

Katri Halttunen

KALASUO –ENCOUNTERS OF LOCAL AND GLOBAL
IN A FINNISH VILLAGE

University of Tampere
International School of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology and Social Psychology
Social Anthropology
Master's Thesis
April 2010

ABSTRACT

University of Tampere

International School of Social Sciences

Department of Sociology and Social Psychology

HALTTUNEN, KATRI: Kalasuo –Encounters of local and global in a Finnish village

Master's Thesis, 84 pages

Social Anthropology

April 2010

This thesis aims to study how the local and global are structured in one particular rural Finnish village, Kalasuo, and how they are placed in people's lives. Village of Kalasuo can be seen as a "remotely" situated village which begs the question what is remote and what is close. The study intends to question whether remote is always peripheral and outlying. Is there such a thing as a local village or is today's local always also partly global? How local is local?

I have used an ethnographic method of interviewing and wanted to find out where and how far the stories and histories of people reach from Kalasuo. Nine villagers were interviewed and through their stories I will draw one picture of today's Finnish countryside and its people's social networks and contacts. Since the interviewees differed from each other greatly, they will be treated as one text that reflects the mentality the villagers hold to and from the place.

Relevant concepts, transnationalism, globalization, locality and place will be explained and discussed, as well as some of the changes that Finnish countryside has encountered in the past decades. I will introduce three writers important to the topic, Charles Piot, Doreen Massey and Arjun Appadurai along with a general introduction to transnational anthropology.

This study shows that things are not always what they look like; even though Kalasuo might look like a remote, isolated and tranquil place to a random passer-by, it holds a lot more than mere locality and encloses many different stories and histories that involve various aspects of the global and transnational. Rural does not exclude modern.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Global versus local.....	2
1.2 Learning about transnational anthropology.....	4
1.3 Researching the local, the global and the rural village.....	6
1.4 A new focus in anthropology.....	7
1.5 Research question.....	9
2. BACKGROUND TO DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FINNISH COUNTRYSIDE.....	11
3. THEORY.....	17
3.1 Transnational anthropology.....	17
3.2 Essential concepts.....	19
3.2.1 Globalization.....	19
3.2.2 Transnationalism.....	22
3.2.3 Locality.....	24
3.2.4 Place.....	26
3.3 Earlier research.....	27
3.3.1 Charles Piot.....	28
3.3.2 Doreen Massey.....	29
3.3.3 Arjun Appadurai.....	32
3.4 Purpose and relevance of research.....	33
4. METHOD.....	34
4.1 Interviewees.....	36
4.2 Interview questions.....	37
5. FINDINGS.....	39
5.1 Residential histories.....	39
5.1.1 An original local and returnees.....	39
5.1.2 Moving after man.....	42
5.1.3 Take a chance on Kalasuo.....	44
5.2 Travelling.....	45
5.2.1 Adventures.....	49
5.2.2 No tourist!.....	50
5.3 Mobility.....	53
5.4 Urban experiences.....	54
5.5 Local visits and contacts.....	56

5.6 Friends and family away	60
5.7 Being local.....	65
5.7.1 Local place, changed village	67
5.7.2 Global place in local place	70
5.8 Everyday life: Internet, food and languages.....	71
6. CONCLUSIONS	73
REFERENCES.....	77

1. INTRODUCTION

You drive away from the motorway to a smaller roadway and again to an even smaller road that turns into a dirt road. It is winter, so anywhere you look you can only see white snow and here and there an odd conifer that has not lost its color under the pressure of the Finnish winter. You feel calm and relaxed since nature and all the surroundings exude an impression of a quiet and peaceful atmosphere. You approach a cluster of houses that are built quite near each other and by looking at them, you cannot be sure of the current time or place. You have arrived in the village of Kalasuo. You pass a massive shed and notice a man in coveralls climbing into a forestry machine. A local man, you think and find yourself wondering if he is going to work in a nearby forest. Finally you enter a farmyard and step out of the car. A young, dark-skinned boy in Converse trainers passes you by on the veranda of the farmhouse and says “hello” cheerfully as you step into the house. There the lady of the house is waiting for you and greets you with a strong South-Karelian dialect. The smell of oriental spices of a Pakistani dish reaches your nose as you get closer to the kitchen.

This is the image that you might get when you arrive in the remotely situated village of Kalasuo. Such a “remotely” situated village begs the question what is remote and what is close. It can make us wonder whether remote is always peripheral and outlying. Even if people might imagine rural areas as isolated places, this no longer applies to all rural areas and places. The anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2001, 58) challenges the whole idea of an isolated village and its existence and states that globalization reaches all areas of the world at some level. Similarly, in his book ‘Remotely global’ (1999), Charles Piot deals with issues of this kind, such as isolation and globalization, arguing that in Africa, colonial history has affected Kabre culture as much as anything local or indigenous. Piot has done research in a little African village and has come to the conclusion that being ‘remote’ or ‘traditional’ does not exclude being ‘global’ or ‘modern’. Piot’s book gives an important basis for my study as I can mirror the Kabre study in my version of a narrative of a remote village.

The world can be seen to become, or if preferred, has become global, and there are hardly any places out of reach of globalization or its symbols such as television, transnational corporations or the English language. In consequence it is appropriate and topical to question whether there could be fellow humans among us whose social networks and identities have not been touched by globalization but consist purely of 'local' connections. Or could there be a village inhabited only by these local people? How far is remote and how local is local? The present study is motivated by these questions and aims to show how the global and the local are present in a rural Finnish village of Kalasuo and in what ways they have influenced the lives of the villagers.

1.1 Global versus local

The relationship between the global and the local has always been complex and controversial. We can find a constant debate over the issues of formation and origins, or power and position of the global and the local in the academic literature of all social sciences (see Friedman, 1990; Friedman, 1994; Massey, 2005; Robertson, 1995). Local culture is frequently understood as something opposite of the global (Featherstone, 1993, 175).

In numerous contemporary accounts, then, globalizing trends are regarded as in tension with 'local' assertions of identity and culture. Thus ideas such as the global *versus* the local, the global *versus* the 'tribal', the international *versus* the national, and the universal *versus* the particular are widely promoted.

(Robertson, 1995, 33)

Globalization discussion most often has a tendency to consider globalization as a process that overrules locality, but it ignores the fact that the local is usually advanced from outside or above and constituted on a trans- or super-local base. (Robertson, 1995, 27) For definitions we typically need a comparison to make it easier to specify what is being defined. The local therefore is also often defined as a counterpoint to something, for example globalization. Obviously it is not always necessary to find an opposite or contrast but the local is often formed by the terms of its surroundings. A local place for example can gain its locality by opposition to what is not local, which does not belong to that specific local but is something 'other' (Featherstone, 1993).

Ulf Hannerz (2006, 29) has stated that the story of ‘the global and the local’ was a popular tale to be told by anthropologists in the late twentieth century. It was the time when globalization had become a common word in everyday language and several studies had been conducted around the theme. Localism was perhaps a subject that was fairly easily linked to studies of globalization. Hannerz admits that the relationship between the global and the local is surely an important issue of study but at the same time when it became a popular topic in anthropology it also became somewhat predictable. He regarded it as an intellectually and methodologically conservative approach to globalization, as it gave anthropologists a way to maintain their old ways of local field research practices with just minor limitations.

Doreen Massey argues that academic and political literature, as well as other discourses, tends to conceptualize “the local as the product of the global”. She asserts that for them ‘local places’, whether small localities or cities, or even nation-states, are all generally perceived as something that globalization has produced hence they have been “*produced through globalization*”. This way the global cannot be located since it originates from nowhere and always radiates from somewhere else. This sort of comprehension of globalization gives no agency to local places and ‘place’ becomes “the *victim* of globalisation”. However, Massey recognizes that in past years there has been some opposition to this type of thinking and places have started to be seen more and more as “‘agents’ *in* globalisation”. She acknowledges that different places are located differently in ‘power-geometries’, thus they have different relations to globalization. Massey takes the example of Mali and Chad, countries that are relatively powerless in the production of globalization in comparison to London and the USA for example where the global co-ordinates and constitutes. (Massey, 2005, 101)

As a result, it may be said that place is an agent in globalization and that in one sense, globalization is produced through local places. Globalization is not something that just exists even if people in different places would not act or do anything. Therefore it always starts from somewhere and spreads somewhere, not nowhere. It may be that globalization has changed locality to a great extent but it is still the localities to a large part that have created the essence of globalization. Unfortunately, as Massey (2005) claims, places are not all equal in the production of the global, and it can be seen that it is often the rural areas that have less power

in comparison to urban areas. Although places are often mentioned in the local/global discussion, it may be assumed that people are the ones who are for the most part acting in the globalization. Thus they are involved in global action but they also constantly form global networks and connections in the modern, international world. Globalization has also created or rather generated transnationalism. Transnational relations are, at least on some level, a product of globalization as an increasing number of people have gained mobility and become capable of travelling and moving to other places.

1.2 Learning about transnational anthropology

The first lecture I took in anthropology gave a flying start to the subject and also gave a good impression of anthropology in that the lecturer referred to my favorite story, *The Little Prince* by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. She used the story, and one of the stories of a character that the Little Prince had encountered on his travels in particular, as an example to illustrate the relevant terms she wished us to learn. This gave the promise that there is power in stories and that narratives count. I had always felt that social sciences ought to be just simply subjective accounts of the world and other people and not aim to produce extensive catch-all theories of the world. This first lecture taught us that as anthropologists our purpose was to tell someone's or some people's stories and as we were to learn later, give people voices when necessary. I think that Eriksen (2006, ix) has captured the essential notion of anthropology when he describes that "anthropology is about making sense of other people's worlds, translating their experiences and explaining what they are up to, how their societies work and why they believe in whatever it is that they believe in – including their whispered doubts and shouted heresies." This sentence sums up beautifully the important and demanding task of anthropology, in which I also want to be involved. After those first anthropology lectures I decided from then on to look at the world through the lenses of anthropology and report what I see. Although there is often a lot of 'me' as researcher in the anthropological narratives of this study, the main roles are still always left to those who are the focus of the research at any particular moment.

Later on, in other anthropology lectures when we were learning about the methods of study we often had to think about our place in the research. It was interesting to see how little I had thought about my position as a researcher earlier. A researcher in anthropology often becomes a part of the research and in many cases personal accounts, diaries and field notes are a major source for the study. Of course anthropologists can also construct quantitative data, but most often they use qualitative methods and ethnography in particular. In ethnography, researchers can get involved with the study so that they might go and live with the group that they are studying and observe it, to the extent that in some cases they might even become a part of the group. Ethnographers could be in some way seen as storytellers since they report to the public what they hear and see in the field, among the people they are studying. These stories are most often not bedtime stories as ethnographers frequently have to deal with some difficult issues, since the themes and subjects of anthropology can involve almost anything related to societies and to the developments in them.

After such an introduction to ethnography I was able to see that in order to be important or qualified not all the studies need to include numbers and figures and cover the majority of the population under research; even one person makes sense. What is important is what one hears and tells, not how many people are in question. Obviously the 'result' that comes out of one person's account cannot be applied to an entire society or in fact to any kind of group, but this does not mean that these stories would not need to be told. From this realization I became encouraged to start to write a Master's thesis that would not produce any hard-core data or bulletproof results, so to say, but would tell an important story of a Finnish village that is going through a lot of changes.

All the great stories always have a great cast. It does not make a difference what the number of characters is; the only thing that matters is that there is someone whose story is being told. It is also important that the reader or listener hears the voice in the story and that is what brings me to my fascination with anthropology. I have always been interested in stories and in anthropology I have found a field of science that appreciates real stories. Anthropology is about people, and about hearing their voices.

1.3 Researching the local, the global and the rural village

I first had the idea to study the occurrence of the local and the global in a Finnish village at an introductory course on ethnography when we were asked to brainstorm what we were interested in studying for our thesis. That made us think about many themes but at the end everybody needed to choose one that we thought could interest us until the end of the process of thesis writing. For me it was not very hard to choose the topic of a rural Finnish village as I believed that it hid a lot of things that were waiting for to be discovered and could give many possibilities for research. I arrived at the theme because I had just started to take courses on Rural Studies, which had made me interested in issues concerning rural countryside and had also inspired me to speak for the importance of keeping Finnish villages alive and thriving. I had also started in the Master's programme on Places, Spaces and Transnational Relations which had as some of its main themes globalization, transnationalism, place and locality. Those interested me greatly and I wanted to use them and link the themes to the topic of countryside. I started thinking about the question "how local is local" and after a while I became very curious to find out whether there could be a place that had not been affected by any aspects of globalization or transnationalism or if any village today could still be purely 'local' in this globalized world.

There was perhaps also a personal interest in writing about the effects of globalization in the countryside. I myself grew up in a fairly small parish, but I never felt or experienced that I would have missed out on something from the world in terms of for example not knowing the trends of fashion and youth culture just because I did not live in a city. Of course I am not saying that everything would always have reached my childhood town just as they reached Helsinki for example, but many things were eventually available there as well. I would also assume that if people in rural areas are really interested in something, they will be able to follow and engage in it from their small towns and villages, albeit with some restrictions. Although place and remote location naturally limit for example the opportunities for certain hobbies if they are organized very far from one's home, these kinds of choices are always specific, no matter where one lives. I also feel lucky to have been able to travel and see the world from a very young age, when travelling abroad was not as common as today. I suppose that it did not make a difference to my family's travelling behavior whether we would have

lived in a city or, as we did, on the periphery. Today people both from cities and rural areas make holidays abroad and travel around the globe as if just taking a stroll in the park. Nevertheless, before I started writing my thesis, I had sensed for a long time attitudes that saw remote districts as backwards in these kinds of issues such as travelling and fashion for example, and this also pushed me towards the subject of globalization in rural areas and small villages. I felt the urge to show that also country people have televisions and iPhones, that they too know people from abroad and that it does not take hundreds of inhabitants for a place to have the internet. I wanted people from rural areas to be looked as equals to any other people and that everyone would know how few restrictions at the end a location imposes in today's world where globalization can be seen everywhere and in many ways.

In addition to these reasons I need to say that the example of my mother's life and my discussions with her also inspired me to write about contemporary villagers of Finland, since through them I had seen how such a great number of people in rural areas have international contacts and lead fairly international lives. My mother has lived half of her life in a small village and half of it in a small town, but she has always had a lot of friends abroad to whom she has kept in touch and whom she has also often visited. She has made friends from her travels but also through her work in an international company that is placed in a small parish. It is interesting how people are not always very well aware of how much international business thrives in remote little villages in Finland's rural backwaters. Hyyryläinen & Uusitalo (2002, 235) state that "the number of enterprises relative to population is about the same in rural and urban districts, but a typical feature of the rural ones is the higher proportion of small enterprises..."

1.4 A new focus in anthropology

Soon after I had my thesis topic already in process and the village in question chosen, I was having lunch one day and was introduced to a friend of a friend who wanted to know about my studies. I told her I was writing a thesis in social anthropology and doing research on one

particular village. She became surprised, asking whether I had been in this village. The question made me confused and I mumbled that I had spent some time there and that I also had relatives living in the village. I did not realise she thought that the village I research was situated somewhere in Africa and that this was the reason she had become excited about it. Like this girl, many people have the idea that anthropologists study far-away, exotic places that ordinary citizens cannot even dream of visiting. It is also often thought that everything global, international and cosmopolitan happens somewhere out there, in the 'big world', such as for example in China or in the USA. Anthropology has for quite a while known its focus has to move from those far-away, un-explored places to our own everyday world and its changes and happenings (see Eriksen, 2001; Hannerz, 2006).

The aims and concentrations of anthropological study have changed since its earlier days and this has been seen to be due to new meanings of locality and local life. "The main task of anthropology can no longer be to explore and describe alien ways of life for the first time, but rather to account for processes taking place at various points and various levels in the global system". (Eriksen, 2001, 296) Exotic and international things happen closer than we think and by choosing a small village in eastern Finland I wanted to see that the world has become closer and smaller even in a place where one might not immediately expect it. Although the speed might have been slower, the Finnish rural countryside has evidently changed just as all the other places in the 'big world'.

Another task for anthropologists is to get even closer to the people and to get the stories heard. Eriksen has started to wonder how anthropology, which is such a relevant "tool for understanding the contemporary world", has lost its focus for seeing the big picture from all the details and technical triviality. He is concerned with the fact that contemporary anthropology is not engaging enough for the public and claims that anthropologists should aim to write in a language that could invoke feelings and raise questions among ordinary people. Eriksen states that anthropology has for too long been absent from nearly all of the central public debates that have taken place in the Anglophone world. He challenges anthropologists to write articles that would not bore the public and encourages them to make a bigger fuss about themselves. (Eriksen, 2006, ix)

1.5 Research question

In this Master's thesis I aim to clarify how the local and global are structured in one particular rural Finnish village, Kalasuo, and how they are placed in people's lives. I try to show that the impact of transnationalism can be found all over Finland, even in a small village that might, to many, seem isolated and local. I have used an ethnographic method of interviewing. From the stories of nine villagers and their conceptions of the place and descriptions of the social relationships in and outside the place, I will draw a picture of a village that is going through a change that is originally initiated by globalization. I am interested in seeing how this change of the countryside has affected the villagers and their feelings of locality. I will show the dialectics between local and global in Kalasuo and explain how these concepts are placed in people's everyday lives. The villagers' residential histories and experiences of other places play an important role, as through these experiences the mentality that the villagers hold in and about Kalasuo is reflected. Here I feel it appropriate to refer to my professor in anthropology: "Places are such that people come and people go. People go to places and people leave the places".

