides herself when and how to use her American name. Eilola demonstrates Ilmi's shifting identity in terms of travel from seeing and presenting herself as "mostly" Ilmi Marianna to first and foremost Marion. After achieving education and mastering English by her own efforts, the protagonist proudly feels that she is "no longer the simple 'Ilmi Marianna Brosi'" (*AFS* 132). Her American name is shown as a milestone of conquering the new language and power to position herself on her own terms and thus fulfilling her American dream: she is secure in her Americanness, which cannot be contested by others: "No one questioned my name anymore. I was Marion" (*AFS*, 244). However, she also changes this American dream by finding a consensus between her names and identities: she identifies herself as Marion but does

not abandon her Finnish name completely. This has some parallels with Lindström (2012, 141) experiences with names in Canada in the 1960s when her school also made Varpu to get a "real name" to fit in. She assumed her middle name, Marjatta, which was accepted by the school principal, but she never felt like her new "Canadian" (yet still Finnish) name and still was Varpu at home, and then reclaimed her true Finnish identity by returning to Varpu several years afterwards (Lindström 2012, 141). Like her, Ilmi does not feel like Marion at first and lives with two names, but in contrast with Varpu, Ilmi gradually embraces her new American name. Unlike the protagonists in many Finnish American literary texts and other immigrant fiction in general, Ilmi is not content with two names for in-group and out-group use, but brings "Marion" to her home Finnish setting. She somehow reclaims her Finnish identity later by her Finnish name in the diploma but connects her future with being "Marion". As in the case with the Finnish language and accent, she tries to make her Finnish name from shameful to more socially acceptable for the mainstream society and yet again she turns it into a subtle ethnic symbol used only occasionally. To have her Finnish name in the valedictorian diploma, which testifies her perfect knowledge of English and linguistic Americanization, is a "safe" act of Finnishness.

Conclusions

In her novels of formation, Eilola draws upon her family history and the wider history of Finnish Americans to illuminate the ongoing identity conflicts of the younger immigrant generation in the early 20th century, and to particularly emphasize their language-related dilemmas and hard choices. As in other "coming to America" ethnic *Bildungsroman* texts (George 1998, 152), America is the final destination and the logical resolution of Ilmi's journey. She aspires to her promised land and successfully makes it hers. Nevertheless, Ilmi's story offers a fresh look at the trope of "claiming America" by conquering the English language, which is prominent in ethnic novels of formation. Ilmi is portrayed as reaching her America but in her own terms and also with

the help of her ethnic language rather than with the help of English only. The prominent position of both English and Finnish language practices in the process of her self-formation illustrates both tensions and conflicts in Ilmi's dual and in-between life, and the ways in which she resolves these conflicts during her "claiming America" for herself. However, there is an important difference between Ilmi's story and many similar Finnish American and Finnish Canadian novels of formation and life-writings. Unlike them, the novels are written not by a witness (Ilmi herself), but by her daughter. It is a perspective of the third generation, a glance in hindsight, the history of the first American-born generation seen through the eyes of their descendants, fully entitled Americans, whose Americanness is not contested, challenged or questioned. What is important is how Eilola portrays her mother, what she views as the most vital, and how she understands her mother's encounters with North American culture and society in the 1920s and 30s.

The significance of her novels is that they strongly concentrate on language as a marker of identity. It is the Finnish language which the author brings to the forefront as important for both Ilmi and Patricia Eilola. In similar Finnish American texts, the authors concentrate on other markers of Finnishness (e.g., food, music and sport) and show how the US-born generation quickly loses their ethnic language and therefore feels alienation from their Finnish-speaking parents/grandparents. Eilola, on the contrary, never describes any barrier caused by Ilmi's inability to speak or understand Finnish. Ethnic language is usually considered "the first to perish" part of the immigrants' ethnic heritage, but Eilola's novels challenge this assumption. They also draw attention to the (changing) role of language in Finnishness. Although Finnish is not considered vital for Finnish identity among Finnish Americans today[13] and one may still feel oneself a Finn without knowing the language, Finnish is regarded as a nice bonus, and there is willingness to learn it among some Finnish Americans (Roinila 2014, 323). New technologies such as the Internet

[13] According to Mika Roinila (2014, 321), in 2000, approximately 5.4 percent of Finnish Americans spoke Finnish at home, but this proportion of language maintenance is still the highest among all Nordic groups in the United States.

and Skype allow them to have connections with Finland and Finnish in the manner unprecedented for earlier generations, and it is much easier to maintain the language than in Ilmi's setting. The mainstream society nowadays has positive attitude to European immigrants' languages and heritages, and it is acceptable to be American Plus. The new concept of Americanness is a patchwork of many cultures rather than the single idea of the melting pot. This is in sharp contrast with the situation in the early 20th century, when the language was considered important for the immigrants' Finnishness (the diaspora's activities were mostly in Finnish), but it was harder to maintain ties with Finland, and there was constant pressure of the mainstream society to shun ethnic cultures and languages. This placed the immigrants (especially the US-born generation) before a hard choice: either to live a dual life (Finnish at home and English outside), or leave their mother tongue behind in favor of English, or stay in the linguistic isolation of Finntowns. Eilola's novels are a descendant's looking back on her mother's experiences with this dilemma. Unlike in many immigrant texts dealing with the same situation, Ilmi is presented as not content with dual life in two worlds. She wants to live in the "American world" only, but then comes to reconciliation with her Finnishness by using ethnic symbols of Finnish. Although for Ilmi, it is a big challenge to be an American Plus in the 1920s and 30s, she successfully constructs such an identity, makes her heritage acceptable and adds it to the future patchwork of the USA.

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III

SPORTS IN CONSTRUCTING FINNISH AMERICANNESS IN TERMS OF TRANSNATIONAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN TWO FINNISH AMERICAN LITERARY TEXTS

by

Roman Kushnir, 2019

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7. Sports in Constructing Finnish Americanness in Terms of Transnational and Regional Identity in Two Finnish American Literary Texts[1]

Roman Kushnir

Sports plays a prominent role in such Finnish American literary texts as the collection of short stories *Heikki Heikkinen and Other Stories of Upper Peninsula Finns* (1995; 32 stories) by Lauri Anderson, and the novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) by Martin Koskela. The aim of this chapter is to analyze how the characters' sports practices function to construct their Finnish American identities. My chapter demonstrates that Finnish Americans of various generations[2] use sports to negotiate their identities with both Finland and the United States, and, more specifically, with their home region, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (also known as the UP or "Yooperland"). On the one hand, sports holds a significant position in constructing their identities as transnational, since it allows them to maintain nostalgic connections to their old country as well as to manifest their affiliation with the United States. On the other hand, their sports practices are also involved in forming their regional, UP identities. The chapter illustrates that sports in the texts constructs the characters' Finnish Americanness as a combination of transnational and regional identity. I want to concentrate especially on three elements of this construction that are presented most prominently in the source fiction. First, I will focus on the roles of Finland's Olympic successes in the characters' identification

[1] This chapter was made possible by the research grant of the Kone Foundation.

[2] In this chapter, I use the word "first generation" to refer to migrants from Finland, "second generation" to refer to their children, "third generation" to their grandchildren, and so forth.

as the UP Finns. Second, the chapter will pay attention to the position of winter sports in creating their Yooper Finnishness. Third, the U.S. sports trinity will be analyzed in connection with the characters' identities.

The authors are either second- or third-generation Finnish Americans, and write about Finnish Americans in the UP of Michigan, the prominent center for Finnish migrants in the United States. Both source texts address the topic of how U.S.-born Finns, children and/or grandchildren and great grandchildren of Finnish migrants, construct their sense of self in the United States. Lauri Anderson is a well-known Finnish American author. He has written a novel, a memoir, a book of poetry, and seven collections of short stories,[3] all addressing Finnish Americans. In *Heikki Heikkinen*, Anderson portrays the comic and tragic aspects of Finnish Americans' everyday lives, often with a great deal of irony, parody, and satire, as he revises popular stereotypes of the UP Finns. Most of the stories revolve around Heikki Heikkinen, a rugged second-generation Yooper Finnish American old-timer and a retired logger, but Anderson also writes about the third and fourth generation characters mostly doing blue-collar jobs. His short stories are mainly set in the 1980s and the 1990s, although they also describe Finnish Americans' experiences in the first half of the twentieth century. Koskela is a less known Finnish American writer, whose only novel has not been studied yet. *Welcome to Shadow Lake* focuses on the life of a Finnish American community in a small town in the UP during the Great Depression. It depicts the challenges, hardships, love, victories, and tragedies of the migrant-generation farmers and their U.S.-born children against the background of the economic crisis which stroke hard at their community.

I have chosen these texts because of their strong regional character. As the titles of both books allude, the focus is on the experiences and identities of Finnish Americans in this specific region, which has been historically strongly shaped by migration and transnationalism. Once a booming centre of mining and forest industry, Michigan (and the UP in particular) attracted thousands of Finnish men to do the low-paid, low-skilled, and hard jobs. The area has also become known for commercial fishing, outdoor recreation, hunting, and agriculture, in which local Finns have been active as well (Remlinger 2009, 122). As a result, the regional UP identity has strong connections to ethnicity, class, and gender. A stereotypical Yooper is seen as a rugged tough backwoodsman with a working-class background, who is also an independent and strong individualist (Remlinger 2006, 129—130; 2007, 96—98; 2009, 119—120, 122—123); Yooper stock characters are the legendary men of Finnish origin, Toivo and Eino (Remlinger 2007, 98).

