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8 Everyday Language Policies: Embodiment of Language- Related Experiences of Finnish Women in Sweden

Hanna Snellman

After the Second World War the whole of Europe was an arena of migrants flowing south to north, east to west. In her oral history study, Caroline Brettell (1982) has described this phenomenon as experienced by Portuguese women migrating to Paris. At the end of the 1950s, a new and quite dramatic movement of people took place. This movement was based essentially upon the same interaction of needs between sending and receiving societies that had characterised the earlier phases of Portuguese emigration: the industrialised countries of northern Europe needed workers to do the jobs that their own nationals were no longer prepared to do, and the countries of southern Europe were willing to export their surplus population. French, German, Swiss and Belgian enterprises began to rely on an army of foreign workers, who would not demand higher salaries or better working conditions, to satisfy the demand for increased production and larger profits. Immigrant workers accepted lower salaries, longer and irregular working hours, were prepared to do dangerous jobs, and did not require more than substandard living conditions. According to Brettell, within 20 years some 10 million workers made the great trek to the more industrialised countries of north-western Europe, to build their buildings, clean their streets, houses, and hotel rooms, and to advance their manufacturing industries.

Brettell's gaze does not stretch further north, to Sweden, which also was a receiving country of immigrants. Supply and demand also coincided in Sweden. The country needed workers and the rural regions of Europe had plenty of workers but no jobs. As discussed, for example, by Junila and Westin (2006), Lainio (1996) and Rahlkainen (2007), in 1965 almost

50,000 persons migrated to Sweden to work. Almost half of them came from Finland, some 4000 from Yugoslavia, almost 3000 from Greece and as many from Germany and Denmark. Brettell claims that the peak year of Portuguese emigration was 1970, when more than 100,000 Portuguese migrated to France. The same year also witnessed a peak in emigration at the other extremity of Europe, from Finland to Sweden. The highest peak was in 1969–70, when net immigration amounted to 100,000 persons. In 1972 Sweden temporarily stopped further recruitment of foreign workers.

As discussed by Ahrne *et al.* (2000: 89, 150) and Lainio (Chapter 5), from 1975 onwards immigration became subject to stricter control, and Sweden started to follow an integration policy based on cultural pluralism. Immigrants were given the opportunity to keep their ethnic identity or adopt a Swedish identity if they wished. They were granted the same rights, duties and opportunities as those who had been born in Sweden. The municipalities were, for example, obliged to offer education in home languages other than Swedish (see Chapter 7). Those who had resided in Sweden for three years were granted the right to vote in municipal elections.

Identity-builders such as museum curators responded to the new societal demands. For example, in 1972, a curator at the Nordic Museum (Nordiska museet) in Stockholm, Göran Rosander, pointed out that there were no artefacts in the collections that belonged to the Roma or to the immigrant labourers arriving in Sweden after the Second World War from Finland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. 'These groups are just as much members of the Swedish people as the Swedes themselves, and their lives needed to be documented', Rosander wrote in the yearbook of the museum (see Silén, 2004: 215). According to Rosander, it was natural to begin the documentation with Finnish immigrants because they constituted by far the biggest immigrant group in Sweden and one that could be characterised as a minority. Soon an extensive research project was launched, Migration Finland Sweden, which resulted in several publications and 60 binders of fieldwork material filed at the Nordic Museum.

The Migration Finland Sweden research project echoes the same discourse Mats Wicksström refers to in Chapter 7: the ties between Finland and Sweden had been strengthened and the countries had a mutual interest in Finnish immigrants. However, as Snellman (2010a) points out, the museum and the collaborating universities (Department of Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland, and Department of Geography, University of Umeå, Sweden) were not so much interested in language as in Finnish traditions such as food customs and in how new Swedish traditions had been accepted by immigrants. To what extent the change in immigration policy affected the launching of the Migration Finland Sweden project is

not known, but it may be assumed that the ongoing sociopolitical debate had a positive effect on the decision to fund the project.

Inspired by the concept of the 'historical body' introduced by Scollon and Scollon (2004) my aim in the following is to add the post-war female experience to the study of Finnish migrants in Sweden, an experience that memory organisations have largely neglected (Snellman, 2010b). The focus of this chapter is on the everyday life experiences and practices of immigrant women with a Finnish background living in Sweden, on how they entered the labour market of their new homeland, Sweden, and how they made use of the educational possibilities their new homeland had to offer. With the help of my own data I discuss how their historical bodies were formed in this particular social space and how they embodied linguistic experiences, following Wicksström's definition of the concept in this volume. Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 6) state that, in addition to language, people apprehend meaning in gestures, postures, faces, bodies, movements, physical arrangements and the material environment, and these in different combinations constitute the context shaping the way in which utterances are produced and understood. The following sheds light on how daily lives are sites of language policy discourses, and how Finnish female immigrants lived their everyday lives in an environment the cultural choreography of which they were not familiar with from the start, and on how they were continuously reading multi-modal signs to make sense of their circumstances.

Recollections of Everyday Life as Data

The experiences of immigrants and especially immigrant women are hard to trace from contemporary surveys. Todd (2005: 18) even states that in migrant studies interviews are often the only way to obtain information about lifestyles and everyday life in particular. For ethnology, participant observation and narratives collected either orally or in a written form have always been an important and perhaps the most typical kind of source material, as it is in this chapter. This study is mainly based on ethnographic interviews (Davies, 2002: 40–41, 95) I conducted in 2005 in Västeraås, Sweden. Because there are no official records in which one could look up names for Finnish women living in Västeraås, I decided to try to contact some via the Finnish association of Västeraås. When I called the association, I asked for names of Finnish women active in the association and other forums as well. I was lucky to find a person who looked for names and telephone numbers for me. As I did the interviews, I asked for more names, in accordance with the principles of snowball sampling.

The interviews followed a similar pattern. I contacted the interviewees by phone and agreed on a time for the interview. I always started the interviews by describing the research project. After that we more or less simply discussed the interviewee's life history in Sweden. Often a lot of time was given to drinking coffee and leafing through old photo albums. The interviews were conducted in Finnish by me, taped and transcribed word by word by research assistant Veera Kinnunen (Lapland University). The material will be donated to the Provincial Archives of Oulu, to which I have previously donated interview material.