More specifically, in this thesis I will ask where and how far the stories and histories of people reach from this small rural village of Kalasuo. From where have these people come to live in the village and how they have found their way there and why? What did they bring from their past with them to the village, how is that shown in their lives, and could it have in some way changed the lives of other villagers? How global and how local are people in Kalasuo and where do they travel when they close their eyes, relax and think about the world and all of its places?

Relevant concepts, transnationalism, globalization, locality and place, and their meanings in my thesis will be explained in the theory part (part three) of the thesis. However, I will first briefly clarify some changes that Finnish countryside has encountered in the past decades and introduce the village of my research, Kalasuo in the second part of the thesis. In part three, in addition to the essential concepts, three writers important to the topic, Charles Piot, Doreen Massey and Arjun Appadurai will be introduced along with a general introduction to

transnational anthropology. Before moving to the fifth section in which I will analyze the findings by themes, I will describe the interviewees and outline the interview questions in the method part (part four). Finally, I will discuss the findings and bring everything together in the conclusion.

2. BACKGROUND TO DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FINNISH COUNTRYSIDE

Globalization has not been the same for everybody and has not shaped all regions to the same extent but it has also reached the rural areas of Finland. Although on an international scale Finland as a whole can still be claimed to be a rather rural country (Nivalainen, 2002, 7) and the old-established country life might still continue in many places, Finnish villages are currently in a process of change. Urbanization did not start as early in Finland as it did in the rest of the western world (see Kangasharju, 2004; Nivalainen, 2002): although Finnish cities started to experience the effects of globalization in the wake of the world's urban areas' already many decades ago, it is only now more recently that Finnish rural areas and villages are acting as a playground for globalization.

Most of the villages in Finland are experiencing losses in migration but at the same time there are also changes in the demography of many places as new people from different areas and even from abroad move in and impact the old population structures. People's lives are becoming multidimensional when local and international aspects blend together. Economic structures are also in transition since the villages cannot always afford all the basic services on their own, such as schools and because many entrepreneurs have had to close businesses due to lack of customers. Sometimes there are also changes in the villagers' experiences of some intangible qualities that often define rurality, such as solidarity, a sense of community or tranquillity (Woods, 2005, 29).

The survival of the early Finnish countryside and farming depended to a great extent on the close relations of the people in villages. People lived a hand to mouth existence and obtained nearly all the food of the land. It was necessary to help the neighbours in order to get help for oneself and therefore many daily tasks were shared. (Katajamäki, 2007) Still the relationships between people in different areas of Finland were rare until the end of the 19th century when technology brought the railways and telephones to the country (Väyrynen, 1999, 7). Economic and cultural interaction both in- and outside Finland helped to evolve nationalism

and generated internationality (ibid., 1). The internationalization of Finland increased when the early economic growth after the 1860s was based on exportation due to the markets for Finland's main products, sawn timber and paper being abroad. Moreover, this trend was emphasized when at the turn of the 20th century almost 400 000 Finns emigrated to America due to poverty which created a transnational, economic, political and cultural bridge between North America and Finland (ibid., 8-9).

By joining the European Union in 1995, Finland took a step into a new kind of global and international life and politics and more or less began a new era of Europeanization for the country (although Väyrynen (1999, 13) argues that Finnish businesses and industries "joined" the European Union already a decade before the state officially signed any contracts, since they had for some time worked globally and boomed economically). However, the official EU membership brought a new kind of regional development to Finland. The EU now had a large authority on decision making for Finland's regional matters and this has perhaps caused some tension between different areas, since the EU divides regions according to their level of development, not according to any province or county line or the identities of the people who live in the region. (Alasuutari & Ruuska, 1999, 24) According to a survey conducted by Yleisradio news, inequality in Finland has grown the most in the division of services between rural areas and cities. 61 per cent of the participants claimed that regional equality is a matter of worry and that the peripheries are suffering from the insufficiency of basic services more than population centers (Internet reference 7). The lack of services can easily drive people to move from the peripheries to more affluent or densely populated regions which will enhance the depopulation of countryside further.

The Finnish countryside is not homogenous and therefore it was divided into three different types at the beginning of the 1990s: rural areas close to urban areas, rural heartland areas and sparsely populated rural areas. This division is used in rural development as a tool in strategy and analysis making. According to this tri-division, sparsely populated rural areas are the most problematic and challenging part for rural developers since long distances and poor resources (both economic and natural) limit the possibilities for diversifying sources of livelihood and boosting local markets. Rural areas close to urban areas have the best developmental prospects. (Keränen et al., 2000, 7-8) There is often a problem when talking

about the countryside in Finnish discourse, because it is easily mixed with agriculture as the words are very close to each other ('maaseutu' is countryside and 'maatalous' is agriculture). The concepts are also often mixed and people might think for example that the development of rural areas is linked with the development of agriculture, although the number of people earning a livelihood of farming or agriculture is constantly diminishing. (Rannikko, 2000, 48)

To some extent, the EU has also controlled farming in Finland. During the first nine years in the European Union the number of farms in Finland dropped by 40 000. In 1995, the first year in the EU for Finland, as many as 14 500 farms finished but in the following years this number was considerably smaller. It was also a lot less than was estimated by the studies and reports made earlier on the impact of the EU. (Heikkilä & Nurmo, 2005, 77)

Even before the EU, the Finnish countryside and its change and development have been to some extent under the control of the government and the state authorities. The government's housing policy after the Second World War can be acclaimed for reinforcing Finland's position as an agrarian society with a fairly fragmented regional structure (Kangasharju, 2004; Väyrynen, 1999, 10). Later (but truly only in the 1970s) regional policies were set to restrain the centralization and government institutions (e.g. garrisons and universities) and state-owned companies and their offices and posts were decentralized and relocated (Kangasharju, 2004). This is one of the forces that weighed in the creation of the structure of several municipalities in Finland. At the same time the section of public services of all labor started to grow significantly as almost every town acquired their own basic services (Väyrynen, 1999, 12). At the time, there were a considerable number of jobs more than today in the rural areas and the employment situation was also better, so municipalities managed to offer the basic services for their inhabitants. During the last two decades unemployment has significantly set foot in Finland, both in rural as well as in urban areas, and with lesser tax payments municipalities (especially the rural districts) have often had to struggle to provide the services. Municipal system was fixed in 2007 and the number of municipalities was set to reduce.

Unemployment has also been one cause of migration from the countryside to the towns. After the Second World War migration in Finland flowed mostly between rural districts but come the 1960s people started to move to cities in strength and during the following couple of decades the urbanization proceeded. In the end of the 1970s there was a counter period during which migration mildly turned back to the rural areas for a while. In the 1990s migration to the urban areas boomed and such vast numbers of people from the countryside moved to the biggest cities in Finland that the period was called the years of ‘the flee from the country’. In the early 21st century there can be seen a trend of migration from cities to the rural areas close to urban areas. (Kytö, Tuorila & Leskinen, 2006, 4-5) This trend has continued recent years and could perhaps be expected to continue in the future. It can be predicted that when the so called ‘great generation’ of Finland (Finnish baby boomers) reach retirement age they might want to return to the countryside. Approximately 15 per cent of the ‘great generation’, people born in 1945-50, has moved to Sweden (Myrskylä, 2004). Some of those Finns who moved to cities or emigrated to Sweden in great numbers in the 1960s and 1970s in search of employment or better standard of living may also now want to return to their birth villages for retirement days. This phenomenon has already started to take place to some extent as the studies show that in the end of the 1990s the biggest number of people moving to the remote countryside (sparsely populated rural areas) were senior citizens or people reaching retirement age (Kytö, Tuorila & Leskinen, 2006, 5). Nivalainen (2002, 8) reminds us that even though the migration from the countryside has increased, people are also moving to the rural areas more than before and in numbers that are significant in percentage value.

The Finnish village structure differs from the ones in many other European countries. Finnish villages are not as independent but generally belong to some town (municipality) that is responsible for the decision- and policymaking of the entire area and therefore also administers the villages. There are usually many villages in one town and often it can be difficult to discern the exact borders between them. Villages can be very small and one village can consist of only about a couple of dozen people. Sometimes villages do not even have their own shops or schools for example, but people have to travel to town centers to do the shopping or go to school. Health clinics and the administrative and municipal offices are almost always situated in the town centers.

If you travel in Finland from Seinäjoki to Pori, or from Lappeenranta to Joensuu you will probably pass a few little villages on the way. You might not even notice the existence of any particular place or the houses that build the villages since these small villages appear rather unobtrusive to a random passer-by. One of the villages that you drive by might be Kalasuo, a small village in southeastern Finland that, at least on paper, does not differ much from the other Finnish villages of the same size. For example people's professions in Kalasuo represent the average of a parish that size, and the number of the unemployed or foreign citizens and the occurrence of violence in Kalasuo are quite similar to almost any other Finnish village. Although, it has to be mentioned that according to Statistics Finland the average age in Kalasuo is slightly higher than in some other villages the same size, it is also very high in many other small villages in eastern and northern parts of Finland that are experiencing net emigration. (Internet reference 2) In addition, there are always obviously some specific features that distinguish each village from another. Many studies are conducted each year in Finland to measure for example the level of happiness or suitability for family living of different towns. Also the number of wealthy people in different areas is often listed in the media. Still, in my opinion Kalasuo does not diverge enough in any of these listings to be called something out of rather typical or ordinary Finnish village.

The village of Kalasuo is situated in Southeast Finland with a population of approximately 100. The housing is spread over a distance of five kilometers. The village belongs to a little larger town (Karppislampi) that has a population of roughly 2000. The distance to this town center from Kalasuo is approximately 10 km and to the closest city 40 km. Basic education started in the village in the early 1920s when the village acquired its first own school building. The number of pupils started to decrease from the beginning of the 1960s so the school was closed down in the late 1970s. There have been three shops in Kalasuo at its height but they were also closed down in the 1970s. Agricultural production started to decrease from the 1980s on, and at the moment there is only one working dairy cattle farm in Kalasuo. Instead of agriculture many people in Kalasuo now gain their livelihood from forestry and there are even a few businesses related to it, for example forest machinery and logger companies. There are also a couple of other small enterprises in the area related to catering, cabin rental and car repair. Local societies organize some leisure activities and social events in the village such as ice-fishing competitions or courses on gardening and hunting. (Internet reference 3)

I chose to study Kalasuo because I had close personal contacts to the village and it felt reasonable to take advantage of those in terms of making accommodation easier and travelling costs lower. I also thought that finding interviewees would be easier when there was someone in the village that I knew beforehand. Although on the face of it such villages as Kalasuo can appear quiet and sedate, or even dead, empty places to some who just pass by, I argue that we cannot make any conclusions just by the appearance. Hyyryläinen and Uusitalo (2002, 232) assert that the rural areas in Finland have always been associated very closely with agriculture. Therefore maybe the general assumption might often be that most of the villagers have lived in the same house which is usually a farm, all of their lives, continuing the traditions and professions of their parents. We might even find ourselves wondering if these rural villages are stuck in time, seized in their own locality or trapped in space. However, if we look deeper and more closely, we will find surprising things and come to notice that these villages are often far from sleeping beauties.

3. THEORY

3.1 Transnational anthropology

For social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (2006, 29), social anthropology has always been primarily about social relationships rather than places. He reminds that “if globalization involves a new balance in the combination of local and long-distance relationships, it makes sense to seek out field entities that illustrate that development, and which are not in themselves defined in territorial terms”. Hannerz’s suggestion for studying modern, often transnational life was ‘studying sideways’, term that he launched to describe the multi-site field work that would cover different countries and even continents (ibid., 30). It could be that in today’s anthropology ‘studying sideways’ could be recommended in many cases as it can perhaps broaden the angles from which to look at the subject or the theme. Hannerz emphasizes the confusion that the change in the meaning of ‘field’ has brought to the discipline of anthropology. In early anthropology ‘field’ used to be something considerably easy to define, as researchers often concentrated on one tribe or a village, place that they were able to get to know by foot or by face-to-face contacts. But today ‘field’ can be almost anything; we cannot always say if it is real or virtual, if it is here or there or if it even exists. (Ibid., 23)

Arjun Appadurai (1998, 48) also refers to the changing fields in ethnography (and in social anthropology in general) and argues that the twentieth century (note the date of publication) ethnography should acknowledge the altered societies and modify the practices according to these changes. He argues that “the landscapes of group identity –the ethnoscaapes – around the world are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous”. (ibid.) Appadurai continues that contemporary ethnographers who want to maintain their voices in today’s world that is transnational and deterritorialized, can no longer only concentrate on the local, as people’s lives are now highly complex and partly imagined (ibid., 54). Because many lives are inseparable from representations, ethnographers ought to include expressive representations such as novels, films and travel accounts into their

practices as principal material so that they could also build representations of their own and learn from them (ibid., 64). Appadurai claims that anthropology should wake up to the today's transnational world and concentrate on the new global ethnoscapes and flows so that a new transnational anthropology could thrive and flourish.

Anthropology can surely contribute its special purchase on lived experience to a wider, transdisciplinary study of global cultural processes. But to do this, anthropology must first come in from the cold and face the challenge of making a contribution to cultural studies without the benefit of its previous principal source of leverage—sightings of the savage. (Ibid., 65)

Above both Hannerz and Appadurai talk about the change in anthropology towards global or transnational anthropology and many social anthropologists today agree on this (see Eriksen, 2001; Friedman, 1994; Kearney, 1995). Friedman (1994, 12) argues that today's global anthropology should no longer only concentrate on the world 'out there' by studying specific social types such as clans or tribes but that it should concentrate on portraying the present world as "an ongoing articulation between global and local processes". Thus anthropology is experiencing a new focus of study and transformation of the 'field', but it has to be noted that there are many variations of anthropology: cognitive and neo-marxist, modern and conservative, some more introspective and some more retrospective, almost any kind one can imagine, and no one uniform movement or direction towards something specific can be drawn even in the field of social anthropology. It would be as hard as to write only one neutral history of anthropology (Eriksen, 2001, 9). Eriksen (ibid.) states that the history of anthropology could be written in many different ways but that it has gained its present shape only during the twentieth century. There are many writers who can be contributed as the early anthropologists. Also different schools of anthropology have been formed through the history of the discipline, such as two British schools (referred also to represent social anthropology) or the American anthropology (cultural anthropology). Although there are many social scientists to contribute to the formation of the field of anthropology, Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown have often been acclaimed to have founded the modern British social anthropology, whereas Franz Boas can be hailed as the founder of the American anthropology and Marcel Mauss the anthropology in France.

Transnational anthropology studies the human life that today is in many parts of the world increasingly transnational. As a matter of fact, countless of people's lives have been fairly transnational for long, even longer than many of us might think. Perhaps we have just not given enough attention to it, but as well as for example globalization that has been agreed to have began much longer before we have started talking about it, has transnationalism also been everyday life to millions of people for decades. When people gained mobility and started to move far away from their birth homes and families, they often had to figure out the ways for communication and holding on to their relations. In the early days the ways of communication may have been more primitive, but people have always managed to live transnational lives and maintain contacts to the loved ones across oceans and frontiers. Lately transnational anthropology has especially focused on themes such as migration, families, conflicts and multiculturalism, just to name a few.

3.2 Essential concepts

It is important to know what the concepts used in the study mean in this thesis. Concepts are meant to make things easier to understand and it is an integral part of any study to clarify the common themes, therefore I will now explain shortly some of the key terms of the work, globalization, transnationalism, locality and place.

3.2.1 Globalization

Globalization can be seen and studied from several perspectives. Some viewpoints that are generally accepted by most social scientists are for example globalization's economic, ecologic, political, social and cultural dimensions (Väyrynen, 1998, 9; Beck, 1999, 59). All of these have obviously affected the life in the countryside but for this thesis the most interesting aspect is the change in the social life that globalization has brought about. Hannerz (1996, 17) has defined that "in the most general sense, globalization is a matter of increasing long-

distance interconnectedness, at least across national boundaries, preferably between continents as well". Väyrynen (1998, 17) expands the idea and claims that social processes are global by nature if they are broad and deep, cover a significant part of the globe and operate on the most sectors in society. Globalization is always selective and partial process but it has to be expansive enough to touch people in different parts of the world and extend also to the periphery in addition to the industrial centers (ibid.). Beck (1999, 45) argues that globalization has caused the fact that there can be no country or a group today that could withdraw into its shell from others.

