Charlotta Hedberg

The Finland-Swedish Wheel of Migration
Identity, Networks and Integration
1976-2000

GEOGRAFISKA REGIONSTUDIER NR 61
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Abstract


This dissertation examines the role in the migration process between Sweden and Finland of the Swedish-speaking minority group, the Finland Swedes. The causes underlying migration, as well as the integration of the group in Sweden, constitute the main focuses of the study.

It is concluded that Finland Swedes are over-represented in the total migration process from Finland to Sweden. As such, the process is culturally embedded in the group’s ethnic identity, which causes migration both through the practical minority situation in Finland, and through ethnic affinity with Sweden. Further causes include the substantial, circular networks of cultural, social and economic contacts between Sweden and Finland.

In the integration process, the transformation of the group’s ethnic identity is the central area of analysis. Initially, the ethnic affinity with Sweden is transformed into strengthened loyalties to Finland. As early as the first generation of migrants, however, the Finland Swedes enter into a process of assimilation in Sweden.

The migration process reveals the complex identity construction of the Finland Swedes. The ethnic identity is constituted of relations both towards the Finnish-speaking majority group, and towards Sweden as an extended Swedish-speaking area. The ethnic identity is mediated through national and personal identities, which are linked to both Sweden and Finland.

The findings have been produced within the methodological framework of critical realism, using a multiple-method research design. An individually based, statistical data set focused on the extension of the Finland-Swedish migration pattern, whereas an in-depth interview study was used to analyse the deeper causes of migration and integration.

Keywords: Cultural migration, Integration and assimilation, Ethnic identity construction, Networks, Spatial identities, Finland Swedes

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List of Papers

Section II
The dissertation is based on the following papers, which will be referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:


IV. Hedberg, Charlotta. Finland-Swedish “Return” Migration to Sweden: The Dividing Line of Language. Submitted to a volume to be published within the research project *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migrants in Comparative Perspective*, University of California San Diego: Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies.

Section III
The section contains a popular scientific paper, which is a Swedish summary of the dissertation:

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Tack!

Att vara doktorand har visat sig vara en betydligt mer social sysselsättning än jag föreställde mig när jag påbörjade min forskarutbildning. Det är många som jag vill tacka i det här förordet.


En viktig del av vårt projekt har varit ett nära samarbete mellan Geografiska institutionen i Helsingfors och Kulturgeografiska institutionen i Uppsala. Särskilt betydelsefullt har samarbetet med min kollega Kaisa Kepsu i Helsingfors varit. Det har inneburit både stor hjälp i avhandlingsarbetet och, kanske viktigast av allt, det har gjort arbetet roligt. Vi har kompletterat varandra bra såväl när vi har skrivit våra gemensamma artiklar, som när vi har utforskat svenskbygderna i Finland. Även Kaisas handledare, John Westerholm, har bidragit med engagemang och kunskap inom ramen för vårt gemensamma projekt.

Projektet har varit en del av det tvärvetenskapliga forskningsprogrammet "Svenskt i Finland – finskt i Sverige". Härigenom fick jag tidigt möjlighet att ta del av nära relaterad forskning, samt att delta i projektets populärvetenskapliga antologi (se del 3 i avhandlingen). Det senare ser jag som särskilt viktigt, eftersom jag därmed fick chansen att bättre kommunicera min forskning till den grupp som jag har studerat. Inom programmets ram har forskningen bekostats av Riksbankens jubileumsfond samt av Vetenskapsrådet. Därtill har jag tilldelats stipendier från SSAG (Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi) samt NorFa (Nordisk Forskerutdanningsakademi) för att utföra fältarbeten, samt vistas en längre tid på Geografiska institutionen i Helsingfors. Av Kulturfonden för Sverige och Finland har jag även fått ett vistelsestipendium på Hanaholmens kulturcentrum i Finland.
Ett särskilt tack vill jag rikta till de finlandssvenska migranter som jag har intervjuat och som har delgivit mig av sina personliga flyttningshistorier: Utan er medverkan hade det här projektet inte gått att genomföra och jag är glad för det sätt som ni har ställt upp för mig! Även personalen på pastorskanslierna i Esbo Svenska församling, Jakobstads Svenska församling samt Kimito församling har hjälpt mig att ta fram material om finlandssvensk migration ur kyrkoarkiven.


Mitt största tack går till min familj i Umeå samt till Roberto, för ert stöd under den här tiden. Ni har glatt er med mig i mina medgångar och hjälpt mig i mina motgångar; det har varit ovärderligt för mig.

Uppsala i november 2004
SECTION I

Comprehensive Introduction

The big wheel keeps on turning
On a simple line day by day
The earth spins on its axis
One man struggles while another relaxes

(Massive Attack, “Hymn of the Big Wheel”)
1. Introduction and Background

Introduction: A Finland-Swedish Wheel of Migration

Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden may be conceived of as a turning wheel. The Swedish-speaking minority group in Finland, the Finland Swedes, are part of a recurrent movement across the Baltic, linking Finland with Sweden. The wheel connects the two locations, conveying migrants and return migrants, resources and ideas, and it is based on networks and identities related to both the past and the present.

Flows of contacts have existed between Finland and Sweden for many centuries. Until 1809, Finland had been an integrated part of the Swedish kingdom for over half a millennium. Today too, there are lively contacts across the sea. Companies are amalgamating and establishing branches in both countries. Swedish television is broadcast in Finland and popular music from Sweden spreads easily to the other side of the water. Ferries make the crossing, carrying people who may be travelling for pleasure or visiting relatives who have migrated.

Within the context of these activities, the Finland-Swedish minority plays a major role. Cultural expressions from Sweden are utilised in the group’s everyday life in Finland and contacts are easily established as a result of the common language. A sense of identity with Sweden is constantly being reproduced, which makes the step to migration a short one and keeps the wheel of migration turning. People migrate in order to work and study in Swedish, in line with the ideals they identify as being Swedish. Migrants have often crossed the connecting seaway repeatedly, a practice which has served to familiarise the group with the thought of living in Sweden.

The Finland-Swedish migration stream is not only caused by links based on an affinity with Sweden however. The minority situation in Finland itself provides motivations for migration. It is sometimes difficult for a Finland Swede to get a job or to study in his/her mother tongue. Other Finland Swedes feel “unwanted” in Finland, which is at the same time a country they feel devoted to. As a consequence, the migration process becomes a complex question of identity and competing loyalties to Sweden and Finland.

Thus Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden is not seen as a dramatic, one-step move from a well-known origin to an unknown destination. Instead it is viewed as being equivalent to internal migration within the migrant’s own country. The migration decision is vaguely defined and open ended –
with the options of staying in Sweden or returning to Finland. This makes migration a circulatory event, serving to transmit ideas between the countries, and at the same time maintaining an incessant flow of social contacts and inspiring future migrants.

The underlying notion of identity, and the minority situation in the country of departure, renders Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden comparable with international processes of ethnic “return” migration (Clachar 1997; Brubaker 1998; Kulu 1998, Tsuda 1999, 2002). These are caused by similar motives, and there are many common features in relation to the process of identity formation in the new country. Unlike other cases of ethnic “return” migration, however, the locational proximity and close interaction between Sweden and Finland, as well as the Swedish mother tongue of the Finland Swedes, make this migration stream unique. In addition, the process of adjustment to daily life in Sweden is often perceived by Finland Swedes as being uncomplicated, and they find it relatively easy to integrate in Sweden.

Objective of the Dissertation

In this dissertation migration is viewed as a culturally embedded process engaged in by both groups and individuals (Fielding 1992; Sarup 1994; Boyle et al 1998: 207-208). At the collective level, migration is selective and gives definition to the contours of group experiences such as ethnicity, age and class. Certain groups are over-represented in the process, and this in turn reveals something about the particular group in question, and about their collective identity in relation to other groups. As such, migration contributes to our understanding of not just the migrants themselves, but of the whole group under study. Migration also constitutes one aspect of the interconnectedness between places (Hägerstrand 1957; Fawcett 1989; McHugh 2000). Socio-historical, bilateral/economic, mass cultural and personal exchanges are linked to flows of people and serve to make migration a continuous and circular process over time. At the individual level, migration is a major event in life, which heavily impacts upon the future. The migration decision constitutes part of the individual biography (Halfacree and Boyle 1993), and is closely connected to the individual’s multifaceted personal and collective identities.1 The study of migration is a multidisciplinary field, and in this dissertation, the subject is approached within the academic discipline of human geography.

Proceeding from this definition of migration as a cultural event, the overarching objective of this dissertation is to analyse the Finland-Swedish mi-

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1 The cultural definition of migration should be seen as providing a broad framework for the analysis, which may contain more “traditional” approaches to migration, such as an economic approach, or the analysis of distance (Chapter 2). However, the analytical emphasis is focused on aspects such as norms and values.
igration process between Finland and Sweden. Special attention is focused on the causes of migration and on the process of identity formation.

In the study, the extensive pattern of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden during the period 1976 to 1999 is investigated, in parallel with the narratives of migrants from selected case study areas. The circularity of the process is analysed both over time, by investigating linkages between places, and at the individual level, through the analysis of both out-migration from and return migration to Finland.

The focus is directed at the causes of out-migration from Swedish-speaking parts of Finland for the Finland Swedes as a group. The minority situation in Finland and the affinity with Sweden are seen as vital issues in this examination of the causes for migration. Other important factors, such as the labour market and the temporary migration of college students, are assigned a secondary role in the context of this analysis, as is the issue of gender. These factors are not viewed as specific causes of Finland-Swedish migration per se, but rather as constituting the contextual background that generates migration among both Finland Swedes and other groups.

The identity construction of Finland Swedes is analysed in the context of the processes of migration to and integration into Swedish society. Proficiency in Swedish, and the establishment of new inter-group relations between majority and minority groups are conditions that are assumed to be central to the Finland Swedes’ “identificational integration”, i.e. the transformation of their identities, in Sweden.

The regional factor constitutes an important concern in the analyses presented in this dissertation. Swedish Finland, comprising the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, is characterised by a large degree of heterogeneity. The migrants and contexts of three case study areas are scrutinised in particular detail, these areas being: Esbo (Espoo), in the Nyland (Uusimaa) capital region, Kimito (Kemiö), in the archipelagic Åboland (Turunmaa) region, and Jakobstad (Pietarsaari), in the northern Österbotten (Ostrobothnia/Pohjanmaa) region (Figure 1). In this dissertation, the autonomous province of Åland is excluded from the analysis, due to its special status and identity (see Chapter 3).

2 Since a single group consists of many individuals, the distinction between individuals and groups is not absolute. The causes of migration among the Finland-Swedish group thus intersect with the migration decisions made by individuals. Nonetheless, certain causes are arguably influenced by a Finland-Swedish group identity (for a more thorough discussion, see the causal analysis, Chapter 4).

3 Gender issues are taken up to some degree in the popular scientific paper included in this dissertation. The author intends to analyse this question in more detail in a subsequent paper.

4 In this dissertation, causes are defined in line with the methodological perspective of critical realism (Sayer 1992; Danemark et al 1997; see Chapter 3).

5 Since the dissertation deals with the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, the official Swedish names of regions and municipalities have been used. The Finnish names, which often occur in English texts, are here presented in parentheses. One exception to this general rule is found in Paper I, where regions are discussed with reference to their Finnish names.
Figure 1. The Swedish-speaking regions of Finland and the case study areas.

Source: The map was produced by Kaisa Kepsu, Helsinki University 2004.

The dissertation builds on the methodological framework of critical realism (Sayer 1992; Danermark 1997; see Chapter 3). In line with this approach, quantitative methods producing statistical, descriptive analyses of migration patterns are combined with qualitative interview studies conducted among limited number of migrants.

Designed as a collection of Papers, the dissertation investigates the following research questions:
1. Why do Finland-Swedes migrate to Sweden?

- **Causes:** What are the (structural/internal) explanations of Finland-Swedish migration? (Papers I, II, III, IV)
- **Networks:** What kinds of relations are present between Sweden and Finland, how do they influence the migrants and how do they differ between the regions in Swedish Finland? (Papers II, IV)
- **Identity:** How do conceptions of Finland-Swedish ethnic identity, in relation to the Finland Swedes’ Finlandish\(^6\) national identity, influence the migration decision? (Papers II, III, IV)
- **Distance:** How is distance perceived in relation to the Finland-Swedish ethnic identity and the networks to Sweden, and how does this influence the migration decision? (Paper II)

2. How do the Finland-Swedish migrants’ collective and individual identities change in the course of the migration process to Sweden?

- **Integration:** How are migrants’ identities transformed when new inter-group relations are established? (Papers III, IV)
- **Space:** How are migrants’ identities linked to space subsequent to migration? (Paper III)

Related Research Approaches

The period examined by the study is limited to 1976-1999. This was in part due to the lack of linguistically based, statistical data on migration in Finland prior to 1976. Furthermore, the period marks a change in migration patterns, both in Finland and in Europe more generally, from the large-scale labour migration witnessed during the decades subsequent to World War II, to a less frequent migration of highly skilled labour (Findlay 1990: 15; Blotevogel 1997: 8-9; Korkiasaari and Söderling 1998). Relatively little research has been conducted into the new patterns of migration between Finland and Sweden, in part because they are less visible than was the preceding mass-migration.

The large waves of migration from Finland to Sweden, which peaked in the 1960s and 1970s, have been the focus of several thorough investigations (DeGeer and Wester 1975; DeGeer 1977; Sandlund 1982; Reinans 1984, 1996; Korkiasaari 1986; Häggström *et al* 1990). Between 1945 and 1976, 400,000 people moved from Finland to Sweden and about half of these have remained living there (Reinans 1996: 64-65).\(^7\) The main explanation for this migration is to be found in the uneven economic development witnessed in

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\(^6\) In the dissertation the word “Finlandish” is used instead of “Finnish”, to mark the involvement of both Finnish and Swedish speakers. See a further discussion in the section “Contemporary Finland-Swedish identity”.

\(^7\) See Paper I for a more detailed background description of migration from Finland to Sweden.
Sweden and Finland respectively subsequent to World War II, which resulted in a labour deficit in Sweden and unemployment and a housing shortage in Finland. It was estimated that Finland Swedes accounted for approximately 30 percent of the total migration stream, even though the group only comprised six percent of the Finlandish population. The differences in migration patterns between Swedish and Finnish speakers are not the result of different age-, educational or occupational structures within these two population groups. Rather, the Finland-Swedish population in Finland is older than its Finnish-speaking counterpart, which would reduce their propensity to migrate, and the educational levels of the two groups are relatively equal (Finnäs 2004: 13, 24-26; Allardt and Starck 1981: 182). Even so, the social status of the two groups has become equalised, from a previous situation where the Swedish speakers were comprised of both low and high social strata, while the Finnish-speaking group was comprised predominantly of members of the lower strata (see the following sections).

Despite the fact that they were over-represented in the migration stream to Sweden, only limited attempts to investigate the Finland-Swedish migration pattern have been made within previous research. One reason for this was probably a lack of statistical data, which served as an obstacle to investigating the group in a quantitative manner. A second reason was most certainly the economic and spatial-quantitative approach that characterised migration research prior to the 1990s, and that excluded cultural aspects of migration (Findlay and Graham 1991; Fielding 1992; Massey et al 1998). As regards migration between Finland and Sweden, the economic discrepancies between the two countries were obvious, and it was easy to disregard any possible group-specific reasons for migration beyond these economic factors.

The focus of this dissertation on Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden between 1976 and 1999 aims to fill this gap in the research. The central object of study is the Finland Swedes as an ethnic group (Sarup 1996: 178; Höckerstedt 2000: 14-29) and the migration of this group to a country of ethnic affinity (Brubaker 1998: 1047; Tsuda 1999, 2002). Since demographic, educational and occupational patterns are relatively equivalent bet-

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8 In total, the Swedish speakers have a higher educational level than the Finnish speakers, although this is explained by the higher proportion of Finland Swedes found in urban areas (Finnäs 2004: 24). When the regional factor is taken into account, the groups’ educational levels are very similar.

9 The main investigation was made at the request of the Finlandish state (Svenska emigrationskommitténs betänkande 1980). To some degree the topic was treated demographically (Finnäs 1986) and statistically (Sandlund 1982). Other studies did not target the Finland Swedes specifically, although in practice they dealt with the group to a very substantial extent (De-Geer 1977; Hägström et al 1990; Nyman-kurkiala 1999).

10 Within the research project that forms the basis for this dissertation, “Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland and Sweden: A geographical study of the changed identity and mobility of a minority”, other aspects of Finland-Swedish migration have been examined by Kaisa Kepsu of the University of Helsinki. She has investigated the migration pattern at the aggregate level and examined changes to the Swedish language border in Finland.
ween the Swedish- and the Finnish-speaking groups, it is assumed that the distinct Finland-Swedish migration pattern is culturally embedded in ethnic identity.

At a general level, the dissertation aims to shed light on the process of ethnic minority groups’ migration to countries of ethnic affinity. The case of Finland-Swedish migration may contribute to the understanding of some of the mechanisms operating within this newly established area of research, which is sometimes referred to as *ethnic “return” migration* (Clachar 1997; Brubaker 1998; Kulu 1998; Tsuda 1999, 2002, forthcoming in 2004). Although the Finland-Swedish group is a well-established minority in Finland, the focus on issues of identity and language involve clear parallels with other research that has been conducted within this research field.