In total, 15 interviews were conducted. The interviewees were born between 1928 and 1955 and had migrated to Sweden between 1960 and 1979, between the ages 18 and 38. Seven of the 15 interviewees had children already at the time of migration. Some had divorced before migrating to Sweden. Two of the interviewees had also been in Sweden during the Second World War as War Children, a project described by, for example, Virkamäki (2005). Three of the interviewees had returned to Finland after a few years in Sweden, but eventually returned again to Sweden. 'Pendel migration' (Geddes, 2005: 178) such as this is a typical phenomenon for migrants looking for better working and living conditions.

The interviews I am using for this chapter are intimate and deal with personal experiences of the interviewee. Therefore the use of the material is ethically sensitive. How to protect the privacy of the interviewees is a question which has to be solved first. As a researcher I am not only responsible for the promises I made to my interviewees, but I also have to keep the promises of other interviewers who did their work much earlier. The simplest way to solve the 'privacy problem' is to use pseudonyms for names and locations (names of town, neighbourhoods, etc.), especially as the interview data were collected in a small city with a small number of individuals (Davies, 2002: 51).

According to Davies (2002: 6, 71), the hallmark of participant observation is long-term personal involvement with those being studied, including participation in their lives to the extent that the researcher comes to understand the culture as an insider. I have visited Sweden regularly since the year 2000, and in 2006 I lived there for a couple of months. Consequently, I started out with a research setting where I was studying a minority group which I myself did not belong to, a research setting which made me somewhat uneasy. When I was given an opportunity to work at the University of Stockholm, at a single stroke I became, although only temporarily, a part of that minority. My then 13-year-old son went to the Finnish school in Stockholm and we lived in nearby Huddinge, which has a large Finnish-speaking population. Whenever I went to the shop near our house or to

the swimming pool nearby I heard Finnish spoken. At work I very often consulted a colleague who had immigrated to Sweden from Finland about how to do things in the Swedish way. I became more confident with my research topic when I learnt that there are degrees of familiarity.

The process of adjustment among newly arrived immigrants and their offspring has interested scholars for generations. According to Cohen (1993: 2), immigrant studies done in the mid-20th century were heavily influenced by social scientists' acceptance of modernisation theory:

Premodern people who confront a modern world, according to this theory, undergo mental transformations, adopting modern values as they come into contact with an industrial world that is characterised by rational, impersonal market relations. To adjust to the new environment, people from traditional societies must leave behind their group loyalties and family ties. The change may begin slowly, but eventually urbanisation, industrialisation, and mass communication overwhelm and transform the premodern world; ultimately people abandon the old and embrace the new mentality.

Cohen takes her examples from the United States, and specifically from a group of Italian immigrants, but her discussion is relevant in a Nordic context as well. According to her, scholars of American immigration, assuming that modernisation theory was correct, emphasised the extent to which adjustment to American urban life meant abandoning Old World traditions of family loyalty for the new creed of individualism and personal autonomy. The studies that focused on families depicted the breakdown of solidarity that accompanied the transformation in values. However, our understanding of the immigrant experience is no longer based on the assumption that it inevitably involves a breakdown and disorganisation of basic institutions in the community. Instead, immigrants make use of their traditions in adapting to modern industrial life. Change and continuity are key words when studying first-generation immigrants. In the Swedish Finnish context, this has been discussed by Lukkarinen Kivist (2006).

My research questions are products of a combination of personal factors, disciplinary culture, as described in Löfgren (1996: 75–87), and external forces in the broader scientific climate. Selecting a topic for this study was easy, as was selecting ethnography as a way of doing it. I understand ethnography as Davies (2002: 4–5, 27) has defined it, referring both to a particular form of research and to its eventual written product:

I adopt a broad interpretation of ethnography as a research process based on fieldwork using a variety of (mainly qualitative) research

techniques but including engagement in the lives of those being studied over an extended period of time. The eventual written product – an ethnography – draws data primarily from this fieldwork experience and usually emphasises descriptive detail as a result.

Ethnography is usually at its best when the voices of interviewees are heard as much as possible. Even though the quotes from the interviews lose some of their flow in translation, in the following I use quotes as often as I can. This choice is motivated, on the one hand, by referring to the ethnographic writing tradition and, on the other, by the fact that the interviewees are the best analysts of their lives. Following Mason (2001: 4–5, 27) and for the sake of readability, I have not always included the questions I have posed in the text. This small gesture – I hope – emphasises the importance of the voices of the interviewees. I can only agree with Davies (2002: 113, 220), who states that it is impossible to carry multiple meanings into another language, and linguistic play is usually lost in translation. Because of that, I have included the original Finnish narratives in an appendix, in the order in which they appear in the text. This is also an ethical decision (Davies, 2002: 227), because the people this study is about, the research collective, can get an idea what this book is about even if they did not understand English.

Women's Immigrant Occupations

All the women I interviewed ended up in Västeraås, a medium-size town by Lake Mälaren in the province of Västmanland, 115 km west of Stockholm. At the beginning of 1960s Västeraås had approximately 75,000 inhabitants, of whom a great number were of Finnish descent. According to Koiranen (1966: 61, 75), who published the first PhD thesis on Finnish immigrants in Sweden, 9% of the Finns working in Sweden were living in the province of Västmanland in 1964. However, women who were not employed outside the home, a significant group in numerical terms, cannot be found in the statistics. At the time of Koiranen's study the Finns in Västeraås were mainly employed by metal industry, ASEA and Svenska metallverket. The majority were working in manual labour, as was the case with Finnish migrants in general. However, ASEA had also recruited several Finnish engineers and technicians, which made Västeraås a little special.

