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University
of Glasgow

Estonians in Scotland.

From isolation to transnational ways of living?

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MA in Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics

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Abstract

After the Second World War, the Estonian community grew considerably in the UK. Great Britain became the first and largest state in Western Europe to welcome war refugees stranded in Germany, out of whom a small number of so-called *European Voluntary Workers* of Estonian origin also ended up in Scotland. The second wave of migration from Estonia started shortly after Estonia became independent, and grew larger after Estonia's EU-accession in 2004. While the first group were practically cut off from their Estonian roots during the Soviet occupation, the second group have been able to maintain close ties with their homeland.

In the academic literature on migration, *diaspora* and *transnationalism* have often been considered as direct opposites – the first concept is usually applied on the pre-Internet time exile communities, while the second one is used most often while talking about the situation in time of globalisation. In Scotland, however, the experience of an Estonian diaspora in its classical meaning, due to the scattered location and small number of Estonians living here, is highly contested.

This study draws on wider research on these two communities, using mainly qualitative interviews with 54 recipients. These two communities from two different eras vary in many ways, as one would expect. However, their experiences on a micro-level are often surprisingly similar – at the individual level, the experience of moving abroad and settling in, as well as ties and networks between compatriots do not really differ. I will discuss the possibilities of using a theoretical toolkit of transnationalism for looking at both migration waves from Estonia, therefore.

This research looks at social networks amongst Estonians in Scotland, their adaption, identity and different markers of identity, their home-making strategies and further plans (staying and leaving).

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Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature _____

Printed name: Lea Kreinin

1 Introduction

After moving to Scotland in late 2006 I was initially interested in simply finding other Estonians around me with whom to speak the language, and in order to help me feel some familiarity with my new surroundings. This interest morphed into a curiosity about the Estonian community in Scotland, and a wish to understand who the other Estonians who had come to live in Scotland were, why they had come here and what the history of Estonian migration to Scotland before the 1990s was like. This is how the idea for this research thesis was born. The overall aim of this study is thus to explore in depth the lives of Estonians living in Scotland, the history and stories of these people, and how their experience shed light and inform understanding of identity, belonging and home. Members of the Estonian community in Scotland have come here during different times and for different reasons – the oldest interviewees of this study already shortly after the Second World War, others in the last couple of years. The life experiences of the various members of the Estonian community in Scotland are thus also very different.

Several events have shaped the course of my path through this research and led me to a wider understanding of the topic of migration. The first of these important milestones was starting my work at the CEES (Central and East European Studies) department at the University of Glasgow, alongside with social scientists and historians, all specialising in the region from where I originated. My strong interest in social sciences, and especially migration studies, was sparked by discussions with these colleagues. The second important moment was becoming a member of the Baltic Heritage Network, which has enabled me to establish contacts with other Baltic migration researchers and archives in Estonia and abroad. The third important milestone in my research journey was reading Elin Toona-Gottschalk's wonderful autobiographical novels about her family's escape route from Estonia to the UK and their adaptation here. Her books gave me a new lens through which to view and understand British society. A six-week-long CRCEES placement at the VEMU (Museum of Estonians Abroad) archive in Toronto enabled me to work on an archive and at the same time take part in the numerous diasporic events, meeting and talking to Canadian Estonians. This further widened my understanding of the topic and shaped my views on life abroad. The chance to meet Estonian war refugees and to speak to them about their experiences on a deeper level led to me gaining a whole new perception about what it

meant to leave your home, to escape, to live in displaced persons' (DP) camps and to create a new life abroad. Through archival documents and personal letters I was also awarded a rare glimpse into the complicated relations between Estonians in Soviet occupied Estonia and their relatives and friends living abroad.

1.1 Research questions

The thesis at hand aims to study the lives and social identities of ethnic Estonians and people of Estonian descent living in Scotland. Specifically, it takes into account the experiences of two groups – the post-war Estonian European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) and their descendants, and recent (economic) migrants who have moved to Scotland since the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991. The discussion of these groups and their experiences is framed by reference to the following research questions and themes:

- 1) What is my respondents' experience of leaving Estonia and coming to Scotland: Why and how did people leave Estonia? Under what circumstances and through which processes did they come to Scotland? What factors brought them here? In what ways has this experience shaped their identity?
- 2) What was their experience of adaptation once they arrived and started living in Scotland? What was the nature of their interaction with the larger society and dominant culture here in Scotland, and which factors influenced this? What was the nature of their interaction with their fellow Estonians, and which factors affected this?
- 3) What was and is the place and practice of 'Estonianness' within the everyday identity of members of the Estonian community in Scotland? What has been their relationship to Estonia, how is it expressed, and how do they understand the concept of 'home'?

My empirical research revealed the importance of home and homeland, and also pointed to other key areas within migration theory which I will explore in my thesis. Two major things have become evident through my research, namely that:

- (a) Some of those who arrived as DPs/EVWs in the late 1940s stayed and built new lives in Scotland; many, though, did not. The Soviet annexation meant that a physical return to Estonia, the geographical homeland, was not an option for this group, at least not until independence was restored in 1991. But, they did form part of a global community of

Estonians who had been displaced by the War and the Soviet annexation, and formed new concept of ‘Estonia abroad’. Many of these people first came to Scotland as EVWs, but later moved to England or left the UK altogether for a third country (e.g. Canada). This brings up new questions in regards to the topic: Which factors influenced people’s decisions? How did those who stayed long-term adapt and how has this shaped their identities and those of their descendants born here?

(b) The context for those who came to Scotland after 1991 was – at least seemingly – very different: they left Estonia as free citizens of a sovereign state, and since 2004 a member of the EU. Estonians today have the possibility of traveling freely between the two countries, living and working in Scotland or also elsewhere – travel now is relatively quick and cheap. These new migration flows have operated within a more general context of globalization, which has greatly facilitated contacts and interaction between the two states and societies. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the post-1991 Estonia is also a very different place from the one that existed before 1940 – a country that was one of the most ethno-culturally homogeneous societies of CEE during the 1920s and 1930s.¹ Estonia today is far more diverse – nearly 30% of the population speaks Russian as a mother tongue, and members of this group have also moved to live and work in Scotland over the past 25 years – this raises some further interesting questions about identity and belonging that I will discuss in the empirical chapters.

(c) These observations raise questions about migration theory and the ways in which these two groups can be and have been characterised: those who came after the war are typically described as a ‘diaspora’, whereas more recent migrants to the UK from the new EU member states are studied and understood through the prism of ‘transnationalism’. However, in the case of Estonians, at least, little or no research has been carried out that explores these characterisations from the point of view of individual migrants themselves, through in-depth qualitative work focusing on their everyday understandings of identity. Seen in this light, are the distinctions made between ‘diasporic’ and ‘transnational community’ valid, or are there more points of similarity than is often assumed? Can one simply assume that all Estonians who have moved to Scotland in the contemporary period

¹ More about Estonia’s population and ethnic division: <http://estonia.eu/about-estonia/country/population-by-nationality.html>

operate within a transnational frame of reference, as opposed to one shaped more by traditional understandings of migrant ‘separation’ or ‘integration’? What kind of activities do they practice in their everyday life? By the same token, was ‘transnationalism’, as currently defined, completely irrelevant to the lives of those who came in the 1940s, or can elements of this theory also in fact help us shed new light on the experiences of post-war migrants and their descendants? An approach which privileges the individual allows us to gain access to other experiences and themes, thus enabling a detailed look at other concepts, e.g. around actual experiences of adaptation, meanings of ‘home’; relevance of social networks and different social ties between people in Scotland.

1.2 The context of this study

My thesis addresses these questions and, in doing so, becomes the first piece of in-depth research to systematically look at the experiences and identities of the two Estonian communities in the UK. In this way, it aims to make a valuable original contribution to various fields of research: the study of Estonians abroad and their relationship to Estonia, the study of migrant communities in the UK – and the nature of Scotland (and more widely, also the UK) as a society – as well as to the broader theoretical literature on migration.

The primary focus of this study is thus on the **Estonian** ethnic community in Scotland. Therefore it must be placed in the broader context of the history of Estonian migration in the World and the experiences of Estonian communities abroad. The starting point for the research is thus also the wider context of Estonian emigration which is then narrowed down, focusing on the specific case of Scotland. Chapter 4 will therefore start with giving a historical overview of Estonian migration in the World, after what the focus moves to the UK and Scotland. The broader context situates the study within the wider research on East-European migration in the UK/Scotland². In the context of Eastern European (and more narrowly, Baltic) migration to Scotland, the Estonian community forms only a small part. As the larger communities of East European migrants in the UK (Poles) have been

² This was written before the UN classified Estonia (together with Latvia and Lithuania) as Northern European countries, instead of Eastern European, <http://estonianworld.com/life/un-reclassifies-estonia-northern-european-country/>. However, one can be sure that in the British context Estonia will probably be referred as Eastern European country also in the near future.

relatively well-researched in this area (at least compared to the Baltic peoples), this specific study on Estonians aims to fill the hitherto vacant gap of studies focusing on smaller migrant communities in the UK.

1.3 Previous research on Estonian migration in Scotland

Research on Estonians in Scotland is a relatively novel idea, and while there have been studies about Estonians in the UK, the angle and context have often been different from the one presented in this research. The first group of studies on Estonian migration are historical accounts of Baltic migration into UK. These include research done by Thomas Lane who has looked into the fate of civilians of Baltic and Polish origin, who arrived in Britain after the Second World War as European Voluntary Workers, and decided to stay here. His book uses oral history, as well as historical sources, to tell the story of the *Victims of Stalin and Hitler* (2004) which is also the name of his book. Emily Gilbert's book *Changing Identities. Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians in Great Britain* (2013) has a focus on first generation post-war Baltic immigrants' in the UK, their arrival and settling in, and how their identities have changed throughout this period. Linda McDowell's research (2004, 2005) focuses on Latvian female migrants in the UK after the Second World War. Her angle is different, based more on gender studies, as her goal is also to look into the changing social and gender relations in society – comparing the experience of locals, Latvian migrants and other immigrants from Ireland and the Caribbean for example.

John Millar's book *The Lithuanians in Scotland* (1998) gives an overview of the story of the author's family, using oral history together with other (mainly statistical) sources. This book also concentrates on historical, rather than contemporary migration. Furthermore, the scope of the book is not very wide, as it mostly concentrates on the experiences of the author's own family. From reading the book, it becomes evident that the nature of Lithuanian historical migration and the migrants' experience in Scotland has been very different from that of the Estonians. All of these three studies concentrate on first generation Baltic (and Polish) post-war migrants, and are an invaluable source of information. They all use original interviews and present historical facts about this specific wave of migration to UK, also giving ample historical background. However, with the exception of Millar's book on Lithuanians in Scotland, these studies all focus on England, and despite being a part of two of the studies, Estonians are neither the focus, nor heavily featured, being rather regarded as a part of what is (somewhat mistakenly) seen as a quite

homogenous Baltic community. This fails to take into consideration any differences or original traits of the Estonians themselves and their specific situation.

Another body of literature is formed by the numerous articles and studies concentrating on contemporary Eastern European migration to Scotland (Great Britain) by researchers like Paulina Trevena, Louise Ryan, Derek McGhee, Emilia Piętka-Nykaza, Kathy Burrell, Franca Eirich, Rebecca Jack, Aija Lulle and Russell King, just to mention a few. While studies done by these researchers and others give an interesting picture of contemporary migration from the 'New Europe', it also becomes evident that this is far from a homogenous and coherent group of migrants. The experience of every migrant group depends on so many different factors (for example, the Polish experience while similar in some aspects to the Estonian one, is also very different in others; in a similar vein, rural migration also differs from urban, and so forth). Estonians, due to their small numbers in Scotland, have also either not been represented in these studies at all, or only occasionally. The main concentration has been on the bigger ethnic groups from the New European accession states (primarily the Poles). Finally, every single migrant has their own personal story to tell which may differ from that of their co-ethnics. This study aims to concentrate on the personal experiences of Estonians in Scotland, while also trying to draw wider similarities and comparisons.

A third group of relevant literature to this study concentrates on the experiences of Estonian communities abroad. These focus mostly on Estonians' wartime escape and experiences in a specific foreign country. Ferdinand Kool in his book *DP Chronicles* has collected a vast amount of data about displaced persons' camps, and noted down the history of war-time Estonian migration to and through Germany to other countries. His book gives an invaluable account and a lot of factual material about a highly debated and tumultuous time in history. Nigul Hindo's book *Estonian Organisations in England 1921-1968* (1971) gives an overview of Estonian organisational activities in UK. Hindo was a long-time head of the Estonian Society in London and collected and systematised data about all of the Estonian organisations. Estonian communities in Leicester and Bradford have published materials about their life, for example the four-volume collection of articles *Eestlaskond Leicesteris* (1985-1996) and the booklet *Eesti Kodu 25. Bradford 1955-1980*. Tina Tamman has written a biography of the last Estonian ambassador in UK, August Torma. Karl Aun has published a book on post-war Estonian migration to Canada called

The Political Refugees. A History of Estonians in Canada (1985). This publication concentrates more on the war refugees' history, and looks closer at their identity, cultural and political life in exile, and the generational differences amongst Estonians. Aivar Jürgenson's research (2011) focuses on the Estonian community in Argentina, and he details their adaption in Argentina, as well as the significance of Estonia and Estonian identity for them. He also tries to locate this specific Estonian emigre community in the wider context of Estonians abroad.

Raimo Raag *Estonians outside Estonia. A Historical Overview* (1999) studies the experiences of Estonians in Sweden and also looks at wider topics on the history of Estonians abroad, for example their language use. In a similar vein there are also studies specialised on the Estonian language abroad, such as the collection of articles published in the book *Estonians and Estonian language abroad* (2010, Praakli and Viikberg (eds.)). Several oral history books about Estonians' migration and life abroad have also been written, for example life stories collections *Torches of Memory* initiated by Tiina Kirss.

Publications and previous studies within this third cohort of literature have been a great gateway into the lives and experiences of Estonians abroad for my research, but there are many gaps in their foci. There are various aspects and angles of the Estonian migration experience which have not been looked at, for example the relatively new transnational angle. The aim of this research is thus to try to fill some of the gaps which have become evident through a review of the literature. These are: the gap in research on the Estonian community in Scotland, comparing two different waves of Estonian migration, using the lens of 'transnationalism', and comparing the personal experiences of the migrants on a grass-roots level.

The nature of the migration from Estonia itself has changed over time, of course. The post-war experience of Estonian refugees was more diaspora-like, as they were cut off from their homeland and living in political exile. Nowadays on the other hand the predominant experience is shaped by more transnational ways of living. Despite these changes there are still also many similarities felt on the personal level. Through my historically focused research I have aimed to uncover the ways in which local and transnational ties function alongside one another. What makes the case of the post-war community so interesting is that links between the migrants and the homeland were very difficult (nigh impossible until Stalin's death), but that this did not prevent transnational ties from emerging.

In terms of the timing of this study, there was also a certain urgency to this research. Time is running out fast on all studies focusing on the personal experiences of people who lived through the Second World War. These first-hand accounts about migration in the post-war period, experiences of arrival and settling in a foreign country are unique and can give us special insights about both the society migrants left behind, and the new society within which they constructed their new lives. These experiences will soon be lost if not recorded. As an Estonian currently living, researching and teaching in Scotland, this reality also somewhat bestowed upon me a personal responsibility to collect this information, and to undertake the study at hand. Since historical research and interviews with the older generations may also give a better understanding of and shed light on the current situation and features of migration, in the current political climate these insights are more important than ever.

As already explained, this research focuses on two main groups of Estonians who have arrived in Scotland – the post-war European Voluntary Workers and their offspring, and the post-Estonian independence and post-EU-accession migrants. I include the offspring of the first group as a part of it. I started out interviewing offspring mainly in order to find out information about their parents most of whom are already dead, but then decided to include them because what they said in the interviews was so strikingly similar to what the older generation said. Unfortunately, I couldn't interview children of the post-1991 migrants (Kristina is an exception), as it would have been complicated due to the special permission needed for interviewing underage people, as well as the inherent difficulties and expertise needed to interview and gather data from children. I did not feel confident I would have been able to do this justice.

Within this research the experiences and accounts of these two groups are compared and contrasted, with a focus on the lived individual lives of the interviewees and their specific personal experience in different fields and walks of life. My initial plan was to look at the two migration waves of Estonians differently, and to compare them, the basic assumption being that the lived personal experiences would be different in the two cases, providing examples of how the specific situations and historical context was different. After all, the first group can be called diasporic, while the second was seemingly rather transnational in its essence. The nature of migration has of course changed during the fifty years between these groups, and severe social and political changes have shaped a different Europe from

the one during and prior to the Cold War (as well as a different Estonia, which the protagonists left behind). This will have naturally ensured that the experience was different. However, after starting this study I became more and more convinced that the experiences of post-war and post-cold-war migrants have actually been quite similar in many respects, at least in Scotland. While naturally huge differences exist between these groups which have been shaped by the circumstances of different eras, differences also exist between individuals within the same era. Similarities between the experiences of members of the two migration groups are especially evident in the way that the interviewees feel and talk about the themes of home and homeland, their language and identity, their personal contacts. This research thus raises questions whether Estonians who settled in Scotland in the post-cold-war era are in fact any more ‘transnational’ in terms of identity, or whether their experiences ultimately mirror that of the post-war migrants. This question can also be extended to members of other minorities.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

In terms of how this thesis is divided, the introduction is followed by Chapter 2, the theoretical overview. Chapter 2 will look at different migration studies and the emergence of transnationalism. In this chapter I provide the theoretical background to the PhD and outline the conceptual basis for the research at hand. The chapter will include a closer look at what has been done in the field of migration studies historically and in the light of transnationalism – a new approach which has become popular in last few decades. It will look at concepts and theories which are relevant to my work and used in my research. I will discuss the main theoretical approaches in migration studies (push-pull theory, the world systems theory, dual labour theory, social capital, social mobility) as well as terminology relevant to or employed in this research, for example different typologies of migration and migrants (permanent, circular, returning). I attempt to profit from other useful insights in the field of transnationalism studies, for example Dahinden (2010), who has developed her typology of transnational migrants, by looking at transmigrants’ locality and mobility in both receiving and sending societies, and Boccagni (2010) who has researched transmigrants’ ties back home. In my empirical chapters, I will scrutinise the validity of their findings and definitions in terms of the specific case of the Estonian community in Scotland. In addition, I will come back to the literature on Estonian migration and CEE migration to the UK and look at it in more depth in chapter 2.

The third chapter is Methodology, where I will give an overview of the research process itself. I will explain the research methods used, define my position as a researcher, and describe the process stage by stage, as well as the difficulties encountered, and how the process contributed to shaping and refining the key questions behind my research. The study employed qualitative research methods and the main means for gathering data were the qualitative interviews with Estonians. On top of the interviews, I also used different media and archival sources to build a fuller and more in-depth picture, and to compare different lived experiences and written accounts of migration with my own qualitative data.

Chapter 4 tackles the general history of Estonian migration, as well as the history of Estonians in the UK and Scotland, scrutinising already existing sources (books, archival documents, studies and newspaper articles) on this topic. The main aim of this chapter is to ‘set the scene’ and to provide a framework within which the voices of my respondents can be situated and discussed.

The next five chapters (Chapters 5-9) are empirical chapters. I decided to follow the approach of analysing migrants’ experiences in terms of departure, arrival and adaptation, because these stages emerged as more-or-less the *de facto* stages of the experience of migration, as seen through the eyes of the interviewees themselves. This division seemed a logical way to divide the analysis, therefore, and these different stages also allow us to catch a glimpse of the migrants’ changing and evolving experiences, their building of social networks, their identity and home-making.

Within the empirical chapters, Chapter 5 will shed light on the circumstances of the first stage in the migrant experience – leaving Estonia. This is done through the comparison of the experiences of the two groups (or waves) of Estonian migrants, the post-war and the contemporary ones. Because the post-war migrants highlighted this stage more in their interviews, the main stress in this chapter is on them, latter-day migrants feature more briefly in this section.

Chapter 6 deals with the adaptation of post-war Estonian migrants to Scotland, focusing on their helpers and trust networks, their difficulties and problems with adaptation and settling into a new life in their fresh surroundings. This chapter also looks at the role of the church and other formal organisations in the life of the post-war EVWs.

Following on from this, Chapter 7 looks at recent economic migrants' adaptation, similarly aiming to shed light on their lived difficulties and efforts in settling in, their first impressions and trust networks, economic and social security issues, living conditions and problems with racism and bullying. Some examples of socio-cultural transnationalism which emerge from the data on adaptation are also highlighted.

Chapter 8 tackles the establishment of informal networks and the contacts of Estonians in Scotland in the post-war era as well as today, looking also at the contacts the migrants have with their homeland, families and friends, and how these contacts have changed over time.

Chapter 9 focuses on the decision-making of the Estonians in terms of either staying in or leaving Scotland – their reasons for making either decision, as well as future plans. This chapter also looks more closely at the question of what 'home' is and how it is created abroad. The very intricate issue of 'identity' is also inspected, as well as many of the features of identity-building. Chapter 9 will also provide the discussion on transnational actions and types of transmigrants. Based mainly on Ryan's (2011), Dahinden's (2010) and Boccagni's (2010) work, I reveal my own typology of Estonian migrants in Scotland.

The last, conclusion chapter brings together the key themes, which emerge, through the empirical chapters and reiterates the main findings of the research. In this chapter, directions for future research will also be discussed.

2. Migration studies

2.1 Introduction

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the aim of my research is to study the lives and social identities of ethnic Estonians and people of Estonian descent living in Scotland. Specifically, to compare the experiences of two groups – post-war Estonian EVWs and their descendants, and more recent migrants who have moved to Scotland since the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991. I explore under what circumstances, through what processes did they come to Scotland, and how they managed to adapt. The post-war Estonian communities abroad have been conventionally understood as a diaspora, due to the circumstances of their departure, their status on arrival, the then political status of their homeland and the difficulty or in most cases inability to return to the homeland due to the Soviet occupation during the years of the cold war. Nowadays, in the context of globalisation and in light of the emergence of transnationalism as one of the key approaches in contemporary migration studies, the Estonian community's practices and attitudes can be approached using the lens of transnationalism. I intend to use this also to look back at earlier migration trying to find out the differences and similarities in this two different Estonian migration waves. In the case of the post-war Estonian community, even if it appears to reflect some classical characteristics of 'diaspora', strong transnational elements were already present, as can be seen in the empirical chapters of the thesis.

Before moving to look at and compare the practical experience of the two temporarily different Estonian communities and the individual migrants in these communities, it is therefore important to analyse further the terms 'diaspora' and 'transnationalism', to reflect upon the points of commonality and differences between them and consider their utility for my study. In this chapter, I firstly give a broader background overview of migration and the different stages and theories in migration studies. I then move on to consider more contemporary transnational approaches and then concentrating on the work of migration researchers who have looked at different levels of transnationalism, including the importance of social networks, for example, L. Ryan (2011), Faist (2010), Dahinden (2010) and Boccagni (2010, 2012). The latter authors offer valuable insights for understanding migration and transnationalism, and they will be useful for exploring perspectives across the two Estonian communities, and their experience of adaptation and settlement. I will use these studies when looking at the scope and intensity of transnational

ties, and types of transmigrants. In addition to this, the concepts of home, ethnicity and identity are also central to my analysis. It is also important to have a closer look at literature, which has emerged around recent Central Eastern European migration and settlement in Scotland/UK,

2.2 Short overview of the history of migration studies³

Migration is a process, which has existed since ancient times. It affects every dimension of social existence, and develops its own complex dynamics. In 2015, the number of international migrants worldwide was 243.7 million (3.3 % of the world population)⁴ and the global population of international migrants is growing at about 1.6 per cent per year. The great majority of people in the world are not international migrants; however, their communities and way of life are changed by migration and therefore we live in the age of migration (Castles and Miller, 2009). According to Petersen, in “its most general sense ‘migration’ is ordinarily defined as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance”. But this definition, or any paraphrase of it, merely begins to delimit the subject, for the exact meaning of the most important terms (‘permanent’, ‘significant’) is still to be specified’ (Petersen, 1968:286). Other definitions exclude certain types of movement, such as the following: nomadism, migrant labour commuting and tourism, all of which are transitory in nature⁵. According to these definitions, migration has to last a certain time and has to involve living away from home, building a temporary or permanent new life there.

Migration is a very complex process. First, I will look at the most common migration theories, which, while perhaps not directly relevant to my research, help to build a background context for understanding migration more generally and helping to shape the focus of my study. According to Massey et al. (1993), the study of international migration has often fallen into two rather separate bodies of social scientific investigation: first,

³ Some elements of this discussion have been published in article: Kocsis et al. 2016. ‘Geographical characteristics of contemporary international migration in and into Europe’. *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin* 4 (64), http://www.mtafki.hu/konyvtar/hungeobull2016_4.html

⁴ sources: <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates15.shtml>

⁵ This definition was taken from *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1991: vi. 137

research on the determinants, processes and patterns of migration, and, second, research on the ways in which migrants become incorporated into receiving societies. Castles and Miller (2009:20) argue that this distinction is artificial, and detrimental to a full understanding of the migratory process. According to them, the second area should be understood more broadly as the ways in which migration brings about change in both sending and receiving societies. This may be so, but I retain this distinction because it remains important in terms of comparing the experience of the two groups of migrants and to illuminate the questions I have raised. Reflecting on the determinations, processes and patterns of migration is helpful in finding out what brought people to Scotland, while focusing on incorporation helps set the scene for answering questions about migrant adaptation and interactions within the society.

2.2.1 *Determinants, patterns and processes of migration*

Migration studies started to develop at the end of the 19th century. It is an interdisciplinary field of study that encompasses history, geography, political science, ethnology, anthropology, demography and sociology. This is reflected in the myriad of different approaches and methods of research. The first dominant theory of migration and the most simplistic one amongst economic theories is the so-called neoclassical push-pull theory which is connected to British geographer Ernest Ravenstein. According to this theory, migration is governed by unfavourable conditions (poverty, oppression) which push people out, and favourable conditions in another location (better economic opportunities) which pull people in. This theory was widely criticised and was altered by adding a wider range of factors to the migration process (Castles and Miller, 2009). In the late 1970s, a new approach, the *dual labour theory* was introduced, which considers a subdivided labour market with two sectors: one has demand for highly educated employees and provides them with high wages, the other is characterized by low wages and uncertain working conditions (Newbold, 2014). Newbold, Stark and Bloom introduced the *new economics of labour migration approach* and argued that decisions about migration lie in the hands of a family rather than an individual and the decision making process is influenced by other factors like access to credit, remittances and volatility of local agricultural markets (Castles and Miller, 2009; Newbold, 2014). These theories, however, focus mainly on the economic factors in people's choices.

There are other explanations of international migration trends which attempt to involve different characteristics and factors. The world systems theory expresses the importance of globalization in the process of international migration (Newbold, 2014). Castles and Miller described this theory as focussing “on the way less developed ‘peripheral’ regions are incorporated into a world economy controlled by ‘core’ capitalism” (Castles and Miller, 2009:26). While the relevance of world systems theory to the second wave of migration from Estonia as a semi-peripheral state will be discussed further in the chapters ahead, both of the above theories fail to answer the question of why some people migrate while others in the same situation do not? The migration systems theory is more complex than the previous ones. It suggests that migratory movements are a by-product of global capitalism and generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties (Castles and Miller, 2009:27).

Migrants’ behaviour is also, however, strongly influenced by historical experiences and by family and community dynamics (Castles and Miller, 2009: 22). The social network theory concerns mechanisms for the perpetuation of international migration and focusses on micro-level elements, like families, friends and immigrant communities (Newbold, 2014). In this research, one of my aims is to look more closely at Estonians’ social networks and how they have changed over time and I will return to networks near the end of this chapter. As the migration process is very complex, nowadays migration theories have been developed further, into more complex approaches that take into consideration age, education, family status and other important personal characteristics which can influence people’s decisions and therefore facilitate or retard migration.

A big shift has also occurred in terms of viewing the interaction of migratory processes with different social spaces. Whereas previously, migration was looked at as a rather directed movement with a point of departure and a point of arrival, it is increasingly understood as an on-going movement between two or more social spaces or locations. This is captured by the terms *transmigrant* and *transmigration*. According to Stuart Hall (1996, in Inda and Rosaldo 2002:19), ‘transmigrants are people who belong to more than one world, speak more than one language, inhabit more than one identity, have more than one home, who have learned to negotiate and translate between cultures, and who, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, have learned to

live with, and indeed to speak from, difference. They speak from the ‘in-between’ of different cultures’. This will be explored further below when the chapter moves to looking at transnationalism.

In my study I use the term ‘migrant’ according to Faist’s (2010:19) definition, which refers to a person who moves from one country to another with the intention of taking up residence there for a certain period of time, including both forced and voluntary migration (see further in this chapter). In my work I will use also some other terms connected to different types of migration (Bovenkerk, 1974: 4–6). Primary migrants migrate for the first time. A return migrant is a person who moves back to the original country of emigration with the intention of taking up residence again there for a relevant period of time. This could mean that they move again back to the immigration country (re-emigration) or yet another third country (second-time emigration). We speak of return migration as repatriation when the initiative to return is not of the migrants themselves but of the political authorities. In the case of post-war migration, we also have to talk about such terms as alien or stateless person, DP (displaced person) and refugee. Somewhat problematic was the division between DP and refugee status as different organisations defined these terms in a different formal-juridical way (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006:23). According to Jürgenson (2011:118), during the post-war years, the term Displaced Person was generally used to define persons who were taken away or left their homes due to the war. There were many people who were taken by Germans for forced labour and who were supposed to return to their countries after the war. A refugee is a person who has fled their homeland and can’t return. According to Raag (2001), the DPs were unable to return to Estonia because of the Soviet re-occupation of their homeland and fear of persecution, and therefore legally they should be also looked at as political refugees. Once the war refugees reached the countries of further migration, many Estonians decided not to apply for citizenship, therefore becoming stateless persons, as Estonia was annexed into USSR and did not exist as an independent state. However, it is important to look at it in terms of personal experience and not just at legal category.