Return migration has been described as “the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration” (King 2000: 7), which is characterised by “circulation” and continuity over time (Tollefsen Altamirano 2000: 218). From a long-term perspective, the Finland Swedes’ “return” to Sweden, and the subsequent return of these “return” migrants from Sweden back to Finland, may appear to involve two quite different and confusing concepts of return migration. However, both constitute parts of the circulatory wheel of migration, and are linked to a double identification with Sweden and Finland.

**Design of the Dissertation**

The dissertation takes the form of a collection of papers, introduced by a comprehensive summary. The introductory section (Chapter 1) also includes an historical and contemporary outline of the Finland Swedes. Thereafter, Chapter 2 proceeds with an exposition of the theoretical concepts employed in the dissertation. These comprise theories of *migration* from a cultural perspective, and of *integration*, as it is related to issues of identity and assimilation. In Chapter 3, the critical realist methodology is described in detail, as are the concrete methods utilised in the study. Chapter 4 comprises a summary of the papers and presents the overall conclusions drawn by the dissertation.

Together Chapters 1 to 4 constitute Section one, the comprehensive introduction to the dissertation. Section two comprises the collection of scientific papers. Finally, Section three contains a popular scientific paper, written in Swedish, on Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden. The design of the dissertation is presented in Table 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
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<th>Name of the chapter/paper</th>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
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<td>Summary of the Papers and Concluding Findings</td>
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<td>II.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Migration as a Cultural Expression? The Case of the Finland-Swedish Minority’s Migration to Sweden Charlotta Hedberg &amp; Kaisa Kepsu</td>
<td>Published in <em>Geografiska Annaler</em>, 85 B (2003) 2</td>
<td>Statistics from Finland’s longitudinal population census file; all migrants from Finland to Sweden 1976-1999.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Direction Sweden: Finland-Swedish Migration Fields and Cognitive Distances Charlotta Hedberg</td>
<td>Submitted to <em>Population, Place and Space</em></td>
<td>27 interviews from three case study areas. Data on all migrants from Finland to Sweden 1976-1999 from Church archives in case study areas.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Finland-Swedish “Return” Migration to Sweden: The Dividing Line of Language Charlotta Hedberg</td>
<td>Submitted to a volume to be published within the research project <em>Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migrants in Comparative Perspective</em>. University of California San Diego: Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies.</td>
<td>22 interviews with Finland Swedish migrants.</td>
</tr>
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The Case of the Finland Swedes

Viewing the Finland Swedes as a group is a relatively new approach. The identity of this group has been constituted in the nexus of the group’s minority situation in Finland, their loyalty to Finland as a nation-state and a loyalty to Sweden as part of their language and culture (McRae 1999: 373-378; Höckerstedt 2000:14-29; Åström 2001: 37-49). Their complex group position was formed within the nation-building process in Finland during the 19th century (Engman 1995: 179).

Finland-Swedish Identity Construction in a Historical Perspective

The current existence of a Swedish-speaking minority in Finland bears witness to an historical intertwining of Sweden and Finland (Törnblom 1993: 282-283; Rask 1999-2000: 18-25; Engman 1995: 180; Huldén 2004: 18-63). Since pre-historic times, Swedish speakers have lived in the area that today constitutes Finland, both in “castles and shacks”. Until 1809, Finland had been an integrated part of the Swedish kingdom for at least 600 years, and the Baltic Sea that separates the two served as a unifier rather than a barrier. The Swedish speakers included both an urban elite and townsmen, and a peasantry of fishermen and farmers settled along the coasts (Allardt and Starck 1981: 166-171; Huldén 2004: 45-55). They thus consisted of several locally distributed groups, with no sense of collective identification. Furthermore, the group included members of all the social strata found in society. Urban Swedish speakers held a position of power and Swedish was the dominant language, being used by all institutions with the exception of the Lutheran church (Rask 1999-2000: 20). However, contrary to the widespread myth, many rural Swedish speakers had no links with this leading stratum.

In the 19th century, the power position of the Swedish speakers was radically altered from that of a majority to a minority position. This process was initiated in 1809, when Russia defeated Sweden and incorporated Finland into its own territory. In this regard, Finland gained relative autonomy, and was for the first time defined as an independent entity by the Russian Czar (Engman 1995: 180-188; Rask 1999-2000: 21). At this time of nation building, a Finnish-speaking nationalistic movement developed (Engman 1995: 185-191). Paradoxically, this group was driven by members of the Swedish-speaking elite, who had switched their affinities from Swedish- to Finnish-speaking, and in particular by the Swedish-speaking intellectuals J.V. Snellman and G.Z. Yrjö-Koskinen. At the turn of the century, in reaction to these developments, various groups of Swedish speakers from both the upper class and the lower strata came together in defence of the position of the Swedish language. A linguistic power struggle broke out between the groups, which ended in the mid-19th century with Finnish and Swedish being declared to be
the two official languages of Finland (Allardt and Starck 1981: 200-212). Subsequent to this point, Finnish rapidly became the dominant language in the country in practice.

After World War I, Finland gained its independence from Russia and the republic of Finland was established. The position of the Swedish speakers in the new state was now an open question, and the different urban and rural social groups within the Swedish-speaking movement had different opinions as to what this position should consist in (Engman 1995: 198). Whereas the rural groups advocated an official Swedish-speaking minority position, the urban groups argued for a position on an equal footing with the Finnish-speaking community. In the constitution from 1922, the demands from the Swedish-speaking upper class were recognised and the Finnish and the Swedish languages were formally given equal status.

To unite the separate interests among the Swedish speakers, a shared identity was created (Allard and Starck 1981: 203; Lönnqvist 2000: 25, 29). Identity construction in Finland was to a large extent based on rural symbols. While the Finnish speakers turned to the forests and the inland areas, the Swedish speakers identified themselves with the coasts and the sea (Peltonen 2000: 274). One important symbolic element was the creation of a common Swedish-speaking region, Swedish Finland, which consisted of the sub-regions of Nyland, Österbotten and Åboland (Figure 1). Further, a Swedish-speaking political party (SFP) was founded, which effectively united the Finland Swedes on the basis of a common “Swedish land” (Allard and Starck 1981: 172, 203).

Simultaneously, at the beginning of the 20th century, a new terminology was developed, to construct a Finland-Swedish identity (Zilliacus 2000: 13-14). A collective name, Finland Swedes, was established for the Swedish-speaking groups from various regions and social strata. In the new nation-state, it was also important to establish a shared nationality with the Finnish-speaking majority, however, that made it very clear that the Swedish speakers were included. Instead of having a “Finnish” nationality, the Finland Swedes emphasised the importance of being Finlandish. Thus, the citizens of Finland should not be called “Finns” but Finlanders.

Finland Swedes in Numbers and Regions
The question of language and group affinity remains an important issue in contemporary Finland. Thus all citizens are registered in the Finlandish population register according to their main language. In 1999, there were approximately 300,000 Swedish speakers living in Finland, accounting for six percent of the population (Finnäs 2001). The number of Finland Swedes is the same as it was hundred years ago. However, the proportion of the

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11 Sometimes Swedish Finland also includes the province of Åland.
group has steadily decreased in relation to the total population, from fourteen percent in the year 1880. The reasons for this have mainly been demographic; Finland-Swedish marriages across the language border to the Finnish side, a lower Finland-Swedish birth rate and a large migration to Sweden have all contributed (Finnäs 1986: 1-6; Engman 1995: 193-195). Furthermore, alongside the distinction between Swedish and Finnish speakers, the proportion of bilinguals has increased (Tandefelt 2001: 7-8). These are mostly comprised of Finland Swedes who have learnt to speak the majority language, or of individuals with one parent from each language group.

The regional differences relating to the Finland Swedes’ minority position and identities are quite noticeable. The main bulk of the group lives in Swedish Finland, where their proportion of the population varies from that of a strong majority position to having a marked minority status (Figure 2).

In urban regions, a large in-migration of Finnish speakers, in parallel with the intensifying industrialisation at the end of the 19th century, has meant that the proportion of Swedish speakers has decreased dramatically (DeGeer and Wester 1975: 28; Finnäs 1986: 83). In the Helsingfors (Helsinki) capital region, municipalities that were formerly exclusively Swedish-speaking today often have a proportion of Swedish speakers that is lower than ten percent (Figure 2). As a consequence, the domains where the Swedish language may be used have been reduced to the private sphere and to Swedish-speaking institutions. As a result of the frequent contacts with Finnish speakers, the Finland Swedes in these regions are for the most part bilingual (Tandefelt 2001: 46), and tend speak Finnish in official situations.

In the more peripherally located regions of Österbotten and Åboland, the in-migration of Finnish speakers has not been particularly marked, except in a few cities (Finnäs 1986, 2002). In some rural municipalities, the proportion of Swedish speakers still lies at around 90 percent (Appendix 3). In addition, in some of the scattered, rural areas in Nyland, and in the town of Ekenäs (Tammisaari), the Finland-Swedish element dominates. In these locations, the opportunities to speak Swedish are still widespread, both downtown for example and at the work place (Tandefelt 2001: 20; Popular scientific paper). However, the regional majority position also involves a national minority position. When Finland Swedes from these regions move to the central regions of Finland, where the majority of job opportunities are to be found, their limited skills in Finnish can sometimes be a disadvantage.
Figure 2. The varying proportion of Finland Swedes in the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland. The percentage is calculated for each region as a mean value of all Finland Swedes in relation to the region’s total population.


Contemporary Finland-Swedish Identity

The historical formation of the Finnish- and Swedish-speaking groups has made the Finland-Swedish minority position quite unique. There has been some debate about the status of this group within the research community.

On the one hand, by comparison with other groups in western Europe, the Finland-Swedes have been classified as a resource-strong minority, linguistically, economically and politically, and as characterised by a relatively high level of ethnic organisation (Allard and Starck 1981: 81, 87). Åström
relates the formation of the Finland Swedes to the development of minority-majority relations during the political transformations in Central-European countries, such as those involving Poles in Lithuania and German groups in Hungary, the Czech republic and Romania. Like the Finland Swedes, some of these minorities were represented within both urban and rural strata. In Lithuania and Hungary, the nation-building processes also meant that the languages of the ethnic groups in question changed from being in a majority to a minority position. Only the Finland Swedes, however, achieved a position of equivalence in relation to the majority group in the constitution of the newly founded republic. This, Åström argues, has made their situation relatively “uncomplicated”. Thus, officially, the Finland-Swedish group is not a minority in Finland. They are provided with social services in their mother tongue in municipalities with a Swedish-speaking status. On these grounds, Finland’s treatment of the Swedish-speaking minority has been argued to provide a good example in an international perspective (Similä 1992: 55-57).

Against this view, McRae (1999: 361-378) argues that the Finland-Swedish minority situation is characterised by a high degree of complexity by comparison with the minorities in Belgium, Switzerland and Canada. Assuredly, the level of “language conflict” is low in Finland, as a result of the formal linguistic equality between Finnish and Swedish speakers. However, it is accompanied by a unique situation of “linguistic instability”, which, McRae argues, is often ignored in research about the Finland Swedes. Factors such as the group’s demographic weakness, the increasing bilingualism, asymmetric and submissive attitudes towards the Finnish-speaking majority, and divergent Finland-Swedish interests in central and peripheral regions respectively, all contribute to threaten the vitality of this group in Finland. Accordingly, McRae distinguishes a gap in Finland between the formal “linguistic peace” and the practical “language instability”, which puts the Finland Swedes in a “sociological, psychological and political” minority position. Consistent with this, Allardt (2000: 35) claims that the most serious contemporary problem for the Finland Swedes is the members of the group themselves: their “submissiveness” and willingness to “conceal their Finland-Swedishness” in the face of the majority.

Furthermore, the Finland Swedes’ relations to Sweden are considered a sensitive issue in Finland. Höckerstedt (2000: 8-9) argues that an emphasis

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12 The municipalities in Finland are defined as either monolingually Swedish or Finnish, or bilingual with either a Finnish or Swedish majority (Finlandssvensk rapport 1996; appendix 3). A municipality is bilingual if eight percent of the population, or at least 3,000 individuals, speak the minority language. In bilingual municipalities, there is a requirement that social services, such as health care, and communications with public sector agencies, are accessible in both languages. The autonomous province of Åland is not included in the language legislation, since the municipalities there have been granted Swedish-speaking status. Further, the citizens of Finland have a right to appear in court throughout the country in their own language.
on the “Swedish” part of the Finland-Swedish identity is “taboo-laden” and regarded as “unpatriotic”. Although Sweden arguably forms an important part of Finland-Swedish culture and history, the correct approach would be to emphasise the group’s affinity with Finland as a nation state, and sometimes also with “Scandinavia” as a collective unit.13

Without focusing on the Finland Swedes in particular, several studies have stressed the interconnectedness of Sweden and Finland. Over the centuries, a migration culture has been established by networks between these two countries (Allardt 1996), which are structured by social networks between migrants and the rest of society (Nyman-Kurkiala 1999). Also, companies in Sweden and Finland cooperate within a closely related “transnational field” (Helander 2004).

In the context of the general debate, however, Finland-Swedishness has for the most part been reduced to a question of language and services in the Swedish mother tongue. Since the Finland Swedes are becoming increasingly bilingual, the emphasis on language tends to push the notion of Finland-Swedish identity into the background. According to Tandefelt (2001: 4, 13), a bilingual person can either be bilingual in a practical way or take on bilingualism as a distinct identity that differs from a Swedish- or Finnish-speaking identity. Bilingualism as a separate identity is increasingly common in Finland today.

In this dissertation, the Finland Swedes are approached as a group in a practical minority position of “linguistic instability” in line with McRae (1999). Although they formally have equal rights to those of the Finnish speakers, their numerical minority position means that they have difficulties in practicing these in their everyday life and that the group perceive of themselves as a minority. The dissertation also applies the perspective of Höckerstedt (2000) which argues that a vital part of the Finland-Swedish identity is associated with Sweden. Whilst these views are the subject of some debate, they have nonetheless served as important tools for the analysis of the Finland-Swedish group.

13 See for example Lönnqvist (2000: 24) and Åström (2001: 43-44) in comprehensive works about Finland-Swedish identity and literature, published by the dominant Finland-Swedish organisation Svenska Litteratursällskapet (the Society of Swedish Literature).
2. Theoretical Framework

The over-representation of Finland Swedes in the migration stream from Finland to Sweden suggests the need for a different theoretical framework to that used in traditional migration research. In this dissertation, the notions of migration and integration are used to explain the Finland-Swedish migration process. Migration is conceptualised as a cultural event, embedded in the identities of individuals and groups. The process of integration is outlined in relation to the notions of assimilation and identity formation.

Theories are seen as “more or less distinctive localities within a continuous conceptual map, which is continually and unevenly evolving” (Sayer 1992: 76). Within this map, some concepts are linked to one another, whereas others are positioned at some distance from each other or are as yet unconnected. In line with this, the theoretical framework of this dissertation connects relevant concepts within the fields of migration and integration to create the “conceptual map” that explains Finland-Swedish migration. The applications to the Finland-Swedish case are found in the concluding Chapter 4.

A Cultural Approach to Migration

A Reconciled View of Internal and International Migration

In simple terms, migration can be defined as a “change in the place of residence” of an individual (White and Woods 1980: 3). This movement is usually divided into internal migration, whereby people move within a country, and international migration, whereby they cross a national border (see for instance Åkerman 1976). Accordingly, Finland-Swedish migration from Finland to Sweden would be regarded as a case of international migration.

Against this classical division, however, it has been argued that the movements of internal and international migration are highly interconnected (White and Woods 1980: 18; Malmberg 1997: 25; Boyle et al 1998: ix). Approaches which separate these two notions should thus be treated with caution. Firstly, migration that crosses a state border may involve a shorter distance, in both a physical and a cognitive sense, than migration within a large country. Secondly, processes of internal migration may influence in-
ternational migration streams, either as an alternative to, or as generating, migration abroad.

Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden is an obvious example of a process that challenges the division of migration into internal and international variants (see also Paper I). On the one hand, the migration stream presents similarities to cases that are commonly described as international migration. In a categorisation of international migration theories as relating to either the initiation of migration or its perpetuation (Massey et al 1993)\(^1\), it is particularly the latter type, including theories of connecting social networks, that would explain Finland-Swedish migration at the group level. Other theories, which consider the initiation of international migration, such as theories of highly skilled labour migration (Findlay 1990) and international student migration (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003), are also illuminating for Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden. However, although they would explain why migration is generated, they would not clarify the direction of the migration stream (see Paper I). Further, such theories would be located within a cultural framework that explains migration as a group-specific event.\(^15\) The focus of this dissertation is directed at the cultural analysis, whereas theories concerned with the factors that directly generate migration would be relevant to a subsequent stage of the analysis.

One culturally imbued process of international migration that this dissertation has been particularly influenced by is that of *ethnic “return” migration* (Clachar 1997; Brubaker 1998; Kulu 1998; Tsuda 1999; 2000; 2002). This concept relates to the occurrence of ethnic groups who migrate to countries in relation to which they feel a sense of ethnic belonging. The migration of Japanese-Brazilians who move “back” to Japan from Brazil is one example (Tsuda 1999; 2000; 2002). A further example is found in the vast wave of minority groups in Central and Eastern Europe that are “returning” to countries with which they feel an ethnic affinity. Thus, Germans from Poland, Romania and Russia have migrated “back” to Germany, Hungarians have moved from Romania, Slovakia and the former Yugoslavia to Hungary, and Jews have “returned” to Israel from Russia (Münz and Ohliger 1998; Brubaker 1998). These examples differ from each other as regards their social and political backgrounds, how far the migrants have moved in terms of absolute distance and how long the groups have lived as minorities in the country of out-migration. Nonetheless, the group-level explanations regarding the causes and consequences of migration involve important similarities that will be referred to in the following sections of this chapter.