In portraying the characters' experiences, both authors pay a great deal of attention to the role of sports in their lives. They describe in detail Finnish Americans' sports activi-

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[3] The novel *Impressions of Arvo Laurila* (2005), the memoir *From Moosehead to Misery Bay* (2013), the book of poetry *Snow White and Others* (1971), and the collections of short stories *Small Winter Wars* (1983), *Hunting Hemingway's Trout* (1990), *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Children of the Kalevala* (1997), *Misery Bay* (2002), *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), and *Mosquito Conversations* (2009).

ties and pastimes, and the impact of various sports events such as the Olympic Games and/or the local ethnic sport festivals, and of the famous Finnish and Finnish American athletes on the characters. Koskela's (1996, 213) novel features an athletic club as one of the notable ethnic institutions of the Finnish American community in the 1930s. In both texts, the characters are often portrayed as either participating in different sports or being spectators and fans. It is worth saying that both Anderson and Koskela mostly concentrate on the sports activities of the male characters, as the protagonists are generally men. As Anderson often uses parody and satire in his portrayal of the characters, their sports activities sometimes also are parodied or exaggerated for comical purposes. It is no surprise that sports holds such a prominent position in the source texts, as sports activities have historically been important in the life of Finnish Americans. In the early twentieth century, numerous athletic clubs and sports events, such as competitions and performances, played a highly visible role in Finnish communities' cultural life, and sports practices maintained the tie between the old and new country (Virtanen 1995, 2014, 198; Niemi 2000, 155). Various factions of the Finnish American diaspora such as church, temperance societies, and labor movement all established their own athletic organizations, sports facilities and events (Kero 1976). The peak of Finnish Americans' sports activities lasted from the early twentieth century to the beginning of the Great Depression. In the migrants' cultural life, sports activities were characterized more clearly by close connections to the old country than any other form of culture. These connections were "reflected in the American competition tours by Finnish athletes, in the quadrennial Olympic Games, and in the success of numerous Finnish American track-and-field athletes and wrestlers representing Finland in international competitions" (Virtanen 2014, 198). Although migrants' sports activities and clubs eventually faded away along with other ethnic institutions after World War II, there is still some interest in Finnish sports and athletes among Finnish Americans (Virtanen 1995).

Theoretical Framework

Sports can play a prominent role in relation to both personal and collective identity. Jeremy MacClancy (1996, 2) approaches sports as a strong vehicle of identity that provides people with a sense of difference and a way of classifying themselves and others. Sports is not just a marker of one's already established identity, but also a means to create a new identity for oneself (MacClancy 1996, 3). It can contribute to people's sense of ethnicity or nation and to their sense of community (MacClancy 1996, 9). Such sports events as the Olympic Games have been actively used by nations to project and refine national identity (Dyreson 2013, 262—263).

Sports has also held a crucial position in creating a sense of both Finnishness and Americanness. According to Mervi Tervo (2003, 47), sports has historically been a crucial

dimension of Finnish national self-definition and consciousness. For the Finns, various sports have functioned as important means of national identification and of putting Finland on the world map (Tervo 2003, 363, 366), and Finnish athletes have become strong national symbols (Sironen 2005, 104; Taramaa 2008, 78). Sports is also considered as an important component of Americanness. According to Roger Knight Bradley (1994, 19), one of the most fascinating aspects of the U.S. culture is a societal penchant for sports and physical exercise. Mark Dyreson (2005) emphasizes that sports has been prominent in developing the U.S. national identity and exceptionalism.

Moreover, sports holds an important position in the context of migration. On the one hand, the mainstream U.S. sports have functioned as a route to assimilation and acceptance in U.S. society for different migrant groups (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000, xii—xiii). On the other hand, the sports of migrants have been crucial in forming their ethnic communities in the United States by bringing them together and keeping their heritage alive. Ethnic sports have also allowed migrants to maintain ties to their countries of origin (Kirsch, Harris & Nolte 2000, xiv—xv). Thus, migrants' sports activities can be a central component in the process of transnationalism. Steven Vertovec (1999) views transnationalism as a variety of interactions connecting people and/or institutions, communities, and other social actors across national borders. In Peter Kivisto's (2014, 298) words, transnational migrants can be seen as "attempting to live with one foot in the homeland and the other foot in the host society, in the process creating an ethnic community that transcends national boundaries." In this chapter, I understand transnationalism as defined by Alejandro Portes et al. (2007). According to them (2007, 251—252), migrant transnationalism is a subset of transnationalism and refers to the "regular activities across national borders conducted by the foreign-born as part of their daily lives abroad." Sports belongs to one of those cross-border activities that link migrants and their descendants with the old country. The theory of transnationalism can be applied to an analysis of the experiences of the U.S.-born characters whose sports activities can be approached as transnational practices, allowing them to be in contact with Finland and to interlink both countries symbolically.

Sports is also actively involved in the process of constructing regional identity. In my chapter, I will apply the concept of regional identity as defined by Kaj Zimmerbauer (2008). According to him (2008, 34), it can be understood as based on the sense of belonging to a region. Regional identity can refer to regional consciousness and identification with a region, and to characteristics of the region. Sports holds a prominent position in identification with the region, as various regional sports along with local and regional sports teams unite the residents, help form their community, and contribute to a sense of a local identity and pride (Tonts & Atherley 2010, 384). A place's sporting achievements (such as success by a local team) particularly evoke a sense of place attachment and pride. They are also actively involved in the celebration of community and connect with strong local identification (Bale 2003, 16—18). In both Anderson's and Koskela's texts, the authors demonstrate the characters' affiliation with Michigan in general and the UP in

particular through the imagery of sports. On the one hand, by their sports activities, the characters mark their presence in the region and manifest their belonging to it. On the other hand, through their sports, the characters also demonstrate their commitment to the characteristics of the region such as its landscape and environment as well as strong working-class masculinity.

Finland's Successes at the Olympic Games in Constructing Yooper Finnish Americanness

Despite the fact that the source texts are set in different time periods, both *Heikki Heikkinen* and *Welcome to Shadow Lake* present Finland's sporting achievements at the Olympic Games and other important championships, and Finnish athletes' prowess as playing an instrumental role in the process of identification of the characters. The Olympic successes of Finland evoke the shared sense of cohesion and pride to be Finns among Finnish Americans of different generations, link them with the old country, and, thus, bridge the distance between the two nations. This also constructs the characters' sense of Finnish Americanness in terms of both transnational and regional identity. Their attention to Finland's progress at the Olympics can be seen as an expression of transnationalism, as the characters geographically separated from the old country are interested in its sporting achievements and thus identify themselves with it. While for the first generation, Finland is their homeland, and supporting Finnish athletes is their way of maintaining contact with it, for the subsequent U.S.-born generations, it is their ancestors' country but their interest in its athletes and successes demonstrates that they still see Finland as important for their identification. At the same time, the characters are portrayed as using the Finnish Olympic successes as a common ground to unite around in order to construct a sense of a regional UP Finnish community. These achievements are also used to make the Finnish presence visible in the landscape and "sportscape" of the Upper Peninsula.

In Koskela's novel, the author demonstrates how the famous Finnish runners of the 1910s and 1920s, such as Paavo Nurmi and other "Flying Finns," become powerful symbols of Finnishness for migrants and their children in the early 1930s. To demonstrate their connection with these athletes, the characters name (or rather rename) their Finn Hall and athletic club after Nurmi (Koskela 1996, 20, 112). The Nurmi Athletic Club is what Atherley (2006, 348) calls the "heart of the community" as it belongs to the few prominent socio-cultural activities in their small town, along with the Co-Op Club and the amateur theatre (Koskela 1996, 213). The gesture of naming the hall and the athletic club after Nurmi functions to strengthen their sense of solidarity with Finland and to manifest their Finnishness. Besides Nurmi, the characters also see other famous ath-

letes, such as Hannes Kolehmainen and Ville Ritola, as heroes who boost their ethnic self-esteem as Finns (Koskela 1996, 20). At the same time, their interest in the "Flying Finns" can also be interpreted as accentuating the characters' transnational identities as Finnish Americans, since the Olympic successes of Finnish athletes connect Finland with the United States in constructing the Finnish American community.

These athletes' activities are a strong expression of transnationalism as they historically eroded the border between Finland and the United States for Finnish Americans. John Wargelin (1924) points out that Nurmi and the other "Flying Finns" were popular in and praised by the mainstream U.S. society in the 1920s. They crossed the border between the two countries back and forth as they either toured the United States like Nurmi did, or lived, trained, and successfully ran races there but were also sent to run for Finland at the Olympics with the financial help of Finnish American community, like in the case of Kolehmainen and Ritola. In Virtanen's (2014, 195—196) words, Finnish Americans in the 1920s considered the runners' success to be important for their community, as the athletes' popularity in the United States elevated the Finnish American national identity among other migrant groups in the eyes of the mainstream U.S. society, created a more positive image of the Finns and Finnish Americans, and improved the migrant community's self-esteem. Although Nurmi was not a migrant, the Finnish American community in the 1920s considered him as one of their own (Virtanen 2014, 195). The U.S. media also promoted Kolehmainen as both an exotic "Flying Finn" and an "American," a model Americanized migrant, while the U.S. Olympic officials labelled him as a "Finnish-American" rather than a Finn (Berg & Dyreson 2012, 1039—1040, 1045—1046, 1050). Thus, he was hailed as a heroic figure for both Finland and the United States (Berg & Dyreson 2012, 1051—1052). This is in line with how Koskela portrays the role of the "Flying Finns" in the characters' identification. By choosing Nurmi's name for their hall and athletic club, Finnish Americans demonstrated symbolically that they considered him as one of their own to create their positive self-image in the mainstream U.S. society.