Types of migratory movement can be forced and voluntary, long-term and short-term (Richmond, 1988). As already mentioned, migration can be planned as only short-term for a certain period, but may also last longer and sometimes there will be no return to the country of origin. The duration of migration may be difficult to determine, as in the

beginning the migrants may consider it only temporary but then change their mind, or the circumstances change. It could be the same with recent Estonian migrants who first came to study or work temporarily but because of the deteriorating economic situation back home or the chance emergence of opportunities in Scotland have changed their plans. In some cases, people still consider their migration temporary even though they have been living somewhere for many decades, therefore ‘state of mind’ is also important for understanding migrants’ experience. Sometimes (as happened in the case of post-war Estonians) they have no possibility to return (see above). This leads us to the next types of migration - voluntary and involuntary (forced) migration.

According to some researchers, there is a huge difference between whether people themselves decide to migrate (for economic reasons) or are forced to leave their homes due to war or persecution. Some researchers however, complicate this distinction and do not distinguish voluntary and involuntary migration (Fischer et al, 1997; Jürgenson, 2011). Fischer *et al* argue that involuntary migrants try to minimise their risks rather than maximise their utility (1997:50). Van Hear, in addition to these, brings in one more type of migration - mixed migration, which is the intersection between voluntary and forced migration. Migration can be mixed in several senses – motivations about making the decision to move; travelling with others in mixed migratory flows; motivation changes *en route*; ending the journey in mixed communities (2010:5). Van Hear’s study shows very clearly that it is in many cases difficult to distinguish voluntary and forced migration and that there is no agreement amongst migration researchers in terms of this dichotomy.

In the context of Estonian migration it can be argued that migration during WWII was mainly forced, while all other waves of Estonian migration were (and are) mainly voluntary. However, one cannot eliminate the possibility that even during war time there were people who left their homes due to the thrill of travelling and their adventurous spirit, even if the majority fled Estonia because of fear of repression. Jürgenson (2011:94) has stated that in Estonia during war-time ‘people were faced with a forced choice – whether to stay in their homeland and wait ‘voluntarily’ for repression or escape ‘voluntarily’ to the West towards an unpredictable future’. Some of the war-time refugees, especially young people and children, may not have understood fully why they were leaving, they may have been forced or persuaded to follow their families or friends and therefore cannot be considered to have moved entirely according to their free will. At the same time, one can

ask whether current migration is entirely voluntary, for example due to high unemployment rates⁶ in Estonian villages and small towns which make it difficult for people to stay and build a life there. According to Richmond (1988:11), 'degrees of freedom' may vary, many of the decisions made by both 'economic' and 'political' migrants are a reaction to a failure of the social system to provide for the fundamental needs of the individual, biological, economic and social.

2.2.2 Migrant experiences in incorporating into receiving societies. Old models and transnationalism

The other bigger field of migration studies, according to Massey et al. (1993), is based on research looking into the ways in which migrants become incorporated into receiving societies. This harks back to the second question in the introduction. The focus here is on the receiving society and the migrants' personal settlement experiences. This migration studies field as an area of academic research started to bloom after the Second World War, especially in America, where the rapidly growing migrant communities in towns and cities were researched. These communities were viewed as enclave communities with relatively intact cultures. The traditional 'melting pot ideology' emphasised acculturation, treating minority cultures in urban contexts as conservative, maladaptive residues, 'survivals' resisting cultural change to the dominant white mode. (Lewis, 1978:374). In migration research, the assimilation model was prevalent from the beginning of the 20th century until the 1990s. It predicted an eventual blending of immigrant strains into a single novel amalgam. This assimilation model shows that newer and newer waves of immigrants all start from low positions, and as they gain better status in the society, they will be absorbed into the dominant community (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998:282). The perception of assimilation as a smooth, unimpeded process was, however, called into question as early as the 1910s, when another approach to coping with the diversity of immigrants began to take shape: the notion of pluralism (Kallen, 1924, in Zelinsky and Lee, 1998:284). Pluralists envisage a mosaic of self-sustaining ethnic communities instead of a melting pot (Ibid.). A study of immigrants in London has shown that these two models can co-exist in the same city – assimilationism, being played out by the Caribbean, and pluralism as the path being followed by Bangladeshi people (Peach, 1997, Ibid.).

⁶ About Estonia's unemployment rates, see <https://www.stat.ee/13080>

In any discussion on assimilation and pluralism, we must also talk about adaptation. Berry (2011) uses the term acculturation, which explains the process of cultural and psychological change that results from a meeting between cultural groups and their individual members. Variations in ways of acculturating are explained by the terms integration (multiculturalism), assimilation (melting pot), separation (segregation), and marginalisation (exclusion) (Sam and Berry 2010:472, Berry 2011:285). In Berry's model, acculturation takes place in three stages – contact, conflict and adaptation. It is claimed that the first generation of migrants may not reach the third stage during their lifetime, but their children might. Berry claims that adaptation can be psychological (involves psychological well-being) or socio-cultural (how well an individual is able to manage daily life in the new cultural context) (Berry 2011:283). In this thesis, I will use a term adaptation more widely, not in the meaning of a stage of acculturation process, but as the whole process, as the combined different stages of Berry's acculturation. Using this term in a broader sense of the meaning has the advantage of, as Goldlust and Richmond (1974:195) have stated, “of not involving a priori value judgements concerning desirable outcomes or conveying the same ideological overtones that come to be associated with the notion of ‘assimilation’”, or also acculturation, which carry their own specific baggage.

Jürgenson (2011: 272) stresses that in any analysis of the adaptation process, the relationship between the majority and the minority is very important. Usually the status of the majority is higher and the newcomers have to redefine their identity. Adaptation process depends on other important factors as well, for example D. Ryan et al. (2008), in their research on refugees' post-migration adaptation and psychological well-being, established that the key to adaptation is sufficient amount of psychological resources, and persons who have suffered losses in those resources (e.g. a sense of dignity, self-esteem and hope) may struggle with adaptation. The lowest level of resources were found amongst those migrants who were fleeing a war. Generally, three different universal stages can be distinguished in the adaptation process (Jürgenson, 2011). The first phase starts with arrival. This phase is usually positive and full of optimism, but it is also usually followed with a second, more negative phase. This is when “reality hits” and people have hesitations and problems. Social Displacement Syndrome has been detected amongst migrants and refugees, who after a couple of months in a new environment may experience several psychiatric symptoms and depression (Tyhurst, 1982). In the context of this thesis, it is important to look at adaptation process in the context of transnationalism. Kivisto

(2001:571) has argued that transnationalism can be viewed as ‘one possible variant of adaptation rather than substitute for adaptation (Instead of Kivisto’s original *assimilation* I have used a term *adaptation* here). I would understand it in a following way: transnationalism has become like a tool in the adaptation process, a way of better engagement in the societal and individual level, which leads people out of isolation (being cut off from their homeland and contacts, experiencing isolation in the host society). The empirical chapters will look at these features more closely.

2.3 Social networks and (social) media

An important term in the case of adaptation and building a new life and a home abroad is social networks. The term ‘network’ will be used in this research according to the definition by Poros (2011):

A social network is made up of individuals and organizations, which are tied together by different sorts of relationships, such as friendship, economic exchange, influence, and common interests. /.../ Networks are different from groups or communities in that they do not have closed boundaries. They are, in principle, open configurations of relationships.

I think that the term ‘network’ therefore is more suitable to describe the loose and different purposed relationship which dominates in the case of this study of Estonian migrants in Scotland. Social networks can vary in duration, intensity and purpose. Poros (2011) also states that a “migrant’s ability to find a job and accommodation, access health care can all be directly impacted by or even dependent upon the migrant’s social network”. Tilly (2007) describes trust networks in his research of emigrants in the USA and highlights the importance of such transnational networks at both ends of the migration stream, transforming both sending and receiving communities. Such networks maintain the strong ties in the transnational community and help adaptation of newcomers, at the same time economically supporting the kin back home.

In this dissertation, one of my aims is also to look closer at Estonians’ social networks and how they have changed over time. Building a social network or becoming a part of it can happen in several ways. In social science, terms ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ are used, usually in connection with ‘social capital’ (quite vague term which I use here as a form of

economic and cultural capital in which social networks and shared values form a central part, and which creates common good (Coleman, 1988). Bourdieu (1986: 248) defines social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’. Bonding social ties are based on similarities and closeness (shared ethnicity, family ties), in reality it serves as an essential form of support, however this network is often also associated with ghettoization and ethnic enclaves. Bridging social ties are based on difference and are more useful in terms of gaining social capital (Ryan, 2011). Ryan differentiates between vertical and horizontal bridging and states that sometimes ‘bonding may involve close relationships based on emotional intimacy while bridging may result in flows of information, advice or knowledge but without intimacy’ (2011:721). Ryan also makes difference between strong and weak ties.

According to some scholars, the need for informal networks of compatriots abroad often leads to the creation of nation-based societies which can be more or less isolated, as this was the case of Estonians (Jürgenson, 2011). Research has shown that those migrants who participated more in their ethnic social network were happier than those who didn’t, as it helped to compensate for their loss of homeland, to soothe the cultural shock they often experienced, and to establish valuable social ties (Montgomery 1996; Jürgenson 2011). Praakli (2009) has researched Estonian social networks in Tampere, Finland and has found that their networks have indeed changed over time. In the beginning many people did not know anybody from Estonia and had mostly native Finns in their networks, as this was useful for a quicker adaptation and integration into the new society in the beginning. However, those who had been living in Tampere already longer preferred their Estonian communication networks to the Finnish ones. She found that over time people started to consciously seek more contacts with other local Estonians and more possibilities for using their mother tongue. In the case of this study, informants also had close contacts with Estonia. Louise Ryan (2011) in her research on Polish migrants in London has noticed the contrary: while ethnic networks seem to be very important for migrants’ early settling in stages, some of her informants tried to break free of those bonding ethnic networks, especially those who had a better social capital (education, language, knowledge), to move on in a host society, maintaining the very close bonding relationships only with close family and friends.

Social media has nowadays a great role in migrants' experience. According to Dekker and Engbersen (2013: 401), social media are not only new communication channels in migration networks, but also actively transform the nature of these networks and thereby facilitate migration, by enhancing the possibilities of maintaining strong ties with family and friends, by addressing weak ties which are useful in planning migration, by establishing a new infrastructure consisting of latent ties, and by offering a rich source of insider knowledge on migration that is discrete and unofficial, therefore making potential migrants 'streetwise'. Many people do not belong to traditional, closely-knit, tightly bounded communities, but instead move in and out of loose, frequently changing networks within which the ties between people are generally weak.

Internet has enabled people to contact friends and relatives very easily, both abroad and back home. As has been previously stated in research about internet usage amongst migrants (for example Castro and Conzáles, 2011:3), exchange of photos and messages help them to maintain connections with members of their personal social networks. Very often people post their messages or photos into "some sort of interactional vacuum" in which there is no certainty of obtaining any response or reaction. This gives them the possibility to be present in the community. Secondly, by passively observing other people's posts, the less active members of the community will be aware of the others' activities in their networks. According to Castro and Conzáles, maintaining strong social contacts with the communities back home will also facilitate homecoming. I will explore this in the case of Estonians in my empirical chapters.

While living abroad, transmigrants perform several socio-cultural activities to keep in touch with their country of origin. The most common of these is following the media channels. Aksoy and Robins (2000: 361) have researched Turkish migrants' satellite TV habits and discovered that while Turks want to bridge the emotional distance from their homeland's everyday life by watching Turkish TV programmes, at the same time they experience distance and a feeling of ambivalence, discomfort and frustration. According to this research, news programmes proved to be the most distressing. Nowadays, different social media (Facebook, Twitter) are becoming more and more important. (Social) media is also important in terms of preserving one's mother tongue. Generally, the three-generation-model of linguistic assimilation (see also Alba and Stowell, 2007; Alba et al., 2002) has been accepted to be prevalent. According to this model, the third generation of

immigrants' offspring is mostly monolingual in English and does no longer speak their ancestors' language at home. There is a widespread assumption that this pattern of linguistic assimilation may no longer hold because of globalization and multiculturalism. However, research in USA has shown that the high migration level of the 1990s did not affect the fundamental shift towards English across the generations and by the third generation, English monolingualism is still the prevalent pattern (Alba and Stowell, 2007: 7). This research will also have a look at Estonians' language usage and attitudes towards different languages.

2.4 Globalisation, diaspora and transnationalism

Since the 1990s, migrant transnationalism, which has become a popular topic, helps to understand the process of adaptation. Roger Rouse (1995, in Vertovec, 2001:574) wrote that:

While, a decade ago, disagreements about the frames for understanding (im)migrant experience were largely contained within the dominant models of bipolar landscapes and localised identities, they now focus much more widely on the relationship between these models and the alternative images of transnational social spaces and multi-local affiliations.

As already noted in the introduction, thinking about how migrants adapt takes us back to interesting debates within migration theory, about the distinction between 'diaspora' and 'transnational' migrant groups. The next section explores these two categories, as well as the inter-related concept of globalisation. Before moving on to transnationalism, we will briefly look at the term 'diaspora' which is still widely used in migration studies and will lead us further to explore 'transnationalism' through first exploring 'globalisation'. These three concepts are closely intertwined. According to some researchers, diaspora and transnationalism have been considered opposites. I show below how critical reflections on 'diaspora' actually led to more nuanced understandings, connected to transnationalism. In reality, these terms are very vague and often unclear. This section will be used to form a clearer concept of how I will use these terms in my research. I will primarily draw on transnationalism rather than on diaspora.

Diaspora has been and still is a central term in migration studies. Conzáles (in Kearney, 2005:559) distinguishes diasporas from other patterns of migration, because diasporas include a full cross-section of community members who are dispersed to many diverse regions of the world and still retain a myth of their uniqueness and an interest in their homeland. Diaspora formation can occur by accretion, as a result of gradual, routine migration, which may be matter of choice or strategy on the part of households and communities. Alternatively, dispersal may be brought about by crisis and may involve coercion, catastrophe, expulsion or other forcible movement resulting from conflict or persecution (Van Hear 2010:2). Van Hear stresses the importance of durability in the case of diaspora, where consolidation is important (2010:5). According to Faist (2010), diaspora has become an all-purpose word with overlapping meanings. Throughout my empirical analysis I will not use the term ‘diaspora’, partly because the term is not and has not been relevant in the case of Estonians in Scotland where a ‘diaspora’ in its classic sense of the meaning has never existed (although the post-war Estonian community in Scotland can perhaps be viewed as a ‘periphery of the diaspora’ (as suggested by Raimo Raag⁷). However, I will use the term ‘diasporic’ for describing such actions and features (e.g. social institutions, cultural and political activities) which are rather typical for the classical diaspora. The relevance of the term ‘diaspora’ is also questionable in that it did not emerge as it did not emerge as a central explanatory concept when I was analysing my empirical interview data.

Big changes have taken place globally leading up to the turn of the millennium – the collapse of the USSR (which led to the globalisation of postmodern capitalism), the increasing migration and dislocation of people due to wars and other disasters, increasing unemployment as well as many other huge changes. All these have had profound effects on the movements of people worldwide. Currently, more than 100 million people are living outside their traditional historical territory (Kearney, 2005:557). Undoubtedly understanding these effects of globalisation has become paramount in the field of migration research. Anthony Giddens (1990:64; see also Inda and Rosaldo, 2002:9; Kearney, 1995:548) states that globalisation is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by

⁷ Offered by Raimo Raag at the defence of this PhD, 2.5.2017.

events occurring many miles away and vice versa. Giddens considers globalisation to involve a profound reorganisation of time and space in social and cultural life. Social life consists of two basic kinds of social interaction: face-to-face contact (prevailing in pre-modern societies) and remote encounters across space and time; globalisation disembeds our social relations from local context. Globalisation represents a totally new epoch in world history, where policy-making has become de-territorialised – for example UN, World Bank, IMF etc. (Lewellen, 2002:10).

Globalisation is the structural context in which transnationalism takes place. As mentioned by Glick Schiller (2007), in the academic discussion of assimilation and multiculturalism a new paradigm for migration studies was needed for immigrants who were living their lives across borders, in two or more countries. While recent processes of globalisation may have intensified transnationalism, the concept in itself is not entirely new, but has been around since early 20th century. The term 'transnationalism' was first used by American Randolph Bourne in his article "Trans-national America" in 1916 (in Portes 1999 and Glick Schiller 2007). There he used the term "spiritual country" to address an immigrant's culture of origin and claims (in contrast to the popular 'melting-pot' theory which was discussed earlier) that instead of assimilating into the country they lived in, the immigrants often preserved their original culture and traditions. Bourne hoped that with the help of multiple migrant communities, America would become a trans-national nation with cultural ties to many other countries. Foner (1997, in Bruneau, 2010) describes how Russian and Italian immigrants in the USA maintained family, economic, political and cultural ties with their homelands which they visited regularly and hoped to return to one day, at the same time becoming a part of the host society. While back-and-forth movements of immigrants have always existed, they have not acquired, until recently, the critical mass and complexity necessary to speak of an emergent social field. This field is composed of a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders (Portes et al., 1999:217). Faist (2010) has stated that the current conditions of globalisation, basically amounting to easier transport and accelerated communications, are a necessary condition, but by no means a sufficient one, for an increase in migrant transnationalism. One cannot deny that globalisation has increased the possibilities for (and given a new quality to) transnationalism, however, the phenomenon of living simultaneously across national borders and using multiple transnational social spaces was by no means unknown even in

the early 20th century. This to some extent repeats the reference to Bourne above, therefore one can argue that transnationalism, although not as well-spread as nowadays, has existed already earlier, but in a different form. In the current study, aspects of transnationalism theory might be potentially useful in exploring the experiences of post-war, as well as more recent migrants.

Talking about Estonian communities abroad, Jürgenson (2011:375) introduces into the term long-distance nationalism in the discussion. It expresses the ideas and practices of identity which bind people living in different geographical locations with a particular territory which they consider their initial home. Blood ties are important as well as ties with compatriots. It has been stated in different sources (for example, Raag, 2001:180) that language was (and is) considered the basis of Estonian identity and the most important expression and symbol of it. This is why the refugees established and maintained the Estonian-language Saturday schools and other activities abroad.

Andrus Saareste, an Estonian professor, has written that for the Estonians living in exile during the Soviet occupation, the three main national duties were: to organise the political campaign for the restoration of Estonian independence, to retain the characteristics of Estonian language and culture, and to maintain and develop the ideals of the democratic republic of Estonia (Raag, 2001; Jürgenson, 2011). This indicates long-distance nationalism. These ties with the homeland can also be imaginary, manifest for example through literature. The difference between long-distance nationalism and transnationalism, as Bock-Luna (2007:21) explains is that transnationalism is a broader category.

Transnationalism includes all social practices linking people in the homeland and abroad through their transnational actions and contacts (sending remittances and so forth), all practices that cross national borders. In contrast to this, long-distance nationalism indicates a strengthening of the perception of national borders, together with political agency, which is directed towards the home country. Long-distance nationalism exists in times of crisis or war and is specifically characterised by a discourse of historical injustice and violence. Long-distance nationalism can therefore be regarded as a political principle with underlying political and historical claims, not just a marker of national identity. However, not everybody who feels for his or her homeland is a long-distance nationalist. Many migrants are constantly renegotiating their identity with regard to not only the homeland but also vis-à-vis the host society (Ibid.). We can here ask questions about the possibility

of transnationalism already shortly after the Second World War, as the Estonians abroad generally fit into the explanation of transnationalism given by Bock-Luna. It is also interesting whether long-distance nationalism can be viewed as a part of other transnational practices, for example an enactment of political transnationalism amongst other such activities.

Transnationalism has meanwhile become a wide and ambivalent term, used by many disciplines and in different contexts. This PhD will hopefully advance discussion of the concept of transnationalism and deepen our understanding of it. The term *transnationalism* can be understood, for example: as a *process* – entailing the transmigrants' everyday actions and strategies, emergence and functioning of transnational organisations, and so on. Transnational processes can be both bodily movements (migration) and non-bodily movements (internet, capital expansion) (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:14). The term 'transnationalism' can also be understood as a *theory* – replacing the traditional state-centred theories in politics and international relation. The term can further be thought of as a *methodological framework* for describing and explaining different social features, or as counter-hegemonic *political spaces* (Kearney, 2005, Smith and Guarnizo, 1998). What these definitions have in common is their emphasis on the linkages that bind people living in different countries (Mazzucato, 2010:206-207). In this research the term 'transnationalism' will be used on the personal level as a set of activities, a practice of connecting simultaneously with multiple spaces, encompassing all aspects of social interaction, and both bodily and non-bodily movement. The existence and characteristics of 'transnational spaces' will be further explored below.

People do not have to leave their homes to be engaged in transnational activities. Levitt and Schiller (2004:2) argue that social fields connect people and engage them in transnational activities even when they have not left their homes, through the networks of social relations they sustain across borders. People who stay behind are connected to migrants' social networks, get economic and social remittances or ideas, practices and identities that migrants import on a regular basis. The transnational social fields have not only multiple sites but also multiple layers. This has been called 'transnational social field', 'transnational village', and 'translocality' (Vertovec 2001:578). Smith and Guarnizo (1998:26-27), on the contrary, criticise the view that transnational processes take place in an imaginary 'third space', abstractly located 'in-between' national territories. According

to them, the image of transmigrants as deterritorialised, free-floating people represented by the now popular academic adage 'neither here nor there' deserves closer scrutiny.

Nina Glick Schiller (2010) has criticised social theorists that privilege the nation state as their unit of analysis when they discuss migration, and whose frameworks are built on methodological individualism. These approaches focus on nation states and do not look at global finance capital, centres of power or social processes which influence individual migrant flows, and as such, they cannot conceive of incorporation 'beyond' the nation state. While this debate about the importance and relative decline of the nation state due to globalization is ongoing, in the context of Estonian migration to Scotland/the UK the nation-state of course has paramount continued importance. Indeed the case of Estonia is an interesting example as 'the Estonian state' as such officially ceased to exist during the Soviet occupation, yet even in exile it continued to exert a huge influence on the community of Estonians, as we can see in Chapter 5.

Smith and Guarnizo (1998:8) state that the less developed countries are officially incorporating their nationals residing abroad into their newly configured trans-territorial nation-state. It has been noted that more and more states allow their citizens dual citizenship and that migrant transnationalism plays a significant role in this growth (Vertovec, 2004:980). "By granting them dual citizenship, these states are encouraging transmigrants' instrumental accommodation to 'receiving' societies, while simultaneously inhibiting their cultural assimilation and thereby promoting the preservation of their own national culture. It suggests the prevailing postmodernist metaphors of 'de-territorialisation' and 'unboundedness'". (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:10) In the case of Estonia, dual citizenship amongst the descendants of Estonian wartime refugees is becoming more and more common. At the same time, if recent migrants from Estonia take the citizenship of the receiving state, Estonia allows them to keep their Estonian citizenship. As Bruneau (2010) states, dual nationality and migratory circulation within the framework of a transnational region like the EU favour the emergence of new trans-border communities differing from the long-term diasporas.

As we can see, both diaspora and transnationalism concern sustained cross-border ties including regions of origin and destination. Diaspora approaches usually focus on the relationship between homelands and dispersed people and emphasises the cultural distinctiveness while transnationalism looks more into migrant incorporation and

transnational practices. (Faist, 2010:20) According to Faist (Ibid.) transnationalism is a broader term than diaspora in two respects: diaspora relates most often to religious, ethnic and national groups and communities, whereas transnational approaches connect to all sorts of social formations, including the ones already mentioned, as well as to phenomena such as networks of businesspersons and social movements. Basch et al (1994) mention that the concept of diaspora is closely related to that of a 'nation' which envisions a people with a common past and a biological bond of solidarity who may or may not have their own state. In counter-distinction is the deterritorialized nationstate, in which the nation's people may live anywhere in the world and still not live outside the state. By this logic, there is no longer a diaspora because where the people go, their state goes too. This already leads us to transnationalism. Many peoples' transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it (Vertovec 2001:573). However, according to Bruneau's study (2010), unlike people of the diaspora, transmigrants do not seek to establish a social network destined to last, or a transnational social group based on the richness of a symbolic capital and a memory transmitted from one generation to the next. Therefore, transnational communities encompass diaspora, but not all transnational communities are diasporas. Diaspora scholars often refer to multi-generational patterns, while transnational analysts deal with recent migration flows. (Faist, 2010:22) This is also one reason why the term *diaspora* was not considered relevant to this research.

Bruneau (2010:43) draws the typical characteristics of a transnational community as follows: they exist in developed Western countries, are based on specific migration expertise and link the global to a whole range of different local networking places, without hierarchy between these hubs. These migrants come from a nation state where they have lived for a long time, they are returning periodically, they are investing part of their income in the place of their origin. There is no strong desire to return as transmigrants actually never leave their place of origin in a complete sense, as they retain close ties that are greatly simplified thanks to the growth, regularity and safety of communications. Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001) stated that for transmigrants, homeland is not just a site of nostalgia but a location of ongoing experience. On the other hand, O'Connor (2010:76, 82) criticizes the fact that the impact of geographical distance between homeland and destination countries has been largely absent from conceptualisation of transnationalism.

She states that her informants' experiences of homesickness unsettle the notion of 'deterriotorialised' space and the borderless world. The possibility of keeping in touch with family and friends, and the ease of travel and increased global communication may logically make one assume that migrants would find it easier to adapt to life in a foreign country. However, as we can see from the empirical chapters that follow, nowadays people still experience homesickness (which in some cases may be even caused by online communication) and continue to encounter difficulties in adaptation. Perhaps the stronger ties and communication with people back home that modern technology enables might even make it harder for people to feel at home, precisely because they do not have to make the effort to create new friends and connections.

There have been polemics around the term *transnationalism*. According to some researchers (e.g. Bauböck, 2010), in most uses of this term the unit which is transcended by institutions, actions discourses or flows is not the nation but indeed the state. In this sense the Estonian term for 'transnationalism', *hargmaisus* (refers to *hargnema* = to divide; *maa* = land, country) is more precise because it is referring to land or country rather than a state or a nation. Some researchers have expressed their opinion that the '-ism' in transnationalism refers to an ideology rather than to a feature or tool. For example, Dahinden (2010) uses the term 'transnationality' instead. Transnationalism can be present at both the state, organisational and individual level. This thesis will very briefly look at the Estonians' organisations abroad and in the UK and the 'transnationalism from top-down' actions of Estonian state, but will deal more closely with transnationalism at the individual everyday level.

2.5 Focus moves towards individual migrants' personal experience

Transnationalism has made a strong leap ahead during the last decade and it seems to have a more individual focus nowadays where the process is explored to find out what actually happens in practice. In order to understand migrant realities, it is not sufficient to study how migrants take on the cultural forms of the countries in which they reside, or whether they participate in local labour markets. It is also necessary to understand how migrants relate to their countries of origin in their imaginaries, in the cultural forms they practice, the political identities they associate themselves with and the discourses they engage in. (Mazzucato, 2010:207) Research of immigrant transnationalism has shifted over time, going from being primarily concerned with 'transnational migrants' to a wider focus on the

transnational features in immigrants' everyday lives (Boccagni, 2010:185). As Boccagni (2012:125) has discovered in his research, the transnational interactions are 'significant others-dependent' – they are close family members and close friends who were left behind and with whom transmigrants keep closer contacts. It is very important to look at both societies – the sending as well as the receiving society, and transmigrants' contacts and actions towards these.

Sophie Mamattah (2006, 2009), who has conducted research on Russians in Scotland, came to a similar conclusion, stating that transnational conduct among Russians living in Scotland is highly individual in nature. The majority of Russians included in her survey sought to engage in transnational activity only occasionally, in an almost pragmatic fashion, with migrants picking and choosing the mode and depth of their practice. Their transnationalism is uneven and dependent on multiple factors.

In my dissertation, I intend to have a closer look at individual strategies the Estonian migrants use in their everyday life to cope with living abroad as well as maintaining the aforementioned ties with their homeland and families. This thesis will deal more closely with transnationalism at the individual everyday level and will look at those who are engaged in Estonians' transnational activities and networks. This thesis will look at Estonians' individual transnational activities in three different (although in some sense, overlapping) fields: political (taking part in political activities in sending and receiving countries); socio-cultural (following the media of sending and receiving countries, social interactions, cultural activities etc.); and economic transnationalism (sending remittances and parcels back home, establishing transnational companies and offering products and services of a transnational nature – e.g. foodstuffs, transportation services etc.). In this sense, transnationalism is a more appropriate concept for my study than diaspora, because even in the more or less 'classical' cases of diasporic activities, strong transnational elements were already present also in the post-war period. If we look at the nature of the location under study – Scotland has been, to some extent, a 'periphery of a UK Estonian diaspora'; however, as mentioned above, it has never been home to a diaspora in the full sense of the term. This will be illustrated in the empirical chapters that follow.

While taking a closer look at the migrant communities we should keep in mind that not all migrants are nowadays automatically transmigrants. Amongst the members of migrant communities, there can still be people who do not live their lives 'parallel in two

countries'. Their actions are addressed to a few selected individuals only whom Boccagni calls 'the significant others'. In his research, it was shown that in the case of Latin-American migrants in Italy there was little evidence of social and political transnational ties. This dissertation will take a closer look at Estonians' transnational ties and their actions, with a focus on both post-war and contemporary Estonian communities.