Koiranen (1966: 91) lists various co-overlapping reasons to immigrate of 234 women who had immigrated to Sweden in 1945–59 and whom he had interviewed. Of these women, 45% gave financial reasons, such as unemployment in Finland or better working prospects in Sweden, a higher standard

of living in Sweden and bad housing conditions in Finland. Furthermore, 22% gave studying, 19% family reasons, 14% love of adventure and 5% political reasons as their reason to immigrate to Sweden. Another 3% had other reasons or could not suggest their reasons to emigrate. Often financial reasons were combined with family reasons. One named coincidence as a reason to migrate. In her study, also based on material from Västeraås from the 1970s, Haavio-Mannila sketches typical features of Finnish women working in Sweden. The physical circumstances of work were easier compared with those of men who worked outdoors. However, women more often worked on an assembly line, which was monotonous. Furthermore, Finnish women in Sweden seldom worked in positions where they could control their work, have subordinates or even need specific occupational skills. Women also felt more physically and mentally strained after a day's work than men. According to Haavio-Mannila (1979: 34–35, 37, 40), women earned about half of the amount men earned. Many of them were working part time or they were not working outside the home. However, even those who were working full time earned about 80% of the amount men did.

In her study of female migrants in New York, Foner (2001: 4) shows that a number of Haitian and Hispanic aides in the New York nursing home she studied in the 1980s had been full-fledged nurses when they emigrated, but their qualifications were not recognised in the United States and language problems stood in the way of passing requisite licensing examinations to practise nursing in New York. Language problems were a reality for Finnish nurses working in Sweden as well. The only nurse in our sample of women was recruited in Sweden primarily because she was a trained nurse. In the beginning she was dressed like a nurse at the hospital but was paid a lower rate mainly because of language problems:

And then I arrived in Stockholm. I had a sister already living in Stockholm, she had come a little earlier with her husband, a younger sister, they were working near Stockholm, and then ... I started, I got a place to stay in Roslaxfull, the hospital had arranged a place in a dormitory. But it was difficult, because I noticed immediately, and so did others as well, fellow workers and the director, that I couldn't manage, that is, I could not succeed in being a nurse because of language. Then we made an agreement that I will work as an auxiliary nurse until I learn the language. And I remember how difficult it was ... how difficult it was to be an auxiliary nurse and for all that ... there was an authoritarian head nurse who was fond of the Finnish nurse's uniform and she wanted me to wear the uniform even though I did not do a nurse's work.

In the material there is also an example of how Finnish nurses hid their Finnish background:

Yes, I had to have [an interpreter with me when visiting a doctor] when I was with children. Here we come again to that time when I was at the hospital in Enköping and I did not understand the question that had my bowels moved or not, had I pooped or not. I said that I don't understand the question. And there was this nurse standing nearby and she shouted, she yelled that 'paska' ['shit' in Finnish] [laughing] and then I realised what the question was. Then the doctor looked at the nurse and looked very angry and asked whether the nurse understood Finnish. He was angry at her, because for such a long time he had been trying to ask me the question and I had not understood, and she could have helped. Things like this happened all the time. A nurse understood Finnish, but did not help.... She could [speak Finnish], but did not help. They were ashamed I think, or they wanted to be so Swedish already.... A Finn, yes. And I saw the doctor became angry.... If you know the language, you should interpret.

Recognition of Finnish qualifications in Sweden was by no means automatic. When Heljä, for example, applied for a job in ABB in Västeraås, she had to take a test to prove her ability in machinery drawing. In the interview she did not criticise this but it is obvious that she found it somewhat degrading. Actually, it was the fact that she had the necessary education that made it possible for her to apply for a course in order to become qualified for the job:

In 1971 went to work at ABB. But for that I had to, even though I had two years' training, I had to do a test there. There were 60 candidates, Swedes, and were there two or three Finns in the group. We had to do a test in order to be able to work in just that office [drawing electric motors]. And for my part the test went of course well even though I did not speak Swedish very well, because I had just studied the same thing in Finland. And I got the job.... ABB had its own fast training to become a draughtsman there, and that way I could get a job at ABB right away. So I took the course first and got a job at the office afterwards.

For Heljä, a vocational training in Finland clearly meant a good start in Sweden. At the time there were about 600 employees at ASEA, 36% of them of Finnish origin. Heljä was the only Finn working in the office at the time. It naturally meant nicer working conditions, and also meant working at daytime and not in three shifts, as they did in the factory.

Sisko, who had completed the same education in Finland, also got a job as a machinery draughtsman at ASEA, but for her it was not her first job in Sweden. For the first four years after migrating to Sweden she held diverse jobs, for example in a restaurant fixing cold dishes, which did not require vocational training, at least not the training she had received.

In addition to not automatically getting a position one was trained and qualified for, a typical feature in entering the labour market of the new homeland was changing jobs several times. During her first six years, Heidi lived in three small industrial communities within 150 km from Västerås. It was her husband's work that had been behind the decision to move. But according to Heidi, it was generally easy to find a new job. Even the job interview was not a problem, because the same questions were always asked:

It is a funny story when ... when the boys, [names], my husband and his friend, they went to ask for jobs for us in the factory. They went there together, because they had friends there. They went there, and they [employers] asked, can those girls speak Swedish. 'Yes, yes', they had answered. We hardly understood any Swedish, but enough so that we could answer when we were asked our names and that sort of thing, that they ask when you apply for a job. The boys taught us that when you go to the interview, they will ask you this, and this and this.... We went there, and the questions were exactly the same the boys had told us. I could answer perfectly and could start working the following day. And the best part is that after two weeks, the boss came to me and asked me to interpret. And I did not know a word of Swedish. But I, okay, this is nothing, they ask the same things again for sure. And so it was, they asked the same things.

Was Heidi or anyone who could at least to some extent navigate in both language environments 'an activist' in the sense Wickström is defining the concept in Chapter 7? Heidi was moving to different places not only together with her husband but with another Finnish couple. This is not an exception. Friends and relatives frequently sought work in groups. Todd's (2005: 113) analysis of English working-class youth's occupational mobility shows a similar trend: 'Friends were particularly significant in prompting mobility between jobs, which did not usually constitute social mobility.' Job changers were, however, not 'drifting': there was certain logic in their mobility. Interviewees in this material changed jobs usually in order to get a better salary or better working conditions, or just to be able to get some change in the dull and physically hard work.