Koskela also emphasizes that the characters see Nurmi and others as important for their identities not only because of pride in Finland but also because of the "Flying Finns'" popularity in the United States. In the novel, this is demonstrated through the fact that it is not Finnish migrants or their children but the local Irish American doctor Myles (who has many Finnish Americans among his patients and is therefore an enthusiast of all things Finnish) who comes up with the idea of naming the Finn Hall after Nurmi. This doctor also promotes other Finnish athletes among the younger generation — a gesture that manifests the mainstream U.S. society's attitude to the sporting successes of Finland.

> *Dave recalled a speech the doctor had made to the school track team Dave was on, in reference to changing the name of Työväen [Workers'] Hall to Nurmi Hall. "The Finns are the world's best long-distance runners. Starting with Hannes Kolehmainen in the 1912 Stockholm Olympic games and continuing with Paavo Nurmi and Ville Ritola in*

the 1920 Antwerp games, the '24 Paris games and the '28 Amsterdam games, they won eighteen gold medals!"

It had been an inspiring pep talk at the time and Dave never forgot it. The name of the hall was changed. The doctor compared his campaign to the one the school children offered when they petitioned to change Poplar street to Hiawatha street, after studying Longfellow's poem. (Koskela 1996, 20, original italics.)

The younger U.S.-born generation's pride in the "Flying Finns" reflects their sense of self as both Finns and Americans or, in other words, as Finnish Americans. On the one hand, by seeing the Finnish athletes as their heroes, they demonstrate their interest in and express solidarity with the old country. On the other hand, they also want to increase their self-esteem in U.S. society by identifying with the runners who are popular in both Finland and the United States.

The renaming of the hall and athletic club are also involved in constructing the characters' regional identity. Through the Nurmi Hall and the Nurmi Athletic Club, Finnish Americans mark their presence in the landscape and sportscape of Michigan, unite the local UP Finnish community around the sports symbols of Finnishness, and, thus, contribute to their sense of local identity and pride. The characters' respect for Finland's Olympic athletes also illustrates their own Yooper working-class masculinity. The original name of their hall, *Työväen* (Workers') Hall, highlights the characters' class consciousness and their positive attitude to the labor movement. However, when the mostly working-class community of Shadow Lake decides to rename the hall after Nurmi, this can also be interpreted as the sign that the local loggers and farmers see the "Flying Finns" as their heroes who can represent the working class in the UP. Athletics is considered cheap and easy sport, as it needs little or no expensive equipment and facilities. Moreover, Nurmi and others all had working-class background (for instance, Kolehmainen and Ritola did manual jobs in the United States, like the majority of Finnish American men in the early twentieth century). By the act of renaming the hall, the characters symbolically make these strong male figures stand side by side with tough Yooper Finnish loggers, miners, and farmers.

In Anderson's stories about Heikki Heikkinen, set in the 1980s and 1990s, Finland's Olympic successes and famous athletes are also portrayed as playing an important role in the second-generation protagonist's identification. For him, such prominent Finnish ski-jumpers of the 1980s and 1990s as Matti Nykänen, Toni Nieminen, and Janne Ahonen[4] are a source of pride in the old country and evoke solidarity with it. Heikki's interest in

[4] Matti Nykänen won four gold medals in the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo and the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary. Toni Nieminen won two gold medals in the 1992 Albertville Winter Olympic Games. Janne Ahonen won several gold medals in the FIS Nordic World SKI Championships in the late 1990s and two Olympic silver medals in Salt Lake City in 2002 and in Turin in 2006 (Wallechinsky & Loucky 2006).

Finnish sporting achievements and internationally distinguished athletes manifests the transnational character of his identity. "Heikki had always wanted a world-class ski jump in Hancock, preferably right behind his house [...]. He would invite the great Finnish jumpers to compete locally — Nykanen, Nieminen, and Ahonen" (Anderson 1995, 48). Like in the case of the characters in Koskela's novel, the protagonist identifies with and is interested in those Finnish athletes who are popular both in the Finnish and the U.S. sporting community. At the same time, Heikki's dream to invite these athletes to Michigan to compete in the familiar UP landscape can be interpreted as a sign of his strong identification with the region where he lives. Although class operates differently in comparison with the 1920s and 1930s, there are still some connections with the Yooper working-class masculinity. Unlike the "Flying Finns," Nykänen and others do not have any strong affiliation with or appeal to the working class; they are high-paid professional athletes and media celebrities. However, Heikki, who used to be a logger, still sees them as his heroes. A rugged Yooper backwoodsman, he praises these strong masculine figures by saying that they would fit perfectly to the UP with its traditions of hard working and hard drinking (Anderson 1995, 48-49).

Winter Sports in Constructing Yooper Finnish Identities

Both Anderson and Koskela pay a great deal of attention to the characters' winter sports such as skiing (including cross-country skiing and ski jumping) in forming their sense of Finnish Americanness. This is no surprise, as skiing has historically been one of the most prominent sports activities in constructing Finnishness, and has had an important role in the Finnish national imagery (Tervo 2003, 91—92). Finland has a strong tradition and success in winter sports, particularly in skiing (Koski & Lämsä 2015, 425, 429). Skiing and ski jumping have also been an integral part of the history of the Finnish ethnic community in the United States, particularly in the UP of Michigan. Through these sports, Finnish Americans have made their presence visible in the landscape and sportscape of the region. According to Niemi (2000, 156—157), the oldest U.S. ski jumping tournament of continuous existence was begun and perpetuated by Norwegians and Finns at Suicide Hill in Ishpeming, Michigan. One of the major ski jumps of the UP was later built there. The U.S. National Ski Hall of Fame is located in Ishpeming, and the ski jumpers of Finnish origin hold a prominent position in this Hall (Niemi 2000, 156—157). In *Heikki Heikkinen* and *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, the characters of different generations are portrayed as seeing their skiing as an inherently Finnish sports practice and a marker of Finnishness. In describing the sports activities of the Yooper Finnish Americans in the 1930s or in the second half of the twentieth century, both authors mention Suicide Hill and/or other ski jumps of the UP. Skiing and ski jumping manifest the characters' continuity with the old country and demonstrates their connection with Michigan.

In Koskela's novel, the first- and second-generation characters' prowess in skiing evokes their sense of pride, unites them as Finns, and distinguishes them in U.S. society. To mark this sports activity as distinctively and identifiably Finnish, the author occasionally uses the original Finnish words referring to skiing and skis (Koskela 1996, 35). The first generation brings skiing to the new land, and together with the U.S.-born children, they maintain this sports practice to keep their old country heritage alive. The first-generation characters make Finnish skis (Koskela 1996, 137), teach younger Finnish Americans skiing, and, thus, pass this sports activity from one generation to another. The novel presents an annual cross-country skiing and ski-jumping tournament for the local youngsters as one of the important social events that bring the Shadow Lake Finnish American community together (Koskela 1996, 91). The whole community is involved in the tournament by either preparing it, participating in it, or spectating it. In the words of one of the characters, "[e]very kid in Shadow Lake gives it a try" (Koskela 1996, 87). However, this tournament is featured not only as a sports event but also a U.S.-style sports show and a part of an ethnic festival: the Shadow Lake winter carnival ski-jumping meet (Koskela 1996, 91). On the one hand, the role of skiing and ski jumping in the Shadow Lake Finnish community's life manifests the characters' cross-border connection with the old country, as they continue the Finnish sports activity in the United States. The ski-jumping meet as a part of the winter carnival also demonstrates the adaptation of the migrants' sports traditions to the new country. This ski-jumping meet connects the first and second generation symbolically with both Finland and the United States and, thus, functions as a marker of their affiliation with both.

On the other hand, by their skiing Finnish Americans also demonstrate the strong regional character of their identities. According to John Bale (2003), local sport is one of the institutions binding people to place through provenance and evoking of what he defines as "place pride." As Tonts and Atherley (2010, 384) point out, "in the context of most amateur rural sports, local and regional teams are usually drawn from specific areas and often represent those citizens who reside in such spaces." The citizens' pride and emotional attachment to "their team" are an important component of the local life and give rise to the symbols marking out certain spaces (Tonts & Atherley 2010, 384). In Koskela's novel, the characters' attachment to their ski club and the ski jumpers from their local ethnic community, as well as the pride of their sports event, accentuate their sense of affiliation with the region and its characteristics. By their old country winter sports practices, the Finnish community influences the landscape of their UP town as they turn the local crag into their sporting facility:

> *The western shore of Shadow Lake was buffered by the Bluff, a rocky crag that slanted almost vertically into the sky. On the lake side, the Bluff was as [sic] unscalable barrier, but on the other side, it descended somewhat more gradually and was made for a ski hill.* (Koskela 1996, 85.)

By doing so, the local Finnish American community marks Finnish presence in the landscape and sportscape of the UP. Their winter sports also highlight their Yooper working-class masculinity. Cross-country skiing and ski jumping are presented as cheap activities, open for all, as the characters make their own skis and prepare their sports facilities themselves. They are portrayed as unelite and working man's sports which are enjoyed by rugged loggers and miners and their descendants during the break between their daily hard work. Through these sports, the characters demonstrate the "manly art" of ski making and such masculine traits as the bravery of ski jumpers and the endurance of cross-country skiers.