2.6 Transnational social ties and types of transmigrants

Migrants perform different social actions and have different social ties which bound them to the sending and receiving societies. Boccagni has conducted research in Italy amongst Latin American migrants from a three-level actor-centred perspective: individual, family and the social group level. He found that there is little evidence of transnational **social** ties – migrants linking back to the social institutions of their homelands (political system, market and civil society), but that transnational ties occur rather at an individual level. Boccagni's first terrain of analysis concerns the actual relevance of transnational ties and the possibilities of keeping them alive by examining immigrants' personal attitudes towards their identity and belonging. Many of his respondents felt proud of their home country, their host country (Italy) on the other hand was for them simply the country in which they earned their living. Whether they felt exploited and misunderstood, or helped and supported, they did not feel equally at home in both countries. Transnational ties are mostly a tool for coping with the negative effects of an extended separation from one's family, in terms of both time and space. Boccagni discovered that rather than transnational, most social ties maintained at distance are actually translocal, as they involve only a specific local community of origin (Ibid.). His fieldwork results suggest scepticism about the over-generalised uses of the term 'transnationalism'.

Faist (1999, 2000) has distinguished three types of transnational social ties amongst migrants – transnational kinship groups (prevalent amongst first generation migrants, e.g. family), transnational circuits (e.g. business networks) and transnational communities (high degree of social cohesion and strong symbolic and social ties). Faist and Boccagni are therefore similar in distinguishing the first individual and family level which then moves on to a higher, societal level. Janine Dahinden goes further in her study (2010) where she analysed migrants' practices and has taken into account both physical *mobility* and *locality*. Her central argument is that transnational formations result from a combination of transnational mobility, on the one hand, and locality in the sending or/and receiving

country, on the other. Mobility has to be understood here as the physical movement of people in transnational space. Locality means being rooted or anchored – socially, economically or politically – in the country of immigration and / or in the sending country. Locality and mobility are entwined - ‘roots and routes’ (Clifford, 1994, in Dahinden, 2010:52) are both present in different transnational formations. Dahinden draws four ideal types of the transnational: *localised diasporic transnational formations* (low physical mobility and high degree of local ties), *localised mobile transnational formations* (high physical mobility and high locality), *transnational mobiles* (high mobility, low locality) and *transnational outsiders* (low mobility and low local anchorage).

Group 1, Localised diasporic transnational formations have low levels of transnational mobility, but high levels of locality in the receiving and low levels of locality in the sending country. People who develop this kind of transnationality have experienced one-way migration in their family from a place of origin to a new country, and perhaps also a secondary migration to a third or fourth country. (Dahinden, 2010:54) This group is called ‘diasporic’ by Dahinden because the group members usually speak about themselves as classical diasporas. Group 2, Localised mobile transnational formations is characterised by more elements of mobility – simultaneously high levels of mobility and high levels of locality in both receiving and sending countries. In my research, I assume that they might be the majority of those first generation ‘new’ migrants who move regularly back and forth between the new country and Estonia for their vacations, family events and in many cases also for business reasons. They are integrated into social and professional networks in both countries although not at the same level.

Group 3, Transnational mobiles according to Dahinden (p. 56) are “more or less permanently on the move”, they have low levels of locality in the receiving country (countries) but high levels of locality in the sending country. Mobility has become an important part of those peoples’ life strategies. In Dahinden’s typology, transnational mobiles contains of two very different groups, on one hand the ‘transnational elite’ – highly skilled professionals who travel because of better career possibilities, and on the other hand – ‘new nomads’ (Tarrius, 2000), the so-called nomadic entrepreneurs (suitcase traders and seasonal workers) who are creating circular territories and can simultaneously belong here and there, who do not want to settle in a receiving country. The fourth group, transnational outsiders (Dahinden, 2010:57) are people with both low transnational

mobility and locality. They do not circulate between countries and are not embedded locally. Dahinden mentions asylum seekers and undocumented migrants as a part of this group who are cut off from their families and countries of origin, but who cannot build up stable transnational fields. Some of these ideal types may actually not exist in practice or may be not relevant in case of Estonians in Scotland.

In addition, I realised that Dahinden's model of transnational migrants lacks two important dimensions. First, one has to take in consideration the intensity and scope of transnational actions. Second, on top of taking a look at physical mobility (in terms of moving between countries and practicing transnational spatial activities), one has to take in consideration social capital and social mobility, and the ties migrants create in the receiving society – bonding and bridging (see Ryan, 2011 and 2016). According to Ryan (2011), bridging is the reaching out over differences, and it is more useful in terms of gaining social capital, while bonding is a comforting relationship which is based on similarities (ethnic or cultural, for example). I will look at this more closely in my empirical chapters and try to develop my own model in chapter 9.

2.7 Ethnicity and Identity

In this thesis, two of the overarching themes amongst others are ethnicity and identity, which are closely connected to the previously discussed topics – diaspora and transnationalism. In the Estonian migration discourse, ethnic identity has always had a central position. Citizenship and identity are usually counterposed to one another. The former expresses universal individual rights and duties, while the latter implies particularism and group membership. (Hussain and Bagguley, 2005). As Brubaker (2004:3) sees it, ethnicity “happens in a variety of everyday settings”, while identity is “multiple, fluid, fragmented, negotiated”. In my opinion, this can be understood in a following way: ethnicity and identity are not rigid categories, are negotiated and re-negotiated in various everyday interactions, it can be different how other people position you, and how do you see yourself, also different situations can change ethnicity/ identity. Can people carry more than one ethnic identity and is this the case of transmigrants? Basch et al (1994:45-46) state that “the identity constructs for transmigrants are complicated since they live a complex existence where they are forced to ‘confront, draw upon, and rework different hegemonic constructions of identity’ that have been developed in their home or new nation-states.” Transmigrants therefore have a certain level of presence, whether

emotional, political, economic or some other kind, in both countries – their homeland and their host country. Such relationships and identities are not clear-cut or measurable, but rather subjective and complicated (Pehk, 2007:6). Lewellen (2002:105) states that group identity is compressed into two overlapping categories, ethnicity and to a lesser extent nation, each so broad that no widely agreed-on definition of either is possible.

Ethnicity is often relative to a particular territory, usually a country or region and it can be conceived of as a self-conscious or projected group identity that emphasises or naturalises one or, usually, a number of specific attributes, such as language, religion, place of origin, ancestry, descent, or territory (Tambiah, 1996). Constructionism views ethnicity as a collective identity that is created and imagined either by the dominant culture or the group itself (Lewellen, 2002: 106). The main characteristic of ethnic identity is belief in a common origin (Valk and Karu-Kletter, 2006:149). The common standpoint is that the ethnic identity is a flexible and multidimensional feature, and a constantly developing process, not the final result of this process. Sarup (1994:95) has stated that “identities are not free-floating, they are limited by borders and boundaries”. Identity is constructed using myths of common history, culture and traditions, often based on language or religion, and typically a version of ethnic homogeneity (Valk and Karu-Kletter, 2006:150). Sutton who researched Caribbean transnational families (2004: 245), has found that the main reason of these homecoming trips was “get to know their family” and to therefore not lose one’s contact with the ancestral land, traditions and identity. Family identity and place identity can here be equated.

Portes (1999:465) distinguishes restrictive and linear ethnicity. Restrictive ethnicity refers to societies which are hostile towards migrants and so they are forced to draw a protective boundary around the group, separating themselves from the host society. As Portes puts it, ‘they are in the country but are certainly not of it’ (Ibid.). The linear ethnicity manifests itself in smaller groups of immigrants by claiming membership in a different group or even ‘passing’ as part of a host population. It is noteworthy that both types of ethnicities appear to be present in the case of Estonians, especially in the case of the post-war community. Many Estonian community members were protective towards their ethnicity and isolated themselves from the host society - according to some of my informants, it was in some families not thought acceptable when Estonians married someone from outside their own ethnic group, and those often ended up cutting their ties with the group. On the other hand

there were other groups that longed for quicker assimilation, trying to look as local as possible. Sometimes people with one ethnic identity can be mistaken as members of some other ethnic group. Jürgenson (2011) has noted that in the case of Estonians in Argentina, due to their appearance and languages spoken, and the fact that Estonians also lived in the same districts with the Swedish and German communities and used partly the German and Swedish churches and newspapers, the Estonians were often considered to be Germans or Swedes. In the UK, in my data it emerges that Estonians were/are often considered to be a part of the Polish, Russian or wider East-European group.

Identity can be manifested through many different things. Possessions can be seen as a part of individual or family identity and have a role in constructing and preserving it (Mehta and Belk, 1991). By losing one's possessions, important family artefacts, memoirs, photos and other (emotionally) valuable things one may therefore lose also a part of their identity. The question of Estonians' ethnicity, identity and belonging, and its manifestation through actions and artefacts, will be looked at in more detail in the empirical chapters.

It has been widely discussed whether in the process of acquiring a new identity a person will lose their old identity or keep both identities. Some have argued that there could be a parallel tandem relationship between identities, so while one identity is shrinking, the other one would be growing (for example: Italians → Italo-Americans → Americans). Valk and Karu-Kletter have researched the ethnic identity of the Estonian diaspora in Sweden. They found that ethnic identity is strongly influenced by the person's country of residence as well as generation (1st, 2nd or 3rd generation immigrants). Their study showed that the strongest expression of identity is felt in relations with family, friends and relatives and in language (2006).

Traditionally, official individual identities are either-or categories, of which 'citizen' and other officially licenced and documented forms are variants. Such classification of individuals follows a binary logic in which one either is or is not a member of such category, e.g. a nation. Kearney (2004:228, 2005:) describes globalised and transnationalised identities as being constituted in non-official transnational social spaces, often resisting official classification, therefore becoming more 'both-and-and' e.g. overlapping identities. Kearney (2005:558) suggests the use of terms from biology: *reticulum* (cells which form an intricate interstitial network) or *rhizome* (connects any point to any other point and it is not necessarily to traits of the same nature) which would

be more appropriate for the era of globalisation and transnationalism, to describe contemporary individual identities. Vertovec (2001:575) further states that 'the portability of national identity' has combined with a tendency towards claiming membership in more than one place.

The identity, according to Brah (1996:21), is constantly changing, being 'simultaneously subjective and social and is constituted in and through culture', where culture is indeed inextricably linked to identity. McDowell (2005:19) speaks about hybrid identities and states that some Latvian migrants in post-war Britain struggled to construct new hybrid identities, but others attempted to create a community identity based on their idea of an authentic Latvia, a notion belonging to a nation state formed during the brief flowering of national self-consciousness in the inter-war years. This observation of course also bears great relevance to Estonian community, and will be explored through the empirical chapters of the thesis. As people can carry multiple identities depending on the context, then it would be, in the case of Estonians, interesting to look at other possible identities they may carry: Eastern European, Post-Soviet, Nordic, perhaps some local identities (Southern Estonian, Saaremaa, Setu etc.). Kazinits et al (2002:117) have noticed that identity may also change overtime with age.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) speak about the 'identity' crisis in the Social Sciences, as identity is both a practical category which is used in everyday settings to help make sense of themselves and others, and also an analytical category. They argue that identity can be understood in different ways. In this research, I will intend to use 'identity' as a specifically collective phenomenon, which denotes a fundamental and consequential sameness among members of a group or category (Ibid, p. 7).

2.8 Concept of home and belonging

In order to understand migrant realities, it is not sufficient to study how migrants take on the cultural forms of the countries in which they reside, or whether they participate in local labour markets. It is also necessary to understand how migrants relate to their countries of origin in their imaginaries, in the cultural forms they practice, the political identities they associate themselves with and the discourses they engage in. (Mazzucato, 2010:207) In my dissertation, I intend to have a closer look at individual strategies the Estonian migrants use

in their everyday life to cope with living abroad as well as maintaining the aforementioned ties with their homeland and families.

Sara Ahmed (1999:343, in Aksoy and Robins, 2008) considers migration as a process of estrangement from what was home and homeland. It involves both spatial and temporal dislocation which will cause acute discomfort and the failure to fully inhabit the present or present space. According to her, the old life in the country of origin can be substituted only partially. In most cases, traditions and structures from the old homeland will be applied to new circumstances.

A concept of home is an important part of identity, it is in nowadays transnational world described by several researchers as a ‘flexible, changing and negotiated geographical/social space’ (Rabikowska, 2010a). According to Morley (2000:244), recent technological advances have also disrupted elements in traditional notions of home. The author explains that for example new mass media has enabled communities to be mediated at different spatial and geographical scales. He argues that the mobile nature of our present world has changed our ideas of borders – they are now fluid, rather than static, but nevertheless present. These new fluctuating boundaries mean that according to Morley our notion(s) of ‘home’ themselves are liable to fluctuation, and indeed become context dependent. Thus the idea of ‘home’ becomes a “nodal point on a cultural continuum of belonging” rather than a static idea, shaped by the particular identity of the person in that instance, in a specific context-dependent situation. Rapport and Dawson (1998: 8) mention that home is created through social relations. Home brings together memory and longing, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global. The era of mass migration has brought about a situation where the idea of home has undergone dramatic changes. Home has become more mobile, more individuated and privatized; everyone can now choose their own home (Ibid., 1998: 27). At the same time home can be seen in language, as David Morley (2000) explores different (micro and macro) levels of home in his research. ‘Home’ to him does not solely have to be a physical place, but can equally be a ‘virtual’ or ‘discursive’ space – for example language. Home can also be seen in homeland’s nature (Holy, 1988).

In the case of war refugees, home has been taken away, as for example Raychaudhury (2004) talks about the same feelings in connection to ‘home’ in her interviews with Bengali refugees. People who have lost home due to war and violence feel nostalgic about

their homes which cannot be reinvented and remain only in the refugees' memories where this loss has left a permanent scar. It is also interesting to explore how the second generation sees home. Le Espiritu and Tran (2002: 369) argue that transnationalism, especially in the second generation, takes place not only in literal but at the symbolic level – at the level of imagination, shared memory, and inventions of traditions. 'Homeland' is not only a physical place to visit, but also a concept and desire, a place to return to through the imagination. Sutton (2004) has noticed the same in the case of Caribbean second-generation migrants whose identity of home and family can be enlarged to a whole nation/country. Kibria (2002) has researched Chinese migrants in the USA, for whom homeland is a 'matter of blood'. She calls this a 'primordialist conception' of homeland membership. Therefore, homeland can be viewed as something that is already existing in blood. In this dissertation, I will look closer to Estonians' home-building strategies and other parts of their identity and concept of home, as language, food and national artefacts and objects.

In her book *Cartographies of Diaspora. Contesting Identities* (1996:193) Avtar Brah asks: "When does a location become home? What is the difference between 'feeling at home' and staking claim to a place as one's own?" She argues that it is possible to feel at home and to experience social exclusion, some migrants may feel more at home abroad, but still insist defining themselves through their ethnic identity, and the position of the second generation migrants is different from the first generation, who has all memories of displacement and what was left behind. She argues that people may feel anchored in their place of settlement, but still experience 'double, triple, or multi-placedness of home' in the imaginary. According to Brah (1996:4), 'home', can be an invocation of narratives of 'the nation', or as is commonly imagined, the site of everyday lived experiences, the place where rootedness emerges - it "signifies the social and psychic geography of space that is experienced in terms of a neighbourhood or a home town". Madan Sarup (1994:94) asks the same question, and points out that the children of many migrants are not sure where they belong. He thinks about words 'homecoming', 'home-made', 'Make yourselves at home', 'Home is where the heart is', concluding that "home is (often) associated with pleasant memories, intimate situations, a place of warmth and protective security amongst parents, brothers and sisters" (Ibid.). Like Brah, Sarup realises that home is connected to identity – "the story we tell of ourselves and which is also the story others tell of us" (1994:95) For him, identity "not to do with being but with becoming" – identity is a

construction, a consequence of a process of interaction between people, institutions and practices (Ibid. p.102). In this research I refer to the Estonian identity as in Nimmerfeldt (2009) – it has been actively constructed as an ethno-cultural group, united by native origin, common culture, history, national traditions, feelings, language, preservation of and pride in their culture and traditions, a deep connection with the Estonian territory and landscape. In my research I will try to bring these topics (identity, ethnicity, language, homeland and home) together.

2.9 Migration research in UK and Scotland

In this research, I will look at two different waves of Estonian migration to Scotland. While Estonian migrants in Scotland/the UK have not been researched before as a group, it is important to have a clear overview of what has been studied in terms of recent economic migration from the Baltic/post-Soviet or East European bloc. Such research, despite not focusing on Estonians, offers relevant insights in case of Estonians as well, due to the shared socio-economic background and history in the last half of century, as well as due to the host society's reaction to the migrants and their perception of them. At the same time, it is also relevant to look into the experience of other migrant groups in Scotland. As we can see from the empirical data of this research, Estonians are often seen as a part of a bigger group of (Eastern European) migrants although they themselves may often feel that they have relatively little in common for example with Poles, Russians or other bigger migrant groups. They may identify themselves rather as the 'better' East European migrant, which Louise Ryan (2010) talks about. In the empirical chapters I will look more closely at this.

As it was mentioned in the theoretical overview of migration in the beginning of this chapter, first of all it is interesting to see how the migration process starts, and what the patterns of it are. The migration to Scotland from many countries has been determined by strong pull factors. Migration is based on an 'unequal equation' as citizens of the new EU member states can earn wages that are much higher in the UK than in their home countries (Ciupijus, 2011: 544).

It has often been described in literature of migration (for example, Gold and Nawyn, 2013; Ryan and Webster, 2008) that the migration starts with one member of a family, often the man, who finds out about opportunities abroad and migrates, then the rest of the family (women and children) follow. As has been shown by research (for example Trevena et al.,

2015) in the case of Poland, the biggest CEE accession state, it is primarily younger people that have migrated to Britain and remained here (although this has changed over time a little bit, it is still largely the case). This could be because older people who do not speak the language often have more difficulties to adapt, to learn a new language, to create new social networks and to accommodate themselves to new surroundings.

This leads us further from processes and patterns of migration to explore the individual experience of migrants in the host society, their everyday struggles in finding employment, as well as coping in a foreign language environment. Above in this chapter, social mobility, bridging and bonding have been discussed. Ryan (2011) has found that in the case of Poles in London, socially equal and advantageous contacts (bridging) with locals have been difficult to establish. Several migration researchers (for example Trevena, 2009; Engbersen and Snel, 2013) have mentioned that migrants may not be welcomed by local people, because the latter are afraid of them stealing jobs or being a threat to the community's values and beliefs, or to the welfare state, which leads to the newcomers' social isolation.

Contacts with local people are often tenuous, not because of the newcomers' lack of willingness to interact, but rather language barriers, such as the incomers' poor English, to close friendships. According to some researchers, women with children have an advantage over men in terms of forming ties with locals, for example other mothers, through their contacts with other parents in schools and childcare. They thus also get involved more in localised, often school or childcare related networks (Ryan et al., 2009), but at the same time these networks may not prove to be useful for them in terms of vertical bridging. Recent research on Polish migrants in UK and elsewhere in Europe indicates that Poles for example tend to be 'bonded' and tend to develop 'strong' ties but not within homogeneous 'ethnic communities' but instead they prefer to live amongst small, close-knit networks or family groups (Piętka-Nykaza & McGhee, 2016).

Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein (2016:14) have found in their research of Russian speakers from Latvia that the positive relationships with other Baltic or post-Soviet migrants and an emphasis on 'our' people who understand each other, can be used as an actual existing resource for integration measures beyond nationalistic divisions. Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein found out in their research that the Russian language serves as an important bridging-language, at least among middle-aged migrants from the Baltics and also from some other

post-socialist countries. It is not only the instrumentality of the language which plays a decisive role but also the sense that ‘these people’ understand us, ‘they are like us’, as many informants stressed in cases of positive encounters and when providing mutual support to other migrants of similar socio-economic position. (Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein, 2016:10). Bonding and bridging help very much to explain relationships in multiple communities. In the empirical chapters of this research we will see that the post-soviet legacy does not only unite people, but can also cause tensions and conflicts.

Pietka-Nykaza and McGhee (2016) have researched Poles’ settling strategies in Scotland, and using the data from other researchers, have described this new wave of migration as individualistic and open-ended (in terms of staying or returning) as Poles do not tend to form strong bonding ties with big ethnic societies, but rather close-knit small networks. Returning to the different typologies of transmigrants (see above in this chapter), the researchers divided their informants into groups, according to their actions of ‘settling’ and how they see Poland and Scotland. ‘Settlers’ are oriented towards Scotland, and this group is similar to Dahinden’s group 1. ‘Over-stayers’ postpone their decision-making – this group has similarities with Dahinden’s group 2, having high levels of locality and mobility in both countries. ‘Circular transnational migrants’ maintain ties with both countries, therefore again being similar to Dahinden’s group 2. Finally, ‘economic migrants’ are oriented towards their home country, which makes them similar to Dahinden’s group 3. The terminology that Pietka-Nykaza and McGhee use is debatable, as all these migrant groups are actually both economic and transnational to various extent. To compare this with Dahinden’s (2010, 2012) and Boccagni’s (2010) division, we can see that Dahinden and Boccagni have more precise divisions, based on the nature of transnational ties, locality and mobility, and different transnational levels of action which have been omitted in the case of Pietka-Nykaza’s and McGhee’s work.

As stated above, economic migration may result in lower social mobility and loss of status (see also Ciupijus, 2011; Sime et al., 2010). De Lima et al. (2011) have shown that a lack of English fluency for work purposes among many Chinese and East European participants was one of the main barriers to accessing employment in Scotland. Jack (2009) states that wage convergence between UK born and migrant workers’ wages relies on the acquisition of skills, one of the most important is the ability to speak the language of the host country. It has been argued in many studies that there is a direct relationship between language

acquisition and the wage rate of a migrant worker. Once migrant workers acquire better language skills, they can obtain more relevant information about vacancies and compete for more skilled employment. According to this, therefore, language proficiency is very important.

The importance of language skills, or lack thereof, also depends on the area of work in which people are involved, and whether people wish to migrate long-term or just in the short-term, to save money and return to their homeland. While it is not necessary to acquire language skills to work in the UK, it is possible that doing so will enable long-term migration and settlement. According to a four-year research project SSAMIS (Social Support and Migration in Scotland) report (2016) there is a possibility to learn English for migrants, ESOL classes exist and should be free of charge, but it depends very much on where people are located, if they are in towns or in the countryside, and on funding and resources available at the council level. De Lima et al. (2011) have noticed that migrant workers are often unable to access language classes in Scotland due to their shift work and long hours. Language barriers also lead to further difficulties in accessing training and skills development programs, limiting the job prospects of those workers who have not been able to gain language skills. The SSAMIS interim report (2016: 2) states that segregation in workplaces often results in CEE migrants' acquiring or re-learning other languages than English (typically Polish or Russian). The same problem can be seen in my empirical data.

It is also quite common that Eastern European migrants often work longer hours than locals (Eirich, 2011; Ciupijus, 2011). Many migration researchers (for example Trevena, 2009) have pointed out that the overwhelming number of A8 migrants who came to work in the UK are employed in occupations in lower-skilled occupations for which they are over-skilled. At the same time research has shown that migrants make a greater net contribution to the welfare system than what they take out, having an average higher employment rate. They were also less likely to receive benefits and social housing than locals (e.g. Trevena, 2009; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014). In the report of current Scotland's migrant workers, De Lima et al. (2011) mention that poor access to good quality and affordable housing is actually an issue for participants of all ethnicities and housing costs took up a large proportion of their available income.

Being a migrant can often create tensions in relationships with local inhabitants. According to Sim and Bowes (2007), Scotland is more multicultural and has generally more welcoming attitudes towards migrants than England. According to a recent research by McCollum et al, (2014), it confirms that the general public in Scotland is less opposed to immigration than elsewhere in Britain, but at the same time there is also evidence of some hostility towards migration in Scotland. According to a collaborative pilot project between COSLA Strategic Migration Partnership, GRAMNet and CRCEES about how migration is seen in Scotland and Glasgow), Scotland is generally considered to be a welcoming and open society which accepts the benefits migration brings. However, one can also encounter anti-migration attitudes in the community. In poorer districts, it can be viewed as something that creates competition over resources and tensions, because there are already fewer resources in those areas and these areas also typically house higher levels of migrants. This adds to the view that resources are scarce and that migrants are a threat to people's livelihoods (Kay & Morrison, 2012).

After experiencing all these aforementioned difficulties and problems, one can ask what makes migrants to stay and if they decide to settle, then how do they make a new place their home. Small scale surveys of A8 migrants in Scotland (Eirich, 2011) have suggested that most respondents have planned to stay only for the short to medium term, but that a substantial minority also planned to settle in the longer term. According to Eirich's report on Scotland's migrants, their decision making, for almost all migrants who came to Scotland, job opportunities and economic conditions were the key drivers of location decisions. Place attractiveness and lifestyle factors, while not strong enough drivers on their own, are important in migration decisions for some migrant groups, and settlement decisions for most groups. The importance of lifestyle factors varied with distance moved, and were stronger among groups that were 'close to' and knowledgeable about Scotland (Eirich, 2011). Qualitative research with a wider group of migrants found that despite overall high levels of satisfaction with Scotland, most immigrants were not fully committed to staying on a permanent basis and had a flexible approach to where they would live in the future. The same survey also mentions the qualitative experience of people who relocate to Scotland to study (Pires and Macleod, 2006).

McGhee et al. (2012) conducted research on Polish migrants in the UK after the Polish 2004 EU accession to find out whether the Poles were to stay or to leave by examining the

interaction between the participants' recollection of their life in Poland and their judgement about their current life in the UK, rather than examining their decision making due to interpersonal social relations and networks. They found that the majority of their interviewees did not want to return to Poland and had a quite pejorative attitude towards life back in their country of origin. They found their 'new lives' more dignified and 'normal' – of higher quality in terms of material living standards. Even the recent economic downturn did not change their opinion that life was better in the UK where they viewed 'normality' through the prism of consumption, through a consumerist culture, and objects of conspicuous consumption which they could not afford in Poland.

Lulle and King (2016) have done research about older Latvian migrant women. They highlighted the women's flexible attitudes and their key economic target – to find a job and to accumulate a decent pension to fund their retirement in Latvia. It can be argued that these older migrants are mostly only temporary migrants who wish to return to their home countries after saving money and working in the UK. They are not looking to settle in the UK in the long-term, to integrate within society and to put down roots here, although the study showed that in some cases older migrants did intend to stay despite not planning to do so initially. Trevena et al. (2013), while studying Polish migrants in the UK, have found that people with families are more likely to stay, because of their children's education for example, whereas childless people are more mobile.

As discussed above, identity and concept of home is not bound with the place of living and is becoming more multi-layered and multi-faced. Flynn (2003) in her research of Russian return migration distinguishes the idea of home being where family are, but homeland being the wider nation, even where the respondents had actually never lived in the geographic territory of the homeland. Research on Polish immigrants residing in the UK highlights that 'home' is a "changing concept, open to negotiation, depending on their current personal situation, profession, gender, expectations, ambitions and even peer pressure. Yet (re)creating home requires a certain dose of familiarity" (Rabikowska, 2010b: 377). Rabikowska explores the Poles' food traditions, and through them the meaning of 'home' as both space and nationality. Rabikowska (2010b:378) explains that "food making and food consumption projects the concept of 'home', understood as a state of normalcy to be regained in face of the destabilized conditions of life on emigration". According to Rabikowska, making food is a ritual of creating home and identity. The

similar tendencies can be seen also in the case of Estonians (see Chapter 9). Amongst other tasks, this thesis attempts to shed light of how Estonians in Scotland sense their identity, what and where their home is. Aiming to add to the wider literature on CEE migration, due to its focus on a small community, and the analysis on very individual migrant experiences.

2.10 Conclusions

This theoretical overview was compiled for the purpose of giving a better understanding of the relevant theoretical and conceptual background I will need for my research.

Based on the literature I have read, the feeling of identity, group behaviour and everyday coping strategies used by the migrants can depend on many factors. The post-war Estonian migration wave seems to fit with most definitions of ‘diaspora’. However, in the case of Estonians in Scotland after World War II, we cannot talk about diaspora in a classical sense of meaning, as Estonians lived their lives across a wide territory, being quite isolated from their counterparts and therefore could not exercise the social life of a diaspora. Therefore, I will use the term *community* or *migrant community* instead. At the same time, strong transnational elements were already present in the post-war Estonian community.

The distinction between diaspora and transnationalism serves as a relevant frame for discussing identity and belonging within the respective communities, but my aim is to explore the question through the voices of the migrants themselves and in this respect the distinction between the two communities may not be so clear-cut as previously assumed, and transnational theory offers a promising alternative lens for looking at things from the perspective of the individual.

Transnational features can be present in people’s everyday life but the opposite can also be true. For participating in transnational activities, people also do not necessarily have to leave their homes. The presence of the whole spectrum of transnational activities (from above and from below) amongst Estonian migrants has not been researched before. It would be interesting to explore what kind of transnational activities were/are practised by Estonian émigrés and whether these practices amongst the ‘old’ and ‘new’ Estonian migrants are similar or not.

Before starting my research, the most important first step will involve a very precise definition of the limits of what is considered to be transnational behaviour. It is stated in

the literature (Boccagni, 2012) that not everything which is connected to migration nowadays necessarily has a transnational angle; nor are all migrants automatically transmigrants. This dissertation will take a closer look at different fields of transnational activities – economic, socio-cultural and political (as explained above), and which of those are present in the case of Estonians in Scotland, exploring also the intensity of transnational actions in these fields. I understand migrant transnationalism as a set of activities (socio-cultural, economic and political) which include two (or more) countries in their scope. These activities can be both more or less frequent, as well as more or less intensive. For example, cooking Estonian foods and watching Estonian films and TV-programs are definitely transnational activities, although they can occur perhaps once or twice a year in the case of one migrant, while another migrant may do the same activities many times a week.

While some activities may be called “diasporic”, as transnationalism is a wider term, such diasporic activities fit perfectly into a framework of transnationalism and therefore I cannot see any need to divide them into two different groups: ‘diasporic’ and ‘transnational’. I don’t want to use the term ‘diaspora’, as in terms of the whole community I am looking at classical understandings of the concept, and these do not fit the Estonian case. When I say ‘diasporic’ activities, what I mean is actually an understanding of a framework of transnationalism. The use of this concept across the two communities has helped to shed new light on the activities of post-war community as well as the present day one.