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\(^1\) See the paper of Massey et al (1993) for an overview of international migration theories.

\(^15\) The group-specific causes of migration would be seen as necessary explanations of Finland-Swedish migration, whereas the theories of initiation would be seen in terms of generating/contingent relationships (see the causal analysis in Chapter 4).
On the other hand, as a result of a sense of ethnic affinity equivalent to that described above, Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden in many ways resembles internal migration. Although they move to a different country, the migrants often simply perceive of this move as a form of migration within their own country (Paper II). As such, the features of student and labour migration could just as well be explained by theories of internal migration, such as theories of migration over the life course (Warnes 1992), urbanisation and internal labour migration. In addition, migration between Sweden and Finland has been legally unrestricted since the establishment of a common Nordic labour market in 1954 (Kruse 1998). Thus, there are no formal obstacles to limit Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden. Once again, however, the explanations of internal migration would be coloured by other, group-specific explanations of migration, which constitute the focus of this dissertation.

Thus it seems that a combined view reconciling concepts of internal and international migration would be illuminating in relation to the analysis of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden. Quite deliberately, the dissertation employs the general concept of migration, rather than the notion of emigration, which is tied to the study of international migration processes. Thus, in the following sections of this chapter, migration is approached as a general concept of movement.

Rethinking Migration Geography

The notion of approaching migration as a cultural process emerged only relatively recently as an issue in geographic migration studies (Boyle et al 1998: 208). Until quite recently, the “positivistic paradigm” had dominated, based on simple accounts of physical distance and the rational behaviour of individuals (Moon 1995: 513; Findlay & Li 1999: 52). The inheritance of Ravenstein’s (1885: 198-199; Robinson 1997) descriptive “laws of migration”, which defined migration as economically caused and as dependent on distance, has long constituted the basis for migration research. Alongside the notions of the deterministic “gravity model” (Carrothers 1956), and Lees (1966: 47-57) theory of repelling and attracting factors in origin and destination, an economic view was developed of migration as caused by “push” and “pull” factors (Boyle et al 1998: 59-66). Later, the behaviouristic approach brought active individuals into migration research, but economic calculations of utility were still seen as constituting the basis of migration (Wolpert 1965: 161-163).

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17 See also Paper II for a thorough analysis of the concept of distance in migration theory.
It is nonetheless important to point out a number of exceptions in the context of these developments, such as Hägerstrand’s (1957: 111-158) view of the socio-historical context of migration. In the context of this approach, the notion of distance in the migration process was strongly influenced by flows of social and historical contacts between origin and destination. Also, within the behaviourist perspective, the notions of cognitive and mental maps (Downs and Stea 1973: 8-26; Gould and White 1974) brought vital aspects of perception into the analysis of migration decision-making.

However, because of the slowness of the move away from the positivistically inspired research traditions, population geography and migration research were accused of having been left behind by the wider methodological and conceptual developments taking place within social theory (Findlay and Graham 1991). Whereas the social sciences and human geography in general were being broadened to include humanistic and critical perspectives, population geography was claimed to have “retreated into its own ghetto” (White and Jackson 1995: 112). Sticking to deterministic theories, such as the law of gravity and push and pull theories, the broader developments within societies and an understanding of the individual in the migration process were excluded from the analysis. In the annual summary of the status of population geography in Progress in Human Geography, Ogden (1998: 105) argued that population geography was “a field not in crisis, but rather due for renewal”.

Thus, at the beginning of the 1990s, there was an increasing consciousness among migration researchers of the importance of approaching the new developments within social science and at the same time broadening their own methodological and theoretical perspectives. Findley and Graham (1991: 160-161) pleaded for the consideration of population issues in relation to society. This was accompanied by a methodological concern to apply “humanistic and radical” social theories to “more positivistic modes of explanation”. More specifically, White and Jackson (1995: 117-122) contended that population geography ought to apply social theories of constructionism, critical realism and issues of power and positionality. Also, it was important that the researcher considered his/her own role in the research process and questioned the categories of study. Population studies should consider the wider social, economic and political structures, instead of isolating the process from its context. Finally, it was advocated that qualitative methods should be brought into the field, and particularly the embeddedness of the individual’s biography in migration. Methodologically, a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative methods was requested (Findlay and Li 1999). However, several years later still, McHugh (2000) urged a wider consideration of ethnographic methods in geographic migration research and

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18 This concept is a construction of the current author, based on Hägerstrand’s (1957) view of distance.
Halfacree (2004: 248) claimed that non-economic approaches to migration remained an unexamined field of research - a *terra incognita*.

**Migration and Culture**

One way of re-conceptualising migration in human geography following the demise of the “positivistic paradigm” has been to view it from a cultural angle. This perspective was discussed by British geographers in particular during the 1990s (Fielding 1992; Gutting 1996; Boyle *et al* 1998; Halfacree 2004). It has been argued that prior to this point a cultural view on migration had first and foremost been employed within the field of anthropological studies (see e.g. Brettell 2000), whereas the importance of this perspective had in the field of geography for the most part been surpassed by that of an economic discourse (Halfacree 2004: 240). The cultural re-conceptualisation of migration witnessed during the 1990s has constituted one of the main inspirations for the writing of this dissertation, although it is recognised that culturally influenced views on migration have also been employed in previous research.19

Fielding’s much quoted lines (1992: 201) constituted the first explicit call for a cultural reconsideration of this area of research:

> There is something strange about the way we study migration. We know, often from personal experience, but also from family talk, that moving from one place to another is nearly always a major event. It is one of those events around which an individual’s biography is built. [...] Migration tends to expose one’s personality, it expresses one’s loyalties and reveals one’s values and attachments (often previously hidden). It is a statement of an individual’s worldview, and is, therefore, an extremely cultural event.

*Culture* can be defined as “systems of meaning and value”, which are produced and reproduced through practice within the social relations of a group (Jackson 1989: 1-3; Fielding 1992: 202). The construction of culture is contingent upon a given spatial and historical setting. In this sense it is a collective issue, emerging in the nexus between dominant and subdominant groups and implying the existence of a “plurality of cultures”, both “elite” and “popular”. The relationships between members of a group are thus central to the concept of culture (Sayer 1997b). However, culture is not only a collective phenomenon; it is also about the individual’s cognition of social relations, and of how he/she interprets them (Jackson 1989: 2).

When analysing migration at the group level, the process is cultural in the sense that it is structured by the “systems of meaning and value” of distinct

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19 Thus Paper II employs the notions of socio-historically influenced migration fields from Hägerstrand 1957, and Downs and Stea’s view from 1973 of distance as cognitively held to analyse migration from a cultural perspective.
groups (Fielding 1992: 202; Boyle et al 1998: 207-208). Thus categories such as age-, educational and ethnic groups are associated with distinctive patterns of migration, implying that different cultures underlie the migration decision. Importantly, however, such groups should not be treated as static units, but rather as containers of diversity that are in a state of constant transformation (Halfacree 2004: 242). Accordingly, one migration culture, such as an ethnic group, can hold other migration cultures within it, such as specific age-groups for example.

Migration cultures are shaped by a large number of factors (McHugh 2000: 83-84). Thus economic motivations, but also underlying social conventions, such as modern lifestyles and the migrant’s position in the home community may all constitute parts of the same process. Thus, in the cultural analysis of migration, the researcher must look for “plural stories”, which contain more than the instrumental, economic motive (Halfacree 2004: 248). According to Fielding (1992), one important influence on cultural migration is the relationship between majority and minority groups, which are defined in terms of their relative power positions. Consequently, ethnic aspects are often a crucial part of a migration stream, as is the case in the processes of ethnic “return” migration (Brubaker 1996: 4-5; 1998: 1047-1049; Clachar 1997: 107-124; Kulu 1998: 313; Tsuda 2000: 5-7). Migration may both be driven by ethnic motives such as discrimination or violence, or be attracted by an ethnic affinity with the place of in-migration.

Migration that takes place at a certain stage of the life course (Warnes 1992: 175-186) may also be viewed as cultural migration. During the “nest leaving” phase, when young people leave their parents’ home, the act of migration is influenced by particular “systems of meaning and value” of high mobility (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003). When people move to improve their career, their migration is a part of a culture of “spiralism” (Boyle et al 1998: 209-212; Warnes 1992), influenced by developments on the labour market.

When seen from the individual’s perspective, migration is similarly influenced by “systems of meaning and value”. To the individual, migration constitutes a part of the complete biography, both in terms of what an individual has been through in life and his/her expectations of the future (Halfacree and Boyle 1993: 337). Thus, the migration decision is thoroughly influenced by experiences acquired over one’s lifetime (Malmberg 1997: 32). Fielding (1992: 205-206) has categorised the personal motivation behind migration as either a “stairway to heaven”, when the migration decision is underpinned by excitement and a feeling of freedom, or as being “crippled inside”, when the individual perceives migration as a forced event or a failure in life.

It follows from this discussion that the cultural approach to migration should be viewed as a broad explanatory framework, within which many separate conceptualisations may be located alongside one another. Migration is driven by multiple causes, but among these, the cultural element plays a
major role (McHugh 2000). According to Sayer (1997b: 17), the economy is crucially infused by culture, and inversely, culture is often influenced by economic factors. As such, cultural and economic factors will often complement one another in a migration process. However, Halfacree (2004: 241, 249) argues that it may be necessary to emphasise the cultural aspects of migration in order to get “beyond” the dominating discourse of economic analysis. By giving particular weight to the cultural dimension, new meanings would be released, which would otherwise have remained concealed. This does not mean denying the presence of the economic aspects of the migration process, which often but not always do exist, but rather viewing the process from a different angle.

Aspects of Identity in Cultural Migration

Issues of identity are obviously a vital part of cultural migration processes. In the quote from Fielding (1992: 102) presented above, the link with identity is significant in that migration is value-based and reveals loyalties to the places of departure and arrival (see also Li et al 1995: 342-356). Thus the very act of migration itself reflects the way identities are constructed (Gutting 1996: 482).

The notion of identity can be understood as an individual’s conscious “reflection over the self, over his/her position in society and over relations to other human beings” (Lange and Westin 1981: 432). Thus crucial to the understanding of the concept of identity is its embeddedness in dynamic relations (Sarup 1996). Outwardly, identities are delimited by boundaries drawn in relation to other groups and persons, and by the differences that are revealed when the individual relates him/herself to these groups (Hall 1996: 2-5). Inwardly, relations of identification are directed at other individuals and sub-groups, creating a collective feeling of affinity.

The relational context within which identities are constructed is in a state of constant transformation. Identity should thus be approached as a process, where the individual searches for his/her place of “home” (Sarup 1994: 95). Within this process of identification, the picture of the self in relation to others is continuously changing, with the creation of new boundaries and cohesive groups.

Within the groups to which an individual feels loyalty, he/she can distinguish a subjective identity of being “unique” (Lange and Westin 1981: 433). The individual identity consists of multiple identities of concurring affinities and roles, which are socially constructed within different relational positions (Sarup 1996: 48; McDowell 1999: 21, 245; Brewer et al 2000; Molina 2004: 19-24). Thus ethnicity/race, nation, religion, gender, and social class all constitute the personal identity.

The central focus of this dissertation is directed at the ethnic identity. This concept should be viewed in terms of an individual’s identification with a
“home” group in relation to other groups (Sarup 1996: 178). Ethnic identity is bound up with the perception of having a shared culture and history, which is associated with a certain place and also with the group’s power position in relation to other groups. The common history constitutes a uniting aspect of ethnicity through the creation of “myths, memories, values and symbols”, which form the basis for the sense of belonging and which are transferred to new generations (Smith 1986:15). However, although ethnic identity “presents itself as ‘natural’”, it is constantly changing by means of altering relations towards others (Sarup 1996: 179). A crucial marker for ethnic identity is often a common language, or an “ethnic speech style” such as a dialect (Giles et al 1977: 325-328). Consequently, an ethnic group may sometimes be distinguished as an ethno-linguistic group.

As has been indicated, the home of identity has certain spatial connotations (see also Massey 1999: 288). According to Kaplan and Herb (1999: 4), different dimensions of an individual’s identity are hierarchically ordered and nested in each other, from the global, via national, to various sub-national identities. Crucially, these dimensions of identity are asymmetrically associated to different units of space. If a group’s national identity refers to a nation state, perhaps being shared with other groups, it may nonetheless be mediated by a sub-national identity relating to the group, which refers to a separate spatial unit. This may be a regional identity within a nation state, but it can also stretch across borders to other nation states, creating a cross-border identity where cultural and political boundaries do not coincide (Kaplan 1999: 37).

In the migration process, aspects of identification are seen as an underlying reason for the migration decision (Gutting 1996: 485). Drawing on the example of ethnic identity, Li et al (1995: 345, 354) argue that the positionality of a group in the country of out-migration, in relation to the expected position at the destination, is part of the explanation for why migration occurs. In the process of ethnic “return” migration, the identification of a group with an imagined “ethnic homeland” triggers the migration from the country where the group was in a minority position (Brubaker 1998: 1047-1049; Tsuda 1999, 2002, forthcoming in 2004).

A further aspect of identity in the migration process is found in the revealing character of migration. Within the context of this process, the boundaries of identification are crossed, and new worlds are entered (Sarup 1994: 94). The ingrained, often invisible, relations towards the nation state and the social position of a group are altered and made visible through migration. Migration signifies the identity construction, and will “express aspects of the self and the symbolic life in two or more social worlds” (Li et al 1995: 342). Thus on the one hand the act of migration is enlightening, not only for the individuals who become migrants, but also for the non-migrants within the same group. As Sarup (1994: 103) concludes “[m]igrants mark the outer limit of group experience”.
On the other hand, with the arrival in a new place, migration deeply transforms identity (Hoffman 1989; Sarup 1994: 97-98; McHugh 2000: 85) and “extend[s] the boundaries of particular cultures” (Li et al 1995: 343). A transnational identity may become established, whereby the migrant is tied to both the new and the old place of living (Appadurai 2000: 147; Faist 2000: 210; Joppke and Morawska 2003: 21-25). Ethnic “return” migrants have often felt estranged when they arrived in their country of ethnic affinity and instead felt a sense of belonging to the country of out-migration (Clachar 1997: 121-123; Münz and Ohliger 1998: 14; Tsuda 2000, 2002). Transforming identities constitutes one part of the integration process, which will be dealt with in more detail in the section on “identificational integration”.

Thus an individual’s identities are multiple in both vertical and horizontal dimensions. Vertically, they comprise several identities in relation to spatial units ranging from the local to the global. Horizontally, identities are multiple both in terms of the various roles and social positions associated with an individual, and in terms of transnational identities, with affinities to old and new places of “home”.

Circularity, Networks and Flows

The cultural approach to migration supports viewing it as a circulatory process, bounded by networks and linkages between individuals and institutions. This view has its origins in earlier geographic migration theories of connectivity between places (Hägerstrand 1957; Lowe and Moryadas 1975: 1-12). The view was then extended by a perspective that regarded migration as being influenced by social and institutional networks (Boyd 1989; Fawcett 1989; Stjernström 1998; Massey et al 1998: 42-43; Hardwick 2003), and recently by (often post-modernist) perspectives on transnational and circular migration (McKeown 1999; Faist 2000; McHugh 2000; Tollefsen Altamirano 2000; Tsuda 2003: 221-260; Yeoh et al 2003). Although these various approaches essentially differ from each other, they share a common view of migration as a comprehensive process of interconnected places.

As early as 1957, Hägerstrand (130, 150) stressed the importance of the role played by social and historical linkages between places in relation to the occurrence of migration over a certain distance. The importance of family and personal networks are vital elements in the migration process (Boyd 1989; Stjernström 1998). Hardwick (2003) emphasises how ethnic contacts encourage migrants in their migration decision, with these contacts being firmly linked to individuals at places of both origin and destination. Not only social contacts, but also linkages of economic and state-to-state, mass cultural and institutional kinds connect places to one another and influence migration (Fawcett 1989; Tsuda 2003: 225-243). Thus movements of people within a company may follow material flows of goods and money, and mass
cultural connections like TV and films can reduce the “psychological barrier” to migration to a given place.

Recent conceptualisations of transnational migration stress similar connections of continuous flows.20 The field is relatively new, dating from the mid-1990s, and various views compete within the perspective (see e.g. Kivisto (2001) for a review and critique of the various branches of transnationalism). Generally, though, transnational concepts refer to “sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders across multiple nation-states, ranging from little to highly-institutionalized forms” (Faist 2000: 189). According to Faist, these linkages create enduring “transnational social spaces”, with a web of connections between members of a group on both sides of the migration process, which together form a social space. The scale of analysis is often that of the global scene, where worldwide networks connect local places (McKeown 1999: 307).

According to McHugh (2000: 81), circularity is one of the central concepts of transnational migration, focusing on the interconnectedness of places over time. Rather than viewing migration as a single act that takes place between an origin and a destination, the concept of circularity opens for a non-linear view of migration without a definite conclusion (Tollefsen Altamirano 2000: 218; McHugh 2000: 78; see also Hägerstrand 1957). Outward- and return migrations are seen as interrelated parts of a “self-sustained” process, which is upheld through family/social networks over generations (Tollefsen Altamirano 2000: 219). As a consequence of this continuity over time, circular migration entails a mixture of values and traditions between places (McHugh 2000: 81) and contributes to the maintenance of cultures of migration (Boyle et al 1998: 207).