In Anderson's stories, the author pays a great deal of attention to the role of winter sports in the process of identification of Finnish Americans in the second half of the twentieth century. Skiing and ski-jumping are portrayed as both the markers of Finnishness and Yooperness of the characters. For instance, in the story "The Author," the U.S.-born narrator humorously describes skiing as being important in his process of "becoming a Finn" (the title of the section in which this story is in the collection) in his little town in the Upper Peninsula:

> *Very early in life, I became aware of my Finnishness. Our little Upper Peninsula town was full of Finns. [...] In my boyhood, I had only two national flags on my wall — Finland's and the Upper Peninsula's. [...] I learned Finnish sports early, so when the other kids in school talked about skiing, I knew what they meant — to run as fast as you could across a flat field with long sticks tied to your boots.* (Anderson 1995, 1—2.)

For the protagonist, skiing connects Finnishness and Yooperness, and brings together the country of his ancestors and the U.S. region where he grows up. First, as a part of the old country heritage, skiing is passed from one generation to another and functions as their common tie to Finland. Second, it constructs the sense of community not only with Finns but also with the protagonist's fellow Yooper Finnish Americans who maintain this sports practice in Michigan.

In other stories, Anderson presents the characters' ski jumping as a transnational activity that crosses the borders between Finland and the United States and is simultaneously involved in forming regional UP identities. The central protagonist of many stories, Heikki Heikkinen, demonstrates a great interest in this sport. Although ironically, he prefers such modern U.S. commercialized winter sports as snowmobiling to skiing, he is also an enthusiastic spectator of ski jumping (Anderson 1995, 33). He both watches on TV the championships and tournaments in which Finland participates, such as the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer (Anderson 1995, 49), and attends the local UP ski jump.

> *Heikki really enjoyed watching the ski jumping in Ishpeming. He especially liked to watch from a safe distance in the parking lot on a sunny day when he could sit on the tailboard of his pickup with a case of Old Milwaukee beside him [...].* (Anderson 1995, 33—34.)

He is equally proud of both Finnish ski jumpers of the 1980s and 1990s such as Nykänen, Nieminen, and Ahonen (Anderson 1995, 48), and the local UP Finnish American jumpers of his youth. For Heikki, this winter sport is also strongly connected with the working-class Yooper masculinity. Although he admires and praises the modern Finnish ski jumpers (see the previous section), he is nevertheless very critical towards the way ski jumping is done today as a sport. He contrasts the old and new ways and nostalgically prefers the rugged Yooper ski jumping of the "good old days," when miners and loggers competed without fancy techniques and special outfits, and often not for any reward but for pure challenge. However, a once cheap sport has now turned into a more expensive one. This modern commercialized ski jumping with fancy equipment and well-paid professionals in their colorful uniforms covered with ads is dismissed by Heikki as not manly enough.

> *Heikki also did not approve of the new V-style jumping in vogue. He preferred the windmill method. He especially looked back on the old days, when Ishpeming iron miners would be out with the guys on Saturday night and would set a new North American record jumping at Suicide Hill on Sunday afternoon, then be back in the mines on Monday morning. "They were real men," said Heikki, who scoffed at the jumpers who competed at Lillehammer. Heikki hated their form-fitting, brightly colored, silky-sissy outfits all covered with ads. "They might as well jump wearing a Nancy Kerrigan skirt," said Heikki. He had fond memories of the great jumpers of the past, such as Rudy Maki, Coy Hill, and the Bietila brothers.*[5] *Decades before, Heikki owned a camp near the Bietilas. "They were good old boys," he said fondly.* (Anderson 1995, 49.)

Anderson also features ski jumping as mingling Finnishness and Yooper Finnish Americanness of the characters when it comes to such an iconic Finnish trait as *sisu*. *Sisu* is often constructed as an important component of the essence of being Finnish for both Finns and Finnish Americans. According to William Aho (1994, 1), *sisu* is "a tough-to-translate, near spiritual quality which Finns everywhere seem to know about, believe they possess and practice. [...] 'Sisu' is a Finnish word for guts, grit, determination, and the capacity to endure any hardship." This trait is strongly connected with the iconic image of Finnish masculinity, as the term *sisu* has often been used in relation with Finnish soldiers fighting the enemy or with Finnish (and Finnish American) workers

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[5] The Bietila brothers (Anselm, Leonard, Walter, Paul, Roy, and Ralph) of Ishpeming dominated the American jumping scene from the 1930s to the 1960s (Niemi 2000, 157). Walter competed in the 1936, 1940, and 1948 Olympics and served in 1960 as the coach for the U.S. Olympic team. Ralph won six national titles and was a member of the U.S. Olympic teams in 1948 and 1952. Other prominent Finnish American ski jumpers from Michigan were Rudy Maki and Coy Hill of Ishpeming. Walter and Ralph Bietila, Maki, and Hill are U.S. Ski Hall of Fame members (Niemi 2000, 157).

and farmers doing back-breaking jobs. In Anderson's stories, through their ski jumping, the characters manifest this trait in terms of bravery. Ironically, although Heikki is not a ski jumper himself, he identifies with his UP heroes such as the Bietilas and other strong men, who were not afraid of hard sports and hard jobs.

> *He insisted they weren't afraid of anything. […] Tears filled Heikki's eyes when he talked about the old days, but there was a lot of pride in his eyes, too. Clearly, he saw himself, who never leaped higher than the running board of his pickup, as equally fearless.* (Anderson 1995, 49.)

In the story "Turfy Turpeinen," featuring an eccentric Finnish American youngster, ski jumping is yet again presented as being connected with *sisu*. "Because Turfy was a Finn, the coach assumed that Turfy had *sisu*, which he defined as a kind of foolhardy courage […]. All of the guys with *sisu* were assigned to the jumping team" (Anderson 1995, 94, original italics). This trait in ski jumping also accentuates the transnational and regional character of Finnish Americans' identities. By expressing this iconic Finnish *sisu* in the old country sport, the characters demonstrate their cross-border ties with Finland. Moreover, they bring *sisu* to the sportscape of the Upper Peninsula and enroot it there, and, thus, involve it in their regional consciousness and identification with Michigan.

The U.S. Sports Trinity and the Construction of the Characters' Identities

When describing the characters' sports life, both Anderson's and Koskela's literary texts also feature what Dyreson (2005, 941) calls "the national trinity of American football, baseball and basketball." These characteristically U.S. sports demonstrate both U.S. identities of the second and subsequent generations of Finnish Americans, as well as their strong identification with Michigan. In Koskela's novel (1996, 112), the sporting activities of the Nurmi Athletic Club include basketball. This can be interpreted as a sign of gradual Americanization of the younger generation through their sports practices. According to Virtanen (2014, 197), in the 1930s "[t]he younger generation of Finnish Americans tended to be more interested in typical American sports, such as basketball." Although in *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, the younger generation also shows interest in Finnish sports, the inclusion of basketball into the activities of the Finnish American ethnic athletic club manifests the influence of the mainstream U.S. society on the U.S.-born Finns. Koskela (1996, 77) also mentions briefly the interest of some second-generation characters in baseball, more specifically, in the local Michigan team Detroit Tigers. This interest in the iconic U.S. game also accentuates the Americanization of the younger generation

through their sports and simultaneously highlights the strong regional character of their identities. According to Warren Goldstein (2010, 105),

> *more than any other American game, baseball was built on a geographical and psychological sense of localism — if we take localism to be an attachment to one place and fear, antipathy, or competitiveness toward other places. There had always been a "home club" or nine and a "visiting" club or nine in baseball, and the action of the game alternated between the home and visiting sides. From the earliest days of the organized game, nearly every club had its own home ground.*

Thus, the characters' interest in the baseball "home club" of Michigan is a marker of their regional consciousness and identification. Although Koskela does not elaborate much on the characters' class and masculinity in relation to the U.S. sports, baseball is considered one of typically masculine sports (Klomsten, Marsh & Skaalvik 2005, 626), which can also accentuate their rugged Yooperness.

Anderson writes much more about the role of the U.S. "sports trinity" in the lives of the characters in the second half of the twentieth century. The prominent position of these sports illustrates the characters' identities as Americans and Yoopers. Their belonging to the region is manifested through their loyalty to the "home clubs" and competitiveness toward the clubs of other states. For instance, this competitiveness is demonstrated in the story "The New Barbeque Grill" when Heikki is contrasted with his granddaughter in the preferences in American football. She becomes a "fanatical" backer of the Green Bay Packers and "a kind of Wisconsinite by default, despite her Copper Country origin" (Anderson 1995, 71). Heikki, in turn, stubbornly refuses to go to the Packers' games (Anderson 1995, 71). In several stories, the author highlights the rugged masculine Yooperness of the second-generation characters through their interest in Detroit Tigers (Anderson 1995, 49, 57, 113). Heikki Heikkinen nostalgically remembers listening to Detroit Tigers games in logger camps in the woods together with other Yooper Finnish "real men" back in the good old days (Anderson 1995, 49). This connection between Detroit Tigers (and other Michigan teams) and the UP Finnish masculinity is portrayed most prominently in the story "Uncle Leon," an eponymous eccentric Finnish American hermit in the 1950s, who is a strong fan of Tigers and other Michigan teams, such as Detroit Lions (American football) and Detroit Red Wings (ice hockey).