The thesis will also explore Estonians’ adaptation, their social networks and concepts of home, their decisions about staying or leaving. In addition, contacts and attitudes towards homeland will be explored. In the light of research being done in Scotland (and UK) about recent (Eastern-European) economic migrants, it is also important to see how Estonians fit in the wider picture of such migration and to discover the commonalities and differences of Estonians compared to other Eastern European migrants.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will focus on the methodological tools used in my study. I have adopted a micro-level approach to the study of migration and migrant communities in my research, focusing on the experience of individuals and using this to shed new light on various analytical frameworks that have been developed to explore migrant identity and belonging. The study is, moreover, both historical and contemporary, comparing the experiences of post-war migrants with those who have arrived since 1991, therefore raising multiple questions about the most appropriate methodological tools, including which methodological approaches and tools were the best suited to capturing and analysing the voices of these two migrant groups? What was the best way of organising and conducting a project of this kind? What kinds of practical and ethical issues arose during the conduct of the research? The present chapter briefly reflects on these questions and the arising issues, as a prelude to the empirical chapters (Chapters 5-9) analysing the collected data.

3.2 Quantitative and qualitative sources. Chosen methods

Starting from social theory, Anthony Giddens statement that “social life is an historical process; it therefore cannot be studied by taking a snapshot” (quoted in O’Reilly, 2012:6) appealed to me, as it emphasised the need for a broader context in social research. His structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) makes a sort of peace accord between subjectivism and objectivism, summing up that social life is not only a sum of individual actions, but that it is also neither determined by social forces or external social structures or systems alone, being rather a combination of these. Actions cannot be removed from their socio-historical context, therefore.

My study is qualitative by nature, and generally speaking, I have used the ethnographic approach. According to O’Reilly (2012: 10) “ethnography is more a theory about how research should be conducted than a recipe for techniques that can be employed. It draws on a family of methods, usually including participant observation, in-depth interviews, and conversations. It gains its understanding of the social world through involvement in the daily practice of human agents, and it involves immersion in the context, the building of trust and rapport with agents, both phenomenological and hermeneutic interpretations, and

recognition of the complexity of the social world”. Willis and Trondman (2000: 5) explain the following about ethnography: “Most importantly it is a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing at least partly *in its own terms*, the irreducibility of human experience.” James P. Spradley (1979: v) has stated that ethnography “is a pathway into understanding the cultural differences that make us what we are as human beings”.

The interviews were complemented by analysis of other relevant sources, and this was especially important in the case of the post-war community, which was small to begin with and where surviving members are few in number. As such, valuable additional insights were derived from memoirs surviving archival sources (some of them available in Canada where I was doing a placement at an Estonian archive in VEMU (‘Museum of Estonians Abroad’)), and through studying the Estonian community’s own newspapers. I thus used secondary data, like newspaper articles, archival documents, emails, already published diaries and memoirs (amongst others, most importantly books by Elin Toona-Gottchalk). I also used (anonymous) data from the Facebook community page *Eestlased Šotimaal* (*Estonians in Scotland*), which I am one of the moderators for. This allowed me to collect novel data about the experiences of the new wave of Estonian migrants. Given the small number of people concerned, I also widened my focus of enquiry to take in respondents who were living in England (for example, some people had moved there from Scotland), as this also allowed me to reflect better on the specificities of the Scottish context. I also included insights from members of the Estonian community in Canada, who had stayed in UK somewhere in their migration journey, to better understand why members of the Estonian diasporic community decided to leave.

Since the chosen study aimed to be in-depth and on the individual-level, qualitative in nature (it is designed to deepen our understanding of individual identities and experiences rather than trying to ‘prove’ particular hypotheses or present particular trends as somehow ‘representative’ of a given community), the main and most obvious method to employ was the in-depth semi-structured and unstructured interview technique. “(U)nstructured interviews are one of the main methods of data collection used in qualitative research,” for a reason – often described as a form of ‘conversation’, the method reproduces the process of ‘normal’ human interaction, through which our knowledge about the social world itself is constructed (Legard et al., 2012: 138). Face-to-face, unstructured or semi-structured in-

depth qualitative interviews were altogether conducted with 54 people (56 interviews, five of which were repeat interviews). The qualitative interview method is flexible enough to allow the collection of in-depth information on many different topics, while also keeping the personal account of the interviewee as a central importance. The unstructured or semi-structured interview was more effective and relevant than a fully structured interview in my case, therefore, as it enabled me to gather a wider picture of the people I interviewed, giving them and their experience as specific voice, and allowing them to also bring new directions and information to the table. After all, the main goal of qualitative research is “to give voice to the persons who are studied” (Scheibelhofer, 2008: 411).

Flexibility has been mentioned as the first key feature of the in-depth interview. The second key feature is that it is interactive in nature (Legard et al., 2012: 141). As a researcher I considered my role to be that of a ‘traveller’ journeying with the interviewee, along the methodological metaphor by Kvale (1996: 3-4), as while asking questions I also aimed to let the subjects of the interview “tell their own stories of their lived world”, rather than seeing my role as a ‘miner’ simply mining for information like ‘buried metal’ (Ibid.). During my conversations with the interviewees I believe I was also able to lead the subjects themselves to new insights and understandings of their own experiences, identity and views – this is what Legard et al. call the “transformative element of the journey”. During my interviews, the interviewees had freedom and flexibility to decide what they wanted to discuss, what to focus on more, and which questions they did not want to answer or which directions were not relevant for them, Therefore I was able to tease out more interesting and personal information, than if I had chosen to follow a strict list of questions. This method would not have been very useful in understanding the interviewees attitudes and beliefs, for example, as these generally “shone through” and were arrived at implicitly.

The interviews resembled a natural way of communication in some ways, as mentioned – a situation of natural conversation between two people. However, as also mentioned above, this conversation was not an objective, detached process, as interview participants influence each other, bring their personalities and backgrounds along into the interview situation. As a ‘traveller’ in my role as a researcher I was thus also an active player in the development of data, and the development of meaning – the personification of the “pipeline through which knowledge is transmitted” (Legard et al., 2012: 139-140). While the personal nature of knowledge created through the unstructured interview method has

been criticised in validity for these same reasons, namely that knowledge in these situations is biased and co-created to a certain extent, nevertheless interviews can provide us with very significant information about the meanings people attribute to life experiences, the social worlds they live in, and so on. While the method of unstructured interviewing must always be contextualised and understood within the frame of being co-created knowledge, this does not preclude that knowledge gained about the social world beyond the interaction was invalid (Kvale, 1996).

As stated in Legard et al. (2012: 141), the third key feature of the in-depth unstructured interview was the use of probes and other tools to help the interviewees go more in-depth about certain aspects of their stories, as necessary, which I also tried to do in the study, with caution. Initial answers are often quite shallow and surface-level and thus require further penetration by the interviewer to allow the subject to open up and explore their answers more fully, as well as allowing the interviewer to as the respondent to explore the reasons behind certain decisions, as well as their feelings, opinions and beliefs, more fully – this is after all why social science is so important and valuable (Ibid.).

3.3 Ethical considerations

Different ethical considerations also emerged during the research process. The university gives ethical guidelines which have to be followed in research and all researchers have to apply for ethical approval before starting their fieldwork. I also had to present my participant information sheet and consent form with the ethics application. As my research was not sensitive by nature and did not involve underage, or other vulnerable people, the process of applying for this was straightforward, the application was accepted and the approval granted without major problems. I had to translate the participant information sheet as well as the consent form into Estonian, to enable all the participants to also fully understand what they were undertaking through their cooperation for the study.

In the participant information sheet, it was explained that the research would be anonymous and that the real names of the participants would not be mentioned. Questions over anonymity were important to consider, to make sure that this was guaranteed. I decided to replace the participants' real names with pseudonyms instead of numbered codes. I tried to reduce traceability to the minimum, but due to the very small number of Estonians interviewed there might be a possibility that people could be traceable from the

data. Because of the minute size of the Estonian community, it cannot be completely guaranteed that in some cases people could not recognise others from the interview excerpts used in this dissertation, or from the otherwise vague description of participants in the Appendix A. Nevertheless, all care has been taken to minimise the likelihood of this. As this data does not contain any sensitive matter, this very slight chance should not cause any real-life problems.

3.4 My position as a researcher

No researcher can ever be truly neutral or detached, in the sense that they are implicated in the interview process (as has been mentioned already). Interviewers are implicated in the research process, since what is under study is the social world and reality itself of which the interviewers are a constituting part, and they co-create knowledge to some extent with the interviewee. As well as this, since any societal interaction carries with it certain power dynamics, this must also be addressed. Of course it is impossible to create a laboratory-style condition in which to undertake social research, yet the explicit unpacking of and reflection on these dynamics can help to contextualise the gathered data. Especially as a part of the Estonian community of Scotland I cannot detach myself from the research. In this sense I therefore consider my position to be that of an ‘insider researcher’, a researcher “who shares a cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious heritage with their participants” (Nowicka and Ryan, 2015).

While there is a debate in social science whether researchers with similar socio-demographic characteristics should interview people or not, it has been argued that cultural affinity can bring many positive effects to the table – for example allowing the interviewee to open up more and feel at ease (Legard et al., 2012:140). As Nowicka and Ryan (2015) have shown in research on Irish and Polish migrants, assumed commonality of ethnic origin might break into many different positions, based on age, education, or gender of the researcher and her participants. In conversation, then, some positions facilitate, while others might hinder mutual trust. At each of the research stages, both the researcher and her participants negotiate these positions actively and in relation to each other. A researcher might strategically use different techniques to create such temporary

commonalities in conversation, for example by abandoning academic jargon or by dressing in a certain way.

According to these authors there is a danger of methodological groupism which can be seen in “prioritising one particular kind of difference—most commonly the ethnic or national—over other categories of difference” (Nowicka and Ryan, 2015). In my opinion, as an ‘insider’ to the group, I had easier access to the participants and their experiences due to our shared language and common cultural background. While I shared a common ethnic background, language and culture with my interview respondents, there were other social cleavages (such as social position and status, educational background, age and gender) which I did not share with many of the respondents. I would argue that overall the shared language facilitated the interviewing process and helped to build rapport with the informants. As we will discuss further in Chapters 5 and 9, for many Estonians the Estonian language is a constituting part of their identity and conception(s) of home. This language-based connection thus proved to be an invaluable asset in my research, especially as the majority of my respondents did not feel confident in their English language skills. In my opinion this would have meant that English language based research in this specific field would have had severely limited responses, and thus a much more limited amount of data would have been collected overall.

The notion of insider-researcher is not as clear-cut as it may appear at first sight. In some cases people might have struggled with revealing their real thoughts to me for this same reason, as the Estonian language context was tied to ideas of familiarity and home. It is possible that I was also considered to be too familiar, and that this familiarity could have created feelings of shame and impeded my informants from discussing topics that would cause shame (for example feeling like they had been unsuccessful in their endeavours). Legard et al. (2012:160) explain that interviewees might seek approval of their views, actions or past decisions from researchers in general, as this is very typical thing to do in a social setting. This feeling of familiarity could have also led the subjects to want to please me and concentrate on things they thought were expected from them even more, fulfilling these expectations, as well as perhaps having expectations of things from myself as the interviewer in return (help with filling out forms, for example). The researchers further explain that neutrality is the most effective response, and that both favourable and adverse

comments should thus be avoided (Ibid.), which is the advice that I followed in my research in order to limit the chance of this happening.

The importance of keeping power-relations in mind and unpacking and reflecting on them was something I tried to do throughout the research process. Indeed, depending on social status the interviewees might have felt like my position as a researcher gave me a more powerful position (Legard et al., 2012). Furthermore, my involvement and my status as organiser of certain Estonian events might mean that my interviewees might have decided not to tell about those events in their interviews or changed the information they gave knowing that I have been involved. As one of my interviewees responded to my question about which events she took part in: “you know, those events you were organising“. I certainly found it much easier to recruit students or professionals for my research, and it was more problematic to reach out to more diverse groups, for example those in low-skilled jobs or on welfare payments. I benefited from being an organiser of several non-academic events in Glasgow (e.g. picnics, informal meetings, cultural events) which gave me credibility and trust among Estonian migrants. While having stressed the importance of the shared common cultural/societal space of the Estonian language, I often also felt as an outsider during the interviews, having never experienced many of the encounters of my interviewees. These have included financial hardship, unemployment or doing underqualified jobs, as well as wartime hardship and being a refugee. Laura Morosanu’s (2015) article about doing research on co-ethnic migrants shows that sometimes age, gender, migrant status and societal position together with different experiences of migration, may be even more important than a shared ethnicity, in this regard. A researcher can be at the same time an insider and outsider, or multiple insider, or multiple outsider in multiple fields of life.

Morosanu (2016:5) hoped to avoid being ethnically biased by choosing her starting point as not “an ethnic group, implying entities bounded by solidarity, shared identity, aims and mutual recognition), but individuals from a particular category (i.e. with shared ethnic background), with the aim to explore the varied contexts in which ethnicity or other factors shape their experiences and the ways in which they narrated them”. For capturing a more diverse migrant population, she used different backgrounds (forums, FB pages – both ethnic and non-ethnic) to recruit the participants for her research. This difficulty in recruiting interviewees is also one that I faced. As will be discussed later in this chapter, as

there was no Facebook group for Estonians when I started my fieldwork, I was not able to use this channel to recruit more diversely and had to rely on ‘snowballing’.

Methodological nationalism has been criticised by social scientists as the “naturalization of the nation-state”, viewing countries as “the natural units for comparative studies, equate society with the nation-state, and conflate national interests with the purposes of social science” (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003:576). Methodological nationalism thus “reflects and reinforces the identification that many scholars maintain with their own nation-states” (Ibid.). Arguably the label of ‘methodological nationalism’ is “being thrown back and forth among the discussants as a mark of shame” however, while the social sciences have largely denounced the viewpoint of methodological nationalism as a sin, “we all become unintended sinners the very second we try to grasp the nationstate’s fundamental features and the problematic nature of its position in modernity” (Chernilo, 2011:100). While nations are certainly not the definitive institutions of human identities “to be traced back endlessly in history,” nevertheless national identity is the “unrivalled form of social identity in modernity” (Ibid.:102), therefore while being aware of the fallacies of blind methodological nationalism and of the reification of the nation state as a primary unit of analysis and measure of society, I have nevertheless concentrated on the Estonian nation and (to some extent) nation-state as the measure of analysis because of its enduring importance as the basis of identity, especially amongst migrants abroad. As explained, the label of ‘methodological nationalism’ is hard to shake, and while it is certain that awareness of the issues and debates surrounding the place of the nation-state in the world and society are important, nevertheless it is also a ubiquitous element of social science research. As Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003:576) remark on this point: “The paradox of the current debate on methodological nationalism is that no one admits being committed to it, and yet its presence is allegedly found in every corner of the contemporary social scientific landscape”.

3.5 Finding research participants

When I came to Scotland, I established ties with some of the more active fellow Estonians right away. A few of them became good friends later on. When I started to look for the informants for my research, I turned to these acquaintances first of all to help me find interview subjects. My main method for finding subjects was thus through snowballing, as mentioned. The problem was that there was no suitable place I could have advertised my

intention to find respondents. Advertising in the Estonian newspaper in the UK, *Eesti Hää*, would have brought no results as their subscribers from Scotland were only a few. After gaining their addresses from the editorship, I wrote to them all personally but unfortunately did not receive any responses.

The problem with the snowballing approach was that although I was able to find many of the more active younger migrants, it was harder to find members of the post-war generation of Estonians, as there were not very many left. I managed to get some contacts from the Estonian newspaper *Eesti Hää* in this way and included the children of post-war generation in my research. Sometimes I received information about new possible contacts in a very unexpected way – for example while in Canada, where I did my placement in the Museum of Estonians Abroad (VEMU) archive, I presented my research and was put in contact (by an attendee) with one of their relatives who was residing in Scotland.

I did not plan to deliberately exclude Estonia's ethnic Russians from my study, but during the snowballing I did not find any ethnic Russians for my interviews and therefore interviewed only ethnic Estonians. It is interesting and suggests that Estonians and Russians move in separate networks. Research exploring Estonia's ethnic Russians would have offered an interesting comparison, but was not the focus of this dissertation. Perhaps it could be an interesting topic for a future study, especially a comparison of the similarities and differences of these two groups.

3.6 Gender and age proportions

The number of Estonians in Scotland is very small, therefore I did not specifically aim to find a certain number of 'old' or 'new' migrants. For this reason I also did not concentrate on having a gender balanced group of interviewees. Although it would have been interesting and valuable to get as wide a range of respondents as possible, and I tried to do this as far as I could, in reality I interviewed everyone whom I got in contact with and who agreed to be interviewed. The female-male proportion is not equal, and there are considerably more 'new' migrants than the post-war EVWs, for the simple reason that there are only a few of them still alive and living in Scotland. This was one reason why I also considered the so-called '1.5 generation migrants' (those who were children while coming to Scotland/UK) to be a part of the post-war Estonian community.

To compensate the small numbers of the members of the earlier generation, I conducted additional interviews with representatives of post-war EVWs who are still living in other parts of the UK, or had lived here shortly after the war – to give an adequate information about leaving Estonia and being displaced after the war ended, and also to gain more understanding about the lived experiences of adjusting to life abroad in the UK in that era. I have used examples from these additional interviews in relevant places in my empirical chapters. Sometimes those interviews also gave me the added benefit of providing an interesting possibility to compare the experiences of EVWs in Scotland and the rest of the UK.

I decided to begin with interviews with participants from the older generation of the Estonian community. From all 57 interviews with 54 individuals, 21 were with the older generation or their offspring. Amongst them were persons I interviewed more than once. I also conducted two group interviews (one family of three and one married couple). One interview was conducted in Estonia. As mentioned before in this chapter, I have interviewed not only Estonians in Scotland but also those in England, and in Canada where I did my placement in VEMU (Museum of Estonians Abroad) archive in 2012. Although I considered interviewing only those ‘new’ migrants who decided to settle in Scotland for a longer period and omit students at the start, I came to the conclusion that since it was not easy to predict people’s length of stay in Scotland (especially that of students since studying in a foreign country often led to permanent residence there), and that data about their interactions with fellow country people and their transnational practices would also provide an interesting point of comparison, I decided to include them. Amongst my interviewees, there are thus all kinds of people from different fields and walks of life – unemployed people, stay-at-home mothers, students, highly skilled specialists, and people who do low paid unskilled work. The list of all participants under their pseudonyms and a brief description of each of them is in appendix.

3.7 Selecting places for interviewing

The suitable place for the interviews was not always easy to find. Since participants may be feeling anxious at the start of the interview, and the first moments of the interview as well as the ambiance are crucial (Legard et al., 2012: 145), I tried to find spaces that would enable a tranquil atmosphere. I mostly used public places like cafes, art galleries, restaurants, parks and my office at the University of Glasgow, but also visited the

informants' homes. Cafes and public places were often noisy, but on the other hand guaranteed a certain anonymity which helped to establish good contacts with (mostly) the younger generation of migrants, who preferred to meet here. In terms of doing interviews at people's home, this setting enabled the interviewees to be at ease and on their own 'turf', and was also a good setting. Estonians from the older generation were usually eager to invite me over to their homes and it also gave me an invaluable insight into their homes – how it was set up and what artefacts they had there. During the home visits, in addition to my role as a researcher, I had to take up the position of the 'guest'. In the conventional approach to interviewing, the person asking the questions dictates the framework of the dialogue and the form of its analysis. The person answering the questions is relatively powerless. It is not a reciprocal relationship: information passes one way only (Oakley, 2015:197). My role as a guest interrupted the power hierarchy between us, establishing a certain equality and reversal of power relations. It was different when I interviewed subjects in my office, being a lecturer and a researcher at university meant that perhaps subjects did not open up so easily. This knowledge came by trial and error.

Even when the language is same, different cultural, gender and age-related problems can occur, as the researcher cannot always be of similar position. Laura Morosanu (2015:8) has encountered position and gender-related problems with her interviewees, while offering to buy them drinks as a sign of gratitude. Some of my (mostly older generation) interviewees refused my offer to buy them coffee and invited me instead, which most of the cases I did not protest against, as I understood that it made them feel hospitable and in a stronger position during the interview. Ann Oakley (2015) has drawn out that most social science researchers have indeed adopted admonitions about objectivity and the need to view the interview purely as a tool of data-collection and therefore they are having a masculinist mechanistic attitude which treated the interview's character as social interaction as an inconvenient obstacle to the generation of 'facts'. Therefore Oakley suggests that this approach is ineffective in terms of the purpose of interviews, namely to produce valid, trustworthy data, and she relies on her experience on interviewing the women claiming that such interviews incorporate elements of a 'transition to friendship'. I would widen Oakley's context and claim that any shared background creates elements of friendship and therefore facilitates hugely the data collecting, giving it a humane dimension.

The overall outcome of the home interviews was better as everyone involved was more relaxed and talkative and thus I was able to acquire a more substantial interview. In many cases, interviewing at home also involved showing old photos which contributed a lot to the interview, and brought up memories. Bryman (2008:448-449) writes about using photographs in qualitative interviews (a photo-elicitation technique) where photos can be used as a stimulus for questioning, helping people to think about things and remember, but also helping to ground the researcher's interview questions. In the end I did not use this technique solely as the basis of my method, as it would have not proved to be difficult with many of the respondents. However, it was used in aspects as an extra tool as I managed to generate recordings with post-war migrant generation where family albums were brought out and included in the interview by chance.

3.8 Stages of interviewing

I prepared for the interviews, compiling an interview guide, printing out the plain language statement, consent form for a participant to sign, and agreeing a time and place to meet. Prior to recording, I tried to break the ice by chatting about general topics and trying to establish commonalities and trust with my interviewees, as suggested by Legard et al. (2012:145). I became more proficient at this after the first interview I conducted, because I felt I was quite successful in “establishing the relationship between researcher and participant which is a prerequisite for a successful in-depth interview” (Ibid.). When the interview was conducted at the participants' home, I was looking at family pictures and other objects in their living room and generally chatting “but avoiding the research topic until the interview begins” (Ibid.).

I then introduced my research, giving the participants the Participant information sheet to read and the consent forms to sign. I also asked permission to take photos. The interviewees were normally happy with this. In the beginning of the interview, participants were reminded that they could withdraw any time if they wanted. Fortunately, none of my participants did this. Although I had spent time designing my topic guide very carefully, I actually did not use it during most of my interviews. First, because I thought I'd memorised all of the topics very well, and second because I did not want to interrupt the natural discussion, the flow of interview by withdrawing from the interview to look at “some papers”, and make the interviewee feel like they did not have my full attention. I decided that if I had missed any of the information I could always ask these questions later

over the phone or via email, or conduct another interview if necessary. Later on, while transcribing the interviews I noticed that I had actually managed to cover almost all of the topics during my first interviews each time. It was still very useful to have a written topic guide ready (even when not looking at it) as it gave me a feeling of certainty, and the possibility of using it if required. During the first interview, often some other topics emerged which were not in my topic guide, for example, the topic of food and eating habits, which I then incorporated into my topic guide, meaning that the process was flexible.

After the first interview I conducted, I was offered a delicious lunch and conversation after which I was shown family photo albums. I had an enjoyable time with my interviewees and they were clearly happy that they could speak Estonian to someone and share their thoughts and memories. They referred to their farm as ‘Little Estonia’; with a lot of Estonian traditional objects and artefacts which surround their everyday life (a big map of Estonia on the wall, Estonian national flag, loom, wooden tankards, dolls with national costumes, Estonian books etc.). This positive experience of my first interview gave me a lot of courage and strength to go on with the interviewing. However, not all interviews went so smoothly.

Ending the interview caused sometimes problems, especially in the beginning. Legard et al. (2012:246) explain that the researcher should “signal the approach of the end of the interview to allow the interviewee gradually to return to the level of everyday social interaction”. However this was not always so straightforward. Deciding when to end the interview was not easy. In the first interview, I decided to end it when the interviewees started to ask questions about me. In most cases, I noticed that the conversation was drawing to a close and also the interviewee seemed to be exhausted. It is sometimes difficult to decide when to stop and switch off the recorder and to wrap up the meeting. It is said that sometimes researchers can get the most valuable information after they have switched off their recorders. I had such experience a few times, but I did not always switch the recorder back on, instead I took notes in my fieldwork diary and added them to the interview transcript later.

After the interview, I thanked the participants for their contribution. I promised to send the interviewees the transcripts should they require it. After some interviews we just parted, but sometimes talked about various things, like Scottish independence and Estonia’s

current situation, learning Estonian online etc. As I have already stated about my position as a researcher, I tried to create an equal and tranquil atmosphere, and did not position myself higher. I was quite happy to give my interviewees something in return, if only a conversation or answering their questions. I also used my fieldwork diary to jot down interesting questions which emerged during the interviews, and sometimes also the spelling of places and persons names the interviewee was using.

3.9 Language of interviewing

As mentioned above, for most of my interviews, the language of communication was Estonian from the very beginning (arranging the interview). It seemed the most natural way of speaking, created a good atmosphere and more trust. For example, while visiting one elderly couple for an interview, they mentioned that even their cat likes Estonian and while Estonian is spoken the cat feels safe and relaxed, but when English is spoken amongst their guests, the cat immediately runs away. I think that Estonian language helped me enormously in gaining richer and more personal interview material.

For one interview in English, the previous contacts with the prospective interviewee had been in English. As this person had an Estonian name, I was not sure if he spoke Estonian or preferred to communicate in English, or if he spoke only English. During the interview, I found out that he had forgotten Estonian, which was his mother tongue, and that he was unable to speak it. As Estonian language is often seen as a main pillar of the identity, I tried not to ask about the issue of language as much as he might have felt that he is not a 'proper Estonian' without the language. The other case when English was used was in an interview with a person who actually spoke Estonian but preferred to have an interview in English. For me, interviewing in English (and also later transcribing it) was much more difficult and I had to work harder to make sure that I was fully understood.

3.10 Transcribing process

Before starting the transcription process, I worked out detailed guidelines on how to transcribe. I used the help of different printed and online sources (Bazeley, 2007; Bryman, 2008). I decided to transcribe everything, just to make sure I did not lose any data as verbatim transcription reflected the full content of what respondents had said. The next question was about the verbatim transcription style I should follow – what to note and

how? For example, should I mark the specific tone of participants, laughter etc.? Should I transcribe all the fillers (e.g. *umm*, *mmm*), repetitions and unfinished words? What about grammar mistakes and slips? I decided to transcribe everything, as I felt that all contributed to a fuller understanding of the context. However, I did not mark the exact length of pauses for example as I thought it would not be important. I also developed my own transcription rules which I followed throughout my interview transcribing process.

Some interviews were more difficult to transcribe than others. For example, the times I had interviewed a couple (two people) and a family, they were often talking simultaneously, interrupting each other etc. which made the transcribing more complicated. Sometimes also the quality of recording was bad (for example, due to background noise in a café) and it was difficult to understand what was spoken.

The interviews in English on the other hand were difficult to transcribe because they were not in my native tongue.

3.11 Analysis of interview data

For data analysis, I chose the NVivo (computer assisted qualitative data analysis software). Bryman (2008: 567) has mentioned that researchers opinions about such software have been divided: some find it unnecessary, too difficult to learn and use and even harmful to the data, while the others find it helpful and systematic, making coding and analysing much easier. I decided to use NVivo for two main reasons: It would help me organise and code my 'raw material' in an appropriate way. It can handle text in multiple languages in the same document which will be very useful because my interviews would sometimes be partly in English and partly in Estonian, from which I had to translate relevant pieces into English (for citations) in the same document.

After transcribing the interviews, I imported the MS Word files into NVivo. I decided to code themes. Codes with names are called nodes in NVivo. These nodes refer to different assemblages of references about specific themes, or places, or persons or other areas of interest. Also, in NVivo, there is always a possibility to add new nodes as they emerge. Nodes can then be grouped into hierarchical systems called 'trees' where there are 'parent' nodes and sub-nodes called 'children'. Nodes can also represent relationships between data units. Already during the transcription process, I was thinking about the key themes (or

codes or nodes). Patricia Bazeley (2007:76) mentions two types of codes: *a priori* and *in vivo* codes. The latter ones are delivered directly from the data and reflect an ‘emic’ approach to analysis, while *a priori* ones are theoretically delivered. Although most of the *in vivo* codes I derived from the data did reflect my interview topics, some did not. Of course I conducted the interviews too, and formulated the interview questions, thus my own ideas and priorities also ultimately guided the codes. I then grouped these into bigger units (trees).

The following main nodes became evident from the data: Life in Estonia (childhood memories, family background, living conditions), Leaving Estonia (reasons, ways) Life abroad (communication and media, adaptation, cultural differences, homesickness, discrimination, friends and networking, life in Germany, life in the UK); Roots (celebrations, family, food, identity, home, language). These naturally arising themes shaped how I structured the analysis of the materials. NVivo uses different colours to mark different nodes which can be overlapping. This gave me a good opportunity to code the same part of a text under different nodes, if it was needed. Some bits of text referred to different themes, and at the same time also some conceptual themes (like for example identity and home) kept emerging in different places throughout the interviews. Although, in the beginning it took a lot of time to get to know NVivo, I found it very useful for further work as it did help to organise my interviews and systematise my findings in a very helpful way.

3.12 Other issues and questions

While analysing the data and writing about it, several other issues emerged. For one, I had problems deciding what gathered data to include and what to omit. Sometimes it is difficult to see the relevance of one or another topic to the research questions. For example, while interviewing my informants mainly about their experience in Scotland and in connection to Scotland, I included also relevant encounters from the other parts of their lives or other locations (England or Canada) in case they were relevant and gave some added value to the data (for example comparing the experiences of people in different locations). It was first unclear to me how many of the interview excerpts to include into the actual thesis, but after background research I took only the most informative excerpts amongst the similar ones (where there were many), and tried to rewrite the rest into a coherent text. I also had to decide how to fit my personal participation (for example, organising events, participating

on them) into this. As I was an organiser of several Estonian cultural events in Glasgow where my informants participated, I took a decision to write about those events in case none of my interviewees mentioned them. I was also aware of the danger of misinterpretation of my interviewees. Misinterpretation may occur also in translation. For the interviews conducted in Estonian, I had to translate the relevant bits into English, to be incorporated into my dissertation. I translated them myself, trying to get the exact meaning through as close as it was possible. The Estonian metaphors were replaced with relevant English language ones. My translations, as the rest of my text, were then proofread.