Maria was the only interviewee with a grammar school certificate; in addition, she had a diploma from a commercial college, both from Finland. However, she started her career in Sweden from the lowest step of the ladder. Her first job was as a cleaner. Initially, she had not even tried to look for work in which she could use her education because of her lack of competence in Swedish. She also felt that the pay was very good in manual labour. 'Cleaning has always been the work of immigrants; you don't have to talk when you clean', said another interviewee. Maria was not a cleaner for long though, because she got a job at a factory. But she did not stay there for long either, as they needed someone in the office of the Finnish Association, and Maria got the job partly because of her commercial education and partly because of her Finnish background. Later she sought work at ASEA. After she had children, the most convenient way of earning a living was to mind other people's children, another typical immigrant occupation.

As far as macro-level politics were concerned, Sweden was supposed to be a model for equality, but the examples above show how different the reality often was. Even though the ideal was a multicultural Sweden, without exaggeration one can say that a Finnish woman was likely to hide her Finnishness, at least if she was in a white-collar occupation, or to seek an occupation that did not demand good communication in Swedish. Women's everyday reality was a meeting point for macro and micro politics. Referring to Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 7) and their concept of rhizomes, one can say that no such things as macro and micro exist, there are just events and incidents – or personal experiences, as in this study – where the macro and micro meet or become visible. The macro is regulating the micro, and the micro is maintaining or challenging the macro all the time, thus becoming a mycelium meeting at different policy levels.

Juggling One's Life

For many Finnish women with small children, working as a cleaning woman was a practical decision because of the flexible working hours: they could work in the evenings and at nights, and thus they could take care of the children in the daytime, while somebody else did so at night, usually the father or a neighbour (Snellman, 2005: 158). They could also take on more and more cleaning tasks as their children grew older. How much this arrangement was a burden on older children (cf. Todd, 2005: 79), especially daughters in the family, I cannot say. One can assume that this was so in many cases: when going through the Migration Finland Sweden material, Snellman (2010a) noticed that when the interviewers of the National Cultural Museum of Sweden looked for Finnish interviewees in Uplands

Väsby in 1974, the apartment door was often opened by a rather young child who was alone at home with younger siblings while the parents were working. In Gothenburg, the interviewees explained (Snellman, 2005: 158) that when parents were working different shifts, there usually was an hour or two during the day when one parent was going to work and the other was returning home, and older siblings were minding the younger ones. Weckström (2011: 145–146) studied young people with a Finnish background in the Mälaren bay area and interviewed women also in Västeraås. Her Västeraås interviewees talked about their parents' working lives in Sweden and most mothers had at some point worked as domestic house cleaners. All the interviewees whose mothers were or had been cleaners spoke at length about the image of Finnish people being clean and tidy, and especially women having a reputation of being 'the best cleaners' one could find. Many interviewees had helped their mothers with cleaning jobs; some worked as cleaners themselves at some point.

A widow and a mother of six children followed a typical pattern. Her daughters were responsible for taking care of their brother:

When I was working in the shop, I worked for six days a week, and Sunday was for laundry and preparing meals for the following week. I put the meals in the fridge, so the children could just warm them up.... I wrote a list saying who does what each day. It was always there on the sink. And when I came home in the evening, the first thing I did was to sit in the kitchen and listen to who had been mean to who, who had done what, who had hit who.... My son was in the kindergarten, but he did not want to be there. I had to take him away, my eldest daughter always ... daughters were taking turns in taking care of him.

Children usually learnt Swedish quite quickly and therefore often interpreted both language and culture for their parents. Blommaert (2010: 8–9) points out that language tasks in immigrant families often involve collaborative work. People may call on others, or others may volunteer to translate and assist in communication. Very often that person is the child, who, as a result of immersion in a formal language learning environment, has access to more elaborate varieties of standard and local vernacular language and will often have to assist the mother and the teacher in communication.

Whatever occupation the interviewee had, she usually remembered the time when she was working physically hard. One of the interviewees recalled her work in a textile factory:

I worked long hours. In the morning I had to be at work at 6:45 and the working day ended at five o'clock, or was it five to five when the factory

siren whistled. And after that I went to a grocery store and bought groceries for the family, and then prepared the meal. After that I was too tired to do anything. When you work a piece rate, it is tough, you know. In a hot room with a lot of dust; the fabrics are dusty, you know. One was too tired to do anything else than work.

Work was not just physically extremely taxing but it sometimes caused nausea or headaches as well. An interviewee who had no knowledge of Swedish had to seek work in a potato factory where no language skills were required:

I threw up and sat there ... we were like chickens in a row and the potatoes went by, and they stank awful ... and I had to pick them up ... and I was throwing up. It was strange for me of course, because back in Finland I had worked in business.

Another interviewee also remembered the headaches: 'Every morning I woke up with a headache, when I was thinking that I had to go to work again. Because I did not know the language.... For me it was so difficult.' For her, a mother of six children, even buying groceries was difficult:

It was funny when you think of it afterwards. My husband [who died when the interviewee was 36 years old] could speak Swedish a little, he had learnt at school, but I could not say a word. Once I did not remember the word in Swedish when I wanted to say that I will bake. I thought, how on earth can I explain this, because there was no self service at that time. I went to the grocery store and gestured with my hands that I would bake. They [asked] that do I want one or two, and I, that one and they brought me two pieces of yeast. You can do nicely when you try.

Hands came also handy at work when one was learning what to do:

There were not many Finns at the mill at that time. Always there were some things I did not understand. If there was something I did not understand, I showed it with my hands and they told me what it is. For example, a man responsible for the machine, took a glass in his hand and said 'glass' in Swedish. That is how I learnt Swedish.

But sometimes not even gesturing helped. A very typical migration story deals with childbirth 'in Swedish'. Most often they deal with janitors and

cleaners with a Finnish background being asked to help in the childbirth if the patient did not understand the instructions, or with the helplessness of the mother when she could not get her message through:

And my first childbirth, that was something, too. I came to Sweden in November and had my first child in April. They gave me medicine to start the childbirth artificially and I was bedridden from early in the morning. At ten o'clock at night they gave me more medicine, I had not eaten but I could drink water ... I tried to tell them that I need to pee ... they were feeling my belly and I was wondering how on earth they did not realise that I need to pee. I tried to say that I need to pee. *Kissa* ['a cat' in Finnish; which is *katten* in Swedish] is to pee [in Swedish] and it is so close to *vatten* ['water' in Swedish; whereas *katten*, in Finnish *kissa*, is near to Swedish *vatten*], and I kept on saying that, 'vatten'. And they brought me water! And I tried 'kasta vatten' [direct translation from Finnish!] When the delivery started, the first thing that happened was that I peed, and then they understood what I had tried to tell them.