> *He quickly fell into a routine typical of Old Finnish men from the UP. He had a small but powerful radio by his bed, and, every day from spring to early fall, he would listen religiously to Detroit Tigers' games. From fall to winter, he would listen to Lions' games, and from winter to spring to Red Wings' games. The Pistons had only recently moved to Detroit from Fort Wayne and were not yet worthy of deification. Of the holy sports trinity, Leon much preferred baseball.*

> *[…] On October 1, 1961, at the precise moment when Roger Maris stroked his sixty-first home run into the right field stands of Yankee Stadium, which, simultaneously, was the precise moment when Norm Cash finished the season as a Tiger with a league-leading .361 batting average, Leon died of a stroke. He had just consumed his two-hundred-thousandth cup of strong, black coffee. In Old Finnish Man terms, he had about as perfect a death as one could have.* (Anderson 1995, 113.)

Although Leon is portrayed as lacking many Finnish manly traits such as sisu, his passion for strong coffee (another iconic Finnish and Finnish American quality[6]) and for Michigan sports teams compensate for this and still make him a tough Yooper "Old Finnish Man."

According to Tonts & Atherley (2010, 387—389), "home teams" are important in the construction of place and local community and building a sense of pride and cohesion. For the characters in Anderson's stories, Detroit Tigers are such a "home team" which is involved in constructing their sense of affiliation with Michigan. The characters' "home teams" also accentuate their Yooperness in terms of class and masculinity. For instance, in the story "The New Wal-Mart," Heikki Heikkinen watches the baseball game on TV and is upset when the game is cancelled becasuse of bad weather. He dismisses modern high-paid professional baseball players as sissies and contrasts them with amateur UP school baseball teams of his youth when children of Finnish loggers, miners and farmers all had *sisu,* as they were so tough that they played in any weather at the diamonds of Finnish American communities of Michigan backcountry such as Toivola (Anderson 1995, 57). Through baseball, the author demonstrates not only the characters' Americanization and belonging to Michigan through their presense in the local landscape and sportscape, but also their Yooper working-class strength and ruggedness as well as their specific Finnish American identity as they demonstrate the iconic Finnish trait of *sisu* in the iconic US sport.

Conclusion

My analysis illustrates that in Anderson's and Koskela's fiction, sports is presented as an important component of the Finnish American community's life both in the 1930s and in the second half of the twentieth century, despite obvious differences in the level of activity of their ethnic institutions in these two different time periods. In both texts, sporting practices of Finnish Americans of different generations demonstrate similar tendencies of transnationalism and regionalism. By their sports participation and spectatorship, the characters transcend the borders between Finland and the United States, their old

[6] For more information about coffee and masculine Finnish Americanness, see Kushnir 2016.

country and their country of settlement. For Finnish Americans, various sports connect them with Finland and manifest their iconic Finnish traits such as *sisu*. At the same time, their sporting activities draw a boundary of their region by distinguishing them from the other states. Through their sports, the characters express their thinking of themselves in terms of Michigan and the UP, and demonstrate their strong local community spirit and place pride. By their sporting activities, facilities, and athletes, the characters mark out their presence in the region. Through their sports, they also demonstrate their belonging to such characteristics of the region as strong working-class masculinity. Sports is a key site for masculine identities (Messner 1988), and the characters in the source texts tend to prefer sports that, according to Koivula (2001) and Klomsten, Marsch, and Skaalvik (2005), are typically characterized as masculine: involving danger, risk, speed, endurance, strength, and challenge. Finnish American men are portrayed as equally strong and tough as athletes and workers. Although the U.S.-born Finns have not been limited to hard manual jobs like the migrant generation, in the texts the sports activities of different generations in different settings promote the similar ideal of working-class rugged Yooper Finnish masculinity. On the whole, sports in the source texts demonstrate how the characters' Finnishness, Americanness, and Yooperness overlap together.

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IV

MUSIC IN CONSTRUCTING FINNISH AMERICAN IDENTITIES IN THE IMMIGRANT NOVEL BY MARTIN KOSKELA

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Music in Constructing Finnish American Identities in the Immigrant Novel by Martin Koskela

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Abstract
In the immigrant novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996) by the Finnish American author Martin Koskela, music is portrayed as a notable component of the ethnic heritage of Finnish American immigrants and their descendants in the US in the 1930s. This article analyzes the roles of music in characters' identity formation with the help of the concept of transculturation, as developed by Mary Louise Pratt, and the theories of music in constructing and negotiating identity developed by Mark Slobin, Martin Stokes, Simon Frith, Georgina Born, and Ulrik Volgsten. Characters use their musical activities to maintain their Finnishness in the new country, but their Old Country music changes by acquiring new meanings and eventually by incorporating new traits of US and Finnish cultures. The discussion focuses on two aspects of music in Koskela's novel. First, live music and related activities such as dances, performed by ethnic Finnish bands as well as visiting musicians, function as shared markers of Finnish American ethnicity. The characters help build and maintain an ethnic community, but at the same time make their "little Finland" an integrated part of the United States. Second, recorded and radio broadcast music provides the characters with both a gateway to America and new symbols of Finnishness, thus enabling different generations of Finnish Americans to negotiate their identities in relation to the past and present, their Old Country heritage, and their sense of American identity. On the whole, the characters'

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music reflects identities that are transcultural, both Finnish and American.

Keywords: Finnish Americans, Finnish American literature, music, identity construction, transcultural identity

Music has played a crucial role in the history of both Finland and Finnish America. It has been actively involved in the process of Finnish nation-building and the creation of Finnish national identity (Taramaa 2007, 77; Heinonen 2012, 157). Like other immigrant groups, Finnish migrants to the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought their musical traditions with them and kept these alive to pass on to descendants (Leary 2001, 475). The music associated with Finnish identity was (and remains) a prominent part of Finnish American ethnic activities, building bridges between the Old Country and Finnish America, and passing along Finnishness from one generation to the next (Greene 1992, 29; Virtanen 2014, 188–89, 193; Jacobson 2012, 124). Although this music has undergone significant transformations by blending with numerous American musical traditions, it is regarded as an enduring cultural treasure of the Finnish American community (Lockwood 2006, 383). In Martin Koskela's contemporary Finnish American immigrant novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake* (1996), music plays key roles in constructing characters' transcultural identities. As this study demonstrates, the characters live in what Mary Louise Pratt (1992, 6) defines as a contact zone: a social space where the characters' minority Finnish culture encounters and interacts with the dominant mainstream US culture, resulting in the appearance of a new Finnish American culture. Old Country musical heritage is portrayed as receiving influences from mainstream US music, and thus comprising Finnish and American features, demonstrating identities that selectively draw from both cultures.

In this study, I concentrate particularly on two aspects of music and transculturation in the characters' identity construction in Koskela's text. First, I focus on the roles of live music in bringing Finnish Americans together. Dances and other musical activities, where the characters' own ethnic Finnish band performs, as well as visits by other musicians, help construct and maintain a distinct ethnic community, a "little Finland" in the US. At the same time,

these activities enable the community to become a part of their new country. Second, I focus on the roles of recorded and radio broadcast music in the characters' identification. Living in the US during the golden age of radio and the US record industry, Finnish Americans in the novel are shown as being influenced by these musical experiences. On the one hand, radio and records function as a gateway to America, but at the same time, provide the immigrants with new symbols of Finnishness invented in the new country. These processes allow different generations of Finnish Americans to negotiate their identities both in relation to the past and present, and in relation to their Old Country heritage and sense of American identity.

Martin Koskela is a second-generation Finnish American who writes about Finns in Michigan, especially in the Upper Peninsula, the "UP" or "Yooperland." The notable position of Finnish music in the rich culture of the Upper Midwest and its influence on the local musical landscape was demonstrated already in the 1930s and 1940s by the field recordings of such distinguished American ethnomusicologists as Alan Lomax, Sidney Robertson, and Helene Stratman-Thomas (Leary 2015). Lomax, for instance, recorded more songs and tunes from ethnic Finns than from any other group in the UP (Leary 2015, 199). In his historical novel *Welcome to Shadow Lake*, Koskela draws on his own firsthand experiences of being a Finn in the Upper Peninsula in the first half of the twentieth century. The novel depicts the everyday life of a Finnish American community in a small UP town during the Great Depression. It is set in the 1930s, the heyday of Finnish American ethnic institutions and activities, in which music plays a prominent role.

Koskela pays particular attention to musical activities in his depiction of the lives of his characters and their process of personal and communal identification. Finnish Americans of different generations listen and dance to various pieces of live and recorded music, both from the Old Country and from the broader US, as well as music produced by Finnish immigrants in the new country. Some characters are musical performers themselves, while dances and concerts are presented as important community events for both everyday and special occasions (including ethnic festivals). Finnish American performers are involved in bringing the community together. There are references to iconic Finnish American musicians

such as the famous accordionist of the 1920s–50s, Viola Turpeinen, and her husband, the trumpet player William Syrjälä, as well as to a number of popular mainstream American bands and musicians of the period.

Although music holds a prominent position in Finnish American literature, little research to date focuses on the topic of how music is represented narratively and how it is involved in the characters' identification. Koskela's novel has also drawn scant academic attention (see Virtanen 2007; Kushnir 2019), and the topic of music in the novel has not been considered in the previous research at all. In addition to providing an analysis of music in Koskela's novel, my study is innovative in applying the perspective of transculturation to Finnish American music, filling an important scholarly gap.