Finally, I can say that this research has given me invaluable information about life abroad, and a deeper understanding of the problems of migration. At the same time I have learned useful skills like interviewing and transcribing, as well as using the NVivo program. The next chapter will be about Estonian migration in a wider perspective and refers mostly to other written sources. The voices of the interviewees will be heard from Chapter 5 onwards.

4. Estonian migration in the World and Estonians in the UK

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will be organised in the following way: first there will be a general overview of Estonian migration globally, which will be followed by a closer look at the history of Estonians in the UK, and Scotland in more particular. The chapter will also deal with Estonian organisations in the UK, overviewing the changing institutional structures and context of the Estonian community in the UK and in Scotland. Focusing on a macro- or meso-level overview of Estonian organisational activities in the UK and in Scotland, the section will pave the way for the next empirical chapters which will look at the issue from a personal or micro-level, where the interviewees' individual personal experiences will be further analysed. In the end of this chapter, there will be a more general overview and analysis of the identity of Estonians in the UK. During this chapter, an overview of the existing literature on Estonian migration will be given, both in relation to these themes and also concerning the issues of Estonian activities and identity that are central to my thesis.

In this chapter, I have relied on works by main Estonian migration researchers, amongst others Aivar Jürgenson, Ferdinand Kool, Tiit Tammaru, Raimo Raag, Karl Aun, Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm and Triin Pehk who have been researching different waves of Estonian migration and Estonian communities abroad. Works by British researchers on Baltic migration, for example Linda McDowell, Thomas Lane and Emily Gilbert, I have also found very useful because they touch upon many of the themes I intend to explore through this research.

This chapter provides the necessary background information relating to Estonian migration which is an essential foundation for understanding the context within which the Scottish Estonian community (both past and present) will be explored.

4.2 Historical migration from Estonia

At the beginning of the 21st century, there were around 1,060,000 Estonians in the world, 930,000 in Estonia and 130,000 (12%) abroad. (Kask and Tammaru, 2006:209). The last census in Estonia was carried out in the first quarter of 2012 and the initial data was revealed by the Estonian Statistics Office on 31 May 2012. According to the census data, there were 1 294 455 permanent residents in Estonia. Newer data from 2012 showed that

migration from Estonia is happening mostly towards economically more developed countries, in the forefront of which are Finland and the UK. In 2012, 10 873 persons left Estonia and 4244 persons immigrated into Estonia (amongst the latter group, 70% were re-migrating Estonian citizens). The most active group in migration are women aged 20-44⁸.

Estonian migration researchers have counted three major waves of emigration from the original homeland. The Estonian community abroad was formed by two major completed waves of emigration and one further emerging wave of out-migration. The first mass emigration started in the mid-nineteenth century and lasted until the First World War. Russia attracted migrants to its new agricultural lands and thus the Eastern sub-diaspora of Estonia was established. Estonians migrated to Crimea, Caucasus, Volga river valley, Siberia and elsewhere. Their promises were not fulfilled as reality did not match the expectations they had formed thanks to stories about riches and opulence. Nevertheless these Estonian migrants decided to stay (Jürgenson, 2011:17). There are still Estonian villages in Georgia, Crimea, Abkhazia and Siberia. Whilst the first 19th century migration was mostly of an agricultural nature, the following waves of migration have been mostly urban. The western sub-diaspora emerged as a result of a second mass emigration in the form of a refugee exodus during WWII. Jürgenson (2011:5) mentions that after WWII the vast majority of Estonians who had ended up in the Western European countries of Denmark, Germany and Sweden (amongst others) migrated even further. The important pull factor was an attempt by the Western allies to solve the refugee problem by relocating them overseas. On the other hand, many refugees also wanted to leave the war-worn and 'freezing in cold war' Europe of the post-war period.

Since Estonia regained its independence in 1991, the Eastern sub-diaspora continues to contract (due to assimilation and state-assisted repatriation), while the size of the Western element of the diaspora has remained stable throughout the post-war period. The continued viability of the Western sub-diaspora is a result of new emigration since the collapse of the Soviet Union, but this outwards migration is smaller in scale than the two earlier periods of mass emigration. (Tammaru et al., 2010:1157).

⁸ <http://www.stat.ee/population>

The total size of the Estonian community in Western countries was estimated to have been no more than 30,000 people in 1939, which then radically increased (Kulu, 1992, in Tammaru et al., 2010:1162). The greatest wave of Estonian migration in history happened during the Second World War. This was a difficult period in Estonian history.

During the Second World War, the Estonian population, after being forcibly annexed to the Soviet Union in 1940, and after mass repressions and murders, hoped that Germany and the USSR would neutralise each other and that democracy would prevail (Oras, 2002). It is often stated that Estonians did not have any active control over the way the events of the war played out in Estonia, and neither did the vast majority take sides in this war – Estonians instead rather distanced themselves from it as far as they could or were allowed. Indeed many Estonians hoped and wished simply to somehow survive the occupations and war, and then to eventually restore the lost independence from both or either of the occupying forces (Laar, 2005, Oras, 2002). Mertelsmann and Rahi-Tamm (2009:308) evaluate that approximately 12 –14 percent of the Estonian population were victims of Soviet persecution and 4 percent of them perished due to state violence and persecution. During Stalin's reign, through "different waves of cleansing and repression" and forced Russification, state sanctioned terror in Estonia reached a scale which scarcely left any family untouched. This was the main reason for the mass exodus of Estonians during the last days of the German occupation in the country, as having lived through one Soviet occupation, Estonians could already anticipate what was in store. Aun (1985:9) has stated that many more would have fled if only the means of escape had been more readily available to them.

After the two wars the share of Estonians abroad in relation to the total Estonian population was 19%. During WWII, about 70,000-80,000 people left for Western countries (an estimated 6-9% of whom died on their way) and by 1945 the total number of Estonians in the West was 90,000 (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006; Kask and Tammaru, 2006). The main target countries were Sweden and Germany.

4.3 Estonians as displaced persons after the Second World War

A total of 40,000 people reached Germany alive (Tammaru et al., 2010; Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006). Most of them were concentrated in the displaced persons camps (DP Camps), and were initially considered as future repatriates. The refugee and DP camps

were maintained and organised by several international organisations. When for example Hungarians who had been in the war on the German side, experienced problems with receiving help equal to other DPs from those organisations (Borbándi, 2006), then Spohr-Readman states that Estonians and other Balts were often treated differently from the rest of the DPs, they had ‘a special, more privileged status in Germany, given the *de jure* continued existence of the Baltic states under *occupatio bellica*’. They should thus be able to keep as a piece of identification their valid Baltic passports, which entitled them to the same rights as other DPs who were to get new IDs (Spohr Readman, 2008:108). The position of former recruits in the German armed forces was more complex and caused problems in the beginning, it took a while to explain to the authorities that the majority of Balts were forcibly conscripted into the German army, were fighting on the front and did not perform any war crimes (Gilbert, 2013:109).

After being accepted to the DP camp, one’s identity and the DP or refugee status had to be established – this often caused problems as many people had lost their documents. (Those Balts who had their old passports could use them as it was mentioned above, as the Baltic people had special status.) Also problematic were the divisions between what was considered a DP and a refugee status, as different organisations defined these terms in a different formal-juridical ways (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006:23). It has indeed been stated (Raag, 2001, Jürgenson, 2011) that all Estonians fleeing the war were in fact political refugees. Jürgenson (2011:118) mentions that during the post-war years, the term Displaced Person was generally used to define persons who were (forcibly) taken away from, or had left their homes due to the war. There were many people who were coercively taken from their homeland by Germans for forced labour, and who were supposed to return to their countries after the war. A refugee on the other hand is considered a person who had specifically fled their homeland without an intention to return. Accordingly, it makes sense to consider the group of Estonians who fled Soviet occupation and who had been made to leave Estonia because of coercion both as refugees, as after WWII there were also DPs who could not safely return to Estonia because of the Soviet re-occupation of their homeland. Therefore in the legal sense of meaning they should all be also looked at as refugees, as Raag does in his analysis (this is further elaborated on in chapter 2 when talking about terminology).

4.4 Repatriations and migrating further to the West

Shortly after WWII had ended and there were over 6.3 million displaced, stateless and homeless persons in the three western zones and further 5 million elsewhere (Herbert 1997, in McDowell 2005:65), initially repatriation was considered to be the solution to the refugee problem (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006:23). However, it quickly became evident that most of the refugees and DPs from Eastern Europe, including Estonia, did not want to and could not safely return to their country of origin due to the communist takeover in their homelands. Approximately two percent of all dislocated Baltic people nevertheless returned to the Soviet Union (Gilbert, 2013). Raag (1999:73) estimates that the overall number of Estonian repatriates in 1945-1950 was 20 575 people. Amongst them were both forcibly repatriated DPs and prisoners of war, so the actual number of voluntarily repatriated people is quite small (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006; Spohr Readman, 2008). Estonians who did not want to return to the now Soviet occupied Estonia or to be forcibly repatriated mostly travelled from Germany further in Western Europe and often to overseas countries as soon as such opportunities were given. Only a small amount of them stayed in war-torn Germany. There was a constant threat of forcible repatriation by the authorities, as the Soviet Union had declared that all Estonian citizens automatically became citizens of the Soviet Union. The Soviet rhetoric about 'unwillingly held Soviet citizens' made many Baltic nationals fear that they would be repatriated to the USSR against their wishes (Spohr Readman, 2008:115). The Soviet Union on their part made constant attempts in this regard, continuing to try to encourage the coercive repatriation of Estonians as Soviet citizens back to the Soviet Union (Shephard, 2011). In the shadow of this fear, many Estonians decided to leave Germany when the first opportunity came. The other reasons were avoiding material hardship, as the DPs were officially not allowed to work and family reasons (being united with their family members in West). The majority of refugees thus decided to migrate further to the United Kingdom, the USA, Canada and as well as Australia. By and large the decision to emigrate further was taken by Estonians at the end of 1946 and at the beginning of 1947. On top of the fear of repatriation to an Estonia now occupied by a totalitarian regime, the realisation that there would be no quick solution for Estonia's occupation was also finally becoming more apparent. This also led to more Estonians trying to explore available opportunities in other countries (Kool, 1999:677).

4.5 Contacts with homeland

The Soviet Union had re-occupied Estonia and closed its borders by late autumn in 1944 which also stopped westward migration from Estonia (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006:16). During the Soviet occupation, the émigré Estonians had only minimal contact with their homeland, and there was only minimal migration or re-migration between the USSR and West (Raag, 1999). Despite fierce propaganda carried out by the Soviet Union through its spies and agents, and also manipulation of the relatives of refugee Estonians, only a few people returned to Soviet-occupied Estonia. Many researchers (Raag, 1999; McDowell, 2005) have mentioned that during the Stalin years of the Soviet occupation, people were afraid of contacting their relatives because of possible repercussions for the families living under the terror of the occupation in Estonia. They started to re-establish contacts shortly after Stalin's death in 1953, and in many cases Soviet Estonian citizens were never fully trusted by the émigrés who feared possible collaboration between them and the hated Soviet authorities (Raag, 1999:107). People started to send letters and parcels, keeping in touch despite of Soviet postal censorship.

From 1958, a newspaper titled *Kodumaa (Homeland)* was printed and sent free of charge to many Estonians abroad. Its aim was to promote the Soviet life and criticize the public figures of the Estonian emigre community. In 1960, Tallinn was opened up for foreign tourists and visitors. The vast majority of these were Finns, but this category also included refugee Estonians and their offspring. Besides visits to relatives in Soviet Estonia there were also "professional visits" by Estonians abroad, i.e. scholars and other people from the arts and culture, like the composer Eduard Tubin from Sweden. These could be seen as examples of the existence of early transnational connections of post-war Estonians. Selected Estonians (mostly retired people) were also granted permission to visit their close family members abroad. The other way to be allowed to go abroad was to marry a foreign citizen, which according to Raag, was mostly used by women. The exact number of Estonians who did so is not known but may be up to thousand in numbers. In 1960, an organisation for developing cultural ties with Estonians abroad was established (from 1976, it was named VEKSA⁹). This association invited Estonians living abroad to free

⁹ Väliseestlastega Kultuurisidemete Arendamise Ühing – Association for Developing Cultural Ties with Estonians Abroad

seminars and events in Estonia. Amongst the Estonian community abroad, such activities were greeted with a heavy dose of suspicion, and often those Estonians, mostly from the younger generation, who used this possibility to visit their ancestors land were called traitors and collaborationists with the Soviet occupying authorities (Raag, 1999:108).

4.6 Estonian communities abroad nowadays

The Estonian communities abroad have recently undergone several changes, due to free movement from Estonia. These changes since the collapse of the Soviet Union have remained largely unexplored and reliable statistics are missing due to the difficulty of separating the new migrants from the total number of Estonians in most countries (Tammaru et al., 2010:1158). The stability of the Western sub-diaspora is assured by the third wave of emigration to the West since 1991, which activated especially after 2004. During the years 1991-2007, around 37 000 - 42 000 people left Estonia. The third wave of migration is mostly targeted to countries which are economically more developed, the main destination countries are Finland, to a lesser extent Germany, USA, Sweden and UK. The climax of this migration was in year 2006, when over 5200 left Estonia for the West. The migration to the UK and Finland is still increasing, while for example to USA the migration is decreasing year by year (Jürgenson et al., 2011:11).

Legally, according to Estonian citizenship law, those who have been born in Estonia or whose parents or grandparents were Estonian citizens prior to the Soviet occupation, have the right to apply for Estonian citizenship. There is a lack of data on how many British Estonians have done so but for example in Australia, as Estonia has become a part of the EU, the amount of Estonians and their descendants applying for citizenship has been fairly high (Pehk, 2007). Amongst other more emotional benefits (identity, family roots etc.) it also enables them to come to the EU, travel, work and live here without any visa restrictions.

Also, in recent years the Estonian government has paid more attention to the diaspora, inviting people to Estonia and trying to encourage returning migration. Between 1989 and 2000, 3,500 Estonians returned to Estonia, 75% from Eastern countries and 25% from Western countries (Pehk, 2007:17).

Estonian state also supports Estonians abroad through Estonian compatriots Programme (2004–2008, 2009–2013 and 2014–2020)¹⁰. This is concentrating on preserving the Estonian culture and language by supporting the Estonian communities abroad, so the possible repatriation would be easier, at the same time helping to spread adequate information about Estonian state amongst the hosting communities. The programme is cooperation between three Estonian ministries (Ministry of Education and Research, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Foreign Affairs). During the years when the programme has been applied, the shift from East to West has happened – if before the Eastern communities (in previous Soviet Union) were more active, now, due to the new immigrants, the communities in West have become more active. The programme supports Estonian language tuition, cultural activities, collecting and preserving the Estonian heritage abroad, also gives scholarships for students and organises free summer camps for children of Estonian origin. Because during the last years the number of Estonian children living abroad has considerably risen, more help is put into running the Estonian supplementary schools and language classes abroad. The Programme is flexible, trying to take in consideration the changes in the Estonian communities abroad and to cover better their actual needs.

4.7 Estonians in the UK

4.7.1 Migration literature about Estonians in the UK

There is already existing a migration literature dealing with Baltic communities in the UK – i.e. the tendency both in scholarship and also (during the early post-war years) in practice – has been to treat Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians as a single category, regardless of the opinions and different national identities of those concerned. Recently, a book was published by Emily Gilbert: *Changing Identities: Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians in Great Britain*. The book focuses on those who came to the UK after the Second World War as European Voluntary Workers, and uses oral history as a main source of information to show the adaptation of the Balts into British society. There is also another book in English by Thomas Lane, titled *Victims of Stalin and Hitler, the Exodus of Poles and Balts to Britain*. Both these books use oral history as a main source. Lane's book departs from a

¹⁰ the last programme is available online:
http://home.einst.ee/download/EKKM/Rahvuskaslaste_programm_2014_2020.pdf

portrayal of Poles and Balts as forgotten victims of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, it is historical in scope. Gilbert takes a longer term view and her focus is identity, she also looks at the changing identities of the Balts and their adaptation in UK. These are the two main English language books on the history of Estonians in the UK, however these books do not break from this practice to look at the Balts as a coherent single category. Linda McDowell (2005, 2007) has written on post-war Latvian female migrants, from the point of view of gender studies, and concentrates on the changing role of women in post-war British society, on example of Latvian female EVWs.

There are of course specific studies of Estonians, though very few, which have been written in Estonian. A few examples include: *Eesti organisatsioonid Inglismaal 1918-1968* (*Estonian Organisations in England 1918-1968*) by Nigol Hindo, *Eestlane väljaspool Eestit* (*The Estonian outside of Estonia*) by Raimo Raag, *Eestlased ja eesti keel välismaal* (*Estonians and the Estonian Language Abroad*, edited by K. Praakli and J. Viikberg). Edgar Saar (2000) has researched post-war Estonians' adaptation in England; he interviewed 33 people in the end of the 1990s. Katrin Hiietam (2010, 2011) has researched Estonians in Northern England, mostly from the language point of view. Anne Valmas (2007) wrote an article on Estonians in the UK, Maia Madissoo (2002) has written an overview of Estonians in Northern England. As well as academic studies, here should be mentioned also memoir literature, for example Elin Toona-Gottschalk who has written several books based on her own experience, as well as memory collections *Mälutunglad/Torches of Memory*, published in Toronto, amongst others. All these books treat Britain as a singular entity, or focusing only on England. This disregards potentially crucial differences in context, which have increased over time as Scotland has reasserted its identity and attained greater autonomy within a UK context. There are no written sources about Estonians in Scotland and this research attempts to make an important and original contribution to the literature.

4.7.2 Estonian emigration waves to the UK

As it has been mentioned above, generally it is considered that there have been three large waves of Estonian migration on a global level (Tammaru et al, 2010). Some researchers have claimed that Estonian migration to the UK took place in five distinct waves (Hiietam, 2010 and 2011, Väravas, 2004) – the first at the beginning of the 20th century, the second during WWII, the third from 1950 to 1960, the fourth from 1970 to 1990 and the fifth

following the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991 and – especially – Estonia's accession to the EU in 2004. However, during the time of the Soviet occupation in Estonia, Westward migration was not remarkable (being rather an exception, as we can see above from Raag, 1999) and the number of people who succeeded in migrating abroad was very low. Therefore, we cannot really talk about further 'waves' here.

4.7.3 Earlier data about Estonians in the UK

Unfortunately there is not much early data about Estonians in the UK. On the one hand this could be the case because there couldn't have been very many early settlers due to Estonians' position in society at that time as immobile peasant serfs. On the other hand, before the ethnogenesis in the 19th century, Estonians did not refer to themselves as Estonians, but as *maarahvas* (*people of the land*). Only in the second half of the 19th century did the Estonian peasants start to receive more rights, just as the Estonian national movement was gaining more power. John Millar, who has done research on the Lithuanian community in Scotland, states that the Lithuanians who came to Scotland before the establishment of the independent Lithuanian state were automatically considered Russian or Russian Poles, as the Baltic States belonged to the Russian Empire at that time. He mentions also a press report from the 1918 census of aliens in Glasgow, according to which a total of 10,342 aliens resided in the city, of which the Russians contributed the largest number with a total of 3,967 (Millar, 1998:67). He also mentions that the 'alien' registration records that the Police had from around the time of the First World War were destroyed 100 years after the birth date of the person of whom the records were kept, so this data is unfortunately not accessible anymore. It is therefore highly possible that people from the current Estonian territory also came to Scotland in the 19th century, to escape Russian military service or punishment, or for a multitude of other reasons just like the Lithuanians. The only way to try establish whether there were any people of Estonian origin amongst the Glasgow 'aliens' for example would be to take a closer look at all of the names in the register. However, as Estonians received their surnames as peasants at the time of German landlords and pastors in the beginning of the 19th century, it would be very difficult to ascertain which names were indeed Estonian. By the time of the birth of the independent Estonian Republic in 1918, 40% of surnames were not Estonian, being mostly of German origin. The Estonianisation of surnames started during this time period, when many Germanic surnames were either literally translated into Estonian or simply changed

to a similar Estonian sounding word. This is the reason why many of the earlier migrants could have had both German surnames and first names before the time of estonification (Henno, 2003).

Emily Gilbert (2013:377) states that there is no mention of any Estonian immigration into Great Britain before the Second World War in any of the major works of British immigration. More data can be obtained from Estonian sources, however. Estonian researchers have stated that before the First World War there was some movement of people, mostly in the form of individual sailors and artisans who came over to Britain (Hindo, 1971; Valmas, 2007). The first known Estonian to have settled in the UK, around 1850, is a youngster whose surname was Sepp. He fled his home on Saaremaa island, became a ship boy and stayed in the UK. In other such cases later on, young Estonian sailors mostly relocated to Cardiff. According to these sources, even at the beginning of the 20th century it was relatively easy to stay in the UK. Just 5 British Pounds and a willingness to become an artisan were sufficient. These young men married local women and assimilated very quickly. In some cases, their children did not even know about their father's origin (Valmas, 2007:3). Before WWI, 12 Estonians are known to have worked as seamstresses and tailors in London, totalling 20 Estonian craftsmen in Britain (Hindo, 1968; Valmas, 2007). Again, there is no relevant data about Scotland.

During the first period of Estonian independence in the 1930s, Great Britain became a dream destination for many young Estonians wishing to learn English. At that time London offered a large variety of language courses. This was made easier by a bilateral agreement drawn up by the British (Agreement A), which allowed foreigners to live with British families in return for housekeeping duties. Also, different academic scholarships were offered in the UK (Hiietam, 2010; Valmas, 2007; Gilbert, 2013). The number of Estonians living in the UK was still quite small. For example in London, the first Estonian émigré organisation or *Eesti Selts* (Estonian Society) was already established in 1921 and had a theatre group and a library. Its membership grew from 25 members in 1921 to over 70 members in 1934. In 1941, Londoni Eesti Selts (The London Estonian Society) had 81 members (Hiietam, 2010; Hindo, 1968).

4.7.4 Estonians in the UK after the Second World War

After the Second World War, the Estonian diaspora in the UK grew considerably. Great Britain became the first and largest state in Western Europe to welcome Estonian refugees (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006:29). Bülbring (1954:99) mentions that over 84,000 so-called European Voluntary Workers (EVW's) were recruited from among displaced persons in Central Europe for specified undermanned industries. Most of them were single and three-quarters were male. They came to Britain mostly in 1947 and 1948.

The allied nations took a strictly utilitarian view of their potential new citizens, seeing them not in humanitarian terms as deserving respect and recompense for wartime disruption but instead as labouring bodies, as potential workers to aid the post-war efforts of reconstruction. Above all, a fit and healthy body became an essential prerequisite for displaced persons hoping to continue to move westwards. For prospective female migrants, an additional consideration was their suitability as potential wives and mothers of the new nation. (McDowell, 2005:2).

The term 'European Voluntary Workers' replaced the term 'Displaced Persons' which was regarded as pejorative by British officials. It was argued in Cabinet discussions that the term 'European' was preferable because, at that time, the British population in general disliked and distrusted foreigners. The term 'European' would emphasise the joint heritage of the incomers and the local population. (McDowell, 2005:92). While the British state had only a practical view on the prospective workers. Estonians may have had a lot of (false) hopes about their new host country. The perspective of my informants who came under the EVW scheme will be explored later, through the voices of my respondents themselves. Nevertheless the practices of British state can be seen as having an important formative influence on the Estonian community that emerged in the UK after the war, very different from the context after 1991.

The first scheme by the British Ministry of Labour to recruit the DPs was the *Baltic Cygnets* scheme which started in autumn 1946. During the scheme, around 2,500 women, amongst them 700 Estonians were recruited (Kumer-Haukanõmm, 2006; Kool, 1999). The next similar scheme was *Westward, Ho!* which began in 1947 and also included male recruitment (Kool, 1999). The men did mostly agricultural work and coal mining and later

also worked in the textile industry (Väravas, 2004:26). While in the case of the first work scheme the *Baltic Cygnets*, people were recruited for certain jobs known already before entering UK, the later *Westward, Ho!* work scheme was more flexible to redistributing EVWs according to the worker shortages while already residing in the UK, and as such the recruited people were not given information where they would go beforehand (Kay and Miles, 1992; Tannahill, 1958). The initial work agreements were for 12 months under both schemes - during this time they were not allowed to leave their workplaces. In the case of good work records, they had the opportunity to extend their work agreement (Kool, 1999; McDowell, 2005). However, Bülbring states that European Voluntary Workers were, for the first three years of their stay, subject to fairly severe restrictions regarding employment. On arrival they were placed in certain undermanned industries and had to remain in those industries for a minimum of three years. The consent of the Ministry of Labour was required for any change in employment. This caused a great deal of bitterness, as like many British officials, the foreign workers had misunderstood the conditions under which they had been recruited. They had been under the impression that they were entering into one-year contracts, whereas in actual fact the one-year clause was a safeguard for the British authorities which enabled them to return an unsatisfactory worker to the displaced people's camps in Germany within that period (Bülbring, 1954:100). Quiet and hardworking refugees who caused no problems would be allowed to extend their contracts. The workers had to put up with working up to 5 years in their allocated jobs before they could move and choose their occupations freely.

McDowell points out that the women from the Baltic States were recruited as ideal workers, but it is clear from the official documents that in the longer term they were also regarded as potential marriage partners for British men and so future contributors to the 'British stock' (2005:94). Cesarani has described in his book how the British post-war government actually preferred Eastern Europeans over Blacks and Jewish Holocaust survivors, the reason being that the 'non-whites were unpopular and difficult to assimilate' (Cesarini, 2001:5). First, only young and healthy people were allowed to come over, mostly young men and women and childless couples up to the age of 55 (Valmas, 2007:152). In 1948, due to changes in the policies of the international refugee organisations as well changes in migration laws, so-called 'hard core immigrants' (women with children, old and disabled refugees) were also allowed to come to Britain, after their family members who were working (Kumer-Haukanömm, 2006:36). Hindo (1971) states

that by 31 May 1951, 5,317 Estonians, mostly from German DP camps, had arrived in the UK. There were 26,500 Baltic EVWs in the UK overall (Gilbert, 2013). Based on the data from the Estonian ambassador Mr August Torma who kept his diplomatic status after the war, despite the attempts of Soviet authorities to declare Estonia being a part of Soviet Union, there were 7458 people of Estonian origin in the UK, including those who had arrived before the Second World War (Tamman, 2011; Hindo, 1971).

In her book (2005:4) Linda McDowell also highlights the ‘betweenness’ or uniqueness of the late 1940s Baltic migrants (and amongst them, Estonians), stating that they were distinguishable from the other main categories of migrant workers into the UK, especially those from the Caribbean and from the Republic of Ireland, by their class, skin colour, religion and alien status. Thus, these women occupied an interesting hybrid location in post-war Britain, neither refugees nor migrant workers, or indeed both; women but not mothers; often educated and middle class by origin, but required to accept demeaning manual employment; alien and yet European; with no previous attachments to the UK, unlike Irish and Caribbean women; and unable to return to their homeland, which had disappeared as an independent entity. McDowell (2005:196-7) states that because of these aforementioned reasons, together with a general level of ignorance of Baltic and other north and eastern European traditions among the British population, the first group of post-war labour migrants remained largely invisible within Britain. Because of the Soviet occupation, Estonia and other Baltic states did not officially exist on maps or school books anymore.

There are different numbers given in different sources about the overall number of Estonians who lived in the UK after WWII. McDowell (2005:104) states that a total of 2891 men and 1223 women came to the UK under the *Baltic Cygnets* and *Westward ho!* schemes. It is also difficult to establish the exact number due to further onward migration as the UK did not greet the arrived people very warmly – having their personal rights and free movement restricted and also being forced to work in menial and demeaning jobs for up to 5 years. Housing restrictions were also in place, for example in the workers hostels, couples and families were not allowed to share the same room. In the beginning, the majority lived in cheap hostels or rented accommodation but later in some regions, some EVW’s had put aside enough money to buy houses. However in some areas people had to stay in overpopulated hostels for years (Bülbring, 1954:102).

4.7.5 War refugees or economic migrants?

The main difference between the pre-war Estonian community and those who came after WWII was that while the first ones had come over voluntarily – to learn the language, to earn money, to study, or for adventurous reasons, the latter ones had been forced to leave their home country for political reasons, torn violently out of their homes and familiar environment. In the British context, Linda McDowell (2005:190) draws on differences between people who migrate for economic reasons and who have been officially placed into this category, stating that female Latvian European Voluntary Workers (and it is relevant to the Estonians as well, as will emerge from the empirical data, also see Gilbert, 2013 and Raag, 2001) continued to see themselves as refugees, as political exiles rather than as economic migrants and this identification had a powerful impact on the decision they made in later years. The discussion between forced and voluntary migration has been looked at more thoroughly in the theoretical review of migration.

The Baltic refugees were seen by the British state as superior to the other migrants (Kay and Miles, 1988, McDowell, 2005) because of their skin colour, religion, and class, and this apparent superiority was reflected in their recruitment as well as future lives that led to a differentiation and separation from their neighbours. They challenged the British government's initial hopes of complete assimilation into a hegemonic 'English' culture and society. McDowell also describes the emotional suffering of the Latvian women and their longing for the lost homeland, highlighting their self-identification as Latvians. In the literature about the Estonian war refugees (for example Kool, 1999; Raag, 1999; Aun, 1985; Jürgenson, 2011), similarly to Latvians, the post-war Estonians were still very tightly connected to their lost homeland and hoped to return to Estonia. Aun (1985: 39) has mentioned that although it seemed illusory and even ridiculous, being certainly a self-delusion, this opinion was nevertheless widely shared by Estonian and other post-war refugees. Due to the Cold War, the aftermath of the Second World War had not yet stabilised and a return did not seem entirely impossible. According to Aun (Ibid.) it was not until the late 1950s and the early 1960s that these hopes were finally shaken, though not yet fully abandoned. The Hungarian uprising in 1956 has often been considered as the watershed moment when things changed.