Extreme bodily incidents like this, associated with frustration and humiliation, are key experiences for Finnish women in Sweden during their first years as immigrants. The extract also shows how some competence in Swedish – which some Finns already had, having studied it in school in Finland – even if extremely limited, may cause even more problems rather than solve them and potentially be even more shameful because many Finns know some Swedish, unlike many other migrant groups. Furthermore, the topic is so sensitive that experiences like this are not shared with co-workers during coffee breaks or laughed at. Feelings of disgrace had not vanished even though the actual event had taken place decades ago.

After childbirth one had to take care of official paperwork and deal with the authorities, all in Swedish. In my data there is nothing about deciding and negotiating a name for the newborn, but surely the naming of a child is a conscious act motivated by the historical body of the actors. Ågren (2006: 108) has shown what implications a Finnish first name had in Sweden. When she interviewed people of the same age as her also residing in Gothenburg but with a Finnish background, she became conscious of her Finnish-sounding first name. An interesting point of comparison can be found in Sofia Kotilainen's research on children's names in Chapter 6. Based on material filed at the Nordic Museum (Snellman, 2006a) and my earlier interviews conducted in Gothenburg (Snellman, 2006b), I have a presumption that experiences such as the one cited above were so intense that women wanted to save their own children from similar experiences.

That in turn resulted in what is known as the permanence of temporality (Snellman, 2005: 134–135), meaning that migrant women made their everyday life decisions based on the assumption that they would return to Finland. Another strategy could be to give one's child a Swedish first name. As far as I know the latter has not been studied empirically.

Furthermore, deciding which school one's child is to attend is again a social action, and especially so when one must also consider language issues, as Boyd and Palviainen have discussed in Chapter 3. Following Boyd and Palviainen on the road paved by Scollon and Scollon (2004), one can see immigrant women's historical bodies loaded with personal experiences, beliefs, attitudes and hopes when giving birth, choosing a name for their child, making these decisions – often at the cost of a long trip – about day-care and school, and even buying groceries for the family. Not only did they live their everyday lives in a world at least partly orchestrated by the policies of the state but their lives were also affected by the world changing around them. The grocery store is a good example. From supermarkets one could buy what one wanted to, not just items one knew by name and could pronounce correctly.

Reflections of Education Policies on Everyday Life

None of the interviewees were fluent in Swedish when they first settled in Sweden. They all though had subsequently taken Swedish language courses and by the time of the interview almost all of them felt comfortable speaking Swedish. For them, the language courses had been a passage to Swedish society. Studying Swedish, especially when they were not forced to do so in the evenings after work, seemed like an opportunity, especially for those who had not been able to go to school in Finland for as long as they would have wanted to. Emigration enabled them to climb over the barrier Finnish selective secondary education had created (cf. Todd, 2005: 105–106).

Heljä had studied the most. After eight years in Sweden she started further studies at the age of 29. First she studied mathematics and some other subjects in order to be able to start grammar school. After graduating from four years of technical college she had a degree in electrical engineering. Before, she had been the only Finn working in her department in the ASEA factory, and now she was the only female engineer employed in her department in ASEA. Later she even continued her studies in electrical engineering for three years at the university in Västerås. All that time, she was able to keep her position at work, and was even paid for the time she spent studying. University studies did not immediately change her position at work, but she was better paid and more qualified. For a year she worked

as a foreman for 36 men. Being a woman, an immigrant and coming from an office background made the situation so difficult that Heliä decided to resign.

And I was a woman, and I was an immigrant and I was ... what else was I? I had come from the office. The fact that I had come from the office was not good. It was the worst thing that I had come from the office to work in the workshop. And then ... they did not really approve of it. There were those who were working in the workshop, there were us doing the job, and there were those who were just pushing papers. The roles were divided that way. And there were no other women they would have seen in the workshop ever ... it was a big workshop. That was that for me.

Also Hannele, a nurse with Finnish qualifications, studied further in Sweden: after a few years of work she gained competence-based qualification as a nurse in Sweden, and specialised in psychiatry. Maria, who had a degree from a commercial college in Finland, also studied further but not in the same field. In Västeraås she had worked as a 'day-mother', taking care of small children. When her youngest child was about 10 years old, she took leave and studied for an official qualification. Since then she has been working in a kindergarten.

Hellevi ended up in a good position at ASEA, later ABB, after graduating from grammar school. She had had a good work experience as the only employee in a small post office in Finland, and she knew that white-collar jobs would not be open for her in Sweden without studying. First she attended language courses arranged by the association for public servants, and then studied at a commercial college for adults and got a degree in accounting. When Maija started looking for work in Västeraås, the employment authorities instructed her to take language courses and courses that would support her vocational training in Finland:

So I didn't have a job here when we migrated. In the beginning ... neither of us could speak Swedish, of course we ... then I went to a Swedish course and did all kinds of ... I was cleaning a shop a while, in the evenings and ... I took all kinds of courses. Eventually I got a job as a draughtsman at ASEA. It was language courses and ... what was it that I took? I did go to a workshop course, another course and ... [laughing]. And then I was on a drawing course for a while even though I had the training already from Finland, but it was necessary to learn the terminology in Swedish, technical terminology.

Later on Maija also studied for some years in technical college. She, too, continued to work at the ABB factory but in more demanding and independent tasks. Heta could also return to the occupation she had had in Finland through a programme where immigrants were offered education in the occupation they had before migrating. After studying for one and a half years Heta could open a hairdressing salon. For her, returning to her old vocation was like returning home.

Pirkko recalled that when she came to Sweden in 1964, different associations arranged Swedish courses in the evenings, and she had taken several of them. After working as a cleaner for many years she started working in a central kitchen that delivered meals to the homes of the elderly. Her employer sent her on many courses, and in the end she was working as the head cook. Hilikka was trained as a cook in a high school in Sweden, but she did not want to work in that trade and continued working as a cleaner and then later started at ASEA in spooling.