Alasuutari and Ruuska use the term globalization as an inductive generalization, to refer to the flows of changes that they have researched. They do not want that the phenomenon that are to be explained or defined become the explanation or the definer and argue that social scientists are often caught guilty of inventing a term for some societal trend of development and start using it as if it was a well-known mechanism that actually was producing these developments. They use globalization as an example and claim that sometimes it is used in a sense that the problem is solved if it just has a name. My task will be similar to that of Alasuutari's and Ruuska's, to draw a picture of some of the changes globalization has brought to the countryside and to explain how I have seen them. I do not attempt to define globalization in detail, cover its history nor either do I try to study what has caused or initiated the structural changes of country-life. (Alasuutari & Ruuska, 1999, 13-15)

Alasuutari and Ruuska (1999, 13) have also suggested that as a term, globalization is a metaphor for a journey, so that we are on our way somewhere. This somewhere could be a united globe, one big world society. They remind us that globalization is an ongoing process and in no sense finished or stable state or condition, and therefore it can change places and people at different times and speed. This does not mean that all the changes necessarily happen everywhere the same way and furthermore Eriksen (2001, 297) notes that globalization "does not mean that we are all becoming identical, but rather that we become different in ways that are not as they were in earlier times". One world culture will not replace people's own cultures so that all would someday grow into one big world culture and follow its road to wherever it is taking them. People in some areas might even grow themselves stronger identities or feelings of belonging if they get the feeling of being lost in a world

where multiple cultures and groups other than their own prevail (ibid.). This can be seen even in some areas in Finland where people have started to revive old traditions and succeeded in it so well that the old traditions have become stronger and more traditional than they had ever been in the past. Cultures have started to spread influences around after the satellite televisions, jet planes and the internet have become common everyday commodities. As argued earlier, today people can easily move, travel and communicate all over the world whenever they like. Eriksen states that “space can no longer be said to create a clear buffer between ‘cultures’”. (ibid.)

Globalization has made the world larger in a sense that today we can learn about other cultures and ‘exotic’ places more easily than before and thereby recognize our mutual differences, but at the same time smaller in a way that we can also travel to these faraway places or anywhere in a matter of fact and have the same lifestyle than anybody in the world (Eriksen, 2001, 307). Even though cultures are getting mixed and people are spending more time with people from other cultural and ethnic groups, still they are not becoming the same just because the contacts between them are increasing and impacts affect them in some ways. People’s lives can never be wholly global or wholly local either. Eriksen suggests they are glocal, meaning that we interpret all social and cultural phenomena from the perspective we choose to see it. (Ibid., 302).

The idea of ‘citizens of the world’ supports the version of the glocal. Large part of the world’s population might be identified as ‘citizens of the world’ as they know what happens in the world and are interested in hearing it. If there is for example a war somewhere, ‘citizens of the world’ are most likely aware of it. But then, this does not mean that all phenomenon that come under this category of so called ‘global matters’ would interest all people or even all the ‘citizens of the world’. Coca-Cola might be recognized by most people on earth but still there are many who have never heard of it. All this kind of cultural symbols and phenomena are global, in a sense that no particular place holds them and they are known to a large amount of people, but they are also local because they are always received and interpreted locally and from a local perspective. (Eriksen, 2001, 300)

Besides all the negative attention that the word ‘globalization’ has aroused in the past couple of decades, globalization also has its positive side and it has initiated some fine currents, it has for example assisted mobility and communication. But as mentioned above, globalization has naturally also caused and brought about many unpleasant and negative processes against which there has been quite a lot of resistance (Appadurai, 2001, 6). In the contemporary countryside the resistance has been seen in the clearest form in the farmers’ protests or when the environmental campaigners have fought for the nature (Woods, 2005, 39). Doreen Massey claims that today ‘globalization’ is one of the terms that is used most often and holds the most power in our social and geographical imaginations. She describes it to give us, at its extreme, a vision (or an illusion) of “free unbounded space” and of mobility that is purely unchained. Although she has expressed many criticisms against this vision and its validity, and promoted the talk about the inequality of globalization, I would still like to add this quote to give one more description for the global:

In place of an imagination of a world of bounded places we are now presented with a world of flows. Instead of isolated identities, an understanding of the spatial as relational through connections. The very word ‘globalisation’ implies a recognition of spatiality. It is a vision which in some sense glorifies (as so much current writing does) in the triumph of the spatial (while at the same time speaking of its annihilation). (Massey, 2005, 81-82)

3.2.2 Transnationalism

The term globalization is sometimes wrongly used to describe just about any relationship or process that crosses state boundaries, and because globalization in principle should extend across the world, more adequate term to be used in many cases would be ‘transnationalism’ (Hannerz, 1996, 6). Transnationalism, as well as studies related to it e.g. transnational flows and diasporas, have interested anthropologists more than globalization which is a subject of study more commonly associated with sociologists and economists (Ong, 1999, 8). Transnational connections do not always involve anything international, meaning that they do not necessarily have anything to do with nations, or rather with states, although transnationalism misleadingly contains the word nation. (Hannerz, 1996, 6) However, Kearney implies that: “The “nation” in transnational usually refers to the territorial, social, and cultural aspects of the nations concerned. Implicit in anthropological studies of

transnational processes is the work of the “state,” as for example the guardian of national borders, the arbiter of citizenship, and the entity responsible for foreign policy.”

On one hand it is essential to recognize this aspect of state power on people’s actions and relations, but on the other hand we also have to remember the informality of transnational phenomena. Moreover, it is important here to make a difference between globalization and internationalism. Internationalism is about the interrelations between states that the nations’ own national politics have shaped. Transnationalism can be placed somewhere between globalization and internationalism. Like globalization, it is not overseen by any one particular institution and can never solely be. Transnationalism involves “international” interaction and relations that are not state-driven. All three, globalization, internationalism and transnationalism are pushed forward by actors in self-fulfilling purposes, so they are by no means impersonal processes. (Väyrynen, 1998, 10) Transnational actors may as well be individuals, ordinary people, as groups, movements or business enterprises (Hannerz, 1996, 6). Transnational action is more everyday life based than international or global action; it can be just writing an e-mail or sending a gift. Although Roudometof (2005, 119) does count as transnational interaction also routines such as “satellite TV broadcasting, simultaneous media access through Internet sources and TV stations, international conferences, the different varieties of international tourism (ranging from recreational tourism to sex tourism or eco-tourism), as well as the everlasting formalized agreements and ongoing negotiations of a wide array of international organizations and non-governmental groups”.

Mooney and Evans (2007, 234) claim that the concept of transnationalism was first introduced by sociologist Raymond Aron in 1966. Roudometof (2005, 115) suggests that as a term it emerged in the 1990s but recognizes that as a phenomenon it is a lot older and dates back to the late 19th century. Above, a lot has been said about the “nation” in transnational but Ong (1999, 4) remarks that “trans” in it stands for “both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something” of which initiates one definition for transnational: “The condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space.” Hiebert (2002, 211) refers by transnationalism to “individuals who experience, and are attached to, two or more places simultaneously”. This definition comes very close to that of which transnationalism means in this thesis.

Bryceson and Vuorela (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, 3) define ‘transnational families’ as “families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely ‘familyhood’, even across national borders”. The concept of transnational family has become pronouncedly topical along with the creation of the ‘informational society’, but as stated earlier, the phenomenon of families living far away from each other is far but new. People have for long moved apart from their family members, either voluntarily or forced, and still kept the contact in spite of the distance. There is a class distinction between the transnationals, as people have different backgrounds and reasons for their mobility. Some may have been forced to leave their countries and families due to economic or political circumstances or even war or famine, whereas for others, leading a transnational life is a matter of choice and a chance for better living, for example to a well paid international profession or higher education. Transnational families can also be referred to as multi-sited or multi-local families. (ibid., 7) That seems to signify that members of transnational families have various different localities. People can have more than only one locality, and these localities and tensions between them structure the stories of transnational people rather than anything global or transnational (Huttunen, 2002, 343). The lives of transnational people extend in thoughts and actions to different places.

3.2.3 Locality

Hannerz (1996) has discussed the essence of locality and its tendency to equal something continuous and common. He states that what goes on locally is often described as “everyday life”. People have long-term relationships that are usually fairly face-to-face bonds. They share understandings and meanings that can be negotiated if ought to be changed. In case deviations occur they can be effectively punished in informal ways. Local relationships have “strong emotional contents” and are often relationships to “significant others”. Hannerz suggests that local is repetitive, redundant and in large part practical. (Hannerz, 1996, 26-27) Featherstone refers to the importance of ‘sense of belonging’ to local cultures. He argues that local cultures are usually located on a rather small bounded area of space and people there hold a common fixed knowledge of the co-inhabitants and the physical environment. They

might also have attended the same rituals and ceremonies that will tie them to the place and they often share a common sense of the past. (Featherstone, 1993, 176) It has been argued that culture is local and therefore it would be almost impossible to be culturally globalized. We learn a language, customs of food, use of space, all things that create us, already in socialization which origins from those traditions in which culture we grow up, i.e. people grow from, but also into those localities and traditions. (Marling, 2006, 82) In one sense this implies that all people could be called 'locals'.

Sarmela (1989) claimed in the end of the 1980s rather critically that 'locality' and local people in Finland were facing extinction and that local culture was slowly fading away. Fortunately this type of thinking does not seem to rule among the present public opinion today and in general people seem to appreciate their localness and are willing to nurture it and foster the local subsistence. Obviously not all local relationships carry a special status of care and emotion mentioned earlier, and goes without saying that also locals have enemies among locals. Nevertheless, I often hear that people in the countryside say it is great that there they know most of the neighbours and have warm relationships with them. Some who have moved from towns or cities emphasize this as one of the biggest differences to their previous places of habitat.

Although there are also contradictory opinions about locality and its meaning to societies, it can be argued that everyday life feeling and feelings of home and security make the local important and seem to guarantee its continuity in the future. But the local is currently also changing its meaning and we will have to take into account that local places are not forever the same but that they are shaped by the influences from outside (Hannerz, 1996, 27). Today an ideal type of local is not easy to encounter or define and those locals who have stayed in a place can suddenly find their local cultures less pervasive (Hannerz, 1990, 249). We might always be willing to own the feeling of belonging to a place and being locals somewhere, but today most of us will have to change the place of these feelings perhaps several times in our lives. Locality can no more be something stable and inward as the local people are often temporary and keep coming and going.

Cosmopolitanism is often mentioned in the context of Locality. These two are sometimes seen as conflicting or opposing concepts when cosmopolitan is associated with open and welcoming attitude towards the new and local is seen as defensive and closed entity that seeks to limit anything new and extrinsic. But in reality this does apply to any group or any individual since the most people are not only at one end of the scale but most often develop identities and attitudes that combine both local and cosmopolitan aspects (Roudometof, 2005, 124, 127). Besides, as seen before, local cannot be categorized into something purely inward and unwelcoming. Sassen (1998, XXXI) asserts that elites in many cities see themselves as cosmopolitan, as transcending any locality and ignore the fact that people who come from “localized” cultures, even remote places or villages can have a background of great cultural diversity and therefore be as cosmopolitan as elites. Locals are connected and often committed to the cultures of their localities, to the values and world views of the places and therefore it can be easy to contrast the cosmopolitan to it (Huttunen, 2002, 288). This still does not mean that a local person could not grow into cosmopolitanism at the same time when achieving locality, even in a place where ‘local’ is predominant thrust.

3.2.4 Place

“We may wonder, then, both what the place does to people, and what people do to the place” (Hannerz, 1996, 28). Places change through time and according to the people who populate them. People who move to places can, in addition to place, also change the people living in them. Doreen Massey extends this idea and asserts that places should be looked at as some sort of meeting points, in a sense that they are created by social interactions. Because social relations are never motionless, we should not think of places as frozen or static either, but instead think of them as processes. (Massey, 1991, 29) There cannot be any pure identity for a place since the social relations from it always reach further from the place and create an identity that is multidimensional (Massey, 2003, 72). In addition, Massey argues against seeing places as something inward-looking and boundary oriented:

Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local. (Ibid., 28)

Place often seems to mean a lot to the people living in the countryside, at least I found out it did to the villagers of Kalasuo. Perhaps it is important because of the nature and the attachment to the surroundings, or maybe people have formed deep roots to their birth homes or to the houses that have become their homes only more recently. Whichever the reason, belonging to a place is clearly seen in many rural parts of Finland. Places are usually filled with emotions, memories and interpretation, and therefore ‘place’ is more than mere ‘location’, ‘space’ or ‘territory’ (Hague & Jenkins, 2005, 4). In Finnish ‘being local’ can often be interpreted as belonging to a place, not only because locality can be associated with place and place identity but also because the actual word ‘local’ can be translated in Finnish as ‘one with a place’.

3.3 Earlier research

In the following section I will introduce three writers that are significant to the thesis, i.e. have written about some of the main themes of the study, such as local and rural places, globalization and transnationalism. Charles Piot, Doreen Massey and Arjun Appadurai are all acclaimed and recognized authors who have lengthy records.

3.3.1 Charles Piot

Charles Piot's work 'Remotely Global' (1999) gives an important background to the research of this thesis. I will use it as a parallel study since it has dealt with the same issues than my thesis, although his research is more extensive and in-depth. But 'Remotely Global' shows that there has for long been villages that are a lot more than their remote covers. Piot's village of study was in Africa but now in this thesis I will see what a similar case looks like in distant Finland. In 'Remotely Global' Piot studied the villages of Kabre people of northern Togo and discovered multiple links between the Kabre culture and colonialism and modernity. These kinds of little African villages might seem backward and anti-modern with the traditional African cultural features being evident for the visitors in village; straw roofed houses, spiritual rituals and gift exchange being everyday life for the Kabre people, but Piot became aware that it is not the whole story (Piot, 1999, 1).

Piot states that he knows "no bounded, culturally homogenous African culture". Colonialism has shaped the Kabre culture and the villages to the extent that Piot claims that the Kabre people and places are today as modern and cosmopolitan as any other people and places in Africa or elsewhere in the world. By cosmopolitan here Piot means that people's social lives are in a state of change and filled with ambivalence and dealing with difference. (Piot, 1999, 23) Local chiefs were affected and often corrupted by the colonial rule as they were appointed to collect taxes and recruit labour for the colonial government (ibid., 148). Colonialism affected also the landscape as many roads were built by Kabre under the German and French rule and trees were planted by the Germans. At present, the scenery is modern with roads, bridges, and market towns, but Piot argues that still, it is no less "Kabre" (ibid., 156-160).

Kabre want to see the tradition and the modern hand-in-hand and refuse to believe that there is a problem mixing those two. They have MTV haircuts and Adidas bags but they are also very much at ease to worship spirits and practise gift exchange. Piot claims that adaptation of Western things in Kabre culture is not a type of colonization but a choice by Kabre people to appropriate articles and goods from the West (Piot, 1999, 174). He continues that everything

that Kabre people is, has been shaped within the encounter between Africa and Europe since there has been a strong engagement between those continents for centuries (ibid., 23).