It is not only from a long term perspective that migration assumes a circulatory pattern, but also when viewed from the individual’s perspective (Wyman 1993: 10-42; Tsuda 2003: 238-243). Many migrants view their move as temporary and many of them return. Some migrate repeatedly between places and reside seasonally in several homes (Wyman 1993: 10-42; McHugh 2000: 78; Faist 2003). McHugh views circular migration as a part of the life course, embedded in the migrants’ identities.

According to King (2000: 7), the notion of return migration is in need of further conceptualisation. To approach return migration from a longer-term perspective and to incorporate an ethnic dimension into the analysis constitutes one way of capturing circular return migration (Clachar 1997; Kulu 1998; Tsuda forthcoming in 2004). The notion of ethnic “return” migration takes intertwined ethnic and national identities into account as a means of maintaining a circle of migration.

20 Within the context of research on transnationalism, Appadurai (2000: 37) suggests that these flows take place within the spheres of “ethnoscapes”, “technoscapes”, “financescapes”, “mediascapes” and “ideoscapes”.
The Processes of Integration and Assimilation

On the other side of the migration process we find the issue of how the migrants are received in the host country. The case of the Finland Swedes is an interesting one to which to apply a discussion of integration. Unlike many other immigrant groups, the Finland Swedes could be viewed as a legally privileged group that migrates to a country of ethnic affinity and locational proximity. This facilitates the group’s integration in Sweden, which intersects with the process of assimilation.

National Contexts of Integration and Assimilation

When approaching the concept of integration, it is necessary to take account of different national research contexts. The internal politics of nation-states, which may emphasise either “differentialism” or “similarity”, strongly influence the conceptualisations employed in scholarly research (Brubaker 2001; Joppke and Morawska 2003: 3-8). When research from the United States, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and Germany, is compared, the first two may be seen to have applied a modified concept of assimilation, whereas the latter countries are involved in a discourse of integration (Brubaker 2001: 535, 539). Thus from a European perspective, national politics often seems to have promoted the concept of integration and some of the definitions used in this chapter were requested from political instances or are based on them.21

The notions of assimilation and integration each comprise two separate dimensions, which are important to bear in mind when comparing these ideas (Gans 1997: 875). On the one hand, they contain normative aspects as to what the incorporation of immigrants into society should achieve, and that are formulated in the context of national politics. On the other, there are empirical processes and tendencies. Thus it seems that when research becomes intermingled with national politics, there is a danger that concepts that are used to describe empirical events may be stigmatised because of their normative incorrectness. This might be the case in relation to assimilatory processes that take place in a society which is based on cultural pluralistic goals. When the Finland Swedes enter into Swedish society, they tend to assimilate (Paper IV). The national research context, however, is one of integration.

In the political debate on immigration in Sweden, the concept of assimilation is associated with negative connotations involving the domination of a majority society, whereas the integration concept is usually related to a positive approach (Roth 1996: 19). In the field of research, the concepts of inte-

gration and assimilation are defined in direct opposition to each other, or as carrying crucial differences on a continuous scale (Andersson et al 1992: 37; Diaz 1995: 200-202; Sandberg 1998: 15; Abbasian 2003: 28). These notions are treated as separate entities, with integration being viewed as including an acceptance of cultural pluralism, whereas assimilation is viewed involving the erasure of differences in relation to the majority population. Diaz (1995: 199) has argued that the notion of integration in Sweden is in need of a thorough re-theorisation. Nonetheless, his proposed re-conceptualisation of integration involves a clear distinction in relation to the concept of assimilation. The latter would mean socialising the individual into the new country and having to learn its language, norms and values. Integration would involve active participation in different civil spheres.

Thus it can be argued that the distinction between the two concepts is not that clear. In practice, Roth (1996: 20) maintains that the concepts of integration and assimilation often contain the same negative meaning of incorporation of a minority into a majority society, instead of a mutual adaptation of immigrants and society (see also Alba 1999). Furthermore, a re-conceptualised form of assimilation has the same positive implications as the notion of integration (Brubaker 2001: 534, 540; Joppke and Morawska 2003: 6-7). Assimilation in the socio-economic area, such as would involve similarity in the distribution of income between majorities and minorities, constitutes one example of this. Tsuda (2000: 323) has noted that at least some members of the group of Japanese-Brazilian ethnic “return” migrants wanted to assimilate in the country of immigration. Thus, the concepts appear to be interrelated, with conceptualisations that often intersect.

Definitions of Integration and Assimilation

One definition of integration, equivalent to that of Diaz, may be found within the various “differentialist” research traditions. According to Shadid (1991: 362) integration can be defined as “the participation of ethnic and religious minorities, individually and as a group, in the social structure of the host society while having enough possibilities to retain the distinctive aspects of their culture and identity.” This view is similar to Bauböck’s (1994: 9-13) approach, which identifies three main dimensions of integration: the legal, the social and the cultural.

The legal dimension of integration relates to the right of the immigrant to gain full and equal citizenship and to obtain all political rights (Bauböck 1994: 19-35). The social dimension comprises “active participation in civil society” and integration and stability over time in the social and economic fields (ibid: 36-42). Thus the domains of everyday life are included here,
such as employment, income, housing, education and health.\textsuperscript{22} Lastly, the cultural dimension of integration involves the tolerance of the host society for all cultural, political, religious, and sexual identities and groups, as long as they respect international human rights (ibid: 11). Furthermore, resources must be distributed along these lines to “enable individuals to choose particular identities for themselves”.

In Bauböck’s definition of integration, the transformation of identities is included within the cultural dimension. Consequently, in the context of a pluralistic cultural understanding of integration, there should also be a place for assimilation into the host-society (Bauböck 1994: 12-13). In a process of boundary crossing, an individual may choose to “re-socialise” into the majority society, either by learning the new language and participating in the social institutions, or through switching their loyalties and identification to the new society.

An active discourse has flourished on the American research scene over recent years around the concept of assimilation (see e.g. Gans 1997; Alba and Nee 1997; Alba 1999; Brubaker 2001; Joppke and Morawska 2003). Gans (1997: 875-876) discusses the unnecessary polarisation in research between concepts of “assimilation” and “pluralism”, which are actually positioned on a continuous scale. Instead, he urges a reconciliation of the concepts. According to Alba and Nee (1997: 827, this author’s emphasis) the notion of assimilation “offers the best way to understand the integration into the mainstream experienced across generations by many individuals and groups”. Thus, the process of assimilation is included in the concept of integration as an empirical outcome. The notion of assimilation can be applied to areas that from a European perspective would have been analysed through the lens of integration. Although the assimilation concept has been criticised for cultural reductionism, Alba and Nee continue, it still offers the best framework within the social sciences to continue the conceptualisation of this area. The key is to analyse assimilation as a social process that takes place in the nexus between majority and minority groups, rather than as a state of being (ibid; Brubaker 2001: 534). The difference between the European integration and American assimilation concepts boils down to a question of “differentialism” versus “similarity”.

Brubaker (2001: 532) argues that the “massive differentialist turn in social thought, public discourse, and public policy shows signs of having exhausted itself”. Although it is still necessary to include and accept difference, the door should not be closed to the discussion of similarity, which has nonetheless entered into various areas of society. It is important, however, continues Brubaker (2001: 534), to repudiate the inheritance of assimilation as a

\textsuperscript{22} Within the area of social integration Bauböck (1994) also includes the aspects of “residential integration”, the influence on immigrants of daily contacts with the new society, and “political participation”, i.e. their active involvement in the political life of the new country.
“complete incorporation” of the minority into the majority in a top-down, “organic” sense. Assimilation should instead be viewed as “a process of becoming similar”, where the direction towards similarity is the crucial point. In line with this, Alba (1999: 5) emphasises that assimilation implies a “decline” of “ethnic distinction”, but not its disappearance. The process towards similarity should instead be seen as a mutual adaptation of immigrant groups and the already heterogeneous society of in-migration. Brubaker (2001: 543) argues for a shift in perspective from similarity in cultural respects to socio-economic resemblance, based on factors such as living standards and income structures. Here, assimilation would not only be the empirical process, but also the normative goal.

Identificational Integration

When treating migration as a culturally imbued process, the transformation of culture at the phase of immigration becomes a vital field of study. According to Fielding (1992: 203), aspects of culture are crucially altered through migration, in a close relationship with changing identities.

One classic theory of an individual’s adaptation into a new society is Gordon’s (1964: 71) theory of assimilation. The migrant enters into a series of steps of assimilation. The degree to which the migrant changes “cultural patterns” towards the majority culture (step 1), enters into social groups (step 2), marries a member of the majority population (step 3) and identifies him/herself with this group (step 4), will all contribute to this stepwise assimilation. Furthermore, an absence of discrimination and prejudice towards members of the group is required on the part of the majority society (step 5 and 6), as well as an “absence of value and power conflict” (step 7). Gordon emphasises that the minority’s embracement of the majority culture (step 1) may take place within a society where there is otherwise a separation between majority and minority groups.

In an extension of his theory, Gordon (1976: 84-110) places the assimilation process within a framework of ethnic power relations and a struggle between minority and majority groups. Here, the seven steps of adaptation are only seen as one part of the assimilation process. Additionally, the “type of assimilation”, i.e. whether the migrant was culturally and/or structurally assimilated, the “degree of conflict” between minority and majority groups, and the migrant group’s “degree of access to societal rewards” are viewed as influencing the migrant group’s position in the host society. In this dissertation, the main interest is focused on the first part of Gordon’s theory, since it is here that he develops his view of the individual’s identity transformation (see also Alba and Nee 1997: 129-137).

Relatively few efforts have been made to investigate cultural aspects of the integration/assimilation process, such as influences on ethnic identities and language acquisition (Portes and Schauffler 1994: 656; Gans 1997: 882;
The extent to which intermarriages occur has been found to be an important variable in relation to assimilation (Alba 1999). Another crucial aspect in relation to the immigrants’ further integration into society is that of the acquisition of the native language (Diaz 1993; Bauböck 1994: 44; Portes and Schauffler 1994: 656-659; Remmenick 2003). According to Remmenick (2003: 89) a satisfying level of integration would require that the migrant acquired professional/skilled employment, had a social network that included members of the majority society, and changed his/her cultural/media consumption to increasingly include elements of the host culture. The migrant’s knowledge of the host society’s majority language is crucial for this process to occur. The process will in turn deeply influence the migrant’s identity, to successively add elements of the majority culture (ibid: 99, 102). Thus, identificational integration is here equivalent to a number of different descriptions of assimilation.

Within the process of integration, the groups of reference for ethnic identification change (Hoffman 1989; Sarup 1994; Tsuda 2002). Gans (1997: 882) has argued that the issue of migrants’ identity construction is an important but relatively poorly investigated area of research. His hypothesis is that subsequent to migration the migrant will start to emphasise personal dimensions of his/her identity, as a substitute for a stronger ethnic identity in the country of origin.

The topic of identificational transformation has been further discussed in the context of research into ethnic “return” migrants, such as the ethnic Germans, the Japanese Brazilians and Puerto Rican return migrants from the United States (Clachar 1997; Münz and Ohliger 1998; Tsuda 2002). According to Tsuda (2000; 2002; forthcoming in 2004), migration to the country of ethnic affinity would serve to weaken the migrants’ ethnic identity. Prior to their migration to the “ethnic homeland”, the migrants had shared their identity with the majority group in the country of in-migration. When arriving in the ethnic homeland, however, the migrants unexpectedly experienced “national cultural differences” and as a result became socially and economically marginalized. Simultaneously the migrants strengthened their national identification with the country from which they had migrated.

Integration over Time

Since integration and assimilation are defined as processes, they explicitly include transformation over time. The time dimension can either be approached through the successive order of various areas of assimilation/integration, or through stages passed inter-generationally.

In Gordon’s theory of assimilation (1964), the seven steps of assimilation are conceptualised as following a certain order. The important distinction is that the adaptation of values and cultural patterns (“acculturation”) will occur prior to participation in social networks (“structural assimilation”),
whereafter “all other types of assimilation will naturally follow” (ibid: 80-81, see also Gans 1997: 877). For Bauböck (1994) the crucial dimension of integration is instead the legal aspect, which has to be fulfilled before further integration can occur. Diaz (1993), on the other hand, argues that the individual’s contentment with his/her life is necessary for successful integration in the various socio-economic fields of integration. All in all, it seems that what is important is not stipulating a certain order of fields of integration, but rather considering them as parts of an interrelated process that changes over time.23

In a more long-term perspective, over generations, the empirical trend is towards assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba 1999: 13; Brubaker 2001: 543; Sackmann 2003: 235). Hence, assimilation generally takes place inter-generationally, as an unintended phenomenon. As Sackmann (2003: 235) argues, “processes of integration are likely to result in assimilation”.

The analysis of assimilation between individuals and groups can be studied over time in terms of boundaries between minority and majority groups (Alba 1999: 11-12; Bauböck 1994: 12-13). Firstly, individuals can perform boundary crossings, as they “re-socialise” into the majority society. From a more long-term perspective, boundary blurring, diffuse distinctions between minority and majority groups, may occur, for instance through intermarriage or bilingualism. Finally, when the minority group is viewed on equal terms with the majority, a boundary shift has taken place. According to Alba, all of these stages have occurred in relation to European immigration in the United States.

23 On the basis of a critical realistic approach (Sayer 1992; Danermark et al 1997), the different dimensions of integration and assimilation would thus be necessarily related to each other.
3. Methodology and Research Design

This dissertation is inspired by the methodological approach of critical realism. The practical and philosophical standpoints of this perspective have served as important guidelines during the analysis of Finland-Swedish migration. Consequently, this chapter on method is based on the critical realistic methodology. To provide a deeper understanding of its application, the chapter begins with a presentation of the ontology associated with this perspective. Thereafter, the methodological areas of contextual relationships in the research process and of causation are outlined, with concrete parallels being drawn to the case of the Finland-Swedes. The presentation concludes with a section on the application of critical realism to the methods used within this research project. It must be stressed that the critical realist view employed in this study is based on the interpretation of the researcher. The main inspirations are the works of Sayer (1992) and Danermark et al (1997).

Methodology: A Critical Realistic Approach

A Note on Ontology

Critical realism was initially developed as a reaction to positivism and to claims that observed phenomena and regularities have the ability by themselves to explain the world (Cloke et al 1991: 135-136; Sayer 1992: 45). On the other hand, the approach is opposed to the postmodern-idealist view of objects as socially constructed, without any reference to “truth” (Sayer 1993: 324; 1997a: 454). Thus, critical realism “offers a third way” between empiricism/positivism and idealism/postmodernism, based on the ontological differences of these perspectives (Sayer 1993: 321). Whereas positivist/empiricist approaches see the world as constituted of “given facts”, and idealistic perspectives views objects as “artificial constructs”, critical realism is based on the ontology of transcendental realism (Bhaskar 1998: 19). Here, the world is seen as “real” and as structured by necessary relations, but our knowledge of it is nonetheless mediated by concepts and practices (ibid; Sayer 1992).24

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24 Here “transcendental realism” [critical realism] crucially differs from “empirical realism” (Bhaskar 1998: 20). The latter would rather view the empirical world as true.
According to Bhaskar (1998: 16), the world is stratified into both levels that are known to us, and which we consciously influence, and also levels where things happen independently of our knowledge of them. Thus, the world consists of an empirical dimension, which can be observed and experienced, an actual dimension, where activities happen, and a real dimension, where the mechanisms operate that make these things happen (Bhaskar 1998: 41; see also Sayer 2000: 11).

At the level of the real, things can occur without our intention or knowledge of them (Bhaskar 1998: 17). For instance, the natural law of gravity works independently of our interference, acting as a result of internal structures of causal powers and mechanisms. Social processes are different, since they are generated by social actors, but they nonetheless exist external to the researcher’s awareness of and involvement in them (Sayer 1992: 49). The aim of science is to “produce knowledge” about these structures, and hence to analyse at a level that goes deeper than what can immediately be observed (Bhaskar 1998: 18; Danermark et al 1997: 51). What we know about the real dimension of the world is further mediated by the actual dimension, that is by practice (Sayer 1992: 48). However, due to the way the world is constituted, we can never gain exact knowledge about the world on the empirical level (Danermark et al 1997: 23; Sayer 1992: 67). All knowledge is fallible, since the structures that are acknowledged on the real level can never be proved to be “true”, but only reasonable.

The metaphor of the Finland-Swedish migration as a turning wheel, illustrated by the quotation on page 9 about “the big wheel”, demonstrates this worldview. On the empirical level we can observe that the Finland Swedes migrate and that “the big wheel keeps on turning”. This is an event that takes place at the actual, concrete level. However, we can often sense that there is more beneath the surface than we actually know (Danermark et al 1997: 30). These are the abilities of the wheel to turn, the causes of Finland-Swedish migration that are present at the real level. The wheel turns independently of the human interactions involved. However, when the “wheel” refers to a social process like Finland-Swedish migration, the activities of individuals may in the long run change the abilities of the wheel to turn. Accordingly, human beings influence the structures of social objects (Sayer 1992: 96).