Those who had started studying but had to quit usually did so for a particular reason. For instance, Paula had a good start, but had to quit because of health problems:

I went to a Finnish-speaking comprehensive school, one they had here in Sweden. You see, many had gone to school in Finland only for six years and they had this comprehensive school for two years here. I was one of the last ones who could study in Finnish, after they took it away, too. I went to that school for two years. It was wonderful. I was so glad not to go to work, and I read, too. We had a nice class, too. After that it was not in Finnish, high school, but I went to the Swedish-speaking one. At that time it made no difference. But it started to be difficult with health and I had to quit.

Paula had to retire at the age of 53. Similarly Päivi had started studying but had to quit because of health problems; she retired at the age of 39. Helmi started the comprehensive school in Finnish in 1978, but had to quit because she became pregnant. Later, she started studying again, but had to quit because she could not afford it. Her dream would have been to study further and work in a home for the elderly. She also had health problems, and was forced to retire at the age of 45.

Almost every interviewee's migration story follows the same pattern: the first few years (or even decades) in Sweden were spent in 'immigrant occupations', doing physically taxing and monotonous work, usually cleaning at least at some point; then there had been an opportunity to study and subsequently to work in easier, white-collar occupations. However, the

years in hard manual labour took their toll. Every interviewee had retired relatively young as a result of work-related injuries.

Packing up in Finland and Beyond

In the big picture, the people studied in this chapter represent post-war female European migrants, who have toiled in the households of working families, alleviating the suffering of the sick, taking care of children and comforting the elderly in hospitals and homes for the elderly in different places all over the world. They have also been working in different branches of industry, commerce, nurture and education. The peak years for this migration were over four decades ago, but the fates of these people are a crucial part of the historical bodies of migrants in their respective lands. As a result of the global financial crisis in the 21st century, mass migration to wealthier countries is happening again, though the sending and receiving countries have somewhat changed. Again, there are people among us – in growing numbers – who are living in environments (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011: 155) where they have to find ways to get by in their everyday lives.

Something could perhaps be learnt from the experiences highlighted in this chapter dealing with everyday situations where the person has been thinking and moving about in her mother tongue, Finnish, but done that in a Swedish-speaking environment. She, also, has been a target of several policies, one of the most important being that Sweden as a host society wanted immigrants to be able to cope, at least to some extent, in the Swedish language. Also, at times when there were more workers than work to be done, it was a common policy to direct a person to a paid language course or adult education rather than to unemployment schemes.

The concept 'historical body' has here been understood as metaphorical life baggage brought along from Finland and further developing in Sweden, but also as hopes and dreams of what life could be. This chapter has been about everyday language policies concerning the way individuals navigated their everyday routines in a world where their everyday practices were – without them necessarily being aware of it – influenced by state and local language policies. The issue of Finnish immigrants in Sweden as targets of various educational and labour policies is discussed, on a macro level, by Lainio in Chapter 5. In my study, the focus is on what could be called everyday language policies. These policies are rhizomatic, using the concept introduced by Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 22). Policies formulated 'up' were shaped 'below'; sometimes they met, but not always.

As Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 1) put it, 'globalization has altered the face of social and linguistic diversity in societies all over the world'.

According to them, the multiculturalism of an earlier era, captured mostly in an 'ethnic minority' paradigm, has been gradually replaced by what has been given the name 'superdiversity'. Therefore, even though daily lives as sites of policies are discussed here in the context of the 1960s and 1970s, one must remember that the interviews were made in the context of the superdiversity era, in 2005. The interviewees' experiences from the 1990s and the beginning of 2000 were part of their histories, even though they were describing social actions of their early years in Sweden, in the 1960s and 1970s.

The interviewees describe events in their lives which they had entered with their historical bodies of experiences. In the interviews they described their early years in Sweden, when they were gradually learning the cultural choreography of the new country. They were constantly aware of their limited scope of action: when interviewed for work they did not necessarily understand the questions, but their countrymen had prepared them for the job interview in a way which made them credible. Giving birth to a child or seeing a doctor was frequently a humiliating occasion when the patient could not get her message through and felt totally helpless. Not even daily chores such as buying groceries was an easy task if one was supposed to be able to use Swedish at the stores, which was a reality in the 1970s. Talented people, even those with education, escaped to 'immigrant occupations', where there was no need to talk. Gradually they became familiar with the choreography – usually with the help of their children and Finnish emigrés who had migrated earlier – and as a result of different education and labour policies, they were also able to educate themselves further and enter less physically taxing occupations. The women interviewed for this study were, however, a little exceptional because when they were chosen for interview, they were expected to have been active in society. Individual activism such as theirs has also been discussed in this volume by Kotilainen (Chapter 6) and Wickström (Chapter 7).

Scollon and Scollon (2004: 160) discuss actions as moments in time and space in which historical bodies and the interaction of people and the discourses in place intersect. According to them, 'each of these can be thought of as having history that leads into that moment and a future that leads away from it in arcs of semiotic cycles of change and transformation'. Furthermore, they write about the action itself giving further impetus to the cycle, like a pumping station along an oil pipeline, or deflecting or altering the cycle, like an electron passing through a magnetic field. If, as Scollon and Scollon claim, the life histories of people, places, discourses and objects can be seen only through these moments of freshened or directional change and transformation, for the formation of the historical bodies of women

interviewed for this chapter the crucial moments are those of discomfort and uncertainty. The ethnography of this study sheds light to the multi-sited nature of language policies and policies in general. Personal experiences are in focus, but at the same time the experiences women describe are affected by different levels of policies, for example language policies and workplace routines.