McDowell (2005:120) also cites the Minister of Labour in 1948 in her work: "These people came here, working their passage to British citizenship". McDowell further

mentions that the migrant workers themselves did not want this complete assimilation into British society, they had a desire to return 'home' to Latvia, even though Latvia as a homeland did not exist anymore. They wanted to go home, if only the British government would help them free their home countries from Soviet occupation. In this longing for home, exiles may be distinguished from economic immigrants for whom the hope of improving their life quality may be a strong motive and lead to a positive identification with the new land of residence (McDowell, 2005: 177). As we can see in later empirical chapters of this research, there are several persons who mention that their family members never actually acquired British citizenship.

4.7.6 Negative attitudes towards EVWs and their downward social mobility

Estonians also had huge difficulties with the general attitudes towards them in their host societies as migrants, as well as the many social restrictions that were in place which curtailed their freedoms. Linda McDowell (2005:102) explains on this point that class as well as ethnic differences were significant axes of discrimination and that according to the United Nations report, 'England was probably the most difficult of all countries in which to be a refugee (Ibid. p. 118).

Elin Toona-Gottschalk, has written about it in her autobiographic book (*Into Exile*, p. 139):

Mother calls the matron Madame. This Madame treats mother terribly and the dog poops on the floor. Mother has to curtsy, then scoop up the poop. The dog bites her if she doesn't serve it properly. I think the English are scared of all the foreigners coming in from the displaced persons camps and not knowing how to serve afternoon tea. The first thing they taught Mother to do was to serve tea, to keep her eyes down, and to speak only when spoken to.

When the compulsory work agreements ended, people had more choice about their future work. However, there were also difficulties with finding better jobs and sometimes they had to carry on in whatever jobs they were given at the start of their move to the UK.

Elin Toona-Gottschalk recalls in the same book:

There was fierce resistance from the local trade unions and citizenry in general. An organised protest march with speeches paraded along The Headrow with banners bearing slogans such as “FOREIGNERS BACK TO WHERE THEY CAME FROM” and “FOREIGNERS WILL NOT TAKE THE FOOD FROM OUR MOUTHS”. The result was that only two foreign workers in the Leeds area got white collar jobs. One was a Ukrainian woman who spoke ten languages. She was hired by the Ministry of Labour to translate to other foreigners why there was no work for them. The other, a Latvian mathematics professor, became a bookkeeper at the same factory where he had woven carpets. (p. 247)

As one can see, the Estonians who had lost their homeland and all their belongings and were initially optimistic about their new host countries and futures after leaving Germany, often experienced downward social mobility, isolation and hostile attitudes in British society. McDowell states that conditions of work were not easy as for example hospitals were extremely hierarchical institutions where the matron was considered almost a deity and where ward orderlies and workers were not permitted to speak without being first spoken to. The lower ranking workers had separate entrances, uniforms and were on the lowest pecking order (2005:112). Anne Valmas (2007:156) mentions that in the manufacturing industry and factories where Estonians were working together with the British working classes, the latter often did not accept them. They were either regarded as too ambitious, snobbish or presumptuous. It is unsurprising therefore that a lot of Estonians led their social lives in isolation, purely amongst their compatriots, choosing to spend their free time together, participating in various activities amongst themselves. As McDowell states (2005:197), the first group of post-war labour migrants remained largely invisible within Britain. This invisibility, combined with their relatively small numbers and their desire to remain unassimilated, allowed them to organise their own communal institutions without harassment from the population at large or from the state.

4.7.7 Migrating further

After having worked the compulsory years, the Estonians started to move closer to locations where other Estonians were living or where they could have better employment, forming closer, diaspora-like communities.

Oskar Gnadenteich, that time Estonian Lutheran pastor in Scotland, who lived in Edinburgh before emigrating to Canada, wrote to Endel Aruja in 20 February 1951 “I am much more content with my life here [in Scotland] than I was in London, because it is peaceful here and people, I mean fellow nationals, are more natural and on the same wavelength. The pure Estonian spirit and being is preserved here better than anywhere in the centre. Here every man and woman naturally and mainly Estonian - national, although they often live alone and scattered, the national feelings of our people are not weak and they can always compete in it with the Scots whose national feelings are indeed quite strong, at least that’s how it seems. To reach out our fellow nationals seems to become more complicated in the future, because the labour camps will be invalidated and then one by one they will all go to South.”

At the beginning of the 1950’s, approximately 1,000 people from the UK emigrated further to Canada, USA, Australia and elsewhere, mainly because they failed to find employment in the UK which suited their education, and were forced to carry on in low-paid or low-respected jobs (Valmas, 2007:156), as mentioned earlier, restrictions in access to education for themselves and their children were also a major reason why Estonians decided to leave the UK. Anne Valmas also mentions uncusomary food amongst other reasons for leaving (Ibid.).

Those people who decided to stay in Britain, carried on with their diasporic activities but due to the decreasing number of Estonians in the UK, and assimilation of the second and third generation, the Estonian organisations became less and less active, until the new wave of emigration from Estonia during the last decades brought over some ‘fresh blood’. (About the Estonian organisations in the UK, see the next passage of this chapter.)

4.7.8 Number of Estonians in the UK today

The exact size of the Estonian community in the UK today, or those who consider themselves Estonian by citizenship or by heritage, is difficult to establish. According to the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is between 10 000 and 15 000 people, many of them are commuting between these two countries¹¹. Emily Gilbert (2013:366) has used the

¹¹ This data was taken from: <http://www.vm.ee/et/riigid/suurbritannia?display=relations>

applicants for NINo (National Insurance Number) to establish the size of the Estonian community living in the UK. In total, for the years 2002-2012, 17,851 National Insurance numbers were granted to people coming from Estonia. This figure doesn't tell us how many Estonians live in the UK at any given time, but it does tell us that over the decade as a whole, over 17,000 Estonians worked or applied for work in the UK at some point.

However, the UK Office for National Statistics does not publish a complete breakdown of the number of foreign nationals living in the country, only a breakdown of the top 60 nationalities and an estimate as to the number of people from each one. It is a list on which Estonia of course does not feature. In 2011/2012, only 2150 Estonians applied for a NINo, compared to 18,590 Latvians and 33,190 Lithuanians. There may be people who live and work in the UK, but never registered for the NINo. Emily Gilbert justifiably points out that the small number of Estonians in the UK, compared to other Balts, is also due to a smaller population and smaller rate of unemployment in Estonia on the one hand, and close ties with Scandinavian countries, which are attractive migration destinations, on the other hand.

4.7.9 Estonian social life and organisations in the UK

The first Estonian society in the UK, the *Estonian Non-Political Social Group in London* (*Londoni Eesti ilma parteita sotsialgrupe*) was established in London in 1918 and had a short life of around 1 year (Ojasoo, in Valmas 2007:150). In 1921, As mentioned already before, the Estonian Society in London was formed, which is still active. In 1943, the Organising Committee of the Estonian Foundation (*Eesti Fondi Korraldav Toimikond*) was founded. It organised material help for the Estonian Embassy whose monetary means were frozen due to the political situation (Valmas, 2007:151). In 1944, the Estonian Relief Committee (*Eesti Abistamise Komitee*) was founded as a charity to support Estonian war refugees in Europe and those who arrived in the UK as part of different work schemes. Later the Relief Committee also supported Estonian children's summer camps and Estonian elderly and disabled people. The committee is still active. It is financed through many different charity activities and events: sales, lotteries, dinner parties and so on.

One of the first post-war Estonian Societies was formed in Leeds in 1947. All Estonian Societies were united under the Association for Estonians in Great Britain (AEGB) (*Inglismaa Eestlaste Ühing*), an umbrella organisation founded in 1947 by Estonian post-war community, the main aim of this organisation was to protect the interests of the

Estonians in the UK and to preserve the Estonian culture and Language in the UK. Only organisations could become its members, so it caused a boom in the establishment of local Estonian organisations. In the beginning there were lots of small local sub-organisations (in one point over 60, according to Hindo (1971:4). The Scottish Estonian associations also belonged here, but later their number started to decrease due to the increasing mobility of the Estonian EVW's and their concentration in the bigger industrial towns, especially London. By the end of the 1960s, only 6 of the sub-organisations had remained, due to further migration to overseas, aging and death amongst the original Estonian population which arrived after the war, and assimilation of the younger generations (Hindo 1971:4).

People wanted to be closer to each other and take part in more common activities which were available only in bigger diasporic centres. These were also places where so-called Estonian Houses were established – Bradford/Leeds in 1955, London in 1957 and Leicester in 1960. These are society houses which were bought through collected money (often also taking bank loans) and in which Estonian organisations, dance groups and choirs could meet. Common celebrations and children's Saturday schools were also arranged there. These houses are still owned by the Estonian societies, although nowadays they have been forced, for economic reasons, to also host other events and open up their facilities for local non-Estonians (for example in Bradford where the majority of the customers for the bar are from the local football club supporters as the Estonian House is close to the football stadium). In London, the juridical ownership of the Estonian House is very complicated and therefore the future is still unsolved and unclear. However, several community and cultural events are arranged there.

The British government also recognised the importance of religious activities in the life of the EVWs. The first Estonian Lutheran Congregation in the UK was established in London in 1946. The church was an important and regular mediator of events and the community in all of the main Estonian centres. The Estonian congregations often used the local church premises. As already mentioned, people recall that besides allowing people to practice their religion, the church services more importantly offered an invaluable opportunity to meet up and socialise afterwards. Even those congregation members who were not particularly religious attended these meetings for the social events. Information about local Estonian churches and events could be found in the diaspora newspaper *Eesti Hääl* as well as in other sources. The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church which had almost 1600 members

in mid-1950s and four parishes in England: London, Leicester, Bradford and Bolton, and a subparish in Bristol, one in Wales: in Cardiff, and one (short-lived) in Scotland: Edinburgh. Nigol Hindo (1971:164) has mentioned that pastors from London (1949-52), Bradford (1952-61) and Leicester (since 1961) also held sermons in Edinburgh, Glasgow and other places in Scotland. The Estonian Lutheran Church in exile was very active internationally (as we can also see later in the empirical chapters, in the memories of Aksel) and although its cross-border activities actually involved few members of the congregation directly, it still is an example of Estonian post-war expatriate transnational activity. Further, the Estonian Orthodox Church in exile also performed services in the UK, but none of my informants had any recollection about it.

We can glimpse into the social life and events organised by Estonians in the UK, by reading the four-volume collection of articles called *Eestlaskond Leicesteris*, compiled by local Estonians and published in 1985-1996 by the Estonian House in Leicester, as well as the booklet *Eesti Kodu 25, Bradford 1955-1980*, which was issued by the 25th anniversary of the Estonian House in Bradford. Also, Maia Madissoo in her article (2002) has given an overview about Estonian socio-cultural activities in Bradford.

According to the aforementioned sources and data from the Estonian newspaper *Eesti Häääl*, the Estonian organisations collectively arranged children's summer camps, summer festivals, song and dance events, sales fairs, common celebrations of national holidays and Christmas, children's Saturday schools etc. Estonian children's summer camp is still being organised every year until nowadays.

After the war, the Scouts – one of the flagships of the Estonian youth activities in exile, in addition to the Saturday schools – was to some extent active in the UK. Two Scout Patrols were established in the UK and were short-lived, as many members migrated overseas. Despite their limited period of existence, Estonian Scouts in the UK were part of the transnational activities carried out in the Estonian post-war community.

Also the Estonian publishing activities should be mentioned here. Even if the total number of Estonian books and booklets printed in the UK is rather limited – 78 titles up to the year 2000, according to Valmas (2003), the Boreas Publishing House was founded in London already in 1939 and was the first Estonian publishing house established outside Estonia. Later the publishing house moved to Cardiff, Wales where it closed in 1999. Their books

were distributed all over the World which is also an example of Estonian transnational activities. Here in this thesis, the Estonian newspaper in the UK, *Eesti Hääli* (The Estonian Voice) has been used as a source at multiple times. The newspaper which started as a weekly in 1949, and some of my informants also recall it in their interviews, was perhaps globally not as influential as those Estonian periodicals in Canada, Sweden and in the USA, but has made it into the 21st century and is now being published as a monthly newspaper.

4.8 Estonians in Scotland

4.8.1 Available data about Estonians in Scotland

Exactly how many Estonians EVWs ended up working in Scotland, we don't know. From the Official Report of debates in Parliament¹² in 15 June 1948, we know that up to that time, all together 5,495 European voluntary workers had been placed in work in Scotland. 3,858 of these were placed in agriculture, and the remainder in other occupations. Hours of work and wages were the same as for British workers. The EVWs were paid minimum 90 p. per week and were charged 30 p. per week for board and lodging. Tannahill (1958:62) has noted that after early 1949, no EVWs were placed in agricultural work, due to its seasonal nature and outsiders' complaints of idling EVWs in the slack season.

Nowadays in Scotland, according to the Scottish Government Report (Eirich, 2011) around half of recent immigrants were from the UK, around a quarter were from the EU and around a quarter were from elsewhere. New migrants were concentrated in the three main Scottish cities and were predominantly young, which can partly be explained by the relatively large inflow of students into Scotland. The 2007 migration report about Edinburgh¹³ states that In 2004- 2005, EU8 migrants made up approximately 30% of all overseas economic migration into Edinburgh and have filled vacancies that are vital to the growth of Edinburgh's economy as well as contributing to council and other tax income.

¹² <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1948/may/04/european-volunteer-workers>

¹³ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/socialresearch>

The data available from the 2001 Census showed that 78 people living in Scotland stated that their country of birth was Estonia. A question on national identity was not asked in 2001, but was included in the 2011 Census. According to this data, already 747 people had marked Estonia as their country of birth and 563 have an Estonian national identity, the table about language used at home (other than English) shows that amongst people over age of 3, only 324 people speak Estonian at home. (Scotland Census data, 2001). It may be so because of mixed marriages, or descendants of post-war Estonians who do not speak their mother tongue anymore, or the large number of Estonia's Russian population whose country of origin (country of birth) is Estonia, but who do not speak Estonian.

This topic of course needs more detailed research, and therefore the National Records of Scotland were contacted within the parameters of this work in order to dig deeper and find out about these results. A Commissioned Request to receive more census data about Estonians in Scotland was made, however it became clear that because of the relatively small number of people involved, it was impossible to get very detailed data about every parameter. Therefore I decided to request additional data only about the group with Estonian national identity. As there are not many Estonians left from the post-war period, it indicates that the majority of those people are indeed newcomers. According to this data, 563 people included Estonian national identity on the census, 194 of whom were men and 369 of whom were women. 106 of them were 19 or younger, the biggest group being 20-29 years old – 228 people. 195 people were aged 30-54, and only 34 people were older. By marital status, most of the people – 368 persons – in the census were single, 110 people were married and 85 people divorced, separated or widowed. If we look at the division by council area, the biggest group lived in Aberdeen (99 people). In Edinburgh there were 85 and in Glasgow 63 people with Estonian national identity. The rural areas with the most of Estonian identity bearers were South Lanarkshire (81), Aberdeenshire (35), Fife (34), Angus (30) and Scottish Highlands (26 persons). There were no-one registered in the biggest island groups (Shetlands, Orkneys). Amongst people 16 or over, the biggest group - 162 people had qualification which corresponds to postgraduate education. The second biggest group was Level 1¹⁴ – there were 138 such persons. 118 people had Level 2 and 3

¹⁴ 0 Grade, Standard Grade, Access 3 Cluster, Intermediate 1 or 2, GCSE, CSE, Senior Certification or equivalent; GSVQ Foundation or Intermediate, SVQ level 1 or 2, SCOTVEC Module, City and Guilds Craft or equivalent; Other school qualifications not already mentioned (including foreign qualifications)

(post-school, but pre-higher education) qualifications. 77 people with the Estonian national identity had no qualification at all. Divided by profession, 28% of them carried elementary occupation, 40% all together had more skilled occupations which needed some professional training or education¹⁵, but only 14% had the highest professional and managerial occupations¹⁶. This data shows that the overall education level amongst the Estonian identity bearers in Scotland is quite high, at the same time they fill much lower positions than the local average, which indicates downward social mobility¹⁷. It is interesting also to observe the languages that people with Estonian national identity used at home. Surprisingly only 271 of them spoke Estonian at home, 149 spoke Russian¹⁸, 108 communicated in English. Strangely enough, also 9 of them spoke Polish, 6 Latvian and 7 other languages at home. Of course this could be, again, due to intermarriages and relationships with other nationals.

Although this data is not enough to make any big conclusions, we can still draw some deductions from the information above. As we have information about the large number of students that have come to study in Scotland, thanks to the elimination of study fees, we can also partly assume that one of the most sizeable, if not the biggest group of Estonians currently living in Scotland are actually students.

4.8.2 Estonian social activities in Scotland

Estonian social activities in Scotland were in the beginning very similar to the ones organised elsewhere in the UK on the local level. Unfortunately the Estonian population in Scotland was never numerous enough to allow the establishment of an Estonian House or Estonian schools. Below is an overview of Estonian activities in Scotland organised by the post-war Estonian community. According to the newspaper *Eesti Hääl*, in 1949 there were

¹⁵ 90 (16%) worked as process, plant and machinery operatives, 68 (12%) worked in service occupations, 35 (6%) in skilled trade occupations, 31 (5,55) were in administrative and secretarial occupations

¹⁶ 68 (12%) in professional or associate professional and technical occupations, 13 (2,3%) were managers, directors and senior officials

¹⁷ If we compare this data with the general population data in Scotland, from the same 2011 census, amongst working population over 16, only 11,6% have elementary occupation, over 50% were more skilled occupations, almost 26% had the highest managerial and professional occupations

¹⁸ Although according to Nimmerfeldt (2009), Estonian ethnic Russian population do rather not tend to have Estonian national identity.

more than 200 Estonians in Scotland (EH 3.6.1949, p.3). In Glasgow and elsewhere there were several Estonian women who had married Scotsmen and settled there already before WWII. (There was no independent Estonian diaspora organisation in Scotland, see above for information on sub-groups of the AEGB in Scotland.)

The Association of Estonians in Great Britain had branches in Scotland. According to the newspaper *Eesti Hääl*, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, there were several such branches, formed mostly in the labour camps and hostels where Estonian EVWs were staying. With the closing of these facilities, Estonian organisations also ceased to exist. However, we can't find any data about these organisations in Nigol Hindo's book of Estonian organisations in the Great Britain, where it is only stated that when the Association of Estonians in Great Britain started there were 60 sub-organisations belonging to it, but by the beginning of the 1970s 50 of them had ceased to exist. In his book Hindo (1971:167-8) also refers to 78 Estonian organisations which ceased to exist, only two of them being in Scotland. These were the AEGB Annsmuir affiliate called 'Põhjala' in Ladybank, Fife (time of establishment and closure not known), and a Maybole affiliate in Ayrshire, which was established on the 14th of December 1947, and closed on the 15th of June 1951.

In his letter to Endel Aruja from 26.2.1951, Oskar Gnadenteich wrote: *"I did not know before what Scotland meant. But while living here, it has become evident in a very short time that this is not England. When Dr Taul ordered the same hymn sheets to be printed for all regions, for the celebrations of anniversary of the Estonian Republic, on the first page it was printed „In February 1951, England“. It was a bit awkward to read, like this hymn sheet would not be meant for use in Scotland. While I lived in England I considered Scotland as a part of it, but now it has become impossible to do so. Scots have influenced me in their attitudes toward England and the English. "*

The newspaper *Eesti Hääl* mentions several social activities in the 1940s and the 1950s in Scotland.

The Anniversaries of the Estonian Republic were usually celebrated with a church sermon, followed by a social event or reception. These events took part mostly in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but also in Fife (18.2.1955, p.8). One of the biggest celebrations took place in 1954, in the Waverley Hotel in Perth where Ambassador August Torma from London participated (26.2.1954, p.7). Celebrations of Midsummer's Eve and Estonian Victory day

included mostly church services and social gatherings. In 1951, a joint outing to Loch Lomond was organised and 59 Estonians took part. According to tradition, after the sermon Estonians sang patriotic songs and several speeches were made (1.6.1951, p.3).

Social evenings with local inhabitants were organised in different places and were mostly organised for charitable purposes. One of the biggest Estonian groups in Scotland, Maybole, had a tea evening organised by the local Mishant Inn Women's Guild. It started with different performances (songs and poems) and ended with Scottish Ceilidh dances. An anonymous correspondent described it as "Estonian farmhands dancing with landladies" (13.5.1948, p. 3). Meetings and socialising after church was one of the many reasons people chose to partake in Estonian Lutheran church services. In the newspaper *Eesti Hääl*, it is mentioned that after the sermon there was often coffee and tea prepared by the local congregation in the church hall, or a social event at the home of one of the local Estonians. These events also often ended with singing patriotic songs and even dancing.

4.8.3 The Estonian post-war community and the church

Church services had an important part in the Estonian community life as it had already had back home in Estonia. Before the Second World War, around 78% of Estonians were Lutherans, 19% Orthodox and the remaining 3% being Catholics, Baptists, Muslims, representatives of other minor religions and sects, or simply not religious (Raag, 1999:21).

The first Estonian sermon in Scotland was held in Newtonhall, Kennoway. It was conducted by Bishop J. Taul who arrived from London (EH, 30.7.1948, p. 4).

Regular sermons took place in Glasgow and Edinburgh every few months, sometimes also at another location (for example in Perth, or in various locations in Fife). The sermons were conducted by O. Gnadenteich (until his emigration to Canada in 1952), J. Taul, A.E. Aaviksaar, E. Kiviste and P. Merits. Pastor Gnadenteich left for Canada when many of his congregation of Estonians started to leave Scotland for Canada. He continued his work there as an Estonian pastor, in different congregations. Different churches were used for sermons. I have used the data from *Eesti Hääl* to establish which churches the Estonians held their congregations at in the 1940s and the 1950s. The following churches in Edinburgh were used: St. Mary Church Ladies Chapel, Lady Glenorchy's Kirk South, Holy Trinity Church; in Glasgow the following churches were used: Methodist Central Hall in

Maryhill, Hillhead Church, St. Paul's (Outer High) Kirk, Belhaven United Presbyterian Kirk, Westbourne United Free Church, and Belhaven Westbourne Church of Scotland.

The empirical chapter which focuses on the memories of the Estonian community will look more deeply into the connection of the church to Estonian migrants' life.

4.8.4 Local organisations and the Estonian community

How were Estonian social and cultural activities connected with local organisations in Scotland? There were many ties between local organisations and the Estonian diaspora. For example local groups aided the Estonians through financial and organisational help, as well as through the use of their premises for functions and meetings. In the newspaper *Eesti Hääl*, there are references to local Scottish organisations that the Estonian diaspora had links with and received help from, for example several civic and religious fellowships and organisations like Protestant churches in Scotland, the Scottish League for European Freedom (SLEF), the local facilities of the YMCA (the Young Men's Christian Association), amongst others. The Estonian newspaper *Eesti Hääl* also mentions several Estonian events which took part in Scotland in the 1950s in cooperation with local women's clubs and country clubs (see also above).

As mentioned in the previous section, local churches allowed Estonians to use their premises for services as well as social events. Several Christian congregations practiced charity work which helped the Estonian war refugees. The Estonian newspaper *Eesti Hääl* mentions that some local congregations also helped to relocate Estonian refugees from the German DP camps, as well as helping to ensure their safe stay in Scotland (for example, collecting money for Estonian war invalids) as part of their charitable work (31.8.1951, p. 4). For example 30 members of St Bride's Church in Edinburgh collected £150 every year to cover the living costs of an Estonian war invalid on a farm on the island of Arran. The Estonian invalid was then brought over from Germany (24.11.1950, p. 3)

There is evidence that the YMCA sought contact with the EVWs (Bülbring, 1954). The Scottish YMCA and YWCA approached the AEGB asking for the addresses of Estonians living in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland to be invited to their meetings. Their request was granted and the addresses were given to the organisations (EH, 26.5.1950, p. 4). Some Estonian services also took part in local YMCA hostels (EH, 9.2.1951, p.4).

The Scouts and similar youth organisations were very popular in inter-war Estonia. Estonian war refugees also established several scouts groups around the world, starting already in the refugee camps in Germany.

In *Eesti Hääl* (31.1.1958), it is mentioned that the Scottish Headquarters of the British Scouts Association asked the Estonian Scouts Headquarters¹⁹ to take part in the international Jamboree in Scotland in 1958. There are however no mentions of the activities of Estonian scouts and guides in Scotland, and also no mentions of cases of cooperation with local Scouts organisations.

As it has emerged from the literature, Estonians abroad usually had good connections and joint activities with other similar national organisations, mostly of Latvians and Lithuanians, as they shared the same background and experience of exile. In England, the bigger Baltic communities held joint political (demonstrations and pickets) as well as cultural events. There is sadly a lack of data about such cooperation in Scotland. After WWII, there was a sizeable Lithuanian diaspora in Scotland, and a somewhat smaller Latvian one. There is no available information or evidence of common Baltic activities in Scotland, although the Scottish League of European Freedom seems to have emphasised the ties between the three Baltic peoples. The organiser of Scottish League for European Freedom John F. Stewart had an ideological commitment to the rights of small nations and his support to the Baltic Cygnets therefore displayed an attitude and set up a framework for interaction that differed from that of a British state as a whole. He treated them as political refugees rather than labour ‘stock’ slated for assimilation. See more about SLEF in chapter 5.

4.8.5 Estonian organisations and social gatherings in Scotland nowadays

Instead of church based societies the Estonians arriving in the last few decades have created their own societies and gatherings on a secular basis via the use of social media and modern communication methods. The main Estonian newspaper after WWII in the UK, *Eesti Hääl* has also not been a platform for the wider Estonian community, although it is still published both on paper and online, and read by the small minority of mostly post-war

¹⁹ In “exile” in Sweden, as scouting was made illegal in the USSR, and the organisation itself liquidated in Estonia

generation. Today, more contemporary ways of communication are used amongst the Estonian community in the UK. In London, there are several organisations and groups which meet regularly.

Nowadays there is no Estonian congregation in Scotland. As I have heard, around 15 years ago, Estonian church services were still held in Scotland, Fife, a few times a year, for local Estonians and Scottish wives of Estonians who had deceased by that time. I heard about it from the Estonian pastor in London that time and who was attending those services together with another pastor. Unfortunately she did not have much information or recollection about those events. As nowadays Estonians are considered to be one of the least religious nations in the EU²⁰, the Estonian church is attracting less and less people as the old generation is disappearing and the newcomers are not interested in religious activities. The old-fashioned concept of a congregation being rather a form of social interaction and a pillar of the community has disappeared in large part in the Estonian society at large during the years of Soviet occupation. It is thus not surprising that the younger generation who has arrived from Estonia in the last few decades have not become a part of the previous church-centred post-war Estonian society abroad. Christmas has also become a rather secular holiday.

Previously we talked about the visit of ambassador August Torma to Scotland in early 1950s. No other visits by official Estonian representatives to Scotland happened again until the beginning of the 21st century, after diplomatic relations between Estonia and UK were re-established in 1991. The first Ambassador of Estonia to the UK was Ms Kaja Tael. There were also several visits by Estonian politicians (for example Juhan Parts). The first bigger event in terms of cross-cultural visits happened in 2006, when the President of Estonia, Arnold Rüütel came to Scotland on an official state visit, during which he also met representatives of the local Estonian community. In the official press release this event was described as 'The Presidential couple also met the young Estonians society in Scotland, called *MacEstonians*, led by Pille Petersoo. At the meeting the head of state was

²⁰ Eurobarometer statistics

happy to acknowledge that the majority of young Estonians have clear plans to return to Estonia after finishing their studies²¹.

Since autumn 2006 when I arrived to Scotland, there have been several important visits by Estonian diplomats (ambassadors and consuls from the Embassy in London), as well as ministers from Estonia – the Minister of Culture Laine Jänes and Foreign Minister Urmas Paet for example. There have also been several cultural and educational events, conferences, literary events, film festivals organised at the University of Glasgow.

The organisational matters and communication between the newly arrived younger Estonians have mostly been arranged through the use of modern technology and communication methods as well as social media. *MacEstonians*, the online group of young Estonians organised by Pille Petersoo used Yahoo Groups for this end. Simply a group named *MacEstonians* was established on the platform, which allowed newly arrived Estonians to find information about social events and gatherings by fellow country mates. On the platform, members could post announcements of events and other happenings which were related to Estonia or Estonians, for example concerts of Estonian conductors. An example of this were posts about Estonian conductor Olari Elts, who was appointed as a guest conductor for the Scottish Chamber Orchestra and had regular concerts in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The world-famous Estonian conductor Neeme Järvi was also an honorary conductor at the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, and thus visited Scotland regularly. There were also several visits by Estonian politicians (for example Juhan Parts).²² Events like this were posted about in the group, which then brought together members of the new Estonian diaspora in Scotland. In Glasgow, some informal social gatherings were also organised through this platform, for example concert and cafe meetings during the Celtic Connections festival in 2007. Events like the above, which were advertised through Yahoo MacEstonians group's mailing list, brought together Estonian people from many different sections of society and walks of life who previously did not have any contact with fellow Estonians. Information about these events was also passed on via personal contacts. More about those events will be talked in Chapter 7. The

²¹ https://vp2001-006.president.ee/et/ametitegevus/ametlikud_teated.php?gid=78749

²² More about state visits: <http://www.vm.ee/et/riigid/suurbritannia?display=relations>

MacEstonians group had no pre-determined structure or hierarchy and was in itself a rather loosely connected grass-roots community. There were no requirements for participation, and indeed many Estonians remained passive members of the loose organisation, who never posted nor attended the events. Other members were posting and/or attending actively, and formed a more tightly knit group of the active Estonian society. The group has ceased to exist and has been taken over by the *Eestlased Šotimaal* (Estonians in Scotland) community on the social media platform Facebook. The group currently has 508 members (5/9/2016).