What is shown in Piot's work applies to all villages around the world: All remote villages can be shaped by globalization and modernity, but at the same time they can also be the actors changing the present. Therefore the local and tradition are often intertwined with the village modernities and with the global. Piot claims that anthropologists have for long seen the remote village as an outside, a home of traditional culture away from the global system and metropolises. He asserts that this view ignores and fails to acknowledge peoples and villages such as Kabre who have for long been "an integral part of the modern world". Piot wants "to see the village as a site- and also, in many ways, an effect- of the modern, one that is privileged as any other, one that has shaped the modern as much as it has been shaped by it, and one that brings to the modern- that always uneven, often discordant, ever refracting, forever incomplete cultural/political project- its own vernacular modernity." (Piot, 1999, 178)

3.3.2 Doreen Massey

Doreen Massey has distinguished herself in theorizing place and space. She has challenged many social scientists and geographers to rethink place and space by arguing that space is never neutral or static, independent of time, but it always formulates in time and is fully social. Societies are constructed by space but space is also built by social relations. (Lehtonen, Rantanen & Valkonen, 2008, 7-8) In her article "A global sense of place" Massey (1991) narrates the inequalities of time-space compression. With time-space compression Massey refers to a phenomenon that one reading any contemporary academic literature cannot ignore, which includes all kinds of processes that lead to diminishing of place, such as travelling more often and further away, wearing clothes and eating food that is produced on the other side of the world and internationalization of financial capital. In general, time-space compression touches the period of time that we are living, this time when things are spreading everywhere and the speed of things is getting more and more rapid. Time-space compression has led to a growing uncertainty and instability of place. Mobility and blending of all things

have created confusion of our conceptions of locality and its particularity and Massey wants to question this by suggesting that instead of thinking about places as anything inherently stable and communal, we should look at them progressively, not as something introspective and inwards but as something outward looking and reconstructive. She claims that in order to look at places in this light it is necessary to think about the experience of time-space compression and consider if it is experienced the same way everywhere. (Massey, 1991, 24)

Massey argues that to our experiencing of time-space compression affects mostly the capital, but also gender, and whether we come from western culture or some other. Massey touches the same themes than Piot when she discusses the topic of seeing anything 'other' than western as something 'non-modern'. Today people in the west are getting surrounded by different imports, such as kebab restaurants or branch offices of Middle-Eastern banks, but we often forget that people in the countries that the West has colonized are very well used to consume all kinds of colonial products and imported goods. They have for example first learned to use British custard powder and then later after the arrival of American products got used to eat wheat instead of rice, and drink Coca-Cola. Because time-space compression prefers to the movement and communication that happens in space and to our social relations that are geographically expanding, it has been construed that the aspect that mostly affects all this is the capital, and especially the internationalization of it. According to this view, it is time, space and money that rule the world and make us people either move around the world or stay put. Gender is another thing that defines our experiences of a place and space, since often it is men and their different powers (e.g. physical violence or sexual offending) that restrict women's mobility rather than the capital. Massey asserts that also "race" can have an effect on our experience of space as it can dictate our borders and how easily or uneasily we can move from a country to another or walk the streets in a foreign city. (Massey, 1991, 24)

Time-space compression does not touch everyone on all areas of action, meaning that for example some parts of the world have been united by air traffic whereas other parts have been isolated because of the recession of shipping. It is easy for some people to travel anywhere in the world in a matter of hours, while many social groups can never even dream of visiting any distant location. Time-space compression has its power geometry that represents the inequality of mobility to different social groups and individuals. Massey specifies few groups

of people that experience time-space compression in different ways. There are those who are responsible of the time-space compression and can dominate it, like for example globetrotters, receivers and senders of faxes and e-mails, film distributors or news editors. Then there are people who move a lot but are not in the same way “controlling” the process, such as refugees or un-documented migrant workers. One group constitutes of those who are simply the receivers of time-space compression. Massey gives an example of this kind: “The pensioner in a bed-sit in any inner city of this country, eating British working-class-style fish and chips from a Chinese take-away, watching a US film on a Japanese television; and not daring to go out after dark. And anyway the public transport’s been cut”. She also mentions another group that fairly well illustrates all the complexity and the social differentiation that the time-space compression involves. This group is in a way giving a huge contribution to the time-space compression, but at the same time being imprisoned by it: “There are the people who live in the favelas of Rio, who know global football like the back of their hand, and have produced some of its players; who have contributed massively to global music, who gave us the samba and produced the lambada that everyone was dancing to last year in the clubs of Paris and London; and who have never, or hardly ever, been to downtown Rio”. (Massey, 1991, 25-26)

To give one more example of the divergence of people’s mobility Massey refers to the Cambridge University study that researched small villages in English countryside and found out that people were on very different levels of mobility; there were locals who rarely left the village, those who worked in international companies in cities sometimes commuting, sometimes telecommuting and those who were anything from between. Yet what was common to all of them was that their lives were interconnected and that there was no one whose life would not have been affected by the world outside the village. (Massey, 2003, 63-65)

Meaning of place has become questionable in the times of time-space compression when we are for example able to travel abroad and do our shopping there in the same shops than at home. Massey says that many argue now that people are looking for peace, quiet and experiences of locality and belonging to a place in order to feel safe in this constantly changing world. People can have the urge to find a place that they can call home. (Massey, 1991, 26; Massey, 2003, 53; also Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005, 12) She points out that

this view can come out of the imagined nostalgia to the times when places were more bounded and differentiated from other places by separation and that now this ‘geographical imagination’ of places can create a safe haven, in a form of place and locality (even home) to which people can retreat. This can also be seen as resistance to globalization or to its flows such as opening of borders. (Massey, 2005, 64-65)

3.3.3 Arjun Appadurai

”Once again, we need to be careful not to suppose that as we work backward in these imagined lives we will hit some local, cultural bedrock, made up of a closed set of reproductive practices and untouched by rumors of the world at large.” (Appadurai, 1998, 63) Like the other two preceding authors also Appadurai believes that even the most localized worlds are inflected and even afflicted by cosmopolitanisms. He states that contemporary cosmopolitanism consists of various different kinds of experiences, such as media, sports, restaurants, tourism that can all be found in diverse forms, global or local and of national or transnational origin. He gives an example of radio and cinema, the former starting out global and ending up local whereas the latter would be the reverse. This implies that cosmopolitanism can be widespread and does not neglect any regions. (Ibid., 63-64)

Appadurai has introduced the idea of ‘ethnoscapes’, ‘technoscapes’, ‘financescapes’, ‘mediascapes’ and ‘ideoscapes’ to give a framework for global cultural flows. By ‘ethnoscapes’ he refers to “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals---“. ‘Technoscapes’ imply the technologies that now easily move across borders and ‘financespaces’ indicate the moving of the global capital. ‘Mediascapes’ and ‘ideoscapes’ are closely related to the landscapes of images, the former more specifically to the distribution of information (newspapers, television) and the latter to the concatenation of ideologies. Appadurai questions the traditional center-periphery thinking because ‘the new global cultural economy’ is too complex to be understood in such terms and because of the ‘-scapes’ the center and the periphery today are too hard to distinguish. Modern world gives the

both center and periphery, the possibility for imagination and this enables people to create 'imagined worlds' in which the '-scapes' act as building blocks. People in different parts of the world can dream themselves possible lives and think about 'imagined worlds' easier than ever before as the mass communication constantly spreads new, rich material. (Appadurai, 1998, 33-36)

3.4 Purpose and relevance of research

No one has ever done an ethnographic research on the local and the global in Kalasuo. Therefore I find it important, merely in itself to have done a study that aimed to look at the villagers' social contacts and everyday life in and outside Kalasuo. This way we are able to look at one small rural Finnish village and learn from its existence how the Finnish countryside today might look like. For any extensive generalization this sample would not be qualified because the group of people that I interviewed is too small in number (nine in total) and moreover it does not represent the whole population. However, in this case the validity of the research is a little differently defined than usual as my intention was not to produce a survey of the present state of the Finnish countryside, but as I mentioned earlier, merely to tell a story from one particular village that could then act as an example of the bigger picture. Anthropology gives the researcher a right to conduct a study without hypotheses or statistics that can still be relevant and welcome in the academia. However it is yet required to acknowledge then that this type of qualitative research will not give any generalized facts about the population and hence it will serve as a case study only.

This thesis looks at only a small proportion of the rural life in Finland but it can give a valuable base for further research on the Finnish countryside which is always needed and hoped-for in the field of anthropology and rural development. An in-depth study or more extensive research with external funding might have better opportunities for including larger samples and using survey methods. Therefore it could also serve a more thorough overview of the global and local in the rural Finland.

4. METHOD

I have already introduced the idea of change in today's anthropology, field and ethnography. Many social scientists and anthropologists have suggested that social anthropology and ethnography should alter their practices and adjust to the contemporary societal change and to the flows of globalization that have shaped the 'field' into a different kind of arena of study than it was even a couple of decades ago.

For social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (2006, 29) social anthropology has always been primarily about social relationships rather than places. He reminds that "if globalization involves a new balance in the combination of local and long-distance relationships, it makes sense to seek out field entities that illustrate that development, and which are not in themselves defined in territorial terms". Hannerz's suggestion for studying modern, often transnational life was 'studying sideways', a term that he launched to describe the multi-site field work that would cover different countries and even continents (ibid., 30). I believe that in today's anthropology 'studying sideways' could be recommended in many cases as it can perhaps broaden the angles from which to look at the subject or theme. Hannerz emphasizes the confusion that the change in the meaning of 'field' has brought to the discipline of anthropology. In early anthropology the 'field' used to be something considerably easy to define, as researchers often concentrated on one tribe or a village, place that they were able to get to know by foot or by face-to-face contacts. Today the 'field' can be almost anything; we cannot always say if it is real or virtual, if it is here or there or if it even exists. (Ibid., 23)

Also Appadurai refers to the changing fields in ethnography and argues that the twentieth century ethnography should acknowledge the altered societies and modify the practices according to these changes. He argues that "The landscapes of group identity –the ethnoscapas – around the world are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous." (Appadurai, 1998, 48) On one hand my field was traditional as it was a village and I was able to go and conduct a face-to-face study, but on the other hand it is a constantly changing arena which might look totally

different in ten years time and which could have been studied sideways as well if I was to for example interview the villagers' contacts abroad.

My choice to use ethnographic method of interviewing in this thesis was natural as the place of the study, the village of Kalasuo, was such that I was able to get to know the people and also spend some time on the field. With 'natural' here I mean that it is logical and also reasonable to take advantage of a situation when a researcher has contacts to a place and an opportunity to get to know it better than just for example by sending questionnaires and analyzing the answers from them. I also chose interviewing because the subjects that I was interested in, people's transnational relations and mobility, feelings of local and global, can be somewhat personal and most often need to be told, so I thought the best way for research would be the interviews. Thus my main research method was semi-structured interviews. It means that I had thought about the questions and had even written down some of them, although I did not use any strict formula of questions but the interviews flowed rather freely. Interviewing is probably the most used method in ethnography. Even ethnographers who use participant observation as their main research strategy usually have a 'naturally occurring' conversation with participants, which could be also seen as an unstructured interview (Davies, 2002, 94).

Although I started the research as an exploratory process with little information of the village, after several visits there I became quite familiar with it and formed my own opinions of the place and its people. This must have affected the writing and the analysis in the thesis in some sense. Moreover, I have also done some observations during the interviews which might show in the text, for example if I have sensed a feeling or an attitude that has then had an effect. But this is not unusual in anthropological research and I see it as a part of ethnography, researcher becoming a part of the story.

4.1 Interviewees

Interviews were conducted in December 2007 and January 2008. My main informant was of great help and assistance in choosing and collecting the people I wanted to interview. I had told her what kind of villagers I would like to find and she then suggested the people that might fit in those categories. Mainly the criteria concerned the length of time people had lived in the village or their professions as the informant could not possibly know all the villagers' histories, at least their social contact backgrounds too well. When I got the names of possible interviewees, I contacted them by e-mail when it was possible, but in few cases I went to see them at their houses and asked if they would be willing to take part in an interview. Three of the people I approached face-to-face agreed to meet me later, but one I visited did not want to be interviewed. She refused because she felt she did not have anything to say and was scared of the unfamiliar interview situation. It did not help when I tried to explain that there are no right answers and that the questions are very simple.

I interviewed altogether nine people, five women and four men, aged from approx. 35 to 65. Interviews were done in Finnish and I have translated the quotes into English myself. Among the people I interviewed were one who had lived in Kalasuo all his life, few returnees who had moved back to Kalasuo and the rest had moved to Kalasuo from some other places. With one of them, who at the same time was my main informant I had two sessions, both for about two hours, another session in English. Other interviews lasted from one hour to two and half hours. They were conducted in interviewees' homes, except for one of them that was held at the place where I stayed and one that was done in interviewee's trailer truck. Last-mentioned meeting was not agreed on beforehand, so the place was determined by the prevailing circumstances. That actually turned out to be a great place for his interview as I got to know a lot about his job as a forest machine driver and learned how technical and interactive that work is nowadays. When conducting interviews in people's homes it has to be remembered that there might always be other people present which can affect the interview situation (Davies, 2002, 104). In my case, at four sessions out of nine there was some other person present. At one of the interviews the interviewee's husband came in and joined the interview, but I do not count him as a participant because his involvement was not committed enough.

I treat the interview material as one document, since the interviewees differed from each other greatly. What is common to all of them is that they were interconnected by their contact to Kalasuo which allows the interviews seen as one text. Names of the interviewees and places have been changed to protect people's identities. Although there are extracts from people's stories, they always represent the theme and are not intended to examine individuals but the entity of the village and the movement happening in it.

4.2 Interview questions

Interview questions tried to seek lifestyle-, travel-, and social network histories. Study of transnationalism can be seen as a study of movement and keeping this in mind when interviewing, my questions dealt with aspects of movement in social, physical and mental level. To know about mobility I asked the villagers about their travels abroad, how far and for how long, about the people they have met there and if they have permanent contacts to any of them. Mobility also relates to the moving history thus important questions for the people who had moved to Kalasuo were; where they had come from and why, how this move affects and feels in everyday life and what sorts of links and connections people hold to the places of origin and the people in them. Global and local aspects of everyday life as well as mobility to some extent were studied by asking places of shopping and leisure, i.e. daily travels, what kind of local contacts or visits interviewees paid, if they were happy in Kalasuo at the moment or did they have plans to move in the future. In some of the interviews I enquired after the urban-rural relation.

I wanted to know where and how far people's social relations reach, therefore one of the questions was if the interviewees keep in touch with some people outside Finland, friends or relatives. I also asked if the interviewees knew any 'foreigners' living in the village or if they had any connections with them, and in general tried to find out how they were involved in transnational, international or global action by asking questions for example about their use of the internet, attitudes towards the EU or preferences to ethnic food or learning about new

cultures. I usually ended the interviews asking about their own feelings about belonging to Kalasuo and whether they thought about themselves as locals or not.

5. FINDINGS

In this part I will present the material that I have gathered from the village, hence I will move into examining what all the theory above means when we talk about Kalasuo and when it is these particular villagers that are on the focus. I will cover the findings and report what people in Kalasuo have told about their lives, about their ‘localness’ and ‘globalness’. Theory has build a frame against which the new information can now lean and from which to reflect.

5.1 Residential histories

As cited earlier, places are never stable. This applies to Kalasuo as well, and although there are not many inhabitants, they all have interesting backgrounds and histories of mobility. People have different routes in life that can lead them even to unexpected places. Everybody’s story brings something to the whole village community, whether one has moved from abroad, from neighboring village or whether one has not moved at all.

5.1.1 An original local and returnees

Only one of the interviewees, Pertti, has lived in Kalasuo for all his life. Except for ten years he spent in a row house on the other side of the village, he has lived in two houses, only a few hundred meters apart from each other. The first house was the place where he was born and the second is the current one that he built after returning to the birthplace. When I asked him what was the reason why he decided to move to a row house at the first place, Pertti laughed and said, ”Well, there comes a day in every man’s life when one has to move away from home!”. I found that funny as well, since the difference it appeared to make, moving a few kilometers away from home to a row house, seemed at least in my eyes, ironically little. But then thinking about it later, I regret judging the amount of life change moving away from

home causes to anyone. People experience changes always only from their own point of view and the situations are as remarkable and dramatic as people themselves think they are. Leaving the childhood home is a special occasion, no matter how far one moves.

Pertti is the only one of the interviewees who has never lived outside Kalasuo, but Ossi is a returnee. He was born in Kalasuo and has now lived in his birth home for about five years. He spent ten years in Helsinki studying in the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry, and during that time lived periodically also in Germany a couple of times, working in a farm. In addition he went to an agricultural school in Parikkala and served in the military in between the agricultural school and the university. After graduation Ossi worked in Sammalmäki (population of approximately 5000) for a few years, until his parents retired from farming and he moved to their homestead to sustain their livelihood and tradition. Ossi feels that almost all his life he has in a way drifted from place to place, and has not exactly made firm decisions about the routes and roads which to choose. At least in the beginning, when he was to move away from home, he chose Parikkala mostly for the reason that his friends were moving there. Ossi himself would have liked to study technology, but because no one else was interested in it, he decided to abandon the idea.

Life in the countryside was never a goal to Ossi; rather he was just the only one of his siblings that had any willing to return home in Kalasuo. Ossi was not too interested in living in a big city either, but had wanted to live abroad, preferably far away from home. When he was leaving Kalasuo for the first time, there was no chance to apply abroad to study since the time was too late for applications, but he then got into an agricultural school in Parikkala and decided to go. All along, studying abroad fascinated Ossi and he even joined an excursion to Uppsala University but then realized that the studies there would be too different from the Finnish studies in agriculture and that the taken degree could not have been compensated in Finland. Apart from the problem with crediting, Ossi did like Uppsala and Sweden in general. Living and studying abroad did not scare him, and he mentioned that living and studying there would have been all the same than at home in Finland, only with the exception of people speaking Swedish.

Niilo is almost a returnee since he has spent his childhood and youth very near Kalasuo. The village in which Niilo was born is situated only a few kilometers from the Kalasuo “border”. He calls his way back to Kalasuo, which took some 30 years, “quite a tour”. Niilo had to leave home at the age of 11 to go to school in the town center. After school Niilo applied to a game warden institute in Sweden (at the time there were none in Finland) but then changed his mind and went to an art school in Finland. At the age of 17 he was granted a scholarship for young artists to spend three months in Spain by a Finnish art society. He decided to make use of it and hitchhiked to Marbella, Spain. On the way he met two Australian girls in Paris who then later traveled after Niilo to Spain and kept company in the artist apartment. Niilo still remembers clearly many stories from those times and the travels in Europe. He claimed to have been rather mobile in youth, up until he got married. However, Niilo admits that he still continued travelling to some extent and studied for example in Poland, Germany and Russia. Niilo’s wife always followed his routes wherever he decided to go. They moved quite a lot during the first ten years of marriage until they settled down in Tampere in 1983 from where they moved to Kalasuo in 1998. They lived for example in Joutsa and Luumäki where Niilo did all sorts of odd jobs. Because he had always wanted to work with art, Niilo got tired of painting houses and driving trucks and decided to become a set designer. He apprenticed to it in Kouvola and soon after got a job in the theatre of Kouvola to work as an assistant of lightning.

Niilo’s career ascended rapidly and he was elevated to the post of set designer in the theatre of Rönkiö (population of approximately 70 000) and also got into a recognized art school in Dresden, Germany, where he then studied for a year. Niilo enjoyed the time spent in Germany greatly and even started to think and dream in German. This proficiency came to him as a surprise since he had not studied it much at school. By the time Niilo returned from Germany he had gained such an expertise of the business of set design that he was employed by YLE, Finnish broadcasting company and he started to work for television. At that time he worked a lot, not only for television but he also did some jobs for the opera. All along he had a dream to move to the country and live by a lake when he would retire, and when the day came he did that and moved to Kalasuo.