Contextualised Research and Concept-Dependent Objects

Science should be seen as a “social activity”, where knowledge is socially produced (Bhaskar 1998: 18). Research is conducted in a context where the acts of previous conceptualisations and practices are essential for what we know about the world and how a research project is approached (Sayer 1992: 22-29). The researcher is influenced by the research community of which he/she is a part, and by the theories and methods it has developed to examine the world.
Both the researcher and the researched object are embedded in webs of relations that the researcher has to be aware of when conducting a study (Sayer 1992: 22-29; 2000: 17-18). In social science, however, they are also interrelated with each other, since they are parts of the same society. Social science deals with an “open system” where the researched object can influence the structures being examined (Danermark et al 1997: 87-88; Bhaskar 1998: 25). This means that social science is contextualised in a triple sense; within the research community, within the context of the object under study, and within the relations between them. It follows from this, that an object of study is not isolated from, but rather a part of, the research process.

An object of study in social science is concept-dependent (Sayer 1992: 30). It is influenced by concepts and meanings that are ascribed to it, both by the researcher and by its own context. When a researcher collects data, it is never a neutral process but one that is already “(pre-)conceptualized” (ibid: 52). Nonetheless, the concepts refer to an object that is real, constituted of necessary relations, and they involve important dimensions of material practice (ibid: 28; 2000: 18), such as social institutions and power structures. It is the task of the researcher to come as close to the real dimensions as possible, by way of conceptualisation and practice.

Since the researcher and the researched object are parts of the same context, the relationship between the two constitutes a fundamental issue to be addressed when a researcher becomes involved in a social study. It is important for the researcher to engage in a continuous dialogue with the object and its conceptualisation of itself. The researcher has to include the everyday knowledge of the object in the analysis (Danermark et al 1997: 46). However, the researcher has to go one step further and be “critical” of his/her object (Sayer 1992: 39). Thus, the researcher must go beyond the object’s self-conceptualisation in order to analyse the rules and meanings on the real level, which is why the approach is called critical realism (ibid: 31). Here, the study of an object’s actions, material dimensions and relations to other objects are vital aspects to be considered.

The investigation of the Finland Swedes through the act of migration involves analysing the constitution of the group through a material practice on the actual level. In this way, it is believed that real relations of the group can be distinguished that would not otherwise have been illuminated. One obvious example of a critical analysis of the Finland Swedes included in this dissertation is the claim that Finland-Swedish migration is in part caused by the minority situation in Finland (see also the causal analysis in Chapter 4). At the empirical level, in terms of their everyday knowledge, none of the migrants would have agreed with this. To say so would have been to make a politically incorrect claim in Finland and it would be interpreted as suggesting that the majority deliberately “forced” the minority to migrate. Instead, the Finland-Swedish migrants often gave economic motives for their decision to migrate. In the analysis of the interviews, however, it was found that

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the minority situation did cause migration at the real level, partly as a result of difficulties in finding a job caused by their limited knowledge of Finnish. Thus, economic reasons to migrate were surrounded by cultural explanations related to the minority-majority situation (see also Halfacree 2004: 245).

In the context of the work presented in this dissertation, the ambiguous relationship between the researcher and the researched was obvious. In a quite concrete way, the researcher belonged to the majority society, to which the Finland Swedes had been migrating. The researcher would thus be considered as an “outsider”, at least in the sense of her own “background” (Gans 1997: 886-888). This has probably influenced the interviews in the sense that some migrants would otherwise have been even more critical of Sweden than they sometimes were. Other migrants, however, might have been positively disposed towards the researcher, since someone from the usually ignorant majority society was investigating their situation.

A continuous process of self-conceptualisation seems to take place within the Finland-Swedish group. There is a lively debate in the Finlandish media about the position of the Swedish language in Finland. In addition, a great deal of research is conducted in Finland about Finland Swedes, as was discussed in Chapter 1. In the interview study with Finland Swedes conducted for the purposes of this dissertation, it was obvious that both the debate and the research findings had influenced their picture of themselves. Quite surprisingly, when asking about their personal experience of the Finland-Swedish minority situation, many answered with reference to recently published research findings.

In the analysis of the Finland Swedes, the group was contextualised both with regard to previous research and with regard to their self-conceptualisation. The researcher thus strived to maintain a continuous dialogue with the pre-conceptualisation of the Finland Swedes both within the group themselves and within the research community. In this way, the research process oscillated between the concrete and the abstract, the empirical and the real, the object and the researcher.

Causation

One of the main aims of this dissertation is to analyse the causes behind the Finland-Swedish migration process to Sweden as an ethnic group. According to the viewpoint of critical realism, the analysis of causation is crucial for the explanation of a concrete event (Bhaskar 1998: 25-27). However, in contrast to empiricistically inspired research approaches, a cause is not seen as the law-like background to an effect, which occurs with necessity (Bhaskar 1989: 9; Sayer 2000: 13-14). Instead, causation is about the analysis of “both

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25 According to Gans, a researcher can still be an “insider” with respect to his/her “values”, when the researcher sympathises with the goals of a group.
necessity and possibility or potential in the world” (ibid: 11). This means that study objects can possess causal powers, which are never generated and are thus without effects. As regards Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden, this would mean that the causes of migration are latent within all individuals with a Finland-Swedish identity, although only a small proportion of them actually migrate. Accordingly, when the purpose is to analyse the causes of Finland-Swedish migration, the relations that constitute the group are analysed, irrespective of whether the individuals concerned choose to migrate or not. It does not mean that all Finland Swedes are predestined to migrate to Sweden, but that these relations underlie factors behind the act of migration. If a Finland Swede migrates, however, it depends on the concrete situation he/she is related to in time and place, both as an individual and as a member of a group.

Whether a social action is carried out, i.e. whether the causal powers are activated, depends both on the relations that constitute the object, and on the context it interacts with. Thus, in order to conduct a causal analysis of an object, it is essential to abstract the internal relations that are necessary for an object to exist, from the external relations that are contingent for the object (Sayer 1992: 89; 1997a: 471). Internally related objects are groups of objects that cannot exist without each other. They form structures that constitute the nature of an object, containing causal powers, also called mechanisms. However, whether or not these mechanisms are generated depends on the context, namely on the external relations that interact with the object.

One relevant example of an internal relation presented in this dissertation is that between minority and majority groups. A minority cannot exist without a majority and in consequence the Finland-Swedish minority defines itself through its relations with the Finnish-speaking majority. A further necessary relation for the Finland Swedes, this dissertation argues, is that with Sweden. This constitutes an example of an asymmetric internal relation, since Sweden and the Swedes can exist independently of the Finland Swedes (Sayer 1992: 89). The crucial concept that ties the Finland Swedes to these two groups is the notion of a double Finland-Swedish identity (see Papers III and IV). Identities influence attitudes and norms, which can form structures with causal powers (Sayer 1992: 110).

Internal relations and structures involve several material practices. Thus the minority-majority situation in Finland means that the domains for using the Swedish language are restricted, and that legislation exists to protect the Swedish language. Furthermore, the presence of certain attitudes between Swedish and Finnish speakers and of particular behaviours related to the language situation, such as the parallel use of Finnish and Swedish within

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26 As will be discussed in Paper IV, the asymmetry occurs because the Swedes are often unaware of the existence of the Finland Swedes, whereas the affinity with Sweden constitutes an important part of the Finland-Swedish identity.
institutions, are material outcomes of the minority-majority relations in Finland. The relations with Sweden produce tight networks of contacts. A further material practice, it can be argued, is found in the Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden.

A structure may be anything from a large system, such as capitalism, to smaller, interpersonal relations between individuals, or even biological relations within a body (Sayer 1992: 92). These structures are hierarchically combined into different strata in the world in such a way that the higher ones cannot exist without the lower ones and are constituted of the powers present in the lower strata. When a higher stratum includes the powers of a lower one it is called emergence (Danermark et al 1997: 78). As regards the Finland Swedes, inter-group relations constitute particularly interesting structures, which are mediated by personal structures in a lower stratum (see Figure 4, Chapter 4).

It is important to note that structures in the world and of objects are capable of change. Individuals interpret the world, learn from it, and arrive at new ways of reacting (Sayer 1992: 234; Danermark et al 1997: 88) As was discussed above, it is not only individuals’ own contexts that may change their understanding of the world, but also research. To endure, social structures are dependent on a continuous reproduction that follows from the actions associated with them over time (Sayer 1992: 96 ff). However, if one object is transformed, its internally related objects, causal powers and mechanisms change as well (ibid: 105). The changing relations between Finnish and Swedish speakers that have occurred in Finland since the 19th century, and which have altered the power positions of the two groups, are a good example of how the structure between minorities and majorities can change.

Method in Critical Realism

As was implied above, objects are concept-dependent and have to be analysed through theories and concepts. Yet, they also have to be confirmed through practical reference to material aspects of the object (Sayer 1992: 58). Thus, research is a two-fold process; on the one side it involves abstract thinking, and on the other the practical research design.

Abstraction

According to Sayer (1992:88) abstract thinking is viewed as part of the method: the analysis of necessary relations “is an achievement and must be worked for”. Through abstraction, it is possible to generalise an event at the abstract level through the application of necessary relations and general structures between one event and another.
Within the process of abstraction, a single aspect of an object is isolated that reveals the object’s internal relations (Sayer 1992: 67). In the case of the Finland Swedes, the investigation was primarily focused on the relations that constitute ethnic identity, as described above. Thus, the way to think about an object is critically mediated by theory, i.e. the concepts that pre-exist about an object (ibid: 47-56; Bhaskar 1998: 18). When a concept is given to an object, it is simultaneously differentiated against other objects. This way of “redescribing” an object through a new conceptualisation is called abduction (Danermark et al 1997: 142-151). By viewing an object with a different theory, new meanings are produced, both in relation to the empirical event and the conceptualisation. The analysis of the Finland Swedes through the concepts of cultural migration and identificational integration/assimilation (Chapter 2) presents new aspects of the migration process that have not been studied previously.

The next step is to move from the abstract dimension to the concrete case (Sayer 1992: 143; Danermark et al 1997: 149). This requires intuition and interpretative understanding, such as may be gained from practical knowledge from the field, for example, since it involves transforming single, abstracted aspects into a complete understanding of the process: a causal analysis. In this process, the contingent relations that generated the event are essential to the analysis (Sayer 1992: 96-98). Thus the historical context must be acknowledged, together with spatial differences, which make a crucial difference to the outcome of an event (ibid: 146; 2000: 115-118; Simonsen 1996: 499-501).

The re-conceptualisation represents one of several possible ways to explain the event. To determine whether the new explanation is reasonable, the inference of retroduction is required (Sayer 1992: 91; Danermark et al 1997: 151-165). By asking fundamental questions, the researcher should find out what characterises and constitutes the objects. The consideration of contrafactual questions is central here: Would this object be possible without the relations with X? What is it about these structures that causes Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden? The internal relations of an object can also be revealed through the investigation of extreme cases. To analyse the Finland Swedes through the event of migration constitutes one example of this, since only a few Finland Swedes per thousand take part in this activity each year.

Research Design

In the research process, the design of a study essentially determines the kind of analysis that it is possible to perform. Intensive and the extensive research designs address different questions and play different roles in the analysis of a concrete event (Sayer 1992: 241; Danermark et al 1997: 238). The intensive design, which uses qualitative methods, investigates the structures and mechanisms underlying a given event. Quantitative methods, such as statisti-
cal analyses and surveys, are employed within the extensive design format to analyse empirical regularities.

One dividing line between intensive and extensive studies lies in their mode of generalisation (Danermark et al. 1997: 128-129). In the context of an intensive research design, where only a small number of cases are investigated, these cases cannot be representative of a large group. However, the structures and mechanisms that are uncovered may be generalised to similar cases. The extensive study, on the other hand, allows for empirical generalisations about a given event. Thus, to investigate a process as thoroughly as possible, intensive and extensive designs provide an essential complement to one another (Sayer 1992: 246; Danermark et al. 1997: 234; see also e.g. McKendrick 1999; Widerberg 2002: 180-181).

In an extensive study, the relations that are established between objects cannot be proved to be anything more than formal (Sayer 1992: 88; 242-243; 2000: 22). Thus whilst they have characteristics that are similar to one another, there is no evidence that they are internally linked. They are therefore unable to reveal the deeper structures of an object or separate necessary and contingent relations from each other. The main purpose of quantitative methods is instead to identify the tendencies associated with an event and to investigate regular patterns that may indicate the existence of an internal relationship (Sayer 1992: 114). In this way, the proportion of Finland Swedes in Finland indicates that a minority-majority structure is present in the country, although this must also be confirmed qualitatively. It follows from this that a minority has to be qualitatively defined in accordance with its social position.

The advantage of an intensive research design is its concreteness: “By looking at the actual relations entered into by identifiable agents, the interdependencies between activities and between characteristics can be revealed” (Sayer 1992: 242). The concrete case thus shows that the objects are internally connected by way of abstract analysis as described above.

In the area of migration studies, several researchers have recently advocated a broadening of the methodological approaches employed (Findlay and Graham 1991; Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Graham 2000; McHugh 2000), and some have called for this to include the use of the critical realist perspective (White and Jackson 1995: 118; Findlay and Li 1999: 53-54). In line with these calls, this dissertation has used both intensive and extensive research designs in order to produce as comprehensive a picture as possible of the migration event. Quantitative methods have been employed in order to un-

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27 In contrast to this, Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1994: 10, 22) argue that statistical analyses can explain the causality associated with an event. In such cases not only descriptive, but also inferential statistics, based on the mathematical theory of probability, must be added to the analysis.
derstand the overall tendencies of the process, and to get an indication of the empirical extension of Finland-Swedish migration. Qualitative methods have been used to analyse internal relations and structures and to produce an understanding of the individual in the situation of migration and integration.

The obvious point of departure was the qualitative definition of the research problem and the identification of the concrete event itself. Furthermore, an initial, statistical investigation provided important information about the extension of the migration pattern. However, it was soon noted that the descriptive picture alone did not provide adequate answers to the questions of why the Finland Swedes migrate to Sweden, and how their identities change during this process. Thus, only one paper in the dissertation, Paper I, deals solely with quantitative material; here the causes of migration are only assumed. The other papers employ a combination of methods (Papers II and III), or use qualitative methods only (Paper IV).

To analyse the causes and consequences of migration, intensive studies based on in-depth interviews and abstraction were employed. In this way, a relationship could be established between the researcher and the researched. In the interview situation, it was possible to enter into a dialogue and to include the migrants’ everyday conceptualisations. The interviews were then analysed by means of the inferential methods of abduction and retroduction. More precisely, this has involved analysing the interviews using the conceptual framework of migration and integration theories. Key concepts, such as identity, were used to guide the analysis through the large interview material to see if the theories could be verified. Some interviews, which expressed the main argument explicitly, were treated as key-interviews in relation to a given issue. The others were then analysed to see if they followed the same direction. Thereafter, generalisations were made at an abstract level. The key-interviews thus expressed the argument in question more directly than the other interviews, but for a conclusion to be drawn, the main body of the interviews also had to support the same line of argument (Widerberg 2002: 143-148).

To take one example, one important question was that of discovering whether the migrants defined themselves as “Finland Swedes”, and how they defined their identity. In the analysis, it was established that a Finland-Swedish identity did exist, but that it was intermixed with other dimensions of national and personal issues. The complexity of this concept was approached using theories of identity, such as Kaplan’s (1999) view of identities as hierarchically ordered and tied to various spatial units, as outlined in Chapter 2. In key-interviews the different levels of identities were clearly identified, whereas in other interviews they were less obvious, but nonetheless corresponded with the same line of argument.

The extensive part of the study was based on two separate data sets. The extensive Study One was based on statistics from Finland’s longitudinal population census file, and the extensive Study Two on data collected manu-
ally from church archives and from the Swedish Population Register. While Study One covered all Finland-Swedish migrants on their out-migration to Sweden during the period 1976-1999, Study Two contained information about in-migration to Sweden from three case study areas (Esbo, Kimito, Jakobstad). The intensive study was based on in-depth interviews with 27 Finland-Swedish migrants, who were selected from the same case study areas.

Research Design of the Finland-Swedish Migration Process

The Statistical Data: Extensive Study One

The extensive study was limited to a descriptive analysis of Finland-Swedish migration. Thus, the aim of the quantitative study was to analyse the distribution of the variables, but not to analyse deeper causes and structures (Sayer 1992: 242).

The statistical data employed in extensive Study One, were based on the longitudinal population census file from Statistics Finland. The data material was outlined on an individual basis and contained all Finland Swedes who had migrated to Sweden between 1976 and 1999 (Table 2). The material was longitudinal in the sense that each individual could be followed from their municipality of birth, via the municipality of out-migration to the municipality of a possible return migration to Finland. Unfortunately, the material contained no information about the municipality of in-migration in Sweden, since this is not registered in the database. Instead, the in-migration pattern was analysed from case study areas (extensive Study Two). The data set further included the variables sex, age, education, parental language and marital and occupational statuses.28

The extensive study thus aimed to conduct a survey of the broad patterns of Finland-Swedish out-migration to Sweden. It was of interest to investigate whether differences existed between the variables. A change in educational level and occupational status would indicate that the preconditions for migration had changed. The analysis of age and marital status suggested the phases of the individual life course at which migration generally occurred. The sex variable indicated whether men and women were equally inclined to migrate to Sweden. One variable specific to the analysis of a linguistic ethnic group was also included, namely parental language. Whether the migrant’s parents were both Swedish-speaking, or if one or both of them were Finnish-speaking, was viewed as indicating whether he/she came from a bilingual or monolingual language environment and was used to shed some light on the

28 See Paper I for a detailed description of the data material.
migrant’s “degree of Finland-Swedishness”. Importantly, the variables were analysed at both the national and the regional level in order to reveal important regional differences within Swedish Finland.