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Appendix. Interview Extracts in the Original Finnish

Ja sittenhän minä tulin Tukholmaan. Mulla oli sisko Tukholmassa jo, oli vähän aikaisemmin tullut miehensä kanssa, nuorempi sisko. He olivat Tukholman lähellä töissä ja sitten ... aloin, menin sinne Roslaxtulliin asumaan, sinne oli asunotkin järjestetty selaisessa asuntolassa niinkö, ja sehän oli aika vaikeeta sitten se, ku mä hei huomasiin, ja huomas varmaan sielä ... työtöveritki ja johtaja, että enhän minä pärjänny, siis se ei onnistunut se sairaanhoitajana oleminen ku oli niin huono kielitaito, ja sitten sovittiin, että minä olin niinkun, niinkun apuhoitajan

paikalla kunnes kieltaito sitten parantuu. Ja muistan vielä, miten kauheen musta oli ... vaikeeta ku piti olla apuhoitajana ja silti ... siel oli oikeen sermmonen auktoritärinen vanhan tyylin osastonhoitaja, joka sitten tykkäs, että se oli niin hieno se suomalainen sairaanhoitajapuku ja tykkäs, että mun oli kuitenkin pidettävä sitä sairaanhoitajan pukua ja sit mä olin kuitenkin apuhoitaja. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 22 June, 2005)

Oli. Oli pakko olla tulkki lasten vuoksi, joo, että oli. Ja sitten justiin tässä tullaan nyt taas siihen tukokseen, ku mä tuota Enköpingin sairaalassa ja tuota minä en ymmärtänyt, että onko mulla toiminnu avförlinki, että olenko mä kakannut ... ja mä sitten sanoin, että mä en oikein ymmärtä sitä niin tuota siellä seiso hoitaja ja se hoitaja huutaa ... karjaisee sieltä, että 'paskä' [naurua]. No silloinhan mä ymmärsin, että mitä lääkäri tarkoitti ... niin niin. Ja mä sanoin sitte, että vähän ... niin, että vähän on tullut. Niin se lääkäri kuule katahtaa sitä naista siinä ja sanoo, että kan du svenska... finska, oikein niinkö vihaaisesti sitä, että me jauhettiin niin pitkään sitä niin ku minä en ymmärtäny ... että hän ei voinu auttaa aikaisemmin. Että näitä tällamoisia tapauksia tuli paljon, että hoitajat ymmärsi suomea, mutta he ei auttanut.... Osas [hoitajat suomea], mutta ei auttanut, joo, joo. Ne niinkö häpesi vissiin, tai halus olla niin täydellisesti ruotsalaisia jo.... Suomalainen [oli], joo, joo. Ja mä näin, että se lääkäri suuttu.... Niin. Ja toinen kerta osaa, niin ois tulkkannut sen. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 21 June 2005)

Mä menin seitskytyks, mä menin ABB:lle [parin vuoden Ruotsissa asumisen jälkeen]. Mut siihenki mun piti, vaikka mulla oli kahen vuoden koulutus, niin mun piti tehdä sermmonen koe, ja siellä oli kuusikyymmentä hakijaa, ruotsalaisia oli ja oliko meit kaksi vai kolme suomalaista siinä ryhmässä. Meidän piti tehdä sermmonen testi vielä, että me päästiin just tälle konttorille piirtämään. Ja tuota ... no minun kohalta meni tietenkin se testi hyvin, vaikka minä en ruotsia kunnolla osannutkaan, koska mää tiesin niistä kysymyksistä, ku mä olin just lukuun Suomessa ne aikaisemmin. No tota mä pääsin sitte ... ABB:llä oli sermmonen oma pikakoulutus niinku sinne piirtäjäksi, ja mä pääsin sitä kautta sitte suoraan sitte kiinni ABB:lle. Että mää kävin semmoisen kurssin niinku ensiksi ja mä pääsin sieltä suoraan johonkin konttoriin töihin. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 18 June 2005)

Se oli muuten jännä juttu kun ne ... pojat oli ... se oli [2 names], minun mies, niin ne meni hakeen sitä työtä sinne. Ne meni kahdestaan sinne

Hjutorpiin, koska hänellä oli kans siellä tuttuja... joo. Ja menivät sinne ja ne oli kysynyt sitte osaako nämä työt niinku suomee, eiku ruotsii. 'Juu', juu', oli sanonu. Ei paljon osattu, mutta sen verran, että osas, että osas nimen sanoa, henkilö-, kaikki sermmoset mitä ne kysyy, niin. Ne opetti, että nyt ko te meette sinne, ne kysyy tätä ja tätä ja tätä. [...] No [nimi] osas [ruotsia]. Hän osas ruotsia aika hyvin, koska hän oli ollu täällä... just joo. Ja mun mies oli lukuun, niin että kyllä seki vähän osas, joo. Koulussa. Hän oli käynyt ammatikoulun siellä Helsingissä. Niin tota, me mentiin sinne ja se oli sama... just samat kysymykset kysy... mitä nämä just oli sanonu. Mää osasin ihan hyvin [naurahtaa], niin. No elhän, seuraavana päivänä sai töihin alkaa, joo. Ja se oli kaikista parasta, mä olin kaks viikkoo ollu siellä töissä niin tämä pomo tuli sanomaan, että mun pitää tulla tulkkiksi [naurua]. Enkä osannu yhtään ruotsia. Mutta mä, että ei se mitään, se kysyy samat asiat kuitenkin ku multaki. Niin oli. Kysy samat asiat. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 7 February 2005)

Silloin ku minä olin voileipäpuutikissa, minä tein kuus päivää viikossa töitä ja sunnuntai oli pyykkipäivä. Pyykkipäivä ja ruuanlaitto, viikon ruuat, että pakasteeseen, että sitten lapset ei kun lämmitti vaan. Minä kirjoitin listan kuuka tekee minäki päivänä mitäki työtä. Aina tuossa tiskipöydän päällä oli lista. Ja kun tuli ilasella, ensimmäinen työ oli istahda keittiöön ja kuunnella, mitä kuuka oli kelleki ollu ilkeä, mitä ne oli tehny, kuuka oli ketäki lyöny... Poika oli tarhassa, mutta se ei viihtynyt yhtään. Minä joutuin ottamaan sen pois sitten, vanhin tyttö aina ... tytöt vuorotteli sitä hoitoa. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 27 June 2005)

Ei kun kato se ol se työaika kun men niin pitkäks, että noin aamul piti olla vartii vail seittemän töis ja sit viieltä lopetettiin, vai viittä vaille viiskö se pilli soi. Ja sit ku käy kauppas ja osti sen ruokansa ja teksi sen, ei sit kuule jaksanu enää lähteä. Siel kato urakal paino menemään, se ol nii rankkaa, joo. Kuumas salis ja pölyses ja kato kankaathan pölyää hirveesti. Ei sit jaksanu silloin ollenkaan. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 23 June 2006)