5.1.2 Moving after man

Laura Huttunen (2002, 337) has studied 'home' thoroughly in her research on the meaning of home for immigrants in Finland and has concluded that people often make choices of moving or staying according to their family. Family and relationships become defining factors in life decisions and for that, they will form an accompanying, travelling home. Although Huttunen talks about people and families that come to a new country, the same can be applied to my interviewees who make choices of residence according to relationships. They have not moved away from their home countries, but still they have moved somewhere else because they have followed their loved ones. In my study, all these sorts of cases were women who had moved after their men. This 'men move and women follow'-phenomenon might implicate something about the Finnish society; perhaps we have not diverged from the patriarchal matrimony system as much as the current prevalent climate might indicate. Things do change but there is also still a lot that stays the same.

Ossi's wife Marjo has moved to Kalasuo with him. In the same situation with Marjo are also Piia, Kirsti and Aila, who have all moved to Kalasuo because of a man. In all of the cases husbands are also originally from Kalasuo. Piia is the only one who had met her husband while living near Kalasuo, all the others have lived far away when they met their men. Piia lived in Sammalmäki, which is only about 20 kilometers from Kalasuo, when she met Tuomo. They moved to Kalasuo after few years of dating. First they lived in a row house but when they found out that no one else was moving to Tuomo's old birth home next door, they moved there right away. She had had a baby a year before our interview and was currently on a maternity leave from her job in a pharmacy in Sammalmäki. Piia has worked in the same pharmacy for twelve years and told me that she feels as if she has got stuck there and cannot leave, but then laughed after saying that. I think that she sounded quite happy after all, having a full-time job so near Kalasuo.

Piia got a job in the pharmacy in Sammalmäki right after graduating from Helsinki University. In Helsinki Piia lived for four years. She moved there from Lounela (the town where she was born, with population of approximately 5000) after secondary school because

her then boyfriend studied in Helsinki and she felt like she had to move there to be with her boyfriend. At time Piia did not care too much about what subject she would study, but later she started to enjoy pharmacy, the subject she chose and has now made a career in it. Relationship with Mauri, childhood sweetheart started to fall apart as Mauri graduated and started to spend longer and longer periods of time abroad working while Piia stayed in Finland. She did not want to live abroad because she gets easily homesick and misses her family and friends too much. Mauri worked abroad and took part in exchange programmes but Piia never wanted to join him. Thus in 1995 Piia moved back to the countryside to Sammalmäki, which is fairly close to her old hometown Lounela.

Ossi and his wife Marjo and have also lived in Sammalmäki before moving to Kalasuo. They met in Helsinki where both of them studied in the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry. As well as Ossi, Marjo had lived approximately ten years in Helsinki before moving after Ossi's work to Sammalmäki. She moved from her birth town Rönkiö (which is in the same province as Kalasuo) to Helsinki to study. Marjo is currently working as a housewife since she has not found a job equivalent to her education anywhere near Kalasuo. She never dreamed of being a housewife but gives priority to her children and as long as they are small she wants to stay at home and take care of them rather than work far away or move to the city. Marjo has had to think about this a lot when making decisions about her own career, moving after Ossi's work and starting to manage Ossi's family farm, but she is content with the way things went in her life. At the moment she is planning to start some sort of a business in the farm, in addition to the grain and berry growing, to make an extra living.

Kirsti married Pertti and moved to Kalasuo in 2004. They had met in Espoo where Kirsti temporarily lived at the time. Because Kirsti had not yet attached to any particular place in Finland after spending 15 years in England and Pertti had lived in Kalasuo all his life, it was fairly easy for Kirsti to make the decision to move after her husband to the countryside. Kirsti does not work at the moment in Kalasuo but she is very active in many local clubs and societies and runs them voluntarily. Kirsti is originally from Kannonkoski in Central Finland but moved to Helsinki to study in her early twenties. There she met a Pakistani man who had lived in Finland for six years. They got married and had two children. When the children were only small, aged one year and two years the whole family moved to England. During the 15

years there they lived in few different locations since their work dictated the residence. When Kirsti and her Pakistani husband got divorced in 2002, Kirsti wanted to move back to Finland. Their children both stayed in England where they had grown up.

Aila was born in Rönkiö but has lived most of her life in Kerava where she moved in 1967 with her husband who was born in Kalasuo. After almost 40 years in Kerava they had now moved back to Kalasuo to her husband's birthplace and had lived there for a year before the interview. Aila still keeps an apartment in Rönkiö where she first took all their furniture and things when they had to leave their house in Kerava after they inherited her husband's birthplace. She said that the apartment in Rönkiö is some sort of a refuge for her if she does not get along in the country in Kalasuo. Aila misses her home in Kerava and has not yet started to feel at home in Kalasuo. She said that the biggest reason to move to Kalasuo was probably that her husband wanted it, since he enjoys the country life a lot, and Aila wanted to make him happy.

5.1.3 Take a chance on Kalasuo

Tuija and Ismo are the only ones of the interviewees who have moved to Kalasuo by chance. They both had only one important criteria in choosing the place to live; fairly affordable housing. Tuija also wanted to move somewhere close to Luumäki where she used to live, so that her ex-husband could see their children easily enough. Neither was she willing to move to Ostrobothnia or Lapland. Tuija likes to choose her homes also a little according to the geography of a place. What attracts her to a land is diversity and variety. She would not like to live in Ostrobothnia because the land is far too flat there or neither in Lapland because it could be traffically challenging and the distances to her birthplace would be long.

When choosing a place to live in the early 1970s, Ismo had drawn a circle on a map within which he planned to move. He went through all the empty premises on sale that fitted inside the drawn circle, and ended up taking the one in Kalasuo. Kalasuo is located in south-east of Finland and Ismo considered that the best location for his business, since it is relatively close to major trading centers such as Helsinki and Rönkiö. Before moving to Kalasuo Ismo had lived in North Karelia for a few years. He was born in Vaajakoski in Central Finland. Tuija has also been born in Central Finland but she has lived in several places before Kalasuo, including Hämeenlinna, Savonlinna and Jyväskylä. Tuija said that she has sailed the world before finding a home in Kalasuo. To many of the places she had ended up by following her work, but on the other hand she also chose many by intuition.

5.2 Travelling

Travelling has become a popular hobby in the western world and today growing numbers of people have even lived in another country at some stage of their lives. Travel business and tourism have spread all over the world and where people can afford to travel they often do, thus trips for example from Finland to “exotic” places like Bali, Greenland or Ghana do not break the news anymore. Of course many people who could afford travelling are not interested in going anywhere and decide to spend holidays at home or at least in their home countries, but I assume that these types of tourists have become all the time rarer and more uncommon. Hannerz (1996, 25-26) tells a story that he had read from a Swedish local small town newspaper about a local farmer couple who travelled to Borneo as a prize for winning a photo contest. In the article they talked about many new experiences they had encountered but it seemed that at the end they found the biggest pleasure in reporting what was familiar in Borneo, for example that they had discussed a reputation of a Swedish soccer player with the people there and drank Danish beer that seemed to be common beverage in local bars. Hannerz (1996, 25) asserts that when alien and familiar meet, the familiar often seems to win at the end. He claims that this story above can be seen as a tale about the encounter between the global and the local and it can show the winning of the familiar, such as in this case

regardless of all the new experiences the Swedish couple gained and the fact that their worldview and habitat of meaning enlarged, they still wanted to report the common.

Many people like routines and enjoy having some sort of a plan in their lives so that they can somehow control the way things happen. This might lead to the need to see something familiar in new places. It does not necessarily mean that this type of people would not be open for new experiences but rather that they just have different mechanisms when dealing with new situations. Home and one's 'own place' are such important things to people that they often tend to mirror everything through and from them in order to make it easier to deal with new experiences or places. For example when Tuija travelled to Bali she said that she felt that the nature in Bali was quite similar to the nature in Finland. Whether the most people would agree with this or not, maybe this way she was able to feel more like at home while travelling in Bali far away from her native country. Marjo and Ossi also both emphasized that they think that the life abroad is nothing very different from the life in Finland. Marjo said that the people abroad are quite the same as in Finland and although it is nice to make visits and see different sceneries, it is nothing so special that she would have hungered for travelling lately. Marjo used to travel a lot when she studied and when she was working at a job that involved a lot of business travelling. She also did a couple of exchange years in Germany.

Ismo and Pertti have not travelled much in their lives. They have both travelled a little in Finland but have been abroad only a few times. Ismo has not been able to leave his business so there has been no time for travelling. In addition he has paid for his children's hobby karate which has involved many trips abroad for different competitions and has cost him a lot of money. Ismo said that when he has had to pay three air tickets for his sons to travel for example to South Africa, there is no chance that he could afford to join them and travel there himself. Pertti has just not been interested in travelling and apart from one trip to Brussels by car he has only done some cruises to Sweden and Estonia. He laughed and said that these cruises would probably not really count as travelling. To Brussels Pertti travelled because he dated a woman at that time who had relatives there and whom they wanted to visit. In Finland Pertti has travelled many times in Lapland. When he was actively involved in rally racing he used to do many trips per year all around Finland. When asked about the differences he had noticed when travelling by car between Finland and the rest of Europe, Pertti told that he was

amazed how crowded with people the other European countries were and how it was possible to have queues everywhere. He added that Finland looks like a desert compared to 'Europe' and that there is nothing new to him there.

Not many of the interviewees want to say that they would travel much either. Aila travels every once in a while but does not consider it a lot. She makes trips with her husband but also with her sister and her neighbor. Aila's last travel was a wedding anniversary trip to Corsica with her husband and their two friends, a couple whom they had met at their previous trip to Andorra. Aila and her husband enjoy small expeditions and hiking on their travels. They like peaceful places which are not crowded with tourists. Aila has also travelled to visit her friends abroad a few times. For instance, couple of years ago she for example travelled to the Netherlands on her own to attend the wedding of her pen pal's brother. When Aila travels, her neighbors usually take care of her house e.g. water the plants. It was found out in the study that it is usually the neighbors or relatives also in other interviewees' cases who look after the houses while they travel. Two out of four interviewees who were directly asked about the arrangements during their travels said that it is the neighbors who they ask for house-sitting and in one of the cases it was the interviewee's parents who also live in the neighborhood that look after the house.

Tuija seems to be the most interested in travelling of all the interviewees. She has travelled a lot from a young age and the interest towards new countries and cultures seems to be growing all the time. Her first trip was a language course to England for a month, during which she travelled also in France and in the Netherlands. Tuija has done few tours in Scandinavia by car and InterRailed around Europe. Twice she has packed her rucksack and gone backpacking in the USA. At the moment Tuija is intrigued by Asia and has visited Bali now for a few times. She travelled there first by chance, as she just decided to go somewhere far away from Finland for a holiday and drew Bali from a travel agency's list of countries because it was the first in the alphabets. In actual fact, Aruba was the first one on the list, but it was a thousand euros more expensive, so Tuija chose Bali instead.

Tuija always travels on a minimal budget. She is not afraid of sleeping in cheap youth hostels or accommodate in families. Sometimes she just buys a bus ticket that is valid for a week and sleeps the nights in onboard. Tuija told me that she must have travelled in thirty countries and in my opinion she seemed to be pretty proud of it. She does not want to be called a tourist and while travelling, tries to adapt to different cultures. Lifestyles and ways of living of people in the particular country she visits interest her and make her want to get to know the culture. Tuija says she always wants to find the local people and make friends with them. That way the whole country opens up to her better than to ordinary tourists. One example of this that she gives is her relationship with Ragut, Balinese musician and bartender who Tuija met on her second trip to Bali. Ragut used to work in a hotel where Tuija often went in the evenings to listen to music. On the first trip Tuija had already seen Ragut play, but it was only the second time that Ragut came and talked to her on the breaks. They started chatting and did so every evening in the bar and then on the last day of Tuija's second holiday, Ragut asked Tuija if he could show her some places outside the city. They drove to the countryside and Tuija got to see places she normally would not have seen.

Nowadays Niilo travels abroad at least once a year. He used to travel a lot more before he retired about ten years ago as his job involved business trips to different metropolises such as Taiwan and Hong Kong. Sometimes he had to spend long periods of time abroad, for example in Taiwan he usually stayed a few weeks at a time. Niilo told that in 1994 he made 57 trips abroad so that there were not many days that year that he was able to spend at home. In the past few years Niilo has travelled to Italy, England, Estonia and Germany and at the time of the interview Niilo had just got back from Bosnia where he had travelled by car to buy a hound and bring it back home. He also has a plan to paint some of the sceneries and the ruins of houses there, before they will be reconstructed. He has some sort of a passion for this that he has to carry through even though he will not get any financial benefit of it. Niilo says that with painting, the places do not matter much but the feeling and the atmosphere need to be right and feel true. He was planning to go back to Bosnia few months after the interview. Niilo has got the enthusiasm for travelling in Bosnia from his Bosnian friend Nermin who lives in the neighboring town Sammalmäki. They have also travelled to Bosnia together and Niilo always stays at Nermin's house when he goes to Bosnia.

When Niilo travels he usually wants to rent a car or have some sort of transportation in order to see places better. He has friends in many countries so it has been fairly easy to borrow a car almost anywhere he has wanted to go. Lately Niilo has felt that he has somehow shut away from the world or become a recluse. He does not know whether he likes it or not. On the other hand it has been a conscious choice for him but now he believes that it could be a time for a change. Niilo said:

When the plane takes off and the wheels pull out from the runway everything gets better. I do want to get around. Now I've been away from the world for too long. Or I had been. But now it's good, it's just "let's go and hit the road"! (Niilo)

5.2.1 Adventures

Tuija considers herself adventurous, yet she still recognizes the sensible side in her that keeps her out of trouble. Tuija is not afraid of letting herself go with the flow, so to speak. She told me about her travels in Corfu, where all kinds of incidents happened, one wilder after another. There Tuija for example got lost and missed her boat but ended up meeting new people who took her sailing and let her sleep in their house. Tuija wants to be spontaneous and referred to her first InterRail trip as an example:

It was like whenever I met somebody and if they asked me to come along somewhere, I was always like, well why not! So it was... The whole trip formed according to whatever always happened. And that is how I always aim to go, whether in Finland or anywhere I move. Like living in the moment. So that I always leave from what I see around me or how I feel... (Tuija)

Ossi for his part admits that at some stage of his life he has lost his love of adventure. When Ossi was young he used to love travelling by himself and like Tuija, enjoyed going to places where he could meet local people and learn about local living and tradition. Nowadays he has neither time nor willingness to pack a bag and set off to the unknown. Ossi rationalizes this by talking about his children and work and how he just cannot leave the farm on its own. It is true that many people change and become sensible and practical, even cautious when they grow old, but some are able to keep their adventurous side alive better than the others and continue to appease their curiosity towards new places and cultures. In Ossi's case, I see a

little bit of nostalgia when he talks about the travels back in his early life, but at the same time I sense a clear contentment that he feels towards the current situation in life. Ossi told me that he might start travelling again and go visit old friends in Germany when the children grow older, but with the whole family along this time, not on his own anymore.

At the moment, in addition to small children and a hectic job, two horses are a reason why Ossi avoids travelling too far from home. He claims that it is fairly difficult to find a stand-in to look after the farm and all the arrangement would also be too inconvenient. Ossi's wife Marjo shared his view and confirmed that they have not travelled with the family for eight years because the children have been small. However, Marjo would now like to go to Germany to an equine fair with a friend. On the contrary, small child has not stopped Piia from travelling and she would like to travel even more often. Piia and her husband went to Germany by car when their son Veeti was just a baby, to buy a new motorcycle. Before that their last trip abroad was also related to motorcycling as they went to Spain to watch a motorcycling race.

5.2.2 No tourist!

Tuija, Kirsti and Niilo all denied that they would have ever been tourists on their travels. It struck me how unpleasant they experienced the whole term tourist or tourism. Tuija told me that she had been on a package holiday only once, on her first honeymoon in the Canaries. Soon after arriving in Tenerife Tuija and her new husband rented a car and they drove around the island to see places, since Tuija did not want to just lie on the beach and do nothing. Niilo does not like package tours either. He has never been on one and does not want to criticize others but he has his own prejudices against them. I think that Niilo quite clearly generalizes tourists on package holidays and even confuses them with sex tourists.

However, in comparison to Tuija, Niilo did not emphasize that he would necessarily want to distinguish himself from other travelers or differentiate himself from tourists; he only simply

travels differently than many other people. If by tourist I mean someone who makes tours for recreation, “travels for pleasure or culture, visiting a number of places for their objects of interest, scenery, or the like”, as Oxford English Dictionary (Internet reference 6) defines the term, I could claim that in many cases Niilo has not fitted this definition. Although sometimes he might have travelled for pleasure or culture and visited tourist attractions, I assume that often he has had some other agenda, such as work, visiting friends, hobbies (e.g. painting and hunting) or purchasing something specific, like hounds. I might take the word tourist too literally here, as it can be that Tuija, Kirsti and Niilo consider it slightly differently. They might think that tourists are those who go for package holidays and want to take pictures of all tourist attractions, lie in the sun during the days and party at nights. Maybe tourists for them are people who need guidance and assistance in travel plans and tours.