When Pille Petersoo left in 2006, the centre of organising Estonian events shifted to Glasgow, due to better possibilities to organise events connected to the lectureship in Estonian language, history and culture (CRCEES funding). I had just been appointed as a lecturer of Estonian language and culture in CEES. Often events organised at the university were open to public and it created a good opportunity, besides disseminating knowledge about Estonia, also for local Estonians to participate and get together. Such events were for example a welcome evening for Professors Marju Lauristin and Peeter Vihalemm (who gave a series of lectures at the university) in 2007; the event took place in the art gallery *StudioVana* which was run by a local Estonian art student. Such events, organised in cooperation with the university were also several performances of Estonian musicians (SVR Trio, Mari Kalkun, Aleksander Sünter's family ensemble, duo Sild). Some events were organised in cooperation with the Estonian Embassy in London (with the help of that-time cultural attaché Reet Remmel), for example Estonian film festivals, as well as a concert and reception for the 90th anniversary of the Estonian Republic. Those events, as being organised with the help of CRCEES and at the University of Glasgow, however attracted only a small part of the Estonian community in Scotland. The biggest purely Estonian community events organised in Glasgow in which I also had a chance to be an organiser or co-organiser were celebration of Midsummer in 2007 in Cairngorms National Park where around 20 people took part; participation in the first ever Estonian International Online Song Festival (organised by the Estonian TV channel *Kanal 2*) where live streaming contact was set up with Estonia and 30 people in Glasgow participated; an Estonian picnic was organised near the University of Glasgow main building which also included around 30 participants; for the anniversary of the Estonian Republic in 2012 an event was held in the upstairs private room at Dow's Bar, with musicians performing, dancing, traditional Estonian foods and drinks, raffle and more. This event attracted around

50 people. In 2015, a trip to a Safari Park was organised where around 20 people were participating, mostly young Estonian families. Amongst the latest events, in April 2016 14 Estonians from all over Scotland came to Dundee and had a city tour organised by a local Estonian woman with a pub dinner and drinks together afterwards. More information about these events can be obtained by visiting the Estonians in Scotland Facebook page²³.

In addition to events held in public spaces, there have been several informal gatherings for the Estonian community held at Estonian homes. These have been advertised the same way on the social media, with a wide and open invitation to all Estonians. The attendance has on average been around 10-15 people – in addition to Estonians, also several non-Estonian spouses, family members and friends have attended these events. In Chapters 7 and 8 these events will be looked at more closely through the participants own eyes in Chapter 8.

Five years ago, using funding from the Estonian government programme of compatriots, the website <http://shotieestlased.co.uk> (*Scottish Estonians*) was created to help and enable people to find out more information about Estonians living in Scotland, their history and events. This includes a photo gallery of past events. This website also functions as an online archive of Estonians in Scotland²⁴.

In recent years, the centre of Estonian activities has shifted again, from Glasgow to the East Coast – more events have been organised in some bigger university towns where young active Estonian students are in abundance. In Edinburgh and Aberdeen Estonian Student Societies have been established in the last ten years. There was a similar Estonian student society at University of Glasgow but a couple of years ago it ceased to exist. Nowadays, Estonian students in Glasgow are part of GU Nordic Society. For the last three years (2013-2015), the Edinburgh Estonian Student Society has organised an annual celebration of the anniversary of the Estonian Republic in Edinburgh. These celebrations, where Estonian foods and drinks are offered alongside with a cultural program, have been very well attended and popular. In March 2014, a huge Estonian Folk Dance concert and workshop was held in Edinburgh in McEwan Hall, with 46 dancers from Tartu, Estonia.

²³ www.facebook.com/shotieestlased.

²⁴ Currently the website has become inactive due to a lack of funding which is essential for maintenance. The data is stored on a server in Estonia.

Unfortunately, despite a lot of advertisement on social media, the attendance was minimal, according to the organisers.

Kätlin from the Aberdeen Estonian Society was able to give more information about the goings and doings of the organisation. The aim of the society has been to bring together local Estonians from time to time, and to mirror the newest cultural events in Estonia. The number of members in the year 2015/16 was 13. Amongst the events organised by the society, the most popular have been the two Estonian film nights that the society put on – the films *1944* and *The Fencer*, which were both screened with English subtitles for the non-Estonian members of audience. Other events have included a performance by the Uus Teater theatre group (literally called *New Theatre*, a troupe based in Tartu, Estonia), who performed a play called *Mikiveri tagi* (*Mikiver's Jacket*) with performances also held in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh. The biggest celebration of the year, as for many Estonian societies abroad has been the anniversary of the Estonian Republic in February. Members of the society came together to watch the President's reception, eat Estonian foods (she mentions potato salad, a typical Estonian dish) and to socialise. A pub night and two grill parties have also been organised, attracting a group around ten people. The Estonian Honorary Consul Mr Simpson Buglass has also visited their events twice. Not everyone who is active in this small society is a student, there are also local working Estonians and children who go to the events organised by the group. As most of the active members will leave Aberdeen this year, the plan is to cease to exist as an official student society, but Kätlin hopes that the informal meetings and cultural events will continue²⁵.

Estonians also often have informal get-together evenings and afternoons. When I arrived to Scotland in 2006, the Estonians met once a month in Edinburgh, in a Sunday afternoon in a bar or cafe. They also met occasionally whenever there was an event or reason to meet. The social life of the new Estonian diaspora was very much Edinburgh-centred, because the initiator of these social events Pille Petersoo had a PhD scholarship at Edinburgh University and after that was working as a research fellow. The Estonian community in the UK will be talking about the events and socialising nowadays in Chapter 7.

²⁵ By now the Aberdeen Estonian Student Society has ceased to exist.

In recent years, the Estonian Embassy in London have organised yearly round table meetings for Estonian organisations in the UK to boost cooperation amongst them and also strengthen their ties with the embassy and therefore with the Estonian state.

The current minimally structured and ‘anarchic’ Estonian organisations in Scotland seems to a success and fit the needs of the Estonian community in Scotland. It seems that there is no need or at least not enough need to form a more traditional and hierarchical association or society. In Chapter 7 this will be looked at and analysed more fully when looking at the interviews given by members of the Estonian community, who discuss their perceptions of these social events.

4.9 Global Estonia

Raimo Raag (1999) distinguishes three levels in the Estonian organisational life abroad: local, regional and international. He also mentions that before the 1980s, Estonian social life was actually over-organised – several clubs and societies were formed which had different emphases and different aims and activities, for example gardening, literature, sports, education, music and so on. Many of those organisations had international contacts with similar Estonian organisations in other countries (the best example is perhaps the Scouts). The global organisation – Estonian World Council – was established in 1954 in the USA. Its main purpose was uniting Estonian communities across the world in fighting for Estonia’s freedom. Amongst the 9 regional-level members was also the Association of Estonians in Great Britain. We may look at this global organisation as replacement of the Estonian State which was occupied by the Soviet Union.

From the beginning of the 1970s onwards worldwide Estonian Cultural Days – so-called ESTO festivals – have been arranged in different major Estonian locations around the world. Estonians from Soviet Estonia did not have a chance to participate in these festivals as they were ignored by the Soviet officials. The first ESTO was organised in Toronto and more than 20 000 Estonians took part in it. Every four years, these ESTO festivals gave the Estonian cultural collectives and organisations abroad a good opportunity for international cooperation, the sharing of experiences, and also to keep cultural traditions and customs alive. It was discussed in the 1990s that due to Estonia’s regaining of independence perhaps it should be time to stop such festivals, but they nevertheless continue to this day.

Estonians abroad also have their own press. The amount and frequency of publications has decreased considerably, but the biggest communities still have their newspapers. In the UK, *Eesti Hää* (*Estonian Voice*) has been published since 1947.

It has been mentioned by the Estonian community members who were interviewed for this study, that before the age of globalisation and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Estonian community abroad (despite living abroad) in their mind still lived in Estonia. In isolation, they had the choice to assimilate or to preserve their identity and customs in the face of their new life and everyday customs in the new homeland. Their actions were diasporic by nature, in places where more Estonians were living. The Estonian Houses (the small cultural centres which were built or bought commonly by Estonians) were like 'little Estonias'. As the community left behind (in Estonia) was not reachable due to the iron curtain, Estonians developed tight connections with members of the diaspora worldwide. Estonians from different countries were connected with each other through common international actions and international events (for example ESTO cultural festivals mentioned above). Estonians abroad did not immediately make a strong connection with the local society and concentrated mainly on preserving the culture and customs of their homeland (Pehk, 2007). Portes (1999: 464) states that when migration is motivated by political convulsions at home, it is likely that immigrants remain morally tied to kin and communities left behind and, hence, are more likely to engage in a variety of activities to bridge the gap and sustain a common bond. This is something that differentiates post-war migrants from the recent ones. They indeed established numerous organisations and societies in exile.

Amongst other, cultural and educational activities, the post-war Estonian community had an important political agenda. Pehk (2007) has mentioned that her several correspondents also highlighted a 'fight for freedom' (political activities abroad of which the peak period was in the 1950s and 1960s) as an important part of their identity and activities as Estonians.

Walter Rand (1978) has written about "global Estonianness" by which he means Estonians abroad maintaining their social and cultural ties, and carrying on (during the Soviet occupation) as a global society. He analyses global societies, marking that all are based on voluntariness and that their main field of action is in culture. He stresses the changing and dynamic nature of Estonianness in this context.

Now, as Estonia is free again, the global Estonian network as a place of belonging and a ground for transnational activities is losing its position to the Estonian state as the latter is taking over the important functions which were previously fulfilled by the Estonian global network (Jürgenson, 2011:381). If looking at this, one can claim that indeed the Estonian network abroad actually replaced the state and therefore in the transnational activities which existed globally between Estonians before Estonia regained its independence, the global Estonian organisational structures (Estonian formal government in exile from 1953 and several transnational organisations like the Estonian World Council), took over the role of the state. As we know, different ties which can be classified as transnational existed already then, and also the empirical data from this research will confirm it. The only difference is the scale of those (pre-internet and pre-globalisation time) transnational connections and also that although contacts between Estonians through the Iron Curtain existed, Estonia as a state (or rather a country) was not present in them, as it is nowadays when it has indeed become a centre of ‘global Estonia’. Estonia is coordinating the global cultural and societal activities, by different cultural and educational projects, cultural attaches and Estonian Institutes abroad, for example. From here, the discussion goes further to the role of Estonian state in transnational actions, or transnationalism “from the top down”.

Kazinits et al (2002:116) describe such state-level, or “from the top down” transnationalism as set of efforts what several states make to court people originated from these countries as a source of economic and political support. It means that the state tries to keep its communities abroad bound to it. In the case of Estonia, it can be seen in different summer camps and language programs for children of Estonians abroad to tie them more to the state, spreading Estonian culture abroad in a state level, etc, and perhaps also campaign which started a few years ago – *Talents back home!* (Talendid koju!)²⁶ – where young well-educated, so-called ‘talented Estonians’ were asked to return.

²⁶ <http://www.talendidkoju.ee/>, the patron of this campaign was President Ilves, and the aim was to connect “talents” abroad with potential employers in Estonia. It created a lot of turmoil and bad feelings in the society because some argued that Estonia needs everyone and not just “talents”.

4.10 The identity of Estonians in the UK

In the light of previous discussion, one can see that members of the Estonian community are nowadays, in the era of globalisation, able easily keep in touch with their state, as well as friends and family. Linda McDowell, speaking about Latvian women's hybrid identity as migrant workers, aliens, outsiders, about a shift in their identity, similarly states that their various identities were all part of their sense of themselves as 'stateless aliens' in post-war Britain (2005: 14). In the new conceptions, membership of the ethnic minority community is not a deviation from the norm, but a normal status. Loss of roots or homeland can be seen from a positive rather than from a negative angle – it marks openness to the world and flexibility – it relates back to the discussion of diaspora, globalisation, transnationalism and identity in the first chapter.

Hiietam has researched the Estonian language and identity in the UK and found that the first generation of Estonians in the UK who were born in Estonia and are all very old by now have a strong Estonian ethnic identity. They have often preserved their Estonian citizenship and are very proud of it. The cause of a relatively low level of assimilation is considered by them to be due to the 'strong Estonian mind, unconquerable by the foreign influence' (Hiietam 2010:311). Hiietam's research is mostly about Estonian language in the UK, but she also remarks that the latecomers from 1960 onwards do not consider themselves as émigré Estonians, but as 'real Estonians' whose homeland is still Estonia. The second generation of émigrés (both of whose parents are/were Estonian EVW's) have parallel Estonian and British identities, while those with only one Estonian parent connect themselves rather with local (British) cultural traditions. The third generation name themselves rather as British or European than English or Estonian. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 2, identities are constantly changing – constructed and re-constructed.

The identity and ethnic self-determination is often expressed through the practice of traditions and customs - the first generation considers it very important for example what kind of bread is eaten at home (they order their sour-dough rye bread even from long distance) and what traditions are followed (Christmas celebrations the Estonian way, Estonian cuisine etc.) Food can be an important source and a marker of one's identity. Elin Toona-Gottschalk writes in her book *Three White Pigeons*:

My uncle told me that in China, people eat only rice and in Italy, only pasta. As soon as we'll have our own home, I'll ask Mämma for tatties with meat sauce, rye bread soup, cabbage soup and semolina cream. These are Estonian foods and when I eat them everyone will know that I am an Estonian. In England, I haven't seen rye bread yet. (p.88)

In her dissertation, Triin Pehk (2007:22) claims that the notion of dual loyalties to two different countries is present in several cases of the Estonian diaspora. She also mentions that it is clear that the ideas of transnationalism are present in the domain of Estonian communities and that for members of these, perceiving themselves as citizens with dual loyalties is not a foreign concept. Emily Gilbert states about the Balts in the UK (2013:346), that at the end of the twentieth century, they lived in two parallel cultures, which were not separate, but intermeshed, in their language usage, cooking, friend making, literature and newspaper reading. Some aspects of homeland culture were stripped and replaced by British culture, while others were maintained with different degrees of translation. "Like culture, identities also underwent a process of translation since settlement in Britain. /.../ Crucially they became Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians in Britain, and identified with both homelands and British or English culture. The study has shown that it is possible to be loyal to two nations, and to have one foot in Britain and another in the homeland." Gilbert talks about 'intermeshed' cultures, but also 'translating' the cultures. Her claim that they lived "one foot in Britain and another in the homeland" refers directly to transnational agenda, so we can assume that indeed amongst the Baltic people during the cold war time there already existed transnational practices in different levels.

The following empirical chapters will give more detailed look at Estonians activities and networks abroad in a personal level, trying to shed light at the question of their identity and belonging, their social networks and transnational actions.

5. Leaving Estonia

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the departure of World War II forced migrants from Estonia, as well as recent migration, aiming to uncover how different circumstances and different times of departure were experienced on a personal level, and how the interviewees themselves talk and feel about it. One obvious difference between these two groups was that the former talked far more about the circumstances of **leaving** Estonia than the latter did. This chapter therefore uses the discussion of leaving as a starting point for comparing and contrasting the two waves of migrants. In collecting the stories of the post-war migrants for the first time, it shows how the experience of departure was central to the construction of a diasporic identity. It therefore refers back to one of the main questions stated in the beginning of this research – the comparison between the post-war and contemporary groups. This chapter contains new empirical material and also brings out some new aspects and insights regarding the war refugees' experiences, for example the way collective memory can shape an experience and the way it is remembered and that sometimes different individuals remember things differently.

This part will also look into the reasons why people chose the UK and Scotland over other locations (in the cases where the interviewees had the possibility of choosing their destination) and whether the reasons to migrate were purely economic, or also of a cultural or educational nature. First I will take a closer look at the experiences of those Estonians who left their homeland during the Second World War, their experience of leaving, different aspects of loss that they suffered, and the ways in which they ended up in Scotland. To complement and contrast the interviews of WWII refugees, Helju's handwritten diary from 1945²⁷ and excerpts from Elin Toona-Gottschalk's book *Into Exile* (2013) are included in the analysis.

In the second part of the chapter I will focus upon Estonian migration during recent decades and the reasons why people made the decision to leave. The more recent migration is of course a complex issue with divergent and multifaceted aspects – the main strands – of which this section will aim to shed light on. The stories of the post-1991 arrivals are

²⁷ It was sent to me by Helju before interviewing her.

obviously different. However, some points of comparison can nevertheless be brought out – for example the importance of social networks, which is indeed common to both groups. Viewing more recent migrants as ‘voluntary’ migrants raises questions about whether one can really talk about voluntary migration when people are economically constrained in their choices. The lack of real migrant agency across the two groups relates to the point above, in that when looking past the forced/voluntary ‘divide’, understanding the scope of real migrant agency is a way of exploring commonalities in experience.

In this chapter themes such as ‘home’ and the memory of home (homeland) also emerge, particularly in the case of post-war arrivals. In the later chapters, one can see how these play out in exile. This links again to the transnationalism framework.

5.2 Leaving Estonia during WWII

As discussed previously, the Estonian population suffered considerably during the years of Communist occupation. As the following section and the personal histories of the interviewees will show, fear of the new Soviet occupation was the main reason for the mass exodus during the last days of the German occupation of Estonia. The fleeing Estonian refugees also used different routes to escape the war and the approaching Red Army. The violent way in which people left behind their home and homeland likely also had huge impacts on their consideration of home and identity.

People most typically highlighted the dangers of the escape route and the lucky chances which saved their lives in their escape stories during WWII. These stories of leaving are socially constructed and collective events. In refugee communities, these stories are often also compared and revised collectively (Jürgenson, 2011). This is also why the stories often converge and are similar for people of comparable cultural backgrounds. In this quest for collective meaning creation and also as a collective bonding exercise in a new country, a strong explanation for leaving has to be found. Collectively recognising the events and fleeing as appropriate and necessary, and creating a common understanding of the process is a strong part of this (Jürgenson, 2011). The methodological implications of the oral history approach are of course therefore very important, as individual experiences will have changed in living memory, being moulded by and towards the collective story.

All but one of my interviewees left Estonia in 1944, thus amongst my interviewees, Amanda is unique because her family had already left Estonia during the 1941 *Nachumsiedlung* (the last of Hitler's repatriation operations of ethnic Germans in the Baltic states), which took place in the (initially) Soviet-occupied Estonia. Amanda's family, after proving their German origin, was allowed to take all their belongings with them and to leave via a boat. During the *Nachumsiedlung*, approximately 8000 people left Estonia. Amongst them was, as it has been argued, a surprisingly large amount of ethnic Estonians and people of mostly Estonian origin, who were fleeing Soviet terror. The number of departing Estonians would have amounted to an even bigger size, had the Soviet officials not delayed and restricted this process (Liivik, 2016). Amanda's family, as she explains, had good reason to try to flee the country as they were in real danger. This was due to her father's position as a lawyer who was from a very Estonian-minded family tightly connected to the Lutheran Church.

I didn't really understand the whole thing then. Then the Baltic [Germans] were invited, Hitler invited to Germany. My father's mother was German and father's brothers were already there, they all stayed in Germany, although one had married an Estonian lady. Otherwise we would have been all deported and my father would have been shot. We left in April 1941, and the deportation was in June 1941. And all those who worked with my father, they were all executed. We had to, if we wanted to survive, we had to leave./.../ We had already given a part of our house over to Russians /.../ That time nobody knew that Hitler was so terrible.

The family made the decision to leave because of their fear of Soviet terror, which turned out to be justified. Thanks to their German roots, Amanda's family managed to leave legally and even take most of their belongings with them. Those Estonians who fled in 1944 could not take many of their belongings with them, some of them had only the clothes they were wearing. By adding the last sentence about Hitler ('that time nobody knew that Hitler was so terrible'), Amanda seemingly apologises for her family's decision to 'become' Germans just to get away from the possible Soviet repressions. As leaving Estonia during Hitler's *Nachumsiedlung* today means being on the wrong side of the war and perhaps even seen as Hitler's collaborators, this added caveat made by Amanda is not surprising. Her distancing herself from the Germans could also have been due to the negative attitude towards

Germans and Germany after the Second World War in Europe and in the UK where Amanda grew up, as we can see in later chapters.

Urmet, who actually remembers the same Soviet terror and fear that Amanda's family escaped, states this as one of the main reasons for escaping in 1944:

This time in Estonia, 1940-1941, this was a time of terror, and this terror I remember and feel even today. And there was a real big fear [that we will] experience it again. Actually, I was 14 then.

Urmet's highlighting of his experience and memory of the fear of Soviet terror shows the extent to which children experienced and acutely felt the dangers and fears for their future, just like the adults. The difficult times his family experienced during the year-long Soviet occupation left Urmet with such strong feelings and emotional trauma that he still clearly recalls it after all these years. Urmet's encounter is also one of the rare emotional experiences amongst my interviews. While the interviewees usually talked about their escape, some describing in minute detail their routes of flight including exact place names and other facts, they did not tend to describe their emotions or thoughts in connection to the process of flight, or indeed how it had affected their lives later. Later on in his interview Urmet describes the route and happenings in the road but does not reveal any more emotional insights.

The real-time diary of Helju here offers an interesting contrast to many of the interviews, describing in detail her tumultuous emotional life in connection to the experience of fleeing as well as details about the escape itself.

Helju wrote in her diary on 19.9.1944:

Escape from home. Fight between two thoughts: to go or not to go. Sudden decision and getting in the car. Talking with Aino, XY promised to come with us but did not show up. Then [I had] a plan to leave the truck but did not get over the packages and bundles and S. had no intention to help me or let me out. We stopped near the forest ranger's house. Ammunition is exploding. Terrible explosions. I was thinking of my home with desperation. Horrible night in that car. Cold and uncomfortable, and my heart is aching so much, so much.

Helju's thoughts about leaving home are very emotional. The laconic style of her encounter and the short sentences contribute towards painting a grim picture of a situation in which this young girl from the countryside suddenly finds herself. She describes her confusion, hesitation in leaving home; finally her fate is sealed and the decision to escape is made for her, as she is not able to exit the overcrowded truck. Nor is she allowed to leave by her friend. Helju is not sure if she has made the right decision, however she passively obeys her fate. Later in her diary, Helju describes her escape in a more detailed way: she first fails to get to Tallinn to meet her sister (her first intention) because of the front blocking her way there, and then she ends up fleeing with the German army through Latvia and Lithuania. Jürgenson (2011) talks further about this experience which is shared by many – the fact that often people did not choose their escape routes themselves, but had to follow the various logistical circumstances set by the war. Helju describes the changing landscape and events on their journey – the kindness of a catholic priest and other people who host the refugees and feed them in Latvia and Lithuania, Russian prisoners of war marching on the road and other sights. They manage to get safely to the German town of Frauenburg (now Frombork in Poland).

Urmet recalls his escape journey the following way:

We moved with the army, crossed the Latvian border. This little town was called Tukum [Tukums - L.K.]. Suddenly, in the middle of the night all the cars stopped, we could hear shooting and noise. And when we started to move again, there were burning cars and dead people and so on, on both sides of the road. Later we heard that we were in a trap, we were surrounded by the Russians but we managed to break out. We travelled with these Germans for a week or two, and then the order came that civilians were not allowed to travel with the army anymore, the army was told to stop dragging them along. The reason for this was that it was dangerous for the civilians.

The then 15 year old girl Valve remembers her escape:

We left Estonia in October 1944, by forced evacuation because the Sõrve peninsula was cleared of civilians who were all taken to Germany. We went by ship to Gotenhafen [now Gdynia in Poland]. Then we fled west

because the Russians had already occupied Eastern Germany. The roads were full of people escaping, everybody was going to west. Horse after the horse, the cars between them. Half way, someone had abandoned two bicycles. We were 7 girls, so we took turns cycling.

From all these examples we can see that the civilians, including children, had a difficult route to take. They were exposed to the death, damage and destruction of the war on their way. Sometimes they were evacuated from the active war zone because of the order of the German army (as it was in Valve's case), sometimes they chose to escape together with the withdrawing army (as did Urmet's family and Helju), probably because civilians thought it would be safer that way and the army would protect them, or they simply did not have another choice as transportation was scarce. As we can see, in reality it was more dangerous to move together with the army unit, as they were attacked, in Urmet's case, in the middle of the night and the Estonian war refugees managed to survive this attack only because of their good luck. Luck was also on the side of Valve and her friends who found abandoned bicycles, as transportation was difficult in this chaos and walking was tiresome. This gives us a grim picture of a war refugees' life which was indeed full of dangers and unpredictability, passive helplessness and little control over the events in one's life. Often the interviewees stress their good luck, therefore comparing their experience to those who were not so lucky, but highlighting at the same time also their resilience and resourcefulness which helped them to escape.

Many books have been written about the WWII refugees in Europe. They all describe the hard and dangerous quest of those people who had to leave their homes and travel through war-torn Europe. On their way, the war refugees often had to walk long distances, sleep in the wild and go without adequate food, housing and normal comforts. Individuals experienced hostility, (sexual) abuse and violence. There were often military battles going on not far from their routes and bombing was a regular threat in their lives. Sometimes children were separated from their parents during the air raids or in the evacuation chaos (Shephard, 2012). Jürgenson (2011: 121) has noticed that majority of the wartime escape stories to Germany reflect fear as the most common emotion.

Helju wrote the following in her diary on 6 May 1945, a few days before the war officially ended:

Well, here we are now, neglected and deeply unhappy. In addition, also hungry. /.../ I have lost practically everything: my clothes, mementos, photos, documents, money. /.../ I am as poor and as naked as some beggar. /.../ After all these things I have outlived I have become more unassuming and perhaps more sensible. Now I understand fully how valuable home is.

Helju had lost all her belongings during her escape. She had become disconnected from her home and homeland. She did not know when (if at all) she can return to Estonia and feels nostalgic about her home “which cannot be reinvented and remain only in the refugees’ memories where this loss has left a permanent scar” (Raychaudhury, 2004).

5.3 Different aspects of loss

Nowadays, leaving is easy, as we can see in contemporary migrants’ interviews. War-time leaving was indeed very different. Very often people state in the interviews and memoirs that they have lost everything. Emerging from my interviews, three different aspect of loss that the refugees experienced can be identified – material, socio-psychological, and physical aspects of loss.

Material aspects of loss were seen in losing personal valuables, property and wealth. Here Mall talks about their family’s escape:

Mum took some children’s books. She brought a big aluminium pot full of butter. She was a farmer’s wife /.../ She had some resources and when it was decided that we will flee, she brought as much food as possible. But as she had a small one and a half year old child in her lap and I was the next one, and then three older children, I do not remember having any clothes or anything else with us.

Aksel remembers the following:

We lived in Tartu. Father surely saw that everything will collapse but he did not do anything before it was too late. I remember that he started to hide the church silver in the churchyard. And me too, I buried my little toy locomotive under the pear tree – I also had to work, so I thought. But I

had no idea what was happening. My mother was very ill, we got a truck to Tallinn and there my mother died. Hardly a week passed when we were on a German ship which took us to Danzig and from there, to a small camp in Göttingen.

The excerpts above tell us a story of families who had to leave most of their material belongings behind. The material aspects of the loss were often experienced first. Mall's mother was a practical woman who thought about feeding her multiple children – she considered butter and other foodstuffs to be the most valuable travel objects to take with during such an escape. Other things, like clothing and toys, had to stay behind, because the amount she and her older children could carry was restricted. Aksel remembers burying his most valuable treasure, a toy locomotive in the church yard (another terrible loss hits his family in Tallinn when their mother dies). Most of my interviewees remember not taking much with them and leaving most of their family's belongings behind. One can argue that by losing important possessions, one may lose also a part of their identity (Mehta and Belk, 1991), a close connection to the possessions and place where home was situated.

Socio-psychological aspects of loss can be seen in the loss of a secure and customary environment, the stress of dislocation, losing relationships with family, relatives and friends, as well as losing dignity and self-esteem in a new situation. This was apparent in a number of accounts, as for example Endel remembers:

In that sense it [the war] was a big shock. It was a shock for us, children, that we did not have any contacts at all. Those few ones the children had were cut off, and mother and father, they lost all their connections. With the war and fleeing. All that happened was the fault of the war.

Families were torn apart and people had little or no information about the fate of their close family members, relatives and friends. The traditional Estonian multi-generation family provided a secure unit and structure, where decisions were made jointly and the younger family members could rely on the advice of the elder. Now, when the refugees were severed from these ties they were forced to rely only on themselves. Uprooting from close family inevitably disrupts a close connection to home. Children also experienced this loss, a loss of safety, normality and security, through losing contact with grandparents, other relatives and friends that had provided them with additional support. This phenomenon is

also typical of nowadays, when during migration families are uprooted from the known environment, and family members are separated from each other. Research of refugees' post-migration adaptation and psychological well-being (for example Ryan et al., 2008) has shown that the key to adaptation is a sufficient amount of psychological resources (e.g. a sense of dignity, self-esteem and hope), the lowest level of which were indeed found amongst those who were fleeing a war.

Valve, who was a young teenage girl at the time, remembers one unpleasant episode in Germany:

I remember when we landed in Gotenhafen, people were shouted at by the camp doctor. Then I said to him that we are all Estonians here and he has no right to speak to us like that. And then he said Ach du Kleine! [Oh, you little one!] and patted my head. Estonians were always respected, they were correct and organised.

Valve wanted to resolve the humiliating situation and to restore the dignity of her fellow refugees after being shouted at for no reason. Those who had had respect and dignity in their home community had lost it by becoming war refugees in a foreign land. Valve remembers the reaction of a doctor who showed kindness and understanding – rather than being angry with the young and seemingly insolent Estonian girl – by patting her head. However, this situation, in a different way, was probably also humiliating for her as a 15 year old girl – she was treated by the German doctor like a little child. While being robbed of many different aspects of her resources, both material, physical and socio-psychological, Valve nevertheless demonstrated her agency as a refugee by standing up for herself and her fellow Estonian refugees.