Table 2: The total number of migrants 1976-1999, who were included in the study, and discrepancies between different sources regarding migrants from the case study areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Statistics Finland 2000 (Study One), and Internordiska flyttningsintyg (Inter-Nordic Certificates of Migration) 2002 (Study Two).</th>
<th>Total number of migrants in the study¹</th>
<th>Number of migrants, alternative source²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extensive Study One</td>
<td>Extensive Study Two</td>
<td>Swedish Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17 184</td>
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</table>

¹ Source: Statistics Finland 2000.

One advantage with the data set was that it embraced all Finland-Swedish migrants. However, it also contained certain limitations. First of all, some of the variables involved a time-delay between the point of migration and the time of data measurement. The variables relating to education and occupational status were instead calculated from the end of the year prior to migration.

Secondly, there was some uncertainty in relation to the migrants’ municipalities of registration. Many moved to Sweden at a point in their lives when they had not yet established a stable place of habitation. Accordingly, they might on occasion be living in a different municipality from that in which they were registered, as students for example. This problem was probably even greater in relation to the return migrants. It is reasonable to assume that many of them re-registered at their previous place of habitation in Finland, such as their parental home, for the sake of convenience, but without having any plans to live there again. In addition, it is possible that some data are missing from migration figures from the 1970s and 1980s, since it was not until the 1990s that students generally registered at their place of study in a foreign country.

Finally, the age groups in the data set were inflexible, since no year of birth was included for the migrants. Instead, the migrants were categorised into five age groups (0-14, 15-24, 25-39, 40-59 and 60+). In retrospect, it would have been informative to re-group these categories into groups that were more representative of the stages in the life course at which a migration decision is made. This was perhaps the most serious shortcoming in the data, since the stage in life at which migration took place turned out to be one of the main explanatory factors in the analysis.
Altogether, these limitations provide additional support for the claim that statistical data should be treated with caution (Sayer 1992; Danermark 1997 et al). In this study, the quantitative analysis was therefore complemented with intensive studies as far as possible. With these restrictions in mind, however, the analysis of the statistical material probably provides a fairly good picture of the Finland-Swedish migration pattern.

Investigation and Selection of Case Study Areas

Both extensive Study Two and the set of interviews were based on the analysis of case study areas. Three municipalities in Finland were investigated: Esbo (Espoo), Kimito (Kemiö) and Jakobstad (Pietarsaari) (Figure 1).

According to Danermark et al (1997: 126), the investigation of case studies is a suitable way to analyse the mechanisms that generate an event. Through a thorough analysis of a few cases, the internal relations of an event can be analysed in the complex way in which they manifest themselves at the empirical level. Thus the analysis of the Finland-Swedish case study areas made it possible to arrive at an understanding of the context of migration. The minority situation in the municipalities, the regional linkages to Sweden and the areas’ degree of centrality in Finland were aspects that could be investigated this way.29

One important way of approaching the case study areas was to visit them. In the first instance, this was done in order to collect information from church archives, and in the second to conduct interviews. In addition, a general understanding of the Finland-Swedish situation in Finland was reached by means of regular visits to Helsingfors (Helsinki). In this way it was possible to get a picture of the different linguistic situations in the capital region and in the more peripheral Kimito and Jakobstad areas. In the former, the difficulties involved with not having a command of the Finnish language were noticeable, whereas in Kimito and Jakobstad, Finnish and Swedish were spoken on a parallel basis.

The case study areas were selected by means of a sampling procedure that attended to both extensive factors, associated with the need for representativeness, and intensive factors, associated with the examination of particular qualities (Danermark et al 1997: 243-244). The first objective was to include areas that represented different parts of Swedish Finland. Of the eight regions in Swedish Finland (see definition below), three was considered a suitable number to achieve representativeness by means of case studies. Thus, the Helsingfors (Helsinki) capital region was chosen, as a result of its dominant and central position in Finland, the Åboland (Turunmaa) region was selected to represent a rural archipelago region on the West coast (fac-

29 See Paper II, and to some extent also Papers III and IV for a detailed description of the case study areas.
ing Sweden) and Österbotten (Ostrobothnia/Pohjanmaa) was chosen due to the fact that it is often described as having a particular Swedish identity and due to its peripheral location in Finland.

A second factor linked to the selection of municipalities was the desire to identify areas where the size of the municipal population proportion comprised of Finland Swedes by comparison with Finnish speakers represented a minority situation that was typical for the region. In the capital region, a municipality was sought that had been characterised by a rapid decrease in the proportion of Swedish speakers. In Åboland and Österbotten, municipalities were chosen where the Finland Swedes were in a majority.

Thirdly, the selected municipalities were to have levels of out-migration to Sweden that were representative of their respective regions, particularly during the 1990s (Appendix 1). The new patterns of migration following the wave of the labour migration in the 1960s and 1970s would presumably have started to emerge at that point. For practical reasons, none of the selected municipalities was a regional centre, since it would have been too time-consuming to deal with the large number of Finland Swedes found in these areas. Nonetheless, the municipalities selected represented both urban areas, which had high frequencies of out-migration to Sweden, and rural areas with low levels of migration.

On the basis of these criteria, Esbo was chosen in the Helsingfors region, since it had experienced a large proportional decrease in the number of Swedish speakers and also the region’s second highest rate of migration to Sweden during the 1990s (Appendix 1). The new patterns of migration following the wave of the labour migration in the 1960s and 1970s would presumably have started to emerge at that point. For practical reasons, none of the selected municipalities was a regional centre, since it would have been too time-consuming to deal with the large number of Finland Swedes found in these areas. Nonetheless, the municipalities selected represented both urban areas, which had high frequencies of out-migration to Sweden, and rural areas with low levels of migration.

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On the basis of these criteria, Esbo was chosen in the Helsingfors region, since it had experienced a large proportional decrease in the number of Swedish speakers and also the region’s second highest rate of migration to Sweden during the 1990s. Since Esbo is an integrated part of Helsingfors, this represents migration from the capital. In addition, Jakobstad had Österbotten’s second highest rate of migration to Sweden during the 1990s, and had also been representative of the region in the 1970s and 1980s. Conversely, in rural Åboland none of the regions had high rates of migration to Sweden during the period 1976-1999, since migration was an urban event in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus although Kimito had a low migration rate, it was chosen to represent Åboland and perhaps also many other rural municipalities in Swedish Finland. Swedish speakers were in the majority in both Jakobstad and Kimito, which was characteristic for these regions.

In the first selection of case study areas, a municipality in the vicinity of Jakobstad was selected; Larsmo (Luoto). The municipality seemed to have an interesting migration pattern, since it was the only municipality in Swedish Finland with a higher migration rate in the 1990s than in the late 1970s. However, it appeared that the migration pattern was influenced by the large proportion of Laestadian inhabitants, who migrated to corresponding parishes in the north of Sweden. The analysis of Larsmo’s migration to Sweden

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30 Laestadianism is a religious revivalist movement that was initiated in the 19th century and that gained a strong hold in distinct localities in Northern Finland and Sweden (Talonen 2001: 37).
would thus rather have been an examination of Laestadianism than of Finland Swedes, for which reason it was omitted from the case study. Instead, the choice fell on Jakobstad.

Longitudinal Examination of the Case Study Areas: Extensive Study Two

The investigation of case study areas in extensive Study Two made it possible to follow the migrants longitudinally. The first stage involved identifying the places of in-migration in Sweden during the period 1976-1999, and a second stage identified their place of habitation in 2002. The practical advantages of using case study areas were obvious, since this was the only way to gain information about the places of in-migration. The mother tongue is not registered in official Swedish population records, and it is therefore impossible to investigate linguistic minority groups in Sweden statistically. As was noted earlier, the longitudinal data file from Statistics Finland could not provide this information. Instead, it was collected through the manual examination of Inter-Nordic Certificates of Migration (Internordiska flyttningssintyg), which until 1999 were kept in church archives in Finland. The Evangelic Lutheran Parishes of Esbo, Jakobstad and Kimito were thus consulted.

However, acquiring a complete picture of the Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden was problematic even given the church records. First of all, only those migrants who were members of the Evangelic Lutheran church were included in the study. Since religious affiliation is relatively homogeneous in Finland this was no major problem. In Esbo, for instance, around 90 percent of the Swedish speakers were members of the Swedish Parish.

Secondly, in Esbo and Jakobstad, the church records included all migrants who had chosen to belong to the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran church. Consequently, not only Finland Swedes, but also Finnish speakers could theoretically be included in the material from the church records. In practice, most Finnish speakers are registered in Finnish-speaking parishes, which is why this should not influence the results too much. Kimito, on the other hand, has no separate Finnish-speaking parish, since it is a much smaller municipality than the other two. Here, Finland Swedes were instead distinguished using the names of the migrants. Since Finnish and Swedish are distinctly different languages, this estimation should provide a fairly good picture. In uncertain cases, such as in bilingual families for example where the names sometimes comprised a Swedish surname and a Finnish first name, the staff of the parish checked the migrant’s officially registered language.

31 After 1999.10.01 they are available from the local registry offices (Magistraterna/Maiistraattit) instead.
A further problem concerned the discrepancies that arose between the statistical analyses conducted in extensive Studies 1 and 2 (Table 2). The statistical material relating to Esbo and Jakobstad contained seven percent more cases than the material collected from the church archives. Whereas this could be regarded as a minor difference, the variations in Kimito were too large to be ignored. Here, the church archives contained as many as 42 percent more migrants than the material from Statistics Finland. One possible explanation for this may be that the church archives contained information about migrants who never reported their migration officially. They may have been seasonal migrants, for example, with one home in Sweden and another in Finland. Furthermore, 50 percent of the 256 Kimito migrants had not reported a place of in-migration in Sweden. Thus, their migration pattern in Sweden should be treated with additional caution.

The second step of the longitudinal investigation of the case study areas involved identifying where the migrants lived in the year 2002. The migrants’ paths were followed via the Swedish Population Register service “Navet” (the National Swedish Taxboard) to see whether they had returned to Finland or still lived in Sweden. For the latter group, an investigation was conducted into whether they still lived at the place of in-migration, or whether they had migrated internally in Sweden, which would illuminate the migrants’ more long-term preferences in relation to the place of habitation in Sweden. Unfortunately, the information received from the Swedish Population register in relation to the returnees was scarce. Prior to 1991, no information was available in relation to this group and thus they could either have died, emigrated to another country, or changed their identity. However, since the main bulk of migrants were young, it was assumed that most of them had returned to Finland. The information about the migrants from 1991 and onwards confirmed this assumption. In all events, it was not possible on the basis of this data set to map longitudinally where in Finland the returnees had moved.

Selection of interviewees

The selection of interviewees was made in accordance with results from the extensive Study One (Paper I). Migration was found to be typical for individuals during distinct phases of the life course. Migrants from urban areas were generally older than those from the more peripheral regions, where migrants were for the most part comprised of young people who migrated in connection with leaving the parental home. A supportive analysis was made of the data from the church records, which also confirmed the distribution between the age groups in the case study areas.

The selection was thus intended to facilitate the investigation of whether the formal relations that were found in these studies were internally connected (Sayer 1992: 88). In urban Esbo, older migrants were selected, for the
most part comprising young adults (25-39) and persons of middle age (40-59). In the more peripheral Jakobstad and Kimito, on the other hand, young migrants (15-24 years) were chosen. This strict categorisation was made even though younger migrants did move from Esbo as well, but not to the same extent as from the other regions.³²

In addition, the selection also took changes over time into consideration. Thus migrants were selected from both the beginning (1976-1986) and the end of the study period (1987-1999). An additional factor related to whether the migrants had remained in Sweden, or returned to Finland, by the year 2002. The selection also took into consideration the fact that most of the returnees were men, whereas most of those who remained in Sweden were women. A migrant was selected from each of these categories (Table 3; Appendix 2). A further aspect of the selection was that the migrants were to have migrated to typical places of in-migration in Sweden, since it was of interest to know why the Finland Swedes preferred to go to some places rather than others (see Paper II).

As can be seen from Table 3, a large number of categories had to be covered, for which reason the selection could never be representative for each group. Nonetheless, the impression produced was that an over-all picture of the differences between the rural and urban life courses and differences over time was in fact achieved. Kvale (1997: 98) emphasises that a researcher experiences a phase of “saturation”, when an additional interview does not provide much in the way of new information for the study. To Kvale, 10-15 interviews is a reasonable number. In this investigation, however, 27 interviews were conducted in order to cover the aspects described above. It turned out that a “saturation” level of information was reached in association with the main questions addressed by the investigation at the end of the interview study.

One important advantage with the selection was that the migrants could be reached randomly. An alternative would have been to get in touch with migrants by way of Finland-Swedish interest groups in Sweden (e.g. the FRIS-organisation³³). Although this would have been an easy way to reach particularly committed interviewees, the selection would not have been representative of the majority of migrants. These organisations have had problems in recruiting members, and only members with a strong affection for Finland would have been included in the study, which would have affected the analysis of the group’s integration and identity formation in Sweden. In this study, the migrants were instead contacted via the data received from the church archives in extensive Study Two.

³² Although the category of children (0-14 years) was represented in all municipalities, they were not taken into consideration, since children follow their parents.
³³ FRIS, Finlandssvenskarnas Riksförbund i Sverige (The Organisation of Swedish Finns in Sweden).
Table 3: Distribution of interviewees from case study areas according to time of out-migration, place of residence in 2002, sex and age groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Esbo</th>
<th>Kimito</th>
<th>Jakobstad</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1976-1986</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Stayers</strong></td>
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<td>in Sweden</td>
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<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>15-24</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>25-39</td>
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<td></td>
<td>40-59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>25-39</td>
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<td>40-59</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Returnees</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>to Finland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>15-24</td>
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<td>25-39</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td><strong>1987-1999</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Stayers</strong></td>
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<td>in Sweden</td>
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<td><strong>Returnees</strong></td>
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<td>to Finland</td>
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<td>Women</td>
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<td>25-39</td>
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<td></td>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tot. 1976-1999</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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</table>

The Interview Study: A Biographical Approach

The qualitative part of the study was conducted using a biographical style of research, and employing in-depth interviews. In migration studies, Halfacree and Boyle (1993: 337) have advocated that migration is deeply embedded in the migrant’s life experience and thus has to be approached in a biographical way. Biographic research aims at understanding and interpreting societal processes through the analysis of individual life stories within their contexts (Chamberlayne et al 2000: 1-3; Tollefsen Altamirano 2000; Roberts 2002: 4-5). Thus, a major focus is directed at the individual experience, which reflects wider societal structures. Biographical studies enable the researcher to analyse the formation and constitution of identities through the consideration of individuals’ life courses (Roberts 2002: 22; 170). Although the research style has often been used to explain individual biographies, it can also be related to the experiences of group formation among several individuals and of collective identities. Time constitutes a further central focus of biographi-
cal studies, as it is mediated by the individual’s memory and expectations, which in turn are situated in space (see also Hägerstrand 1978).

When applying biographical studies to a realist account, the individual story is thought to refer to a “true” event and a lived materiality (Roberts 2002: 7). However, it is mediated by the individual’s conceptualisation of the situation and the communication with the researcher (Sayer 1992: 22-35). Interviews in particular are viewed as a “construction of the self” and should not be considered as the end of the [critical] realistic analysis (Roberts 2002: 6; 22; 170).

Equally, the choice of conducting an interview study about the Finland-Swedish migrants was made in order to arrive at an understanding of the individuals within the migration process and to be able to explain the causes. The style of the interviews was as “open” as possible, as against “structured” and quantifiable interviews (Lantz 1993: 18-21; Kvale 1997: 82).

The interviews were conducted in two stages. To begin with, the migrants were asked to draw or write their migration path on a piece of paper and to talk about the route. In this way, it was possible to acquire their pictures of migration, without the researcher’s involvement. It was obvious that the interviewees told their migration story in a very practical way, as the result of directly generating reasons such as their place of work. This was viewed as the “common sense” conception of migration (Danermark et al 1997: 46). Having the migration path drawn or written down on a piece of paper also constituted a practical means of unravelling and plotting the complex migration pattern in the interview situation.

In the second part of the interview, however, it became somewhat more structured. Kvale (1997: 84-100) stresses the importance of knowing the aim of the interview in advance and of planning themes in accordance with theories. On the basis of pre-understandings and -conceptualisations of the event, a few topics were prepared, which the conversation would revolve around:

- The individual experience of migration and its causes
- The experience of the minority situation in Finland
- The migrant’s picture of and links with Sweden prior to migration
- The experience of being a Finland Swede in Sweden
- The reasons why the migrant did or did not return to Finland
- The migrant’s thoughts about “Finland-Swedishness” and whether these had changed in connection with migration to Sweden

The interviews were conducted with persons who had different backgrounds in terms of age and education. As a result, the interview situations often differed substantially. The migrants were notified beforehand by letter, which probably contributed to the high level of agreement to participate in the study noted among the migrants approached. The migrants could influence the interview situation by choosing the place for the interview, which for the
most part took place at their home or at work. The only requirement was that it should be in a quiet environment, with the least possible disturbance from others (Ekholm and Fransson 1992: 21-22).