Kirsti stated that she has an ability to see places differently than other people and that she somehow possesses a ‘cultural eye’ that enables her to look at cultures objectively. Kirsti said that she has travelled a lot and has seen various different cultures in her life. This has taught her to pay attention to differences in cultures and communities and to become very open to everything they include. Travelling has become ordinary for Kirsti and it has lost all the exoticism that she thinks that many people feel while travelling. It does not make a difference for her whether the place is Kalasuo or Pakistan or Tampere or Denmark, she always keeps the same attitude and looks at the cultural aspects that a place has to offer. Therefore when Kirsti travels to neighboring towns or villages she has this analytic look on also there. She can make a difference between the towns close by Kalasuo, Haukimatala (population of approximately 50 000) and Rönkiö (town about the same size), and sees the defiance and a place for improvements in her hometown.

Kirsti feels that the ‘cultural eye’ differentiates her from tourists. She claims that she can look at different cultures and analyze them more profoundly than tourists can. When Kirsti spent a year in Israel and stayed in many different families on her travels, she always studied the local family life and learned a lot for example from different styles of rearing and parenting that she has now later forwarded to the families in Kalasuo. Kirsti likes to tell about her experiences and said that she has often mentioned, for instance, these exact ways of child rearing when discussing the matter with families with children in Kalasuo. When she came to Kalasuo there

were not that many activities for families with children but she was able to notice it right away. She wanted to do something about it since she had seen how things can be like for example in England. Today there are more activities and clubs for children and families in Kalasuo.

Lately Kirsti has travelled less since she has been building a “house for flowers” which has taken a lot of her time. Her last trips abroad have been trips to Spain, England and Russia a couple of years ago but she did not remember the exact order of the trips. When Kirsti was married to a Pakistani man they travelled to Pakistan twice to see his family. Kirsti did not suffer from a culture shock at all as she learned the local language quite easily. Although she could not speak Urdu she was able to understand and follow simple conversations. Kirsti’s children are used to travelling as well and especially her daughter Jenny travels all the time. Kirsti has always encouraged them for it so that they would grow into open and tolerant persons.

Tuija has also taught her children to travel spontaneously. Once Tuija took the kids to Sweden as a surprise, so that they had no idea where they were going until at the airport. The two boys loved it and still talk about this pleasant surprise every now and then. Tuija thinks that “travel broadens the mind” and wants her children to be able to experience this as well. She wants her children to learn that going abroad and staying there is a normal, ordinary thing that requires no excess stress or long-term preparations. Tuija also stated that she would have nothing against taking her children to Bali to live for some time. Travelling has become a hobby for Tuija and she laughed that anytime she has money enough to fly away, she does so. Tuija believes that people will continue to travel and be mobile also in the future:

Just one day I read from a newspaper that there is a vision that in twenty or thirty years flights will become so expensive that nobody can afford to travel anymore. I was like no way this could go back to it that people just sit and hoe their very own potato patches and gather the food for the winter so that no one will travel anywhere or move anywhere. I do think that this all will go to another direction so that moving around will be easier for people and there will be more freedom of movement and people will be free to move from place to place. The outside world will become ordinary to people and the world will become smaller than it already is... (Tuija)

5.3 Mobility

Altogether the interviewees have travelled in four continents. Mostly travelling has taken place in Europe but few of the interviewees have also been to more distant countries such as Thailand or the USA. Germany seemed to be a popular destination among the interviewees as six out of nine had visited some part of Germany at some stage and a couple of them had been there even several times. All the interviewees had also been to cruises to Sweden and Estonia. Other countries that were mentioned in the interviews, where the villagers had visited were Norway, Denmark, Russia, Spain, UK, Italy, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Poland, Greece, Andorra, Israel, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Morocco, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Pakistan and Indonesia. Interviewees were not asked to list all the countries they have visited and therefore many countries might have remained unmentioned. Five of the interviewees had also travelled around in Europe either by car or train but did not mention all the countries they visited during these trips.

Many of the villagers in Kalasuo make travels to neighboring towns and villages almost daily. Most people do their everyday shopping in Karppislampi but when they need something specific, or if they want to buy certain special goods they often go to Haukimatala or Rönkiö. Piia and Marjo often combine shopping and visiting friends and relatives. They visit both Haukimatala and Rönkiö almost equally often, depending on who they want to visit at the time, since they have friends and relatives in both. Marjo travels to town almost once a week and Piia every other week. Not all the shopping needs to be done outside the village since there is a mobile shop still running in Kalasuo once a week. It is a bus equipped with basic groceries that visits small villages regularly so for instance people who cannot travel to towns to do the shopping can do their shopping near home. In the past the mobile shops used to be very popular but today most people have transportation and can shop elsewhere. Kirsti told that she likes to use the mobile shop because they sell organic eggs from a nearby farm. Aila and her husband have an apartment in Rönkiö where Aila visits weekly to water the plants. Niilo travels to Rönkiö often to go to the theatre and the cinema. He also visits other towns such as Haukimatala and Tampere quite frequently.

Ossi teaches information technology in Rönkiö every day and is the only daily commuter but Tuija and Pertti also occasionally travel for work. Forest working sites can be situated anywhere in Finland and since Pertti is a forestry harvester he sometimes has to spend even months in a forest in some other town. Usually this commuting takes place in the summertime and during the winter the work is mostly placed in the nearby forests. Tuija's work as a garden designer and consultant takes her to different places in Finland. Most often the clients come from southern Finland but sometimes she has to travel even far. The furthest jobs Tuija has had so far were in Lapland, but she would be ready to travel even abroad to design gardens.

5.4 Urban experiences

Even though everybody does not have a chance to decide their place of residence due to e.g. social or economic reasons, it is a matter of choice for many Finns today whether they live in the city or in the country. People differ to a great extent in their views of an ideal place of home. Some could never see themselves managing a huge house and acres of garden in the middle of nowhere whereas someone gets the shivers even thinking about not being able to see anything green from the kitchen window. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that there are many of those who would probably like to live in rural areas but cannot for some reason move from the city, for example if their work is not flexible, if there is no work in the countryside or if they cannot afford housing or transport expenses that might be somewhat greater in rural areas than in cities. There are of course also people who choose to stay in the city e.g. for ecological reasons even if they would appreciate the quiet country life more. Although it has been argued that Finnish towns are becoming more country-like and a growing number of people are moving to 'the rural areas close to urban areas', there are still many who keep building clear distinctions between urban and rural areas. Urban people can have attitudes against rural people and consider them somehow inferior or outsiders from the modern and on the contrary rural people can sometimes think of urban people as snobs and hold prejudices against the city life.

Some of the interviewees were asked to tell about the reasons why they prefer living in the countryside and many of them emphasized the willingness to raise their children in a safe environment and the inclination to return to their roots. Finding the roots, or at least a similar environment as in their childhood, was important to many. Piia thinks that the roots begin to interest people more and become more important when they get older. At some stage while living in Helsinki Piia started to think that she would like to return to her roots. She did not have to move to the exact place of birth to find the roots, but because she has been born in a rural village it felt that the roots would be close enough now if she would just live in the countryside. Marjo mentioned that it is fairly important for her and her husband Ossi to live in the countryside and especially in Kalasuo, because Ossi has his childhood memories from those surroundings and therefore his roots placed in Kalasuo.

Rural villages are often considered as safe environments for children to grow up. Tuija wanted to give her children the sense of security and opportunity to move and play freely in the rural neighborhood and therefore chose the country life. Now she does not have to worry where the children are playing but she can let them visit friends and play outside without concerns. Marjo would not like to live and raise children in an urban place either and therefore has decided to stay in Kalasuo at least until her children grow up and move away. Ossi shared this view and also mentioned it as one of the reasons for moving to the countryside.

Piia liked living in a city for a while and she felt that everything was fine, work- and studywise, but she always hated the queuing and the lack of social contact. Piia thinks that people in the cities wander in some sort of a tube and almost never talk to strangers. She said: “I always would have liked to say hello to the bus drivers but then I remembered better not to, as the bus drivers seem to belong to the bus as a fixture like the seats or the stop buttons and do not respond in any way.” Piia claims that it is easier to get to know people in the countryside. In Kalasuo she can say hello to anybody and will probably also get a response. Both Piia and Marjo told that they enjoy visiting towns and cities but spending there a few days is usually enough and they are always very happy to come back home. Piia stated that she does not miss the city-life: “I don’t feel like I’d be missing out on anything here, I have everything I need. There is nothing so special in the cities that I wouldn’t have here!” Ismo on

the other hand would like to spend even longer in the city when he visits. He is happy when there are people around and could sit in a café all day and just watch people pass by.

When listening to the stories that Tuija told about her travels it looked as if it is fairly easy for her to make friends, so I asked if she finds any differences in people's attitudes towards strangers between the urban and rural areas. In her opinion, it is easier to go and talk to people in the country than in the cities. Tuija feels that people are lonelier in towns and cities than in the countryside, especially if they do not have hobbies where they could meet other people. She claimed that hobbies usually also cost a lot and in order to join the activities and meet other people the city dwellers will need to have a considerable amount of money. Tuija thought that she was not rich enough for hobbies in cities. Piia shared the opinion of hobbies enabling the social interaction in urban places as she also thought that without hobbies, one can be fairly active and socially connected in the countryside, but not as easily in the city. Although Piia has a couple of hobbies, she does not consider herself as a "hobby-machine", something that she thinks that one should be in order to manage in the cities. She enjoys just spending time in the garden or walking in the forests or on the farmyard, things that she regards impossible to do in urban areas. Surely one can always find a park or a recreation area in a city as well, but that might feel more like a hobby or too much effort for some, especially for those who have got used to the closeness of nature in earlier residencies.

5.5 Local visits and contacts

Interviewees' local contacts and the views of visiting neighbors differed rather much from each other. Some of the interviewees said that they visit other villagers pretty often whereas two interviewees told that they almost never visit anybody in the village and in addition feel that people in general also avoid visits to neighbors in Kalasuo. Perhaps the biggest difference in attitudes towards visiting neighbors was between men and women. Of the four women who were positive about the social climate in Kalasuo, Kirsti especially felt that the village has a very friendly atmosphere and that people pay visits to neighbors every now and then. She

herself sees people every day, for example when she collects the post from the shared mailbox. In the area where Kirsti and Pertti live the houses are built relatively near each other and it is easy to run into neighbors, especially if one spends time at the farmyard. It is probably not as easy to meet other people at the backs of the village, for example where Niilo or Ismo live. It also seemed to be that both Niilo and Ismo enjoy the peace and quiet that their residences offer since neither of them necessarily likes visitors too much. Niilo dislikes when people, especially relatives, come for a visit without any notice beforehand and Ismo considered it annoying when at one time some of the villagers came to spend time at his factory office or called in to say hello whenever they pleased.

Women of Kalasuo also meet their friends more often than men. They can just spontaneously drop by to neighbor's house for a cup of coffee during the day or on the other hand plan a meeting already days in advance for a group of friends. Women of Kalasuo also seem to enjoy large-scale social events. For example, Aila brought a whole yoga class to her farmhouse living room where they now train every week and Piia often gives Aloe Vera home demonstration parties, both at her own and other villagers' houses.

Ismo has some negative feelings about the social contacts in the village and he thinks that Kalasuo is not very idyllic place when it comes to relationships between villagers. He has experienced mild discrimination and faced suspicions that his family would not last long in Kalasuo but would move away in no time. Now after almost 30 years in the village those doubts may have slightly worn off. However, in his interview Pertti still talked about Ismo as a new villager. It is also noteworthy that after all those years Ismo himself still does not consider himself as a local in Kalasuo. Ismo believes that a reason for not having many friends in the village could stem from the early times when they had just moved to Kalasuo. The village had been fairly closed community and Ismo had met jealousy and doubts soon after they had moved. He had also worked hard for his business and therefore he had not had time for socializing or making friends. Because of the villagers' early attitudes Ismo has not felt any urge to get to know people even now when he has had more time from work. He can get along with neighbors and the most people in Kalasuo and he has fairly friendly relationships with them but that is all that Ismo needs. He does not have any good or close friends in the village but he is not keen on making any either.

Kirsti's experiences of becoming a member of the village are very different from those of Ismo. According to Huttunen (2002, 337) family or relationships are important factors on becoming members of different places and for example marriage or some other close relationship can be a significant tie that attaches people to places. Kirsti has moved to Kalasuo to live with Pertti and she also mentioned how it is always easier to move to a place into marriage or into a relationship than just on one's own. Welcoming to a village can be warmer when one moves to a family. If one already has a relationship with a local, he or she will automatically be a member in the community and there will not be as many reservations regarding him or her. Kirsti admits that it must be harder for people who do not know anybody from the village in advance to move to Kalasuo as they might not be welcomed as easily.

Kirsti also had a totally different opinion on the social atmosphere in Kalasuo than Ismo. She thought that the people are more open for social contacts and more willing to stay in touch with each other than in many places where she has lived or visited. Kirsti compared Kalasuo to her birthplace Kannonkoski and said that in Kalasuo people are friendlier and visit each other more often than in Kannonkoski. Kirsti estimated that social contacts in Kannonkoski had not added up to even ten per cent of those in Kalasuo. She stated that Kalasuo is a communal village where people are mobile and fairly international. Kirsti told about her ordinary day in the neighborhood:

I meet people if I just go outside of the house. For example Joel comes to collect the post. He either walks or rides the moped and stops here to say hello. And then Sirkka who lives across the road might pop up here. Or if I go to the mailbox I might see someone there. Or it might be that I visit the Nauhalas. On the same day I can cross the field there and I can cross it that way and go there. It's not a long way anywhere on the road either but it's even faster to cross the field. Everybody does that. People live around the field. They can often walk through our garden to the mailbox. Sometimes they collect the post to my neighbor Armi. So you can imagine the number of contacts in one day, it's crazy. It's almost impossible!
(Kirsti)

Kirsti thought that her best friend at the moment could be either Marjo or Aila, who are both her closest neighbors. Kirsti's best friends at any time have always been some people living physically close to her. She still keeps in touch with the most of them but in the current situation they yet come on third or fourth place, she added and laughed. Marjo told that she

would like if people visited the neighbors more often. Now she sees other villagers about once a week when women and children meet in the town center. Marjo would prefer if visiting neighbors would be more spontaneous and if people would stress less about it so that there would not need to be invitations and preparations many weeks in advance. She likes when someone stops by to say hello when passing their house. Piia claimed that their house is often full of visitors and passers-by. She is involved in several different activities in Kalasuo and has quite many friends in the village.

Niilo described himself as a loner. He asserted that it is partly a conscious choice since he does not enjoy visitors' company. Niilo loves to spend time at his cottage alone, in peace, so that the nature is his only company. He does not mind friends visiting as much as relatives but feels that he does not have too many friends in Kalasuo. Bosnian friend Nermin is an exception and Niilo even considered him as one of his best friends. They met at the hunting circles in Kalasuo and have been very close ever since. During the interview a couple of people called and asked Niilo to come over for a visit but he turned down the both invitations. Niilo becomes distressed when he sees that people do not have much to talk about and they start repeating themselves and gossip about minor things and happenings. He explained that it seems that people often, metaphorically, live in small boxes where the subjects of conversations are very narrow and stories spread easily. In his opinion one of the local meeting points, Kalasuo Inn, serves as a gossip exchange station. Niilo asserted that if you tell someone something there, soon the whole village will know. He has purposely tried to be fairly open about his mental state so that people would have fewer rumors to spread behind his back.

It seems that people in Kalasuo also have diverse opinions on what is gossiping and what is just normal everyday changing of the news. For example something that for Pertti would be just talking about "all kinds of things between the heaven and earth" could sound to Niilo as talking about minor matters. Kirsti claimed that the locals have a way of talking about other people's "businesses" and "stuff" as if they were their own somehow. She said that when she comes home from the village, Pertti often asks if she has got any news which makes Kirsti uncomfortable because she does not listen to people's stories in any kind of gossipy way. Kirsti argued that she is not curious like the locals tend to be, and that she has learned 'the

urban way' not to take things that you hear any further by spreading them. She wondered if it has got something to do with the fact that she has lived in many places and learned to end the rumors. Kirsti admitted that sometimes she also tells some things forward, or at least corrects rumors that she knows that are not true. Once she redressed a rumor according to which a person had died but who Kirsti knew that was well and alive. Although Kirsti does not consider herself as any kind of a gossip she still acknowledges that she knows a lot about people and what is happening in their lives. If someone new moves to the village Kirsti will probably want to know about it and sometimes even goes for a welcoming visit to the house. Kirsti argues that she is socially very active and therefore has so many friends in the village.