Theoretical framework

My analysis of Koskela's novel draws on concepts of the role of music in constructing and negotiating identity as developed by Mark Slobin (1994), Martin Stokes (1994), Simon Frith (1996), Georgina Born (2000), and Ulrik Volgsten (2014). Music is crucial for collective identity as it is an invariably communal activity that brings people together in specific alignments and draws them into emotional alliances (Frith 1996, 121; Stokes 1994, 12). Music can serve as a marker of identification with a specific group (Volgsten 2014; Stokes 1994, 5). Thus, it plays a formative role in the construction, negotiation, and transformation of sociocultural identities, both helping construct new identities and reflecting existing ones (Born 2000, 31–2).

Music is also particularly important for identification in the context of immigration, as virtually all immigrant groups bring with them musical traditions from their homelands that they can use to identify themselves (Greene 1992, 17; Slobin 1994, 243–45). Music helps immigrants forge coalitions or, conversely, build ethnic boundaries (Slobin 1994, 243–45). For immigrants, music has the power of evoking memories and thus linking homeland and "here-land" (Daynes 2005, 25; Slobin 1994, 243–44; Stokes 1994, 3). However, identities and cultural activities such as music are not simply "carried" by immigrants from one place to another but are

"created anew in different locations, continuous with history but in relation to new circumstances" (Negus and Román Velázquez 2002, 138). Ethnic musicians do more than contribute to immigrant ethnic identity and establish ethnic presence in the new country (Negus and Román Velázquez 2002, 138). While they draw on their Old Country music to remember the past, their music eventually begins to intermix with the music of the host country, influencing it, as well as being influenced by it (Daynes 2005, 25). This can be interpreted as a product of immigrants' settlement in the new country as elements of both "places" and "times" are being integrated and thus give way to a new and innovative construct (Daynes 2005, 25). Music and dance are also important forms of cultural expression among immigrant and ethnic youth who can use ethnic music to assert their ethnic unity and express an attachment to their roots in the new environment (Bennett 2000, 105, 111). The younger generation can attach new meanings to Old Country music, reconfigure it, and merge it with the music of the dominant society to construct and manifest a new identity (Bennett 2000). All of these processes are relevant for the analysis of Koskela's novel.

In my analysis of Koskela's novel, I draw on the concept of transculturation in relation to the process of construction of Finnish American culture and identities in a new country. According to Pratt (1992, 6), transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone, where encounters between the dominant and the minority cultures lead to cultural exchange and mutual influence. Although the subordinated, or minority group, cannot control what emanates from the dominant culture, they can select and invent from the materials transmitted to them and incorporate these elements or adaptations into their own culture (Pratt 1992, 6). Transculturation highlights the fact that immigrants do not simply "acculturate" into the new society, but that as they change, their environment also changes, including cultural practices such as music (Kath 2016, 30). Transculturation is relevant for the analysis of Koskela's text, which does not portray the wholesale Americanization of its characters but rather their selective adaptation to America and the formation of new Finnish American culture in the Upper Peninsula. The characters are shown as selectively incorporating elements of Finnish and American cultures into their musical practices and inventing new music in their new country. This may be seen as manifesting

their belonging to both Finland and the US, and constructing their identities as transcultural "American plus Finnish" (I draw on the model of "American Plus" ethnic identity as developed by Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch [2003, 224–25], according to which "American" is the foundation for ethnic identity, to which the ancestral ethnic heritage is added as a positive "plus"). Although the concept of transculturation implies mutual influence because of the encounter of the dominant and the minority cultures, the novel does not particularly feature changes of the mainstream US culture as a result of its interaction with the culture of Finnish immigrants. Yet the formation of new Finnish American music and culture as portrayed in the text can be seen as elements of the diverse mosaic of cultures and music in the United States.

In migration and ethnic literature, music is multilayered and has many meanings. According to Christin Hoene (2015, 2), musical references can be interpreted in relation to characters' identities and cultures since they can act as symbols and metaphors, and inform the characters' identification with their cultural heritage and surroundings. For characters, music can function not only as an identity marker but also as a means to define and express themselves, as well as to negotiate their identities between past and present and between here and there (Hoene 2015, 2, 17–18, 151). Ethnic characters who find themselves in between nations and cultures rely on music's ability to cross borders between nations, cultures, and languages (Hoene 2015, 2). This is especially the case for younger-generation immigrant characters who are depicted using music to figure out who they are and where they belong (Hoene 2015, 86). Although Hoene analyzes postcolonial British South Asian literature, her concepts can be applied to an analysis of a Finnish American literary text in which music holds different meanings in relation to characters' heritage and identities.

Roles of Live Music in Constructing "Little Finland" in the US and Making It Part of the New Country

Welcome to Shadow Lake presents a Finnish American community in the titular small and predominantly Finnish town of Shadow Lake, a "little Finland" that is "like a colony of their Suomi homeland" (Koskela 1996, 25, 72). The community is maintained

through a number of ethnic activities, businesses, and institutions, including a Finn Hall, a Finnish athletic club, an amateur theater, a co-op, and many others. Music in the form of weekly Saturday dances at the Finn Hall, and other live performances of the community's own ethnic Finnish band, represent the most regular and notable Finnish American ethnic activities shown in the text. These are described as open to all and attracting practically everyone in Shadow Lake (Koskela 1996, 112). Koskela's portrayal reflects historical realities: in the first half of the twentieth century, the social centers of Finnish Americans, Finn Halls, were actively used for various musical events, and dances were a regular feature of Finnish American community life (Jacobson 2012, 124; Greene 1992, 29; Virtanen 2014, 188). Dances were one of the most favorite pastimes of Finns in America. For the characters of Koskela's novel, dance parties and other musical events offer not only pleasure and entertainment but also a familiar and shared cultural space, a meeting place for social interaction. There, they can greet and socialize with other Finns. Dances are portrayed as bringing the whole community together and allowing them to "feel good" and cope with the pressure of the Great Depression and other stresses of immigrant life (Koskela 1996, 59). Dancing the familiar Old Country dances such as waltzes, polkas, and schottisches, and listening to the Old Country songs and music, can be seen as a strong means of keeping their Finnishness alive and bringing both performers and audiences together into a strong emotional alliance as Finns.

At the same time, the characters' Finnish musical activities are portrayed as demonstrating a great deal of change in the new country, which accentuates the Finnish American community's adaptation and the construction of their new Finnish American culture. Their ethnic band consists of US-born, second-generation Finnish youngsters, who perform Finnishness as filtered through a Finnish American perspective, catering simultaneously to the musical tastes of both the older immigrant and younger American generations, while also inventing new Finnish music. The band is shown as having an eclectic repertoire in which Old Country songs and dances combine with popular mainstream American hits of the 1920s and 1930s, such as "It's Just a Little Street Where Old Friends Meet," "Body and Soul," and "Charmaine," standing side by side and equally enjoyed by audience members of both generations (Koskela

1996, 121, 194–96). The band performs both Finnishness and Americanness and mixes and combines them into a new construct. On the one hand, the very name of the band, Johnny Harmony Five or Johnny Harmony Orchestra, has nothing specifically Finnish about it, but rather, it sounds like a generic American (jazz) band name of the period, suggesting that the band is modeled after and inspired by US bands. The band's lead vocalist admires famous mainstream musicians and singers such as Russ Columbo, Bing Crosby, Duke Ellington, and others, and she practices her own style with their music (Koskela 1996, 212–13). The band's instruments include accordion, drums, guitar, saxophone, and other generic instruments of mainstream bands. When a non-Finnish audience member, the Irish American Dr. Myles, offers to add a musical symbol of Finnishness, such as a kantele, to emphasize the Finnish character of the band, the idea is quickly dismissed as irrelevant. "'Why doesn't Johnny have a kantele in his band?' asked the doctor. 'If it's a Finnish band, it should have a kantele.' 'I doubt if there's one in town,' said Dave, 'or anyone who can play a kantele'" (Koskela 1996, 123). The band's performance of mainstream music, and sharing of a mainstream style, reflects the influence of mainstream US culture on the younger Finnish American generation. They are portrayed as sharing musical tastes with other American peers, a sign of their belonging to the broader US society.

On the other hand, despite all their Americanization, the ethnic band is portrayed as paying attention to performing Finnishness in their musical pursuits. Besides playing the familiar Old Country music, the band deliberately emphasizes its Finnishness through the lead singer's stage image, which might be seen as a bid to attract the older generation's attention, feelings, and memories: "Because she [the vocalist] knew and sang the lyrics to all the Old Country songs, the first generation listeners loved her, and Johnny presented her as *Elsi Helsinki* on his dance posters," (Koskela 1996, 13; original italics). The band's choice accentuates the potential of music as a "milestone of memory" for the characters that can easily evoke an earlier time and place. It seems to play a role outlined by Hoene (2015, 59), "a voice out of time and place," which enables listeners to relate back to the homeland while being away, not only evoking the past, but also displacing performers and audience in time and space. Although the immigrant-generation characters are mostly

portrayed as not expressing any particular nostalgia and homesickness for the Old Country (after all, their new home is in the US), and only a few of them have actually come from Helsinki, the familiar music by Elsi Helsinki may be seen as evoking their own firsthand experiences and memories of Finland. They are drawn into a strong emotional alliance and share the feeling of togetherness in accord with Bennett's (2005, 4) concept of the role of music in bonding displaced people, effectively bridging the geographic distance between them and providing a shared sense of collective identity articulated by a symbolic sense of community.