The interviews, which in general lasted for about an hour, were conducted between January and June of 2002, for the most part using a tape recorder (Appendix 2). One advantage with using a tape recorder was that it was possible to keep one’s attention actively focused on the interviewee (Kvale 1997: 127; Ekholm and Fransson 1992: 21). Furthermore, the interviews could be analysed verbatim and quotations could be used. A further advantage was that it was possible to judge at a later stage of the research process what was important for the analysis. An obvious disadvantage was, not unexpectedly, that many interviewees were hesitant when faced with the tape recorder. Yet, it was noticeable that this hesitation soon disappeared. Thus for strategic reasons, every interview started with a familiar but relatively unimportant question relating to the subject’s current place of work. Sometimes, an important question could be repeated in a different way at a later stage of the interview, once the interviewees were more relaxed.

One major technical problem occurred when using the tape recorder and three interviews in a row were not recorded. When this mistake was noticed, one to two days after the interviews had been conducted, notes were made on the basis of what was remembered from the interview. These were then sent to the interviewees for correction. Important information was of course lost and as a consequence, these interviews were used more cautiously and sparingly than the recorded interviews. In the analysis of these interviews, the memory of the migrants’ body language and general attitudes about the subject matter played an important role, since these aspects had been relatively easy to remember.

The interviews were transcribed literally, and their subsequent analysis was a complex process. Firstly, the interviews were coded into the main themes of the interview, as described above. This, however, was a relatively superficial stage in the process of analysis. At the second stage, the interviews were re-read in accordance with the relevant theories described in Chapter 2. Here, they were analysed to “get to know” the migrant and to acquire both an overall view and a more detailed picture of the different theoretical issues in each interview.

Definitions Employed in the Study

Definition of Finland Swedes

In this dissertation, the Finland Swedes are defined in line with the definition of ethnic identity presented in Chapter 2 (Giles et al 1977; Smith 1986; Sarup 1996). Thus, they are seen as an “ethno-linguistic” minority in Finland,
which is defined by a unifying Swedish language. Their ethnic identity is outwardly related to the Finnish-speaking group, and inwardly they share an ethnic affinity with Sweden. One vital element in the construction of their ethnic identity is their knowledge of a group-specific history and a shifting power position in Finland.

In this dissertation, the definition of which individuals are Finland Swedes has been made in both a substantial, qualitative way and in a formal, quantitative manner. This has been necessary, since different types of material have been employed.

The statistical definition of the Finland Swedes, which was used in the extensive Study One, follows the official definition in Finland. Thus, all individuals, who were registered in the population records as Swedish speakers were defined as Finland Swedes. Since Swedish and Finnish are the two national languages in Finland, every citizen is registered as either Swedish- or Finnish-speaking when they are born. This definition, however, only guarantees formal relations between the individuals that are included in the same category (Sayer 1992: 101). To define a person as a Swedish speaker says nothing about whether he or she has a Finland-Swedish identity. Someone can be registered as a Swedish speaker simply as a result of a tradition, since one of the parents was a Finland Swede. Another common problem with this definition relates to the bilingual Finlanders. These may be included in either the Swedish- or the Finnish-speaking category, often depending on the language of their mother (Tandefelt 2001: 12), but not so much on their own identity.

In the statistical material, the parental language variable was employed to reduce the level of uncertainty in this regard. It was found that the Finland Swedes who moved to Sweden were predominantly drawn from among the Swedish speakers with two Swedish-speaking parents (Paper I: 76-77). This indicates that the Finland Swedes who migrated to Sweden were numbered among those who possessed the “most Finland-Swedish” identity. Nonetheless, no internal relationship can be established between the Swedish speakers on the basis of this fact alone.

The qualitative definition of Finland Swedes, which was used in the interview study, referred to the migrants’ self-definition of their ethnic identity. Thus one of the tasks associated with the interviews was that of confirming whether or not the migrants felt a sense of belonging to the Finland-Swedish group. As an outsider, the researcher was unsure whether people identified

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34 In the extensive Study Two a practical definition was used, which is equivalent to a combination of the statistical and the self-definition of being a Finland Swede (see Page 54).

35 All Swedish speakers from the autonomous Åland province have been omitted from the study however. This is because they do not define themselves as Finland Swedes, but rather as Ålanders (Rask 1999-2000: 25).

36 The Lapp (in Swedish ‘Same’) minority also has a right to be registered as Lapps (Finlandssvensk rapport, 1996: 19)
themselves with the group of “Finland Swedes” in their everyday lives, or whether this was a label ascribed to them by the political and historical discourse. After a few interviews, however, it became apparent that a Finland-Swedish identity did exist among the migrants, although it assumed different forms. It varied between the regions in Swedish Finland and across generations in Finland as well as in Sweden, and it co-existed with a Finlandish national identity (Figure 3). In addition, the degree to which the interviewees identified themselves with the group varied on a continuous scale, from “being a Finland Swede” to having a “bilingual” identity.

![Figure 3. The Finland-Swedish terminology of nationalities as used in the dissertation.](image)

Some migrants were easy to define as Finland Swedes or bilinguals, whereas others were found to be located in an intermediate position. Nevertheless, to facilitate the analysis, a classification into either “Finland Swedes” or “bilinguals” was used. For uncertain cases, an estimation was made on the basis of the impression given by the interview in total, based on both the migrants’ own definitions of their identity and the their general attitudes towards “Finland-Swedishness”. Among the “Finland Swedes”, some early migrants from Jakobstad and Kimito were included who labelled themselves “Swedish speakers”. This was interpreted as indicating that their identity had a specific regional referent that excluded Finland Swedes from other regions. Since they clearly defined themselves as “Swedes [in Finland]”, however, they were categorised as “Finland Swedes”. In addition, a woman, who was bilingual in practice, but called herself a Finland Swede “culturally”, was classified as a “Finland Swede”. On the other hand, a man who was “born” as a Finland Swede, but who by the time of the interview had developed a clearly bilingual identity was counted as a “bilingual”.

As can be seen from Table 1 (Chapter 1), the number of interviews included in the analysis varies between the papers. The papers that deal explicitly with the Finland-Swedish identity construction (Papers III and IV) only include those migrants, who were defined as “Finland Swedes”. In the other
papers, bilingual Finland Swedes were also deemed to be of interest to the investigation (Paper II and the popular scientific paper). In the end, five migrants were classified as “bilinguals” and 22 as “Finland Swedes” (Appendix 2).

The terminology that has been developed in relation to the Finland Swedes is rather complex (Figure 3), as was also discussed in Chapter 1. When translating it into English, even the label of the group itself becomes a complicated issue. Sometimes, this group is referred to as “Swedish-speaking Finns”, a label, which neglects the distinction between the language groups in the Finland-Swedish identity construction. After all, the Swedish speakers are not “Finns”, but Finlanders. Further, it would have been incorrect to use the term “Swede”, since it refers to the citizens of Sweden. Instead, a direct translation from Swedish into English has been used, in this dissertation, and the group has been labelled “Finland Swedes”. When the Finland Swedes move to Sweden, they are labelled “Finland Swedes in Sweden”. Equally, it would not be correct to use the English word “Finnish” as an adjective, since it only applies to Finnish speakers. Furthermore, the bilinguals could arguably be classified as a separate category, lying somewhere between the Finnish and the Swedish speakers. To avoid a confusion of the terms “Finlander” and “Finn”, the Finnish-speaking majority in Finland is not referred to as “Finns” in the context of this dissertation, but as “Finnish speakers”.

Definition of Geographical Units

Three regional levels in Finland have been used to analyse the migration of the Finland Swedes: the all-embracing region of Swedish Finland, the Finland-Swedish regions within Swedish Finland and the Finland-Swedish municipalities (Appendix 3, Figures 1 and 2). Swedish Finland was defined in accordance with the official linguistic status of the municipalities. All municipalities, which were monolingually Swedish or had a bilingual status with either a Finnish or a Swedish majority, were included in Swedish Finland (see also note 12, Chapter 1). The 47 municipalities that belonged to Swedish Finland at the time were grouped together into seven regions within Swedish Finland on the basis of their degree of urbanisation and their location in Finland: Eastern and Western Nyland (Uusimaa), the capital region, Åbo (Turku), Åboland (Turunmaa) and Southern and Northern Österbotten (Ostrobothnia/Pohjanmaa).

Thus the municipalities where Finland Swedes have traditionally lived were excluded from Swedish Finland in those cases where the current proportion of Swedish speakers was too low. Between 1997 and 1999, 4.2 percent of Finland Swedes lived in scattered municipalities without Swedish-speaking status, but they only accounted for 2.7 percent of the Swedish-speaking migrants.
Further, the Åland province was also excluded from the analysis. In line with recommendations from the United Nations, the island has since 1920 had a special autonomous status in Finland as a Swedish-speaking region (Engman 1995: 202-207). The island has its own parliament, with far-reaching powers of self-government. It is also guaranteed Swedish-speaking status regardless of population figures, and is thus excluded from the language law in Finland (note 12, Chapter 1). In consequence, Ålanders possess a unique “Ålandish” identity (Engman 1995: 206; Rask 1999-2000: 25) and Finland-Swedish migration from the island would differ in important respects from Finland-Swedish migration from the mainland. Of the Finland-Swedish population, 8.1 percent live in Åland. However, as many as fifteen percent of the Finland-Swedish migrants during the period 1976-1999 originated in Åland.
4. Summary of the Papers and Concluding Findings

Summary of the Papers

Paper I. Migration as a Cultural Expression? The Case of the Finland-Swedish Minority’s Migration to Sweden

Charlotta Hedberg and Kaisa Kepsu

This paper examines the pattern of Finland-Swedish migration from Finland to Sweden during the period 1976-1999, in part in relation to the Finnish-speaking majority group, and in part from a regional perspective. The analysis of the ethnic dimension produced clear evidence to support a view of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden as a group-specific, cultural process (Fielding 1992; Boyle et al. 1998; McHugh 2000). This was expressed most strikingly by the over-representation of Finland Swedes within the migration stream, with their proportion increasing between 1976 and 1999. Since the Finland Swedes are on average older than the Finnish speakers, and since migration is more common at young ages, the different migration patterns cannot be explained by the existence of a more migration-prone age-structure among the Finland Swedes (Finnäs 2004: 13). Even so, no particular differences existed between Swedish and Finnish speakers with regard to educational level or occupational status, which might have accounted for the different migration patterns (ibid: 24-26). Instead, the Finland Swedes internal, long-distance migration in Finland was less frequent than that of the Finnish-speaking majority group. The two migration patterns thus seem to be related to each other, implying that part of the Finland-Swedish internal migration is replaced by migration to Sweden.

The propensity to migrate to Sweden differed between the Finland-Swedish regions, with the level of migration from the city regions increasing and with a high and stable level of migration from Österbotten. One important finding was that the Finland-Swedish migrants more often had two Swedish-speaking parents than the Finland Swedes that did not move to Sweden. Thus, despite the fact that bilingualism is generally on the increase among Finland Swedes (Tandefelt 2001), those who move to Sweden may be assumed to have weaker Finnish language skills and probably a more
distinct Finland-Swedish identity (see also the definition of Finland Swedes, Chapter 3).

The ethnic dimension was also noted in the different reactions found among Finnish and Swedish speakers to the shifting context of migration. The changes in demand on the Swedish labour market during the 1980s and 1990s, which were associated with an increase in the migration of highly skilled workers within international firms, as against low-skilled labour migration (Findlay 1990: 15; Blotevogel 1997: 8-9; Korkiasaari and Söderling 1998), implied divergent life courses between Finnish and Swedish speakers. Whereas young Finnish speakers stopped migrating, the Finland Swedes continued to move to Sweden in the context of a “nest leaving” phase, probably in order to establish themselves on the labour market or study at Swedish universities. In addition, an increase was noted in the proportion of older Finland Swedes who migrated to Sweden at a stage of the life course associated with career-improvement within the context of an integrated Swedish-Finlandish labour market (Helander 2004). Regional differences between urbanised and less urbanised regions were of great significance in this regard. “Career migration” was mainly found in urban regions, whereas migration continued to be primarily associated with young migrants in less urbanised regions.

The paper concludes that Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden has important cultural dimensions. It is speculated that the causes of migration are multidimensional. At the group level, it is suggested that migration is caused by the minority situation in Finland and by the group’s cultural affinity with Sweden. At the individual level, causes such as labour and student migration, unemployment and migration at certain stages of the life-course were generated by a change in the nature of demand on the Swedish labour market. Furthermore, there were important regional variations associated with these causes.

**Paper II. Direction Sweden: Finland-Swedish Migration Fields and Cognitive Distances**

*Charlotte Hedberg*

In Paper II, the causes for out-migration at the group level are scrutinised in greater detail, at the same time as the once central concept of distance is reintroduced into migration studies. Thus, the Finland Swedes’ affinity with Sweden is analysed in relation to the migrants’ cognition of distance (Downs and Stea 1973). *Ethnic identities* (Sarup 1994) and the existence of *socio-historical networks* (Hägerstrand 1957) between places influence the migrants’ perceptions of distance, which form a basis for the individuals’ migration decisions. Since places are differentially linked to one another, dis-
tinct patterns of migration, *migration fields*, crystallise around a given place (Hägerstrand 1957).

Within this analytical framework, the migration fields of the three Finland-Swedish case study areas were investigated and found to contain noticeable variations. The migration to Sweden from each locality was investigated in relation to internal migration in Finland. The extension of the migration field to Sweden from the small, peripheral town of Jakobstad was particularly large. Both popular-cultural networks and social networks resulting from previous migration contributed to a strong identification with Sweden among these migrants. Accordingly, the migrants’ cognitive distance from destinations in Sweden was reduced, by comparison with cognitive distances to alternative destinations in the Finnish-speaking parts of Finland. In addition, destinations in central parts of Swedish Finland were considered only with reluctance among the Jakobstad migrants.

From the rural municipality of Kimito, which is located on an island, the size of the migration field to Sweden had decreased significantly between 1976 and 1999. Instead of moving to Sweden, a large migration stream had been initiated focused on alternative municipalities in Swedish Finland. Nonetheless, among “nest-leavers”, migration to Sweden continued to constitute an important alternative. The social networks between previous and current migrants were obvious among this group of migrants, and served to reduce the cognitive distance to Sweden. Maritime linkages from the island to Sweden further contributed to a perception of closeness to Sweden, relative to destinations in Finland.

Finally, for the migrants from the centrally located Esbo municipality, migration to Sweden increased slightly between 1976 and 1999, albeit from a relatively low level. The socio-historical networks found here differed from those of the other municipalities included in the study, since they generally consisted of economic networks between the capital region and Sweden. The increase in migration witnessed during the 1990s may be related to the pattern of career migration that was initiated at this point, and which was analysed in Paper I. Although the nature of the linkages differed between Esbo and the other municipalities, Sweden occupied a central location on the cognitive maps of the Esbo migrants.

Despite locational variations, the migrants thus generally perceived Sweden to be “close”. Socio-historical networks serve to enhance the Finland-Swedish ethnic affinity with Sweden and moderate the way distance is perceived across the national border. Consequently, Sweden becomes a proximate location on the migrants’ cognitive maps and an alternative to internal migration. Furthermore, socio-historical connections between places are vital for the establishment of a migration field that persists over time. It is therefore argued that the concept of cognitive distance, i.e. individuals’ images of a place in relation to other places, adds an important dimension of understanding to the study of migration. Vital factors that influence cognitive dis-
tance include the ethnic affinity with a place, and the establishment of lively socio-historical networks. These serve to illuminate both the direction and the continuity of a migration pattern.

Paper III. Identity in Motion: The Process of Finland-Swedish Migration to Sweden

Charlotta Hedberg and Kaisa Kepsu

In this paper, the Finland-Swedish migration process to Sweden is analysed as a circulatory event of migrants and returnees, embedded in a Finland-Swedish identity (McHugh 2000; Tollefsen Altamirano 2000). The transformation of the group’s ethnic identity subsequent to migration is investigated, in part through the study of notions relating to whether migrants chose to stay in Sweden or return to Finland, in part by analysing different levels of identity and their relations to space (Kaplan 1999).

The paper views Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden as a circulatory movement that at the time of out-migration was based on the ethnic identification with Sweden. The decision to migrate to Sweden was regarded as temporary and as an easy one to make for migrants at mobile stages of the life course, such as those associated with nest leaving or career migration. As a result of their pre-existing ethnic affinity with Sweden, the migrants were surprised to experience dissociation in relation to the Swedes when they moved there. Instead, during the initial period in Sweden, the migrants’ Finlandish national identity became stronger and many of them returned to Finland within one or two years. 50 percent of the migrants, however, “happened” to stay in Sweden and became successively integrated into Swedish society. The strong ties to Finland weakened, and both national and ethnic identities became blurred. Instead, the Finland-Swedish identity shifted from a collective into a personal identity. Thus being a Finland Swede no longer involved coherence within the group to any great extent, but was rather viewed as a part of the migrant’s own background.

Furthermore, the process of migration revealed the Finland-Swedish identity as multiple and linked to space. Following migration, a spatial hierarchy of affinities appeared, with different loyalties being associated with collective and individual dimensions of identity respectively. The migrant’s national identity was linked to Finland, but it excluded the Finnish-speaking parts of the country and was related only to Swedish Finland. The ethnic identity referred to the migrant’s “own” region in Swedish Finland and, prior to migration, also to Sweden. The personal level of identity, which became strengthened in the course of migration, referred to the places of habitation in both Finland and Sweden. Fitting together the concurring spatial affinities
of ethnic and national identities sometimes presented a challenge to the individual migrants.