5.6 Friends and family away

Hannerz (1996, 17) tells about his trip to a small village in Ireland where the hostess of the bed-and-breakfast place told him her story. She had now returned to her original home town but before that had lived in London for several years and still sometimes missed the bright lights. That day the lady was waiting for her brother to come for a family reunion from New York where he lived and had a career of singing in pubs. Hannerz asserts that this tale is ordinary but shows how people almost anywhere in the world can turn out to hold relationships and have personal experiences that connect and attach them to places in other countries and continents. People naturally have diverse ways of interaction and because there are styles of keeping in touch probably as many as there are relationships, can be claimed that connections between friends and families apart around the world can vary a lot. Communication can be arranged for example by telephone, mail (letters, postcards and parcels) or on the Internet by sending e-mails or messages in some other virtual form. There are several different communication channels today on the Internet (e.g. blogs, Facebook, Skype, IRC, Windows Live Messenger) where people can either privately or publicly tell about their lives, read about the lives of other people, make calls or discuss in real time in different chatting forums.

Vuorela has analyzed the contacts between members of transnational families (parents, children and grandchildren) who all live far apart, and has noticed that keeping the sense of togetherness and intimacy have required special arrangements of imaging and narrating. According to Vuorela, photographs and objects can become sort of talismans of home and belonging to families. Family members often have varying views on what are the most important objects in reproducing the sense of togetherness both in absence and in presence. For some the most special talisman can be parents' or children's letters, family photographs or a picture of a familiar place whereas some cherish the memory of a particular family ritual by enjoying the same products than in childhood and organizing them sent even from far distances. Regularity can create the feeling of safety and bonding, and thus it can be important for many for example to receive letters once a month or send an e-mail every other week. (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, 76)

In Kalasuo, all the villagers have some contacts to friends or family abroad. They may not have all been very close or regular but still all the interviewees hold important connections outside Kalasuo. Three of the interviewees talked about Alpo Nauhala, a man who was born in Kalasuo but had gone to sea at an early age. Alpo is Pertti's uncle, therefore Kirsti's husband's uncle and also uncle of Piia's father-in-law, Timo. They all have a special relationship with Alpo, and it is clear that although far away, Alpo is close in their hearts and thoughts. Piia emphatically told that Alpo is present in their lives and they think about him fairly often. She described him as a "very nice fellow, an old man who tells all kinds of stories". Alpo has clearly made a good impression not only on the people who stayed in Kalasuo when he left but also on those who have got to know him later while his visits back "home" (e.g. Piia). Alpo comes to Kalasuo almost every summer and stays at least few weeks, sometimes longer. He has married an Italian woman, Ortensia, who travels to Kalasuo with him, but does not speak any Finnish, which makes communication with some of the locals who do not speak languages, such as Pertti, fairly difficult.

Considering the time, the 1950s, Alpo's departure from Kalasuo could have been somewhat unusual, even exciting. It was probably not very easy to leave a rural village at that time but according to Piia, Alpo was young and high-spirited and had decided that he will learn English and leave Kalasuo in order to see the world. And this is what he did despite that

almost everyone had been very much against his decision, especially Alpo's mother. Nevertheless, Alpo had made up his mind and one day mother Nauhala received a postcard from faraway land saying that Alpo had found his world there and was not planning to come home anytime soon. And as it happened, Alpo never came home permanently but built his life in that world he always had dreamed of, sailing between different countries, until he finally settled down in Italy. Piia and her husband Tuomo have visited Alpo in Italy but Pertti has not, although Alpo has asked him many times. Since Pertti is not interested in travelling he has been able to enjoy Alpo's company only on Alpo's visits to Kalasuo. Pertti, Kirsti and Piia have all kept in touch with Alpo for many years, Pertti naturally the longest as he has known him much longer than the women. Piia and Kirsti keep in touch with Alpo by e-mails and Pertti by telephone. It was nearly the Christmastime by the time of the interview and Piia said that she would have liked to have sent Alpo a Christmas card and a picture of their baby Veeti, but she did not have his land address as they were so used to communicate through e-mails. This is a nice example of the advancement that the internet has brought to the countryside as it is easier nowadays to keep in touch by some electronic communication than by post which has restricted outside connections in the past.

Piia has found new friends in Kalasuo, from work and hobbies, but she has also kept in touch with her old friends from the times of high school in Lounela. They try to gather at least every summer and spend a few days together thinking back the old times and going through the new. Most of the girls from the old high school gang have settled down in southern Finland but one of Piia's good friends, Veera, has moved to Australia. She went there first to study but decided to stay after she found an Australian man whom she also later married. So now Veera lives in Australia and visits Finland only in the summer after saving money all year in order to take the expensive trip to Finland. When I asked Piia if she thinks that Veera will stay in Australia for long, she quietly mumbled an answer, "Mmm... Yes". I thought that meant that Piia misses her friend as she sounded so longing all of a sudden. They write e-mails at least once a month and if there are quieter periods then after them they write in bursts again.

Niilo stated that he has more friends abroad than in Finland. He has visited the friends in Germany the last but he keeps in touch with many of them by phone all the time which has led to massive telephone bills. The bills do not bother Niilo, rather on the contrary he is only

content since he considers calling as a pleasure and a good way of keeping in touch. He makes long phone calls to his friends and feels that it can occasionally somehow substitute for visiting them. All of Niilo's friends abroad are foreign (he calls them locals) except his nephews and nieces. One of them, Essi, lives in Italy. Niilo has visited her many times and started his trips to the northern parts of Italy from Essi's home. He also calls her nearly every month. Niilo's best friend abroad is a Taiwanese man Jim whom he has met at a light-fair in Miami when he used to have an optical fibre business. Niilo thinks that Jim is the most reliable man he knows and trusts him in everything. In the past Niilo used to spend considerably long periods of time in Taiwan since he often had to work there. Niilo's son has also visited Jim in Taiwan and has even spent an exchange year there. Today Niilo and Jim have been in touch less but they still send postcards and e-mails and Niilo is planning to visit Taiwan after he finishes the painting job in Bosnia.

Tuija has garden design -clients in a few countries outside Finland, for example in China and Tanzania that she needs to contact every now and then. She also keeps in touch with her friend Ragut in Bali almost daily and makes business with a couple of Balinese companies that export furniture, so she needs to write e-mails in English every day. Tuija told that once a funny incident happened when the internet connections did not work between clients who knew each other and wanted to e-mail each other, one in China and the other in Tanzania, so Tuija acted as intermediary and passed on the information to China through Finland, since her e-mail worked fine. Tuija laughed and said that if all of this would have been arranged by traditional mail, it might have taken a little bit longer and jangled many people's nerves a lot more than now. Tuija also has a sister who lives in Sweden and whom Tuija often visits. They hear from each other regularly.

Aila and Marjo both have pen pals abroad. Marjo visited her Dutch pen pal last time eight years ago on maternity leave when they were driving around in northern Germany and in the Netherlands with her husband Ossi. Marjo met her Dutch pen pal while studying in Germany and has kept contact since. Aila's pen pal is also Dutch. They have known for 50 years, since Aila got Geertje's address from a pen pal agency which were quite common at the time and wrote to her the first time. Aila and Geertje are so close that Geertje is Aila's daughter's godmother. They still write very often, and even visit each other. Aila has been to the

Netherlands over ten times and Geertje has visited Finland with her partner several times, first time already in the 1960s. Only when Aila's children were small, she did not have time to write as often and visits were rare. Since Geertje does not have children of her own, she usually asks about Aila's children and how they are doing. They write about all ordinary things in life and at the same time Aila gets practice to her English as Geertje is an English teacher.

Kirsti's son Thomas lives in England. When Kirsti moved back to Finland to live, Thomas stayed in London and continued his studies there. Kirsti said that Thomas does not seem to be willing to move anywhere from England and she is fine with his decision. On the contrary, Kirsti's other child, Jenny has always loved Finland and after her studies in Nottingham University she wanted to move to Finland to study. Now she lives in Helsinki and studies in an international training programme in Swedish speaking university. Kirsti visits her in Helsinki quite often. At the time of the interview Jenny was going to take an exchange year in Spain. According to Kirsti, Jenny and Thomas have three identities, Finnish, British and Pakistani. Kirsti thinks that her children feel the most British, especially Thomas who is completely British and even speaks Finnish a little weakly and therefore does not relate to Finland almost at all. Jenny instead has grown a strong Finnish identity in addition to her British and Pakistani identities since she has spent many Christmases and summers in Finland when they lived in London. Sometimes Jenny even came to Finland without Kirsti and stayed at her grandparents. Kirsti and Thomas speak on the phone regularly and usually use both Finnish and English. Kirsti told that sometimes they can talk for hours, and that somehow feels like spending time with Thomas face to face. First Kirsti missed her children terribly when she moved to Finland, but said that she has now got used to it. Kirsti feels that she actually communicates with her children as much as she would if she lived in a same place with them since the number of conversations through phone calls, internet-videophone (Skype), text messages and e-mails is the same. Talks on the phone are often a lot deeper and personal than the conversations they have when they see each other.

Kirsti feels a little sad that she has lost so many contacts to people she used to know when she lived in London. During the London years they moved quite a lot because of her husband's work and she always had to make new friends in a new place. Those people became very

close to her at the time but when they finally moved again, new people in a new place replaced the old ones. Kirsti told that she adjusts to a place easily and always feels that the people in that place are the closest and therefore she gives the most attention to them, thus the old friends can easily fade from the everyday life. Kirsti thinks that relationships change when people move and no longer live in the same environments with the friends. Only relationships that do not change are the relationships with her children. Kirsti considers the bond to them the same as what it would be if living in the same place.

Both of Ismo's sons grew into fairly international men growing up in a small rural village. Today they travel a lot, and the older son is a pilot for an international private airline. He is away a lot and spends long times abroad. At Christmas he was on standby for jobs and had a call then on Christmas Eve and had to fly to Namibia. For Ismo it was a little sad that he had to leave, but he understands his son's work and appreciates it. Ismo's other son has travelled and still travels a lot around the world because of his hobby, karate. He goes to competitions and training camps that are held in different countries. The pilot son has also trained karate on international level when he was younger so Ismo is used to his sons being away a lot. He is proud that his children have learned to speak English and that they have travelled and seen the world. Ismo also has an aunt in Canada with whom he has kept contact since she moved there 50 years ago. They call each other regularly and send pictures of their lives by e-mail. Ismo has never visited her in Canada but would like to go there someday.

5.7 Being local

Interviewees had different kind of ideas of being local. Most of them felt that they were locals in Kalasuo, but some also were a little uncertain of whether what they felt as their localness was exactly 'being local'. Some of the interviewees thought that they might stay in Kalasuo for the rest of their lives but a few of them were thinking of possibly moving somewhere else. Ismo was the only one who knew already that he will move away from Kalasuo to Rönkiö when he retires. He wants to live in a place where there are people around him, in an

apartment building and become urban. Ismo said that he sometimes feels a little lonely, especially during winters when it is dark. He thinks that people are often afraid of the change and get easily stuck with their lives to certain points on a map. Ismo claimed that people should be brave enough to change the systems and their lives and have the courage to move around and start from the beginning.

I want to live another life. One more different life. I've had my career here in the middle of nowhere so hell no I'm going to live in retirement here. All the people are moving out. So, so will I, I'm going to become a city-person! (Ismo)

A saying "home is where you hang your hat" could describe Kirsti's attitude to places. She feels at home quite easily and wherever she has settled. She has felt local in almost all the places where she has lived, whether they were big cities or small villages. Moving to another place has always felt natural to Kirsti and she admits that perhaps she has never grown such deep roots in any place that it could hurt a lot to uproot them. When they moved often in England she always prepared her children a long time in advance for the changing of place so that they would have some time to adjust to the situation and were able to mourn the loss of that place and the relations beforehand. That way, she thinks that it was easier for them to settle for the new place. Kirsti has always felt local in Kalasuo. When I asked her if it took a long time to feel at home in Kalasuo she laughed and said:

No, it was instant! I felt like I had come home because this is the person I can live with for the rest of my life, so this I knew then is the place where I am going to live until I die. That's it! (Kirsti)

Niilo, Aila and Piia were a little unsure whether they will stay in Kalasuo forever or perhaps move away someday. They had all left the question open even for themselves, although they had no intentions at the moment to move anywhere. They were content and thought that it is possible that Kalasuo is the place where they will spend the rest of their lives but that it is always also an option that they will leave and move elsewhere, Aila perhaps to Rönkiö, Piia to her place of birth Lounela and Niilo to Tampere or Hong Kong. Aila had just moved to Kalasuo at the time of the interview and did not feel like at home yet, although she had already spent long times in Kalasuo over the years. Piia felt like local and at home in Kalasuo but she did talk about her roots in Lounela and the longing for there a few times during the

interview. Niilo said that he is a local and that his house has felt like home from the first time when he stepped into it.

Like Piia, Tuija talked about her place of birth Heinävesi and the possibility of someday moving there, or at least building a summer house there. Today she is very happy in Kalasuo and can imagine living there for the rest of her life but does not want to rule out the possibility of life in Heinävesi either, even though it is a little unlikely at the moment. She stated the point:

Yeah, this [Kalasuo] is my home. Everybody needs to have some sort of a ‘point of reference’. It’s impossible to think that one would just float around in the universe and move around aimlessly, everybody needs to have a place. This is my point of reference. It’s easy to make lines from here, like when you do lines with computer that stretch and the line moves flexibly from place to place and always comes back, like I do. (Laughter) (Tuija)

Pertti quite naturally feels local since he has lived in Kalasuo for all his life. Neither has he any intentions on moving anywhere else. He hopes that nothing comes in his way so that he would be able to live in his own house until the end. Also Marjo and Ossi think now that they would like to stay in Kalasuo at Ossi’s birthplace for good. They feel that Kalasuo is their home and that they are locals. They do not long anywhere or miss anyplace else. As Marjo put it:

No, I don’t have longings for any other place or miss anywhere. Vice versa, if I’m somewhere else I miss home and wait to get home because here is the peace and quiet and the nature and all the people and home and happiness. Yeah, here is that kind of state of happiness... (Marjo)

5.7.1 Local place, changed village

Pertti and Ossi both say that Kalasuo has changed drastically in the past few decades. Ossi remembers that when he was small, there lived about six children the same age than him in the village, but now there are only ten children altogether. According to Ossi “the way of life

has also changed to busier style”. He does not know all the people anymore like he used to since now people do not see each other or spend time at each other’s houses as much. When Ossi was young his parents visited neighbors fairly often, but as he told

“Today people have no time anymore to pay a visit to next door, people my age and all the older ones are so busy. I used to know 90% of the people in this village but today I barely know any young people here. There hardly are any...” (Ossi)

Ossi feels chagrined that there are not many people his age living in Kalasuo anymore. 30-something people are a shrinking minority in the village, even though a few couples have moved in or returned in the past couple of years. Ossi, as well as Pertti look back to the times of their childhood with nostalgic but warm eyes. Kalasuo used to be a lot livelier but now there is only hope that one day it will see the same life on its roads than back at the day. Pertti is optimistic and believes that young people and especially families with children could find Kalasuo in the future but Ossi does not see that coming. He thinks that the future of Kalasuo will follow the present situation and that when the original villagers, who are most quite old, die, the village will also slowly fade away.

Kalasuo used to have an own village shop, bank and service station, but they are all closed down now. Many farms also have had to discontinue production due to the diminishing demand of smallholding and overall the structural change of agriculture. As a result several villagers have lost a source of livelihood and been forced to move elsewhere. Thus the number of farms has reduced but the remaining farming and style of agriculture have also changed. Marjo and Ossi do not get their main livelihood of farming although they do practice wheat and berry growing. They talked about the bureaucracy brought by the EU regulations that today’s farmers face in their everyday life. However, most of the paperwork fortunately times for spring, so the EU is not present in farmers’ everyday lives whole year round. Marjo and Ossi both told that they are used to handling the forms and have got great help from local agricultural offices for filling all the papers and applications. There is also a constant control over the farming and regular inspections on the farms.

Pertti recalls the days of his childhood when Kalasuo was filled with farms and farmers. Crofters lived in small cottages at the outskirts of the village and every now and then came to help at farms; on the fields at harvest time and in the forests in winter. Most of them had only one cow which was most often milked by the womenfolk of the house. Extra milk that was not used by the family itself was taken to the milk platform (place where farmers left milk churns to be transported to dairy), which also served as a popular meeting point for the villagers or a place for gathering together. Pertti remembers how it was always the highlight of a week when the milk lorry came every Sunday morning at half past eight and collected the milk that many villagers had come to bring. After lorry's visit farmers and farm owners (mostly male) often stayed and talked for a while about current matters of the week. I got the feeling that Pertti misses these Sunday mornings when all the villagers, at least all the male villagers, got a moment to come together and socialize.