Joo mä olin sillain, että minä menin illoilla perunatehtaalle.... Oksensin ja istuin siellä ... ko oli niinko kanat orrella näin ko ne perunat meni ja ko ne haisi pahalle. Nokin pois niitä ja minä oksensin. Se oli minulle outoa tiettenki, ku mä oon liike-elämässä ollu. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 2 June 2005)

Se on hauska ko miettiä jälkeen päin. Mun mies osas huikan, oli koulussa sitä kuullu, mutta minä en yhtään. Ja sitten kerrankin, minä en muistanu sannaa ja mää sanoin että pullaa leivon, mä että millä ihmeen tavalla ku ei sillon ollu itsepalveluja eikä mittään. Mää menin kauppaan ja näytin ensin ne... näytin tällä tavalla, että mää leposin ni ne, että yks vai kaks ja minä että kaks ja se toi mulle kaks hiivaa [naurua]. Kyllä sitä aika pitkälle pärjää ku yrittää. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 27 June 2005)

Siellä ei ollu paljon suomalaisia siinä tehtaassa sillon. Ja se oli niin hyvä, että kun ... mä muistan kaikki nämä, jotka hoiti niitä koneita, mun mies oli siellä niin kun ... koneenkorjaajana ja ... se oli iso tehdas, ja aina jos joku asia ei ollu, että mä en tiennyt, mä näytin 'sano'. Ne otti käteen esimeks lasin ja näytti 'tämä on lasi'. Niin sillain mä ... siis käytännössä mä opin kaikki ruotsin. Hirveesti opin. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 7 February 2005)

Voi kuule ensimmäinen synnytyks, siinä oli kanssa toinen [nauraa] ... Mä marraskuussa tulin tänne ja huhitkuussa sain ton tytön ja minulla tota ... minut pantiin ... tekopoltot ... ku se ennää selkä kestänyt ja minä aamusta makasin ... sitten puoli kymmenen illalla siinä petissä ja ne pani niitä tippoja ja enhän mää pysynyt syömään mutta mää join vettä ja mää koitin nille sanua, että [nauraa], kuuntele nyttien, kiva sun kirjoitaaki, koitin sanoa, että tota ... ja he kävi koittelemassa, että eikö ne ajatellu, että mulla on virtsarakko niin täysi ja minä koitin sitten snua, että mua pissattaa. Ja kissa on pissa, niin sehän on aika lähellä, että vatten, niin ne toi mulle vettä. Ja minä yritin, että 'kasta vatten' ... niin [nauraa], että minä sitä sanoin, kyllä minoon ajatellu... No, mää sain pitää kunnes ne rupes tekkee synnytyksen niin pissa tuli ensin, niin, niin. Kai he siinä ymmärsi sitten, että mitä mää oon tarkottanu... Niin. Sitä tuli sitten ennen ko ... tyttö pääsi tulemaan. Niin kyllä minä olen monta kertaa jälkeen päin aatellu, että herra jumala, eikö ne pissasta ja pissa ja kissa ku ne on melkein sama ku monta kertaa sanotaan, että 'är du pissnötig' niin, eikö se olis pitänyt ymmärtää, että mun ... ja ku he toi vettä, vettä vaan juotavaksi, että eikö heidän pitäis ymmärtää, että pitäähän mun laskee se alaski. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 21 June 2005)

Ja mä olin nainen ja mä olin ulkomaalainen ja mä ... mitähän mä olin vielä? Mä olin tullu konttorista. Se, että minä olin tullu konttorista sinne työpaikalle, niin se ei ollu hyvä asia. Se oli kaikista pahin asia,

että mä olin konttorityöntekijä, joka tuli verstaaseen. Ja sitten ... ne ei oikein niinkö hyväksynyt sitä. Siinähän se oli niinkö, että ne jotka on verstaassa tössiä niin se on me, jotka tekee tämän homman ja net ovat vain paperinkantajia. Että se oli sillain niinkö semmonen osajako, että ... ja ei muista naisia ensinkään nollu varmaan nähnykkään elämän kuuna päivänäkään siellä verstaalla ... soli iso versta ja sitten ... ei mulla oikeestaan siinä muuta ollu. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 18 June 2005)

No täällä mulla ei ollu töitä kun mää muutin tänne. Mutta siinä alussa sitten ... eihän me osattu kieltä kumpikaan, tietenki me ... sitte mein kielikurssille ja teki aina jotaki ... minä olin kaupassa siivoamassa hetken aikaa, aina iltasella kävin ja ... kävin kaikenlaisia kurseja siinä sitten ja lopuksi sain sitten pirttäjän paikan ASEA:ltä. [Mikälaisia kurseja sä kävit siten?] No se oli kielikursseja ja ... mitähän minä kävin sitten? Minä kävin kuule verstaaskurssin, mä kävin sorvaajakurssin ja [nauraa]. Sitte mä kävin vähän aikaa piirtäjäkursiakin kyllä, vaikka mulla piirtäjäkoulutus olik jo Suomesta, mutta sinähän tulee niitä, tarvii niitä ruotsalaisia termejä, se tekniikan sanasto. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 18 February 2005)

No mie kävin noin ensittäin sen suomenkielisen peruskoulun, sen mitä näil Ruotsis ol suomen kielel ... täälähän se ... kato, ko moni Suomes ol lukuun vaan sen kuus vuotta, niin se ol sellain peruskoulu tääl kaks-vuotinen. Nii mie olin viimeisii ... viimesii luokkalaissi, jotka sai sen suomenkiel. Sehä otettii pois sekki. Mie kaks vuotta kävin sitä kouluu. Oikein kivaa olik. Mie olin niin mielissään, ku ei tarvinnu mennä töihin ja mie luinki ja olin niin ... meli ol niin kiva luokkaki, että. Sit ei ollu enää suomenkiel sit ... sit lukioo. Mie menin kyl ruotsinkieliseen sit, mut se nyt on sama mitä ... mulle kummassako mie sit luin, mut ko se meni niin hankalaksi toi terveys niin [jouduin lopettamaan kesken]. (Interview by Hanna Snellman, Västerås, 26 June 2005)