The paper concludes that the Finland-Swedish migration process to Sweden reveals aspects of identity construction both for the migrant group and for the group remaining in Finland. It is clear that the Finland Swedes’ national identity differs from that of the Finnish-speaking majority, in that it refers only to Swedish Finland. It is further shown that the group’s ethnic identity comprises affinities both with the region in Finland and also with Sweden.

Paper IV. Finland-Swedish “Return” Migration to Sweden: The Dividing Line of Language

Charlotta Hedberg

In Paper IV, both the causes of migration and the integration process in Sweden are investigated, with the focus being directed at the Swedish language as the major symbol of Finland-Swedish identity. The migration process is viewed within the broader framework of ethnic “return” migration (Brubaker 1996; Clachar 1997; Kulu 1998; Tsuda 1999; 2000; 2002). Within this perspective, aspects of ethnicity are analysed both as causes for migration, and also as influencing the ethnic identity upon arrival in the country of ethnic affinity. Thus the process of identificational integration is investigated as being imbued with the knowledge of ethnic and/or host languages.

The Swedish language, which mediates the Finland-Swedish ethnic identity, is found to be a main cause of migration to Sweden. As a result of the linguistic minority situation in Finland, the migrants sometimes had difficulties finding work, or they experienced a hostile atmosphere against Swedish speakers. The networks of popular culture, social contacts and economic cooperation also strengthened the ethnic affinity with Sweden, which was perceived as an extended Swedish-speaking area adjacent to Swedish Finland. When all these factors are considered, Sweden became a “natural choice” of destination for the migration of Finland Swedes.

In the context of the Finland Swedes’ integration process in Sweden, the aspects of identity and language were the main fields of analysis. Within Bauböck’s (1994) categorisation of areas of integration in society, the group was easily integrated in legal and social respects, whereas conversely their identity was contested and transformed. When the Finland-Swedish collective identity was transformed into a personal identity at a later stage of integration (Paper III), it is argued that they assimilated (Alba 1999; Brubaker 2001) in Sweden, even as first generation migrants.

Within the process of integration, the Swedish language played a key-role in marking a symbolic distinction towards the Swedes. Although the Finland
Swedes had moved to a country of ethnic affinity where their mother tongue is the majority language, they continued to employ it as a boundary towards the majority. In Sweden, however, this was achieved by means of their distinct Finland-Swedish dialect. One reason was probably the unexpected differences that initially appeared in relation to the Swedes. Further, a “Swedish ignorance” perceived in Sweden in relation to the Finland-Swedish group may explain the linguistic dissociation from the Swedes. Interestingly, this linguistic distinction was the final symbolic partition maintained by the group during the phase of assimilation.

In the paper, support is found for viewing Finland-Swedish migration as a case of ethnic “return” migration. The causes of migration are equivalent to those of other groups involved in ethnic “return” migration, since the process is clearly underpinned by the notion ethnic identity. Similarities were also identified in the first phase of the integration process, when dissociation appears in relation to the host society with which the migrants had previously felt an ethnic affinity. However, whereas a poor command of the ethnic mother tongue is often regarded as explaining the limited nature of the identificational integration of ethnic “return” migrants, the Finland-Swedish case indicates that the process goes deeper than the issue of language. In the case of the Finland Swedes, linguistic differences were maintained at the symbolic level in order to mark the “mental” differences known to exist in relation to the majority society in Sweden. As the Finland Swedes, in the second phase, entered the assimilation process, no correspondence could be found with other cases of ethnic “return” migration. Since Swedish was the migrants’ mother tongue, the communicative advantages that command of the language involved in the context of the integration process proved to be stronger than the symbolism of using the language as a dividing line.

Concluding Findings

Finland-Swedish Cultural Migration and Integration

The concepts used to analyse the Finland Swedes’ migration to Sweden were found within the field of cultural migration. According to this view, common “systems of meaning and value” are present in groups that present a distinct migration pattern (Jackson 1989; Fielding 1992; Boyle et al 1998; Halfacree 2004). In this dissertation it is concluded that the concepts of identity, circularity and networks are closely connected to a cultural view of migration.

Applying them to the Finland-Swedish case, the group’s ethnic identity is the factor that unifies certain “systems of meaning and value”. The finding that the Finland Swedes migrate almost five times as often as the Finnish-speaking majority is an indication that the process is culturally imbued (Paper I), since neither demographic, educational nor occupational structures
differ dramatically between the two language groups. The situation in Finland, based on the minority situation in relation to the Finnish speakers, and the affinity with Sweden both constitute essential parts of the Finland-Swedish ethnic identity. As will be dealt with in more detail in the causal analysis below, both of these factors are viewed as main causes of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden.

Circularity and personal and institutional networks are vital factors when it comes to investigating the perpetuation of processes of cultural migration (Hägerstrand 1957; Fawcett 1989; Massey et al 1998: 42-43; McHugh 2000; Tollefsen Altamirano 2000). Paper II emphasises how social, cultural and economic networks, by reducing the group’s cognitive distance to Sweden, served to establish the Finland-Swedish migration culture. These networks contribute to maintaining the circular migration process over time. Circularity is also found at the individual level, when migrants return to Finland (Paper III). This migration stream would add to the maintenance of social networks between individuals. When the notions of circularity over time and at the individual level are viewed together, they serve to illustrate the metaphorical view of the Finland-Swedish migration process as a turning wheel.

At the conceptual level, the Finland-Swedish migration process from Finland to Sweden should be treated as a combination of internal and international migration (Chapter 2). Consequently, when the migrants arrive in Sweden, their integration process raises different questions than is otherwise the case.

Identity-issues that were crucial to the process of out-migration continue to play a major role in the Finland Swedes’ integration process. This is the area in which the group experiences unexpected differences in relation to the Swedes. In the legal and social areas of integration, which usually constitute the focus of integration research, integration was easily achieved by the Finland-Swedish group. Thus the case of the Finland Swedes illustrates how the integration process works once the goals of legal and social integration are successfully achieved.

The Finland-Swedish example clearly shows the processual nature of integration, since the group’s identification with Sweden was transformed over time (Papers III and IV). Initially, the Finland Swedes felt an increasing distance towards Sweden. After a period of time spent in the country, however, they started to re-identify and assimilate into Sweden in the sense that they became increasingly similar to the Swedes (Brubaker 2001: 534). Over the course of the assimilation process, the Finland-Swedish identity often changed from being a part of their collective identity, and involving a feeling of membership with a group, to being a part of their personal background. It is speculated that since the Finland Swedes were well integrated in the legal and social fields, they were also able to surmount the identity conflicts encountered during the integration process.
Further, the Finland-Swedish integration process raises questions about the common distinction drawn between the concepts of integration and assimilation. Since the group distinguishes itself in Finland by means of symbols that are associated with Sweden and specifically by way of the Swedish language, the question has to be asked as to how Finland Swedes could become “integrated” but not “assimilated” into Swedish society. In line with the work of Bauböck (1994), Alba (1999) and Brubaker (2001), it is argued that the concepts of assimilation and integration complement one another rather than being mutually exclusive.

The Finland-Swedish case demonstrates the importance of distinguishing between the concepts of assimilation as a process, and integration as a normative framework (Gans 1997: 875). Even within a society that aims at being integrative, it is thus possible for a group to assimilate. Normatively, the Finland Swedes should be analysed within a framework that aims at integration and allows for cultural pluralism, but as a temporal process they are becoming ever more similar to the Swedes.

Given the conceptualisations of both migration to and integration in Sweden, this dissertation concludes that Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden can be analysed as a process of ethnic “return” migration (Paper IV). Both in their minority situation in the country of out-migration, and their ethnic affinity with the country of in-migration the situation of the Finland Swedes is similar to that of other “returning” migrant groups (Brubaker 1998; Kulu 1998; Tsuda 1999). In the integration process, the initial phase of dissociation from the Swedes experienced by the Finland Swedes is equivalent to that of other “return” migrant groups (Clachar 1997; Münz and Ohliger 1998; Tsuda 2000). One important finding that is taken up in Paper IV, is that the process of integration markedly diverges between the Finland Swedes and other ethnic “return” migrant groups at the point where the Finland Swedes enter the process of assimilation. Not only do the Finland Swedes find it more easy to integrate in the social area, but they were also more inclined to adapt their identity and to assimilate as first generation migrants. Thus, the comparison of Finland-Swedish migration with other cases of ethnic “return” migration contributes important dimensions to the analysis, both for the analysis of Finland Swedes and that focused on other groups of “return” migrants.

Causal Analysis of Finland-Swedish Migration

One central element in this dissertation has been to analyse the causes of the Finland-Swedish migration process to Sweden. As is explained in Chapter 3, the causal analysis of a process constitutes one of the main concerns of the methodological framework of critical realism. Working within this framework, this section presents a causal analysis of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden. The analysis shows the relationship between causes at the group
and individual levels respectively, and it locates the Finland-Swedish migration process in a contextual framework.

As described in Chapter 3, the critical realist perspective emphasises the significance of the relational construction of objects for the outcome of a process (Sayer 1992; Danermark et al 1997). When the Finland-Swedish migration process is analysed in this way, a schema of necessary/internal and contingent/external relations emerges (Figure 4).

This dissertation has analysed the causes of migration for the Finland-Swedish group. In a stratified world, group-level structures are thought to be situated between the individual level and wider social structures such as capitalism and patriarchy (Sayer 1992: 92). In this analysis, the individual causes of migration are only considered in order to explain the emergent process between individual and group levels (Figure 4). It is clear that a group consists of many individuals whose causal powers constitute part of the causes at the group level (Danermark et al 1997: 83).

A first structural cause of the Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden identified at the group level was that of identification (Papers II, III, IV). The Finland-Swedish ethnic identity was necessarily related to the Finnish-speaking majority in Finland, and asymmetrically related to Sweden as a country (cf. Sayer 1992: 89-90 and Chapter 3). As can be seen in Figure 4, both the minority situation in Finland, and thus the internal relation to the Finnish speakers, and the affinity with Sweden were causes that could be identified within the migrants’ narratives on migration. The close cognitive distance to Sweden, relative to locations in Finland, constitutes one aspect of the way in which ethnic identity contributes to migration (Paper II).

A second structure of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden comprises the networks that link Swedish Finland to Sweden (Papers II and IV). Social contacts between current and earlier Finland-Swedish migrants play a role in the migration process. In addition, popular-cultural contacts, in the form of popular music, for example, literature and television programmes, are distributed from Sweden to Finland. Finally, the economic linkages between companies in both countries also contribute to Finland-Swedish migration. Arguably, these networks are stronger among Finland Swedes than among Finnish speakers as a result of the common Swedish language.

Importantly, the causes of Finland-Swedish migration are generated by a number of contingent relations. Figure 4 indicates what some of these might consist in. The regional factor is crucial for the structures at the group level. There are substantial differences in the nature of the Finland-Swedish identity between the regions in Swedish Finland (Papers I-IV). Thus, as historical and socio-cultural areas, these regions mediate the overall Finland-Swedish identity. The minority situation in Finland differs considerably between central and peripheral regions (Paper IV). Numerically, it is more marked in the former areas, where the proportion of the population accounted for by the Finland-Swedish group has declined dramatically over the past century.
However, in peripheral regions, where the Finland Swedes occupy a regional majority position, they are less accustomed to the minority situation in the country as a whole, and are thus in a stronger national minority position. In part as a consequence of this, the affinity with Sweden was stronger in the more peripheral regions. Television broadcasts from Sweden to Finland constitute a further contextual relation influencing migration. These have had a major influence on the structure of popular-cultural networks. In addition, the contingent contacts that are established between companies and organisations in order to establish economic networks between the two countries also constitute important factors generating migration.

The causes operating at the group level, however, are mediated by structures at the individual level. A group consists of several individuals each of whom has a personal motivation to migrate and an idea of how to make a living in the new country. Examples of this motivation might consist in an opportunity to work or study in Sweden, or simply the excitement of moving to a Swedish-speaking country (Papers I, III). Another example is found in the motivation to migrate at a certain stage in the individual life course, either when leaving the parental home or when advancing in one’s career on the labour market.

The labour market conditions in Sweden relative to Finland provide an important contingent relation for migration at the individual level (Papers I, IV). When the migrant was aware of a working opportunity, or believed that the possibilities of getting a job were greater in Sweden, this contributed to migration. In the 1970s, salaries were viewed as being higher in Sweden, whereas in the year 2000, a perception that it was easier to gain access to Swedish universities constituted a more common explanation for migration (see the popular scientific paper). Further, contingent interpersonal meetings and quite simply an interest in Stockholm as a larger city also serve to generate migration (Paper II).

However, the causes operating at the individual level can be understood in a more sophisticated way when they are viewed through the structures of identity and networks at the group level. Thus the migration that takes place in connection with nest leaving is directed to Sweden because the country provides an extended Swedish-speaking area. In the extensive analysis in Paper I, this finding was supported by the divergent life courses among Swedish and Finnish speakers respectively. Furthermore, it can be easier for a Finland Swede to find a job in Sweden than in Finland as a result of having a better command of Swedish than of Finnish. Also, the personal excitement involved in moving to Sweden is underpinned by the close social and popular-cultural networks. Thus the causes at the group and individual levels are mutually related to one another. Causes that explain the migration of the Finland-Swedish group include various individual motives for migration. Nonetheless, these continuously refer back to the structures of ethnic identification and networks.
Final Remarks

Since the group-level causes provide a major contribution to the analysis, the overall conclusion of this dissertation is that Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden is a culturally embedded process. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, the idea of viewing migration from a cultural perspective involves apply-
ing a specific analytical lens to the investigation. In line with critical realism, this is a way of “re-describing” an event through the use of a separate theory, in order to extract new meanings (Danermark et al 1997: 144). This does not imply that other motives are without importance. Rather, these are identified within the analytical framework of cultural migration, as described above.

A further important concern of the critical realist perspective is the question of generality (Sayer 1992: 99; Danermark et al 1997: 128). Accordingly, the analysis of deeper causes should be able to employ to a larger number of cases. In the analysis of the Finland-Swedish migrants, the causes of identification and circular networks should thus be applicable to on the one hand the Finland-Swedish group in Finland, and on the other, to similar migrant groups in an international perspective.

The first situation is explained by Sarup’s (1994: 103) quote that migrants “mark the outer limits of group experience”. The causes underlying the group’s migration to Sweden arguably constitute parts of the Finland Swedes’ ethnic identity even among group members who have never considered migrating there. However, the individuals who actually did migrate may belong to that section of the Finland-Swedish population that identifies most strongly with the group. Thus, although the volume of migration is now relatively low, this process could ultimately affect the vitality of the Finland-Swedish group in Finland. Further, it is possible to link the causes of Finland-Swedish migration to other ethnically inspired migration streams, such as that associated with ethnic “return” migration (Clachar 1997; Brubaker 1998; Kulu 1998, Tsuda 1999, 2002).

These points bring several future research questions to the fore. If the causes of migration are durable, they should be able to explain Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden even prior to 1976. It would therefore be of interest to replicate this analysis among older generations of Finland-Swedish migrants than were considered in this study. It would be particularly interesting to apply a cultural perspective on migration to these migrants, since they migrated to Sweden during the period of labour migration. It would also be interesting to contrast the analysis of Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden with one focusing on the Finnish-speaking migrants from the same period. On a more general level, it would be of major interest to conduct a systematic comparison of the processes of ethnic “return” migration. It would be important to link such an analysis to the further conceptual development of cultural migration, and particularly to the field of transnational migration and its influence on identities.

The cultural approach to Finland-Swedish migration is seen as a first stage of analysis. Within this framework, a second stage would involve focusing the analysis on various theories of internal and international migration. Relevant research questions would include the study of gender issues within Finland-Swedish migration, the adaptation of children in the integration process, the analysis of urbanisation and mobility to Sweden among
young Finland Swedes, and a closer investigation of the influence of labour market conditions on Finland-Swedish migration.

The analysis of Finland-Swedish migration has shown itself to be an illustrative example of cultural migration. The decision to migrate is affected by the migrants’ identifications with Sweden and Finland and also by tight networks that unite the two countries. The integration process is a question of identity transformations, and in the end often of assimilation in Sweden. The process is characterised by circularity, both historically, and for individual returnees. Thus, it may be conceptualised as a Finland-Swedish wheel of migration.
References

Literature


Unpublished statistical material


Internordiska flyttningsintyg (Inter-Nordic Certificates of Migration) (2002). 1976-1999 from Esbo Svenska församling (the Swedish Parish in Esbo), Kimito församling (the Parish of Kimito) and Jakobstads Svenska församling (the Swedish Parish in Jakobstad), Riksskatteverket (the National Swedish Taxboard) (2002). The central announcement system “Navet”.

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Appendix I. Finland-Swedish migration to Sweden 1990-1999
## Appendix 2. List of Interviewees

### Migrants living in Sweden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Sex</th>
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<th>Year of out-migration</th>
<th>Date of interview</th>
<th>Place of interview</th>
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* The interviews were not recorded (see Chapter 3).
** The interviews were not used in Papers III and IV.
*** The interview was made by Kaisa Kepsu, Helsinki University.

### Migrants living in Finland

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<tr>
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<th>Sex</th>
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<th>Year of out-migration and of return</th>
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<th>Place of interview</th>
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### Appendix 3. The Regional Sub-Division of Swedish Finland and Linguistic Status 2002

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<th>Linguistic status</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Swedish speakers, %</th>
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