Later when the milk lorry system was no longer used there was a garage that worked as a meeting place for local men. Villagers used to drop in for a chat every now and then when passing by "Kale's workshop", as the locals called the garage. Pertti visited there quite often and felt that it substituted in many ways for visiting friends' homes. He thinks back to Kale's workshop:

Kalevi Sinnilä, the smith, also always philosophized about life there and then all chores were dropped and we jabbered away. It was pretty, well, special. There were sometimes... Sometimes when it was very cold, 25 degrees below zero or more so that no one could work in the forest, there were zillions of men there. We talked about all kinds of things and sometimes about work of course... About all the things between heaven and earth, about whatever is happening in the world.
(Pertti)

Like for milk platforms, there was a time for Kale's workshop also, and today it does not work as a meeting point anymore as Kalevi, the man who owned the place died a few months before the interviews were conducted and the garage was closed down. Some of the interviewees mentioned that some locals meet now in a bistro-like service station Kalasuo Inn over coffee or beer. It seems that it is easier for men to meet friends outside their homes, somewhere sort of in no-man's land, whereas women tend to see each other and rather gather at somebody's home. Aila said that it is a pity that today people do not gather in each other's homes as much as in the past when it was common to spend time together in the evenings,

people just took their needlework and went to the neighbor's house. She thinks that nowadays people perhaps value their privacy and the time home with the closest family so much that the communal gatherings do not fascinate as much anymore. Or then people want to watch television:

And then what is one reason is the television! Damn, people have to watch all the programmes and even do schedules what's on tv and if something's on they can't go anywhere! And nobody can go for a visit if there are these and these programmes on... No, it's five o'clock, can't go, *Bold and the Beautiful* is on... Et cetera... Television holds people back a lot... (Aila)

5.7.2 Global place in local place

A busy passer-by might not believe that there is a Balinese garden at the attic of an old farmhouse's cowshed on a seemingly quiet side-road in Kalasuo. But Tuija has made this image real by building an international garden on her lands at the farmhouse. She also has a Japanese garden at the backyard and some pieces of art spread around the farmyard. Many of the artworks are imported from Bali and as Tuija says, they tend to represent "art without brains". She wants to make people laugh and relax at her farmhouse, where approximately 3000 people visit every summer. I asked about visitors' reactions when they arrived at the attic the first time and saw the Balinese garden, and Tuija quite proudly imitated their reactions that consisted of quiet air gasping mouth wide open. Many had talked and chatted cheerfully downstairs but became very quiet and surprised when entering the attic. There one can find plants, wooden bunks, Balinese music and all kinds of Southeast Asian interior design, things that can take one for an imaginative trip to a faraway place. This means that we can find places inside other places that differ radically from the norm. In the middle rural of countryside one can step into a place where the traditional countryside and the Finnishness disappears and something 'exotic' fills the space.

Another illusion of a 'world inside a world' like this Balinese garden can be found in Kirsti's "house for flowers". She has built a separate house which is full of flowers and plants that she has planted; the place looks almost like a jungle. Some of them are also fairly exotic as some

of the seeds are brought from abroad. Kirsti herself mentioned that she sees a lot of internationality and transnationality in her everyday life like for example in this flower house that holds inside many exotic flowers and reminds her of the places she has visited. Small things, such as souvenirs from people's travels that are placed in their homes can somehow create a feeling of the outside world in one's own, in a safe and familiar way. It could be claimed that that way the global is often present in people's everyday lives in a slight, barely noticeable way.

5.8 Everyday life: Internet, food and languages

Eight out of nine interviewees have an internet at home and use it daily. Aila was the only one who had not yet got used to computers. Many of them pay the bills on the internet and few interviewees use it for shopping. Ossi does not want to use the internet any more than is absolutely necessary as he uses it at work all day, although he often reads the newspapers on the internet. He does not have any newspapers subscribed to since they would arrive only after noon and it is therefore faster and easier to read them online. In a way Pertti uses the internet for working as well as he needs to check the work instructions and confirm the driving directions from a company database on the internet. In addition Pertti sometimes also visits the chat platforms aimed at people working within forest industry. Once he has bought a t-shirt from the internet. Tuija uses the internet approximately one and a half hours per day. She uses bank facilities and e-mail but also searches for information and uses Google a lot. Piia uses the internet many times a day and orders the aloe vera products for parties from there. The village home page is set as the start page to Piia's computer and it always opens first so that Piia can see what is going on in the village at any time. She also updates the village home page.

Kirsti is the only one of the interviewees who likes to use exotic spices in her cooking; others do eat all kinds of foods but do not make ethnic foods themselves. Niilo loves spicy food but prefers when someone else makes it, hence does not cook himself. All of them eat out sometimes and have been to ethnic restaurants, however, could be noted that Kirsti is the only

one who is actually excited about ethnic cuisine. When I interviewed her, she had cooked a meatloaf in which she had used Garam Masala to spice it. Kirsti told that she often uses Pakistani spices and even cooks Pakistani dishes as she learned it when she was married to a Pakistani man. Kirsti has travelled in Pakistan a couple of times and during those trips she spent long times in kitchen with local women and followed what they put into the pots and thus learned to cook Pakistani food. She never measures anything and rarely cooks any traditional Finnish meals. Kirsti usually brings spices from abroad when she travels and thinks that they are more authentic than what one can buy from a Finnish grocery store.

Seven of the nine interviewees speak English and in addition many of them also speak either Swedish or German, or both. Kirsti naturally uses it almost daily as she talks to her children, but also Tuija claimed that she speaks English everyday at least on e-mails. In Kalasuo the number of English or other than Finnish as native language speaking people is under ten but some of the interviewees knew people in the village who had moved there from abroad, and some of them were even in contacts with them. Kirsti is friends with an Estonian woman Liisu and also knows couple of women from Thailand and a few people from Russia who live in the village. Niilo knows Nermin, a Bosnian man who has become his best friend. He also visits sometimes a Swiss couple who has a summer cottage in Kalasuo and can then practice his German. Piia and Aila take language lessons in community center in Sammalmäki. Piia has to speak English, German or Swedish at work in the pharmacy every now and then, mostly during the summer time when tourists visit the area. Marjo and Ossi rent summer cottages and cabins and sometimes they need to use English or German when they have foreign visitors or tourists coming to stay in Kalasuo.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aimed to look at a rural village in eastern Finland and intended to draw one picture of today's Finnish countryside and its people, their social networks and mentality towards place. The study asked how local the *local* is at present and if the global can be seen also in the remote rural areas of Finland. Village of Kalasuo is a case study that showed that local still matters greatly to the people living in the countryside but at the same time it has intertwined with the global. People have moved to the village and from the village, they have travelled and they have met with modern technology which has changed the whole structures of the Finnish society. Villagers have not lost their feelings of home, or the need of belonging to a place, but they have become more mobile and their field of communication and aspects of everyday life have changed to become wider and more transnational.

In order to discuss the local and the global in a specific place it was relevant to look at the general view at first thus the essential concepts and three significant writers were introduced at the beginning of the study. Globalization has generated a lot of changes in the countryside and therefore some of the most important developments in rural areas were covered in the thesis. The theory was present in the findings as the interview questions had touched the themes of the key concepts: globalization, transnationalism, locality and place. All these topics were visible in the stories of the villagers in Kalasuo and reflected from their thoughts about the place and social relations.

For Kirsti, the world outside Kalasuo shows up in small ordinary things that she might not even notice herself until thinking about them. For example a phone call to her son in England or Pakistani spices in Finnish meat loaf represent aspects of globalization that are parts of Kirsti's local life and therefore also effects of globalization in Kalasuo. Kirsti claimed to be rather cosmopolitan and perhaps this shows in her everyday life in a way how she treats people and is all the time open to new experiences and friends. Kirsti always wants to know if there are people moving to the village and she also knows all the people that have moved to Kalasuo from abroad. Kirsti's relations to her children might have changed also Pertti's

everyday life and ways of thinking. He can have learned many new things about different countries and cultures that he otherwise perhaps would not have been interested to find out about.

Niilo still has the thirst for travelling that he gained in his youth when he used to travel a lot. He likes talking to tourists in Kalasuo and using other languages perhaps even more than he enjoys the company of the people close to him. Niilo, like many other villagers have friends and relatives abroad that belong to their everyday lives in thoughts and contacts. In addition the global is present in many more obvious ways such as in the form of EU regulations or tightening business prospects, caused by international markets. All the interviewees were quite well aware of the world and what happens outside Kalasuo. They all had some important things in their lives that had come from the 'outside Kalasuo' hence were things more global than local, for example job commissions or a transnational hobby. All the villagers seemed to reach their thoughts if not abroad, at least outside Kalasuo many times a day. Could be claimed that it is very unlikely that there would be a village in Finland today that could stay in a total isolation or that would not get any influences of globalization.

The study showed that the picture of a Finnish village has changed substantially in the past decades and it is no longer the same than it was fifty years ago. Finnish countryside is still in transition and only tomorrow can tell the direction that it will take, whether it will be a heyday or decay or more likely something in between. As already stated in this thesis, places are not stable and neither are villages. People come and go and the population increases and decreases. The village is always the sum of its people and they create the place. The villagers in Kalasuo acknowledged the importance of their own village, home, place, even though they did not necessarily always agree on how stable it was and whether it was always going to be the same. Many of the interviewees had travelled and seen other countries, some had even lived abroad for a while, but most of them live the 'local' now in their daily life. It can mean using the global in local context, for example organizing aloe vera parties or yoga classes in your living room, or furnishing a barn with Balinese furniture.

Huttunen (2002, 343) studied the local and the global in the lives of people who moved from a country to another and concluded that the local usually takes shape in the context of everyday life and that people conceptualize their worlds from the local. People in Kalasuo do not regularly move from a country to another but their view of the world also derives from the local. If I now after the research think about the question ‘how local is local?’ I could argue that at least in this small rural village in Kalasuo, local is still local. People are local but now with nuances of the global and with aspects of the transnational. A new question could arise: “How global is local?”

One can work and live globally and internationally in and from the countryside. People who live in the countryside can be mobile and move back and forth. They can travel and commute and they can be international and cosmopolitan and still local. Locals today often live multi-sited lives and think in many levels. They carry many memories and experiences with them and these often affect and inspire the lives of others who live in villages they arrive. People have their daily contacts and the people near them who usually live in quite a close distance from them, but at the same time they have variety of other people all over the country, even all over the world that are also part of their daily life. People in rural villages often seem to enjoy the peace and quiet of nature and like the idea of belonging to a place but at the same time they can appreciate similar things or conduct similar lifestyles than urban people. Living a rural life does not exclude living a modern life that can involve for example travelling or transnational contacts. Because of globalization and its aspects such as media and technology rural people can feel that they stand close to the world like anyone else who lives in an urban centre since they do not necessarily need to move anywhere from their place to have a contact to other people elsewhere.

Eriksen (2006, x) claims that: “Young students who come to anthropology tend to have a general interest in ‘other cultures’. Very often, they are also motivated by a desire to make the world a slightly better place.” I assume that very often when searching the world and exploring all the world’s wonders people forget to look close and thus miss many interesting things they might find worth getting to know if only aware of their existence. Rural villages in Finland can turn out to be a lot more than one might expect from their remote and seemingly tranquil covers. Sometimes making the world a slightly better place can mean being interested

in 'close cultures' or exploring the places and people right in front of you. My expedition to a Finnish village taught me that remote is not necessarily far and in today's society it is no longer isolated. The 'world out there' can be close to people living in rural areas since the physical place and movement do not restrict people as much anymore than they used to in the past. World is changing and the change is everywhere; even in the lives and worldviews of the villagers in Kalasuo.

REFERENCES

Alasuutari, Pertti & Ruuska, Petri (1999) *Post-patria? Globalisaation kulttuuri Suomessa*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Appadurai, Arjun (1998) *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, Arjun (2001) *Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination*. In Arjun Appadurai (Ed.) *Globalization*. London: Duke University Press.

Beck, Ulrich (1999) *Mitä globalisaatio on? Virhekäsityksiä ja poliittisia vastauksia*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (Eds.) (2002) *The transnational family: new European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Oxford: Berg.

Davies, Charlotte Aull (2002) *Reflexive ethnography: a guide to researching selves and others*. London: Routledge.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2001) *Small places, large issues. An introduction to social and cultural anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2006) *Engaging anthropology: the case for a public presence*. Oxford: Berg.

Featherstone, Mike (1993) *Global and local cultures*. In Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson & Lisa Tickner (Eds.) *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*. London: Routledge.

Friedman, Jonathan (1994) *Cultural identity and global process*. London: SAGE Publications.

Friedman Jonathan (1990) *Being in the World. Globalization and localization*. In Mike Featherstone (Ed.) *Global culture: nationalism, globalization and modernity: a theory, culture & society special issue*. London: SAGE Publications.

Hague, Cliff & Jenkins, Paul (2005) *Place identity, participation and planning*. London: Routledge.

Hannerz, Ulf (1990) *Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture*. *Theory, Culture & Society* 7, 237-251.

Hannerz, Ulf (1996) *Transnational connections. Culture, people, places*. London: Routledge.

Hannerz, Ulf (2006) *Studying Down, Up, Sideways, Through, Backwards, Forwards, Away and at Home: Reflections on the Field Worries of an Expansive Discipline*. In Simon Michael Coleman & Peter Collins (Eds.) *Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*. Oxford: Berg.

Heikkilä, Tuomo & Nurmikko, Sanna (2005) *Maatalous EU:n yhteisessä maatalouspolitiikassa*. In Jaakko Kiander & Antti Romppanen (Eds.) *Suomi 10 vuotta Euroopan unionissa: Taloudelliset vaikutukset*. Helsinki: Valtion taloudellinen tutkimuskeskus.

Huttunen, Laura (2002) *Kotona, maanpaossa, matkalla. Kodin merkitykset maahanmuuttajien omaelämäkerroissa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.

Hyyryläinen, Torsti & Uusitalo, Eero (2002) *Recent Rural Restructuring and Rural Policy in Finland*. In Keith Halfacree, Imre Kovach & Rachel Woodward (Eds.) *Leadership and Local Power in European Rural Development*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kearney, Michael (1995) *The Local And The Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, 547-65.

Keränen, Heikki (2000) *Suomen maaseututyypit*. Sonkajärvi: Suomen aluetutkimus FAR.

Kytö, Hannu, Tuorila, Helena & Leskinen, Johanna (2006) *Maaseudun vetovoimaisuus ja kuluttajien yksilölliset elämäntavat*. Tutkimuskokonaisuuden loppuraportti. Helsinki: Kuluttajatutkimuskeskus.

Lehtonen, Mikko, Rantanen, Pekka & Valkonen Jarno (Eds.) (2008) *Doreen Massey: Samanaikainen tila*. Translator into Finnish Janne Rovio. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Marling, William (2006) *How "American" is globalization?* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Massey, Doreen (1991) *A global sense of place*. *Marxism Today* 1991, 24-29.

Massey, Doreen (2003) Paikan käsitteellistäminen. In Mikko Lehtonen & Olli Löytty (Eds.) Erilaisuus. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Massey, Doreen (2005) For space. London: SAGE Publications.

Nivalainen, Satu (2002) Maallemuuttajat- Millaisia he ovat? Helsinki: Pellervon taloudellinen tutkimuslaitos PTT.

Ong, Aihwa (1999) Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality. London: Duke University Press.

Piot, Charles (1999) Remotely Global. Village Modernity in West Africa. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Rannikko, Pertti (2000) Suomen maaseutu EU-jäsenyyden aikana. In Tuomo Lappalainen, Pia Letto-Vanamo, Pertti Rannikko, Jukka Relander & Leena Seretin (Eds.) Suomi 5 vuotta Euroopan unionissa. Helsinki: Edita.

Robertson, Roland (1995) Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash & Roland Robertson (Eds.) Global Modernities. London: SAGE Publications.

Roudometof, Victor (2005) Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization. *Current Sociology* 53:1, 113-135.

Sarmela, Matti (1989) Rakennemuutos tulevaisuuteen. Post-lokaalinen maailma ja Suomi. Helsinki: WSOY.

Sassen, Saskia (1998) Globalization and its discontents. New York: New Press.

Savage, Mike, Bagnall, Gaynor & Longhurst, Brian (2005) Globalization & Belonging. London: SAGE Publications.

Väyrynen, Raimo (1998) Globalisaatio. Uhka vai mahdollisuus? Jyväskylä: Atena kustannus.

Väyrynen, Raimo (1999) Suomi avoimessa maailmassa. Globalisaatio ja sen vaikutukset. Helsinki: Taloustieto Oy.

Woods, Michael (2005) Rural Geography. Processes, Responses and Experiences in Rural Restructuring. London: SAGE Publications.

Seminar notes:

Katajamäki, Hannu (17.-18.10.2007) Seminar: Maaseudun kehittämisen suunnittelu- ja päätöksentekojärjestelmät, notes. Helsinki, Vaasan yliopisto.

Internet references:

Internet reference 1

<http://www.kela.fi>

Internet reference 2

<http://www.stat.fi>

Internet reference 3

Village plan (2006-2015) on the village homepage

Internet reference 5

Kangasharju, Aki. (2004) Alueellinen keskittyminen historiaa ja tulevaisuutta- myös Suomessa. Kuntapuntari 3/2004. http://www.stat.fi/tup/kuntapuntari/kuntap_3_2004_alue.html

Internet reference 6

Oxford English Dictionary <http://www.oed.com/>

Internet reference 7

Tiessalo, Paula (2008) Tausta: Kysely: Köyhät kurjistuneet, rikkaat menestyneet. YLE Uutiset. http://yle.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/2008/08/kysely_koyhat_kurjistuneet_riikkaat_menestyneet_315782.html