> The band sounded again, with an easing of the tempo. It was the custom to follow a series of polkas with waltzes, so now the tempo was moderated with *Kulkurin Valssi*, *Orpopojan Valssi*[2] and *Villiruusu* (Wild Rose), one of the most beloved of the Old Country songs. As the dancers glided, many joined Elsi in singing the words. Elsi knew all the songs the immigrants brought to America and they loved her for singing them. (Koskela 1996, 195; original italics)

This interplay between familiar music and familiar place highlights the sentimental value the older generation places on the music of their ethnic band. However, the situation is different for their US-born children, who are explicitly called the "American" generation in the text (Koskela 1996, 178). Although the young musicians of the ethnic band recognize the potential of their music to evoke the past, they (along with their second-generation audience) do not have any firsthand memories of Finland, and the reference to Helsinki does not mean as much for them as it does for the older immigrant generation. The deliberate reference in their music accentuates a creative fusion of the elements of their parents' culture and the mainstream culture within their own transcultural identities. The band

[2] "Kulkurin Valssi" (Vagabond waltz) and "Orpopojan Valssi" (Orphan boy's waltz) are well-known compositions of J. Alfred Tanner, one of the most important Finnish songwriters and singers. In the 1920s, both waltzes were recorded by Columbia and Victor, and Tanner also toured the Upper Midwest's Finnish communities (Leary 2015, 160). "'Kulkurin valssi,' which celebrates a homeless yet cheerful and idealistic wanderer resonated powerfully with Finnish Americans, many of whom had been landless workers in both Finland and America" (Leary 2015, 160). In the twenty-first century, many Finnish Americans still consider it their cultural community's informal "national anthem" (Leary 2015, 160).

uses the old music in accord with new conditions, commercializing their ethnic heritage to cater to the older generation's feelings, to attract an audience, and to be popular, while in so doing, reflecting their adaptation to the American environment and an American practice of turning ethnicity into a business and a product to sell. At the same time, their deliberate performance of Finnishness through their music and stage image not only transports listeners to the past, to Helsinki and Finland in general, but also brings Finland to the US and the Upper Peninsula in particular. The youngsters' Finland is their "little Finland" in the Finntown of Shadow Lake, which the older generation, although possibly harboring sentimental feelings for the Old Country, also see as their new home. The band's performance is imbued with the meaning of Finland and the spatial connection between it and Shadow Lake, rooting the Old Country in the US, and thus making their "little Finland" a part of their new home.

The band also demonstrates new ways of performing Finnish identity, which comprise the features of Finnishness and Americanness, as well as regional Upper Peninsula identity. Even the old Finnish music is performed in a new American manner, with the help of a saxophone, a rendition that is enjoyed by both the older and younger generations. The combination of elements of Finnish and mainstream US cultures into a new amalgamation is further illustrated by the dual character of the band: it is called Johnny Harmony Five like the mainstream bands, yet their lead singer uses the explicitly Finnish stage image of Elsi Helsinki. Elsi can "belt out raucous Finnish songs or soft sentimental American ballads with equal ease" (Koskela 1996, 13). This dual capacity symbolizes the new Finnish American identity creatively and selectively combined by the US-born youngsters. It represents the epitome of the band's and their audience's transcultural Finnish Americanness, merging elements of Finnish and American cultures into a new Finnish American culture. Through the band's ethnic music, the characters also demonstrate their particular affiliation with their community in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. The band's repertoire includes a song (sung in English, but enjoyed by both generations) composed by their leader, which is wryly called the song that "everyone in Shadow Lake knows by heart, . . . and no one outside town has ever heard," and which also functions as a marker of local identity. The

younger protagonists belonging to this predominantly Finnish community consider it "their song" (Koskela 1996, 123, 192–93).

Live music is also portrayed as instrumental in connecting generations, the less Americanized immigrant parents and their more Americanized children, and passing Finnishness on from the older generation to the youngsters. Music and dances at the Finn Hall are presented as a particularly important and easy-to-participate-in ethnic activity as they do not require knowledge of the Finnish language. As scholars of Finnish American cultural history have shown, it was easier to involve the second generation in musical activities since knowledge of Finnish was less important (Virtanen 2014, 192–93). As Finnish Americans have said about the role of music in attracting Finnish American youth to their ethnic heritage: "We know how difficult it is to get our American-born youngsters to take part in our Finnish activities, which they do not understand or comprehend. Music alone they understand; it enchants and attracts them" (quoted in Kolehmainen 1977, 289). In Koskela's text, while other activities, such as the amateur theater, are less accessible for the younger generation, who do not have sufficient skills in Finnish (Koskela 1996, 231), music is "universal" and comprehensible to all. Yet the younger generation is portrayed as not satisfied with the old Finnish music (or its new-country reconstruction) alone, but rather, are depicted as more open to a variety of other US musical genres than were the parental, immigrant, generation. The visits of famous American bands and orchestras from Chicago to Shadow Lake connect their "little Finland" with the new country and are seen as "special" and fondly remembered afterward by the young characters (Koskela 1996, 60, 242). Nevertheless, they do not abandon their ethnic heritage, which can be demonstrated through music. As one of the second-generation protagonists summarizes his Finnish American peers' attitude to the band's performances: "But the Saturday night affairs at Nurmi Hall were fun, too. Just the music differed. The youngsters still congregated at the Hall on Saturday night to dance and laugh and romance" (Koskela 1996, 60). Here again, music demonstrates the younger characters' belonging to both their "little Finland" and the USA. Although the band's performances create continuity between generations, the visits of the mainstream bands and their influence underscores the fact that the younger generation does not want their ethnic community

in Shadow Lake to be isolated from American society. They aspire to be part of a larger American society.

In constructing their ethnic community, the characters rely not only on their own ethnic band but also on other Finnish American musicians coming to the town, the most prominent of whom is the famous US-born accordionist and singer Viola Turpeinen. This comes as no surprise since Turpeinen was an important figure for Finnish Americans in the first half of the twentieth century, regarded as a symbol of Finnish ethnic identity by Finnish immigrants but also well known among mainstream Americans (Jacobson 2012, 116, 123–25; Niemelä 1997, 113). Interestingly, since her accordion instructors were Italian, she played Finnish dances with an Italian "accent," making her music a fusion of two different musical styles, an innovation that made her popular beyond only the Finnish community (Juntikka 2001, 27). In the novel, Turpeinen's annual cross-country tour is portrayed as an important part of the characters' festival *Juhannus* (Midsummer), a central celebration for Finns in Shadow Lake (Koskela 1996, 213, 240–42). Besides the traditional bonfire and other activities, such as a picnic and games, Turpeinen's live music, as well as the related dances, are presented as a centerpiece of the community's celebration. Turpeinen is seen as a musical star, a source of shared pride and love, and a new ethnic symbol of Finnishness, or rather Finnish Americanness. According to the characters, every Finn in America knows her songs (Koskela 1996, 241), while her performance at the town's Juhannus celebration is shown as bringing the whole Finnish American community of Shadow Lake together and is equally enjoyed by both younger and older generations (Koskela 1996, 240–42, 245). Turpeinen's music can be seen as yet another expression of the characters' transcultural Finnish American identity. On the one hand, her music is instrumental in building their "little Finland" in Shadow Lake, but at the same time, it makes this "little Finland" a part of the larger US. According to George Lipsitz (1994, 126), music functions "as a device for building unity between and across immigrant communities." In the novel, Turpeinen's national tour plays such a role, connecting the characters' Finnish community with other Finnish American communities throughout the US and rooting them in their new country. On the other hand, like the performances of the characters' own ethnic band, Turpeinen's concert, a combination

of the Old Country holiday and reconstruction of Finnish music by the Finnish American music star (who has become a star in the new country and with the help of the new country), represents the new Finnish American culture, negotiating the past and the present, Finland and the US.

On the whole, in the novel, the live Finnish music of the characters is incorporated both into the local scene of the Upper Peninsula (thus making it a Finnish state) as well as into the mosaic of US culture and music in general. Although their music can be seen as manifesting the characters' belonging to the Finnish community, their musical activities demonstrate a great deal of adaptation to the new context and to processes of Americanization. At the same time, the characters influence the new country: their dances and live music attract not only Finns but also other audiences (Koskela 1996, 112), and they use new American elements to maintain their Finnishness in the new environment. This highlights the transcultural position of the Finnish American characters within the contact zone. The intermixture of their Old Country Finnish music with US music, and the creation of new Finnish American music, illustrates what Daynes (2005, 25) describes as a sign of settlement in the host country and the production of a new and original product integrating the elements from both the past and present, the old country and the new.

The Roles of Recorded and Radio Music

Besides live music, Koskela also pays some attention to recorded music and radio broadcast music in his portrayals of the lives of Finnish Americans in Shadow Lake. Characters of different generations listen to music on the radio as well as to a variety of records, and they discuss and share their impressions of the music they hear. There are references to the US Victor Talking Machine Company, their records, and their line of phonographs, that is, the Victrola, which many characters have in their homes along with records. Koskela portrays Finnish and American bands and musicians of the period whose music becomes available to the characters via recordings or radio. This comes as no surprise given the prominent position of such music in what is often described as the golden age of the US radio and record industry. According to

David Suisman (2009, 6–9, 11, 15), US record companies played a pioneering role in the early twentieth century in making music a mass-produced and mass-consumed commodity through their records, phonographs, and radio broadcasts. Recorded music was also important in the identity-building of many immigrant and ethnic groups. The desire of various first-generation immigrants to transmit their ethnic heritage to their children through music was noted by US recording companies (Spottswood 1982, 55), which catered to immigrant tastes by producing records featuring ethnic music, thus commercializing ethnicity as a means of enticing consumers to buy phonographs. Between 1900 and the 1950s, American companies issued approximately thirty thousand records aimed at non-English-speaking communities; among them were some eight hundred Finnish records, specifically marketed as such and mostly recorded in the US (Gronow 1982, 12). Records and record players were relatively inexpensive, and many Finnish American homes had them. Thus, in the early twentieth century, Finns in America bought more records than all Finns resident in Finland, and more recordings of Finnish music were released in the USA than in Europe (Gronow 2002, 2003). At the same time, by convincing immigrants to buy phonographs to play these recordings of ethnic music, the companies also sought to attract them to more mainstream American music and thus to Americanize them. Lloyd Dunn, a Capitol Records executive, summarized the attitude of the US music industry to the American-born generations' preferences: "Second-generation Europeans are *Americans*, particularly in their music tastes" (Dunn 1975, 29; original italics). Although this was an exaggeration, the younger generation, the descendants of immigrants, tended to gradually become interested in the music of their new country. For example, in the 1920s, younger Finnish American musicians helped jazz gain a foothold in Finnish American music (Virtanen 2014, 190).

In the novel, the recorded music in the characters' lives is presented as playing the dual role of providing them with the opportunity to maintain their ethnic identities in the USA and simultaneously Americanizing them. The first-generation characters have Victrolas to play the records of their ethnic music. Besides the visits of Finnish American musicians and the performances of the community's own band, these records are shown as the most prominent

way to enjoy familiar Finnish music in the new country, and the Shadow Lake Finns rely upon them. The records of the familiar Old Country music, "old Finn stuff" (Koskela 1996, 213), connect with characters' occasional sentimental feelings for their homeland and the past, and, as in the case of live music, both bring listeners to Finland and at the same time bring Finland to the new country. The records are used by the characters to introduce non-Finns to their music and culture (Koskela 1996, 138). Besides maintaining Finnishness, however, the records also illustrate the transformation of the characters' Finnish identities. Their music may be from the Old Country, but the ethnic records are its American rendering, a new form of ethnic expression discovered and produced in the US, a commercialization of the past affected by American modernity. In this way, mainstream society influences their ethnic identification. This influence is heightened by the prominence of new figures of Finnishness like Viola Turpeinen and her music. Historically, Turpeinen recorded for Victor, Columbia, and Standard Records, and performed on radio broadcasts (Jacobson 2012, 116, 125). The novel features her records and presents them as just as important for Finnish Americans as her annual visits to Shadow Lake are. "Viola's Victor label records were in every Finn home that had a phonograph and everyone knew her songs" (Koskela 1996, 241). Thus, not only Turpeinen herself, but also her records, are presented as symbols of Finnishness, produced and delivered by the US mainstream industry. Recorded music, like recording stars, become new ways of manifesting Finnish identity in *Welcome to Shadow Lake*.

At the same time, the novel emphasizes that, even for the older generations, phonographs bring more than only Finnish or new Finnish American music. For instance, when describing one of the central character's collection of Victrola records, the text reveals that the music of the Old Country and the music of the new stand side by side. Jazz and other popular American musical genres of the 1920s–1930s are placed alongside Finnish numbers: Gusti's collection includes recordings of "Sunny Side of the Street," "Should I?," "S'posin,'" "Three Little Words," and "Charmaine," as well as "Isontalon Antti ja Rannanjärvi," and other Finnish (and Finnish American) accordion music and singing groups (Koskela 1996, 138). The transcultural positionality of Finnish American characters is

demonstrated, as they selectively incorporate elements of both the old and the new, Finland and the US, into their musical listening.

This tendency is even more pronounced among the younger-generation characters, Shadow Lake's "American generation," who are portrayed as enjoying radio and recorded music much more actively than their parents. Bennett (2000, 112, 116) points out that immigrant and ethnic youth may articulate separation from traditions through rejection of ethnic music, while the appropriation of mainstream musical tastes can serve as a gesture of rebellion against or a breaking away from their parents' culture. In Koskela's novel, however, the tendency is rather a measure of the younger generation's greater degree of Americanization, as well as their gradual drift from the Old Country culture. They are not content with having only "the old Finn stuff" at home and are eager to acquire and listen to popular American records, listening to radio programs featuring hotel bands from Chicago and Detroit (Koskela 1996, 59, 213). The youngsters are portrayed as being more open to US music and acquiring similar tastes to those of their mainstream American peers. At the same time, the younger generation of the novel does not abandon Finnish records altogether. For instance, Viola Turpeinen's music (both live and recorded) is equally popular among the older and younger generations (Koskela 1996, 241). It is remarkable that the novel depicts not only Finnish and Finnish American recorded music but also mainstream American music as having the potential to unite characters and different generations. American music on phonographs and the radio does not necessarily divide the more-and-less-Americanized generations; it also unites them, as the characters of different generations share the act of listening to records or the radio (Koskela 1996, 212–13). The broadcast of a music competition via loudspeakers is presented as an important community event attracting "half the town" (Koskela 1996, 242). These modern ways of mass dissemination of music bring mainstream America to the remote ethnic community of Shadow Lake and function as the characters' gateway to the US. The characters are portrayed as embracing mainstream tastes in music (but without leaving their own Finnish and Finnish American music behind), which may demonstrate their belonging to the new country, but on their own terms as Americans plus Finnish (in line with Österlund-Pötzsch's [2003, 224] concept of "American

Plus" as the ethnic identity of those people who are secure in their American identity and do not need to "prove" it). At the same time, the novel illustrates how Finnish Americans combine their ethnic music with American music to produce something new. The local band's lead singer, Elsi Helsinki, is an avid fan of American music, collects records, practices her own style of singing it, and wants to incorporate the new songs she has learned from records into the band's repertoire (Koskela 1996, 212–13). Her musical experiments evince adaptation, appropriation, and fusion of Finnish and American music, and result in a variety of new Finnish American music that selectively draws on both cultures and highlights the characters' transcultural Finnish American identities.

For the most part, the novel shows the US music industry succeeding in Americanizing the musical tastes of Finnish Americans, but also contributing to the preservation of their ethnic music and perpetuating memories of the Old Country that reaffirm the characters' Finnish identities. On the other hand, the industry's ethnic records are portrayed as making Finnish music cross ethnic borders and become a part of a wider US music scene. Historically, many ethnic groups' musical traditions were first recorded in the US and only later in their countries of origin. This tendency held true particularly for immigrants from rural countries, where phonographs and records were not readily available or affordable. In such contexts, a sufficient audience did not exist for the viable production of records in their own countries (Spottswood 1982, 63). Thus, it was often US recording companies that provided music to immigrants' home countries and that served to preserve and provide a historical record of traditional musical genres and performers. American companies also made the music of various immigrant groups a part of the multifaceted American musical landscape. As the record company Columbia's advertisement stated, foreign language records "cease to be a 'foreign language' when recorded by Columbia—they are 'native' in the purest and best sense" (Spottswood 1982, 62). Koskela's novel portrays this phenomenon, as the characters, relying on the new and modern American form of musical ethnic expression, become a part of the new country and negotiate their identities with both the past and the present, their Old Country heritage and their Americanness. Their ethnic records symbolize their transcultural identities, their simultaneous belonging to the new country

and Finland. And the "old" Finnish music and the "new" Finnish American music (both newly recorded in America), unite the Finns of Shadow Lake with other Finnish immigrants throughout the country and with Finns in Finland, helping create and demonstrate a recognizable, distinctly Finnish American ethnic community.

The book jacket of Koskela's novel describes *Welcome to Shadow Lake* as "the story of a bewildered people in a tremulous time and place, written by a second-generation American Finn who was there and remembers" (Koskela 1996, back cover). A novel depicting the 1930s, that was written in the 1990s and can thus be seen as backward looking, was written during a time when Finnish Americans had already become a well-established and respected part of the US multicultural and multiethnic mosaic. As my discussion in this article shows, what is especially significant about the novel is how Koskela presents the earlier days of one Finnish American community in particular and its encounters with mainstream culture, along with the ethnic activities that the community engaged in. Although not a central element of the novel by any means, music is nonetheless featured as important for the characters and their community. The text draws attention to the role of music in uniting different generations, passing on Finnish ethnic heritage, and constructing new forms of Finnish American culture and identity. What distinguishes Koskela's novel from the portrayal of community musical culture in similar Finnish American texts is that Koskela narrates not only the performance of live music but also the noteworthy position of recorded music and radio broadcasts in the building of Finnish American identity. The text highlights the lasting role of music as a component of Finnishness in the US. Despite the decline of ethnic institutions such as Finn Halls, music remains today one of the most important ethnic activities of Finnish Americans; it is featured prominently in the largest annual Finnish American festival, FinnFest (Kero 1997, 334), is shared through numerous courses and workshops, is supplemented by an ongoing circulation of bands and musicians between Finland and the USA, and figures as a prime topic in literary works like *Welcome to Shadow Lake*. Although the contemporary Finnish American music scene differs substantially from the music experienced by Finns of the 1930s, as featured in Koskela's text, an unmistakable continuity exists, like the relation of roots to a tree. Koskela draws attention

to a time when Finnish music, along with Finnish American ethnic identity, were first becoming part of the varied US patchwork of cultures, ethnicities, and music.

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