After material and socio-psychological aspects of loss, physical aspects of escape can also be viewed as a loss – a loss of security, different threats to people's health (abuse, hunger, possibility of getting wounded or killed) and threats to freedom.

For example, Valve further remembers the hunger they experienced on a ship from Germany to Denmark and what effect it had on them:

We were without food all week, the ship was full of refugees. I still had a small bit of bread left, I shared it with my sister. The ship wanted to land

in Denmark but Denmark refused to host the refugees from Germany. We were so tired of being hungry and therefore apathetic. Otherwise we could have told them that we were not Germans but Estonians. At least the Danes brought us one loaf of bread between 6 people and black coffee.

Helju writes in her diary on 1 May 1945:

We escaped from the train because the Russian tanks were visible with the naked eye and they were firing. I dropped all my belongings there, I could only grab my coat and a small bag with me. We ran together with Elli, between the two fires. The train went away and we were left there. Then we escaped through the city, everything was unfamiliar and we didn't know where the passage could still be open, because there was shooting from everywhere and the houses were burning from all sides. There was no time to think that some shot could perhaps hit me, the only thing to remember was that the Russians were in hot pursuit all the time. We were in great despair.

In this description of escaping from the middle of the battle between the Nazi and Soviet armies, the terror of the two young girls is palpable. Greater than the fear of being hit by a bullet or being caught in a fire was the girls' fear of what would happen to them in the Soviet-controlled area behind the front.

Elin Toona-Gottschalk describes in her novel *Into Exile* (p. 54) the physical threats she experienced in war-time Germany:

I was playing in the gutter, collecting spent cartridges, ideal for whistles, when a number of boys I recognized as Jungvolk or Ha-Jot [Hitler youth], from further down the street, surrounded me. One of the boys saw aunt Alma's ring. He lifted my hand for everyone to see. "Was Haben wir Hier? Die Braut der Teufel!" ('What do we have here? The devil's bride') He laughed and slid the ring onto his own grimy finger. They dragged me to a bomb crater in a neighbour's garden, threw me in and started pelting me with soil, stones and bottles. An air raid saved me. The boys ran away.

In addition to being threatened and humiliated by the German boys, Elin was also robbed of a (last) valuable memory from her aunt, the only valuable thing she had. Toona-Gottschalk draws a vivid picture of this traumatic event. Both her book and Helju's diary paint a tragic picture of war and helplessness, and the lack of agency the refugees felt.

My interviews, in contrast to the above mentioned descriptions, do not contain such negative memories, and it is interesting to explore why this might be the case. When a human experiences a traumatic event, memory can be affected in many ways. Several studies on refugee children from war-zones (e.g. Sack et al., 1998; De Luca, 2006) have shown that levels of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression remain persistently high in refugee children even many years after the war. A number of researchers have argued that traumatic experiences are processed and remembered in a qualitatively different way from neutral events. The memories of the interviewees differ from the memoirs of Elin Toona-Gottschalk who is a professional writer and therefore her creation is a very different kind of material by its nature. Helju's diary on the other hand was written at the same time these events happened, in real-time, and thus did not encounter the issue of remembrance and memory. I found that these two additional sources complemented the interviews very well for this reason. My interviewees perhaps did not want to open up in front of me, or perhaps they did not want to give a negative and humiliating picture about their war-time experience. As many years have now passed since these events it is also likely that they have tried to (and succeeded to) forget about the negative events themselves, and tried to erase the caustic memories of the terror they might have lived through (the Methodology chapter deals further with the issues relating to interviewing and using interviews as the source of knowledge).

In reality, many of the interviews of war-time refugees focused on positive memories, most commonly the kindness of people they met on their way and the feeling of a strong sense of belonging together, sharing things, helping each other and creating a sense of community. This aspect of the shared escape is something that surely helped cement and create feeling of togetherness in the DP camps in Germany, and later create the strong Estonian communities abroad. Urmet has positive memories also about German soldiers with whom they escaped together:

The German army, as we were leaving Estonia together with the German soldiers [for two weeks], they were very kind, so many of them gave us

their home addresses where to go in Germany and we picked one which was in Breslau.

Ilona recollects similar instance:

We were hosting a German officer. He said that now it is time to leave. He gave us the address of his wife. It was in a small town near Breslau. My father could not leave because of his work. We went on the German ship and it was dangerous because the Russians were bombing the ships. But luckily we got to Gotenhafen quite easily. This does not exist now, they are all Polish towns now.

Urmet and Ilona both ended up in Breslau (now the Polish city of Wrocław) because of the advice and help their families received from the German soldiers during their escape. They both remember the friendliness and helpfulness of soldiers whom they had only met by chance on their shared escape route. It shows the importance of establishing new human relationships in crisis situations - people tend to establish closer contacts with and accept help from relative strangers, because their everyday trust network (family, friends and neighbours) is missing and perhaps lost forever.

In war-time, as most Estonian men were conscripted into the army (either Soviet or German, sometimes both), in many families it was the women only who were fleeing with their children. Children thus often had to take on the role of an adult, that is, to make decisions usually made by adults or to carry out adult tasks and work in adult jobs (as well as home tasks, many of the war refugees also had to work in Germany before the war ended). Older children also had to take over the role of a parent in looking after their younger siblings. These memories are often mostly positive – a source of pride. Urmet remembers:

In the evening, the German officer came over and announced that they will leave now and if someone wants to join them the time has come. But nobody moved. There were mostly women with children in the local farms, the men were all at war. I had such a big fear, I knew that Communism will return, so I jumped up and my mother said where will we go, to the starving Germany, to the place unknown. I jumped to the truck and said

whether you come or not, I will leave. At the same time I knew it was a bluff/laughing/. If my mother had only said that you, boy, will go nowhere...But I made a stiff face and said that I will go, and of course they [mother and 18-year old sister] followed. One other lady with her daughter came as well.

Liisbet (1) and Ilona (2), teenagers at the time, remember their working life in Germany:

(1) We were railway workers, my mother worked for the railway, we had a whole group of people and we travelled together. I also had to work in Germany, putzmädchen ['cleaning girl']. I was angry that I had to do such a low work. I also had to answer the phone which I did not want to do. Once, one old engine driver came in and shouted Heil Hitler! My chin started to shake. But this was the only such man. The others were nice, they brought me apples and pears. /.../

(2) There were companies from Berlin in this town which made military uniforms. Both me and my sister got an electric sewing machine, they had such big hosenboden ['bottoms of trousers']. We were afraid and did not know how to use them [the machines]. But finally we got used to it.

Both Ilona and Liisbet were proud of their work, and also as workers they received a bigger food ration, which helped towards the wellbeing of their families. However, both interviewees mention the hesitation and fear they had to overcome in the beginning, as they had to do things they had never done before (operating an electrical sewing machine, answering the phone in German), which they in some cases saw as 'low skilled' work. Such early work experience, in my opinion, also helped to prepare them for the further life in exile, changes in their social status and the menial hard work that was waiting for them in the UK.

War refugees also felt positive emotions and joy, often over some seemingly little things. Helju writes in her diary about Christmas Eve in 1944:

It was very beautiful. A nice Christmas tree was in our room, we had decorated it with tinfoil (which the Toms had thrown on us in their bombs). On the top the star was shining (made of cheese paper). The

Christmas wreath was on the table, two candles in the middle. Our hut looked so cosy and neat. It was a beautiful evening; we sang Christmas songs and chewed our Christmas cookies. Of course, we talked all the time about our homes. Tender Christmas music was playing on the radio.

Helju received comfort from the Christmas celebrations, although times were difficult and they did not have anything other than cookies. The resourcefulness of the refugees in creating Christmas decorations out of available materials, can again be characterised as a small expression of agency in the face of the complete removal and seeming lack of agency in their situation. The Christmas celebration was also a small way of connecting the homeland and their idea of home to their current situation, through the (re)creation of familiar rituals (singing, tree-decorating), and through talking “all the time” about the home. In this place-creation ritual the refugees created a piece of Estonia in the refugee camp to provide perhaps some of the material/physical/socio-psychological security that they had lost, starting the process of re-creating a sense of home and connection back to the homeland in other contexts.

Positive elements can also be found in memories of the wartime escape if we look at the way the respondents spoke of the adventurous aspects of their escape. However traumatic and negative it was, on some level it was also regarded as an adventure, a way of getting away from home, and of seeing new places (Jürgenson, 2011). Imre who was six and a half years old at the time of escape and sent his memories of fleeing to the Tartu College competition in 2014²⁸, admits:

In the description [of escape], one can feel a slightly adventurous tone. The reason is that these are the memories of a child! It was a big adventure – long train journeys, new places and towns to see. In the eyes of an adult it was much more tragic – leaving your sisters, brothers, parents, your home behind.

Imre is not the only one. This shows how those people, who were mostly young adults or children at the time, remember the excitement that existed, the urge to see new places and

²⁸ Tartu College in Toronto, Canada was having a competition of collecting memoirs about the escape in 1944. I had an honour to be in the jury of this competition.

experience new things (Kreinin, 2015). As well as this it is possible that remembering or seeing the event as an adventure was also a coping mechanism to deal with the more harrowing and unpleasant memories of the escape.

In the interviews conducted as part of my research, I found that a wartime escape, compared to other episodes in the interviewees' lives, although it was in some cases described in great detail, still seemingly played a relatively small role. There may be several reasons for this including the age of the interviewees, as well as the pain of the memories themselves. Some of my interviewees may not remember the war because of their very young age at the time of the fleeing. Mall stated that she does not remember anything about the war and leaving Estonia:

L: You were talking about Schleswig [DP camp].

M: Yes. My memory starts from here, when I was around 5 or 6 years old.

What happened before is all wiped out from my memory.

Of course the young age of the interviewee would have impacted her ability to remember, and also the types of memories she would have – young people especially often also remember things that were retold to them by relatives and friends of family afterwards and shape their own memories and views of the events accordingly, here the idea of a collective memory is relevant again. Specifically the collective memory of trauma was constructed retrospectively in exile. Individual memories do not necessarily correspond to the collective representation, although people will often later use collective memory and imagination to (re) frame and organise their own experiences and memories of an event. Violeta Daviolute (2015:3) in her research on Lithuanian collective memory also states that “the story of the individual and that of the family and broader community of deportees is often woven together”. Some especially traumatic memories can also still be hidden and denied. The traumatic events can also be totally blocked from one's memory. The (then 9 years old) brother of Mall never mentioned anything about the war either. It can easily be a coincidence, but it can be because of a common traumatic memory, perhaps a blocked memory. In the literature on war refugees, the so-called ‘flashbulb memories’ (blocked memories which appear in dreams) are often mentioned in connection with the Second World War (Jürgenson, 2011). Helju writes in her diary on 24 May 1945, about one such dream:

A thief was discovered [in a DP camp], she was my bottom neighbour [in the bunk bed]. I was woken up by a search noise. (I was dreaming that Russians were chasing me with big yells and noise). My mood is very poor right now.

Bad dreams from the war and a fear are not easy to forget. Even though the war had ended by that time and Helju was safe in the British zone, the lived traumas and wartime fears came back to her in her dreams.

On the other hand, a re-thinking of tragic events may also have occurred – my interviewees do not mention negative events, they focus on positive memories and try to give a more positive picture about their past, perhaps to cover their losses and traumatic memories, and to retain their dignity and pride. As explained, people may have also forgotten many of the events because of the time that has passed since then, and because of their relatively young age at the time of the events. All my informants were interviewed as elderly people. (See more about this specific aspect of the research further in the Methodology chapter.)

As the Second World War was a national trauma for most Estonians, people's individual memories about the war may have been replaced by the acceptable (less traumatic, more heroic) collective memory which has been created later through oral stories, newspaper articles, and textbooks. Anna Green explains the relevance of the “fundamental constitutive role of language and cultural discourses in shaping individual interpretations of experience” (Green, 2004: 35). Since remembering takes place within a wider cultural and societal context, it is often difficult to discern people's autobiographical, collective or historical memories of certain events. According to the author often subconsciously, individual recollections fit within cultural scripts or so-called ‘templates’. Within these cultural templates there is actually surprisingly little space for the memories of the consciously reflective individual, and as well as this, experience also has a surprisingly small role in changing the ways those with lived experiences view the events which unfolded, and the world at large. In light of this, collective memory studies are also important in studying the individual oral histories of people. Collective memory as a narrative field of culture and society-shaping, is especially relevant for war memorialisation and remembrance, as a prism through which memories are interpreted (Green, 2004). This cultural template creation is especially relevant in the case of the Estonian refugees who were interviewed for the purposes of this research. As they were of

young age, their ‘conscious reflection’ would have been shaped to an even larger degree by the surrounding cultural and societal templates, since their own memories would be hazier both because of the time passed and their young age at the time of the event.

Most of the interviewees seem to have put their past behind them; they did not concentrate on the negative events or highlight them during their interviews. Does this highlight the idea that human nature is always striving for positive things, positive memories instead of the negative ones? In this sense, there was also a direct contrast between the interviewees and Elin Toona-Gottschalk’s book, where the author discusses openly all kinds of events which happened to her as a refugee child – both good and bad. The same is in case of Helju’s diary which was written during these events.

The construction of war memories, and the shared templates of collective memory contributed to also shaping constructions of identity and homeland amongst the younger generation of the post-war community in England and Scotland. As some of the refugee children did not remember their homeland, or only vaguely remembered it due to their very young age, they had to build their identity not so much on their personal memory but on collective memory. Their wartime experience together with their time in the German post-war DP camps was an important time in shaping their perception in terms of their belonging and identity. It also helped to establish contacts with people who later moved from Germany all over the world and formed the world-wide Estonian refugee networks. The templates of the collective memory, and these narratives thus also had a profound shaping effect on the lives of the Estonian refugees. In later chapters we will see how Estonia was remembered as home and homeland and how the ‘home’ was recreated abroad, after a violent departure from one’s home country.

5.4 Decisions to come to Scotland after the Second World War

As discussed in Chapter 4, instead of being repatriated to Soviet Estonia where there was a high possibility of being repressed, the majority of Estonians decided to relocate to the UK and to other countries, using different work schemes. Several countries’ representatives came to Germany with their job offers and requirements. How did the wartime refugees end up in Scotland? Having been refugees and displaced people in Germany, their status officially changed to economic migrants as soon as they accepted the offer for being relocated to the UK, however Estonians did not consider themselves to be economic

migrants, but still refugees and political exiles. (See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the status of Estonian refugees, the different work schemes and their treatment).

In interviews, respondents describe their process of being relocated very much as a game of chance. Their knowledge about the UK, and Scotland as a part of it, was minimal, so they relied heavily on advice from their family and friends, also taking their chances and hoping for the best. Often, there was no opportunity to choose freely anyway. Some interviewees remember that people often applied for several countries and then took whatever arrived first.

Mall remembers the way her family came to the UK as follows:

In Britain, workers were needed and my father was offered an agricultural job. And [there was] an agreement, that if he will work three years, he promises to work where he is sent, then the family will also be sent over – mother and five children. So, we will be given a shelter and education and everything will be taken care of. And so it was, that father went to work in England a year earlier and then we followed. /.../ And there was a family camp, there were Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and other Estonians. And we lived there, we arrived in the end of December 1947, and then we lived in those camp huts for six years.

Liisbet also remembers the family's decision making:

One couldn't get out of Austria, the Cygnets left Germany, yes, but there in Austria nothing happened. And then suddenly this Westward, Ho! started. Everybody was taken, come everyone! Well, let's go, everyone else is going. Well, we went there, we were lodged in someone's flat in the town of Kellerberg. Down south and east, east side. We were there a week or two, they were wasting time again, from there we went by train... Oh yes, where do you want to go? I didn't want to go to England. Mother said, let's go to England. No, I won't go to England, there is fog there! /.../ Mother wrote to Australia, to dad's friend, he had died but his brother wrote us back, that we should go to England to the Nurses' School and

then every road will be open for us all over the World. That's why we went to England.

Liisbet had to give in to her mother's will, which was fortified with the letter of her father's dead friend's brother in Australia, who valued the nursing education in England very highly. As it is stated in this excerpt, the UK was perhaps not a final destination for many Estonian refugees, but rather a stage on their way to a better future elsewhere – in the excerpt it is mentioned that “the world will be open” after getting a nurses' training in the UK. This also shows how episodic and insufficient were the average Estonians' knowledge about Britain – mostly restricted to knowledge of fog and bad weather.

Some EVWs did not come straight to Scotland, but their first stop was England from where they were sent further to Scotland. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the *Westward Ho!* work scheme was more flexible to redistributing EVWs who were already residing in the UK, according to the actual worker shortages (Kay and Miles, 1992; Tannahill, 1958). In her interview, Amanda describes how their father ended up working in Scotland:

When people [started to] come here [UK], then he lived somewhere with others, again in some camp, somewhere in Cambridgeshire. And they picked berries, this was this Chivers Jam Factory, and for that they picked fruits, and then they were told that now... /.../ he was told that here are the places where you can go [to work]. And then no-one wanted to go there to North Scotland. Well, as my dad was, [he thought] someone must go there - OK, I will go there. But no-one else wanted to go.

Amanda's father's decision to go to Scotland was mostly based on a sense of duty – someone must go there. Perhaps he had also better career prospects in mind, as we don't know what other jobs there were to choose from, and how many different choices the EVWs were given. As Amanda's father was well educated, he might have known a little bit more of Scotland than the other EVWs. But Scotland was obviously not the popular destination, as other EVWs did not want to go there.

Elfriede who was a Baltic Cygnet, remembers going to Scotland. She was in her late teens at the time and the decision was made in the following way:

[Sister] Erika stayed in Schwennigen but she had heard that you can go to England or Scotland. Actually it was meant only for those who lived in the British zone, in the north. I don't know how she got permission, and she announced that we are allowed to go to Scotland. And then I went back to Geislingen and from there, I don't know how, because they also lived in the American zone, but Leida Pani, she also came here, and Linda also lived in Geislingen, and then [we left] all together. I don't know how it was organised, we had to go to Lübeck and from there by ship we came to Tilbury. And all the time we knew that we'll come to Scotland, not England.

Elfriede was perhaps considered too young to be able to make her own decision and therefore her elder sister took the responsibility, she arranged all the necessary papers and got Elfriede to follow her decision. Although she knew at the time that they were sent to Scotland and not England, she did not know whether it was directly her sister's choice or just a coincidence.

Jürgenson (2011:162) highlights the hosting country's initiative and the motivation of refugees (based on speed of paperwork, economic development of a country etc.) as the main factors in deciding the destination country of further migration from Germany. Networks of co-nationals also had a huge part in shaping people's decisions in choosing a possible destination of migration. This was further highlighted in the fact that Elfriede came to Scotland with her sister.

Amanda also describes how personal contacts led to an Estonian woman who was a DP camp friend of her mother, moving to Scotland:

We got to know one really big and rich farmer, Bell was their name, and finally mum's friend, an Estonian lady living in Germany, she came into this household, to work as a housekeeper in this farm.

It is interesting to see how someone's personal contacts also helped to decide their friends' fate. The Estonian lady who was a friend of Amanda's mother found work in the same vicinity. Despite the circumstances, there were already signs of network migration about which we can see much more evidence nowadays. Charles Tilly (2007:5) states that for

“thousands of years, trust networks have performed an enormous range of political, economic, and spiritual work for human beings, especially those human beings who could not rely on governments to provide them with sustaining services”. As the author explains, trust networks offer solidarity amongst migrant people at the origin and destination, and these networks become sites of social insurance and control, leading to migration streams within a trust network becoming concentrated in specialised niches (economically, geographically and socially). Since these trust network are thus both operationalised and determined by the divisions that separate the network from non-members, this may inhibit the assimilation of the newly-arrived in-group at their new surroundings (Tilly, 2007). From the examples above we can see how this applies in the case of the Estonian refugees, who formed strong trust networks and often ended up living in migrant-niches in places with other Estonians, and spending their free time with people from their trust-networks rather than forming strong local bonds and assimilating. For this reason, the Estonian refugees who ended up in Scotland, did not usually stay here for long. Most of them, after working the compulsory years, left for England where there was a bigger community and more diasporic activities, or further overseas to existing family members and other trust-networks of Estonians (in Canada and Australia for example). This will also be discussed further in Chapter 9.

In the long-term the survival of the trust-network depends on the social segregation of the group (voluntary or by exclusion), as this aids the survival of the network – segregation, if not through forced exclusion, is only viable in the long-term if it offers members financial or other benefits vis-a-vis assimilation into the host society (Tilly, 2007:6). As it has been mentioned already and as we will see later, while the trust-networks of newly arrived Estonian refugees were very strong, with ex-pat Estonian culture, gatherings and social events taking up most of the free time of the community, these links were already weakened with the next generation, for whom it was easier to assimilate into the host society.

5.5 Leaving Estonia for Scotland in the contemporary period

As one can see from the discussion above, it took many years for the war refugees to finally arrive in the UK. Their accommodation in German DP camps was temporary and their future was uncertain there. After reaching the UK, they finally had the possibility of starting a new life and it depended on many things whether they decided to stay here for a

shorter or longer time, an issue which will be discussed further in the next few chapters. In recent decades, especially after Estonia's accession to the EU in 2004, the time difference between the decision to leave Estonia and the actual arrival in Scotland has become many times shorter, sometimes being only a few days (or even hours). The world has suddenly opened up for Estonians. While the first part of this chapter described leaving the homeland as a traumatic event, leaving everything behind, facing multiple dangers and threats on their way to an uncertain future, the current part contains a much more relaxed and positive experience for my interviewees. Leaving a free, unoccupied and democratic homeland is of course qualitatively very different than escaping from occupation during wartime, as it carries with it very few long-term consequences in terms of being able to return. It is not surprising therefore that the process of leaving Estonia itself is not heavily emphasised in the interviews with more recent Estonian migrants and they hardly even mention this stage in their interviews. It is all the more interesting to find out why Estonians have and are considering migrating from Estonia to Scotland in the present day. According to Eirich's report on Scotland's migrants, job opportunities and economic conditions were the key drivers of location decisions. The importance of lifestyle factors varied with distance moved, and were stronger among groups that were 'close to' and knowledgeable about Scotland (Eirich, 2011).

Research by Ryan et al. (2008) reveals that recent Polish migrants use complex social (and personal) networks, yet that there is a large social distance between the post-war Polish community and more recent Polish migrants, which can also be seen in the case of Estonians. There is, according to the author, therefore a distinct character to the present migration from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, as it is not a continuation of previous migration waves. A major difference is that contemporary CEE migration to the UK is no longer primarily controlled by the state, as was the case of Estonian-born EVWs, but by the (neoliberal) market system. On this point Zinovijus Ciupijus (2011:543) explains that one can speak of a "privatized migration regime, shaped by market forces and by migrants' agency". EU citizenship rights mean that potential CEE migrants also have increased freedom to decide when, where and how to move. Since the workers are not reliant on employer sponsored or government administered schemes for guest workers, CEE workers can also move away more easily from secondary labour market jobs than the post-WWII European Voluntary Workers, or the pre-EU but post-Soviet migrants of the 1990s and early 2000s (Ciupijus, 2011).

In my interviews, four main reasons for migration in the post-Soviet era emerge. These are personal/family reasons (including moving for a Scottish spouse or partner), financial hardship and economic conditions, adventure and travel, and education. Of course very often these reasons are combined with each other, as the examples below will show. It is possible that people who found themselves facing financial hardship in Estonia felt that stating their reason for leaving as being to earn money would have been too trivial, and for them it seemed less humiliating to state something else instead (for example, to combine the economic reasons with cultural or educational reasons).

5.6 Personal and relationship reasons for migration

Amongst the interviewees there were many cases of migration that were due to personal reasons and relationships with non-Estonians. Estonia started to open up towards the West after the collapse of Soviet Union. There were many ways that Estonians in Estonia were introduced to people from other countries. In some cases, in the early 1990s shortly after Estonia regained its freedom, Scottish men came to a football match and met Estonian women who later became their wives (two of my interviewees). Estonians also started to travel more after the end of the Soviet Union, and they encountered Scots abroad and formed relationships with them (Kaie and Doris are examples of this). Doris explains further about her decision to move to Scotland:

We lived in London and then we moved to Oxford and then lived a year in Oxford. I tried to get into the university there, to study Russian and German. I got an interview but didn't get in. And then we decided that OK, P. is from Scotland and he wanted to go back. Then he got a job in Edinburgh but before he moved, I decided that /.../ I would like to go somewhere to study from autumn, because I didn't want to wait in vain and move in the middle of the school year. Then I moved to Peter's parents' place in Kirkintilloch and started to go to Glasgow Cardonald College, I did a HNC in Travel and Tourism. I was here six months before P. got a job in Edinburgh, and then we moved to Edinburgh.

In the case of Doris who met her future husband in London, it was a natural decision to move to Scotland with him. Had she got into Oxford University, their decision to go (back) to Scotland would probably have been postponed for a few more years. Doris felt an urge

to study and therefore moved to Scotland before her husband, to start a year at the college, even living temporarily together with his family. In a sense, therefore, Doris did not even ‘follow’ her husband but actually moved to Scotland first. Having his family here did influence her decision making and at the same time gave her a good opportunity to settle in and get assistance in Scotland.

Mikko made a decision to move to Scotland in order to help out his sister:

M: I came here actually because of Krete. They wanted /... / Krete and Tauno wanted to buy a house or a flat. I came here so they could collect the down payment money. /.../

L: Only because of Krete?

M: Yes. I could have stayed... I was in Finland, I could have stayed there.

The case of Mikko also further underlines Charles Tilly's point about the importance of transnational trust networks. We can here view the relationship between Mikko and his sister as a two-way social insurance and social trust network: on the one hand, the migration ‘stream’ of Mikko (choosing the location of his sister, in Scotland) was very much tied to the fact that family relations and a trust network was already present in the destination of migration. On the other hand, Mikko arrived to provide Krete with financial help and solidarity, so that they could make a down-payment on the flat. This is a traditional role for the migrant (family) trust networks (Tilly, 2007). It may have been easier for him to move to another country (because he already had the experience of working abroad).

Migration can also be for the opposite personal reason – to leave a previous partner, escape from an old life and start a new one abroad. Reio has stated these reasons for leaving Estonia – to get away from a difficult intimate relationship. Reio mentions this in a joking manner:

There are three reasons why a man travels like this. Money, troubles and women. In my case [the latter] was relevant, so I needed that... to liberate my soul from one of such [woman].

Sabine describes her departure as follows:

I lived in Tallinn that time and I had a relationship with this guy who was doing his tricks [being unfaithful] and then I just told him I will go on a holiday but in reality I never intended to go back. I bought a one-way ticket and never went back. /.../ I was just looking around. I went to London, Birmingham, Glasgow. And one of my friends lived in Edinburgh. And then I told her that I would stay only for a couple of months. And then we'll see what will happen.

While Sabine escaped without planning anything in advance (she had friends who helped her) and took a chance opportunity, Milla had everything planned ahead carefully. Scotland was the only place which was available to her at the time, through the agency which was hiring her:

I came through the job agency. It wasn't legal but well, it was a good one who prepared all the documents and I didn't have any trouble with anything. /.../ I didn't know [anybody] and I came totally alone. /.../ I was full of enthusiasm and open to the new, [feeling] that this is the beginning of a new stage in my life.

As we can see here, this experience has common features with the wartime EVW-s hope for a new, better life and the feeling of adventure. Although she could not choose the place of migration for herself as Scotland was the only available destination in this agency at the time, Milla felt enthusiasm and joy about the new stage in her life. She is one of the few interviewees who came through an agency, as overall my respondents lacked trust in agencies.

5.7 Financial hardship

Amongst the post-war group, in many cases the main reason to come to the UK was also financial – people who were living on benefits in the DP camps wanted to start earning money and rebuilding their lives which had been destroyed by war. This would have been impossible or very hard in Germany. Ciupijus (2011:544) has noted that the contemporary CEE migration is based on an “unequal equation” as citizens of the new EU member states can earn wages that are much higher in the UK than in their home countries. For this

however, they have to endure many other negative aspects, including long working hours, physically and psychologically precarious work, as well as downward occupational mobility. While the author claims that “there is little to suggest a general upward social mobility among CEEs in Britain”, the exceptions to this rule are middle-class CEE migrants (Hungarians and Romanians as an example) with transferable human and social capital, as well as UK educated, highly-skilled CEE migrants; in comparison, CEE migrants in these lower paid jobs have similar job and career trajectories to the non-EU migrant force in the UK (Ciupijus, 2011:544).

Amongst my interviewees, it becomes apparent that the “unequal equation” is a very important reason and pull-factor for Estonian migrants deciding to move to Scotland in the present day. Several of the women whom I interviewed came to Scotland alone. They came here for work, to support their families back in Estonia. Milla, in addition to her reason of starting a new life in Scotland also stated the following:

I came here literally for money. Yes. My daughter went to university and because I lived in a small town, all salaries were small, I don't know how much higher they are in the capital [Tallinn] but I have heard that considerably higher. The work that I did in Estonia, I did overtime and then contractual work on weekends, and my salary never exceeded six thousand Kroons²⁹ and I was working there practically twenty four seven. I was so tired of that, it was awful. That's why I took this road.

For Milla, in addition to a bigger salary which enabled her to support her daughter who was studying, moving to Scotland also meant better work conditions. In her case, her working conditions were already very precarious in Estonia (including long overtime work and low wages), yet she was still an educated specialist in Estonia, and had to put up with doing much lower, unqualified work in Scotland. The better salary for her helped to compensate for the loss of her status and lower social mobility in the UK. As mentioned before, this is common for new CEE migrants (Ciupijus, 2011). The Scottish report *At Home Abroad* (Sime et al., 2010) similarly states that for most families, migration meant a change in their socio-economic circumstances, sometimes for the better, but often for the

²⁹ Estonian money at that time: EEK

worse, as people were often well qualified but unable to find work that matched their skills.

Mikk, who worked as a hygiene assistant in a Scottish factory, similarly talks about his salary as one of the major reasons he moved to Scotland:

Here, for this work what I do, I receive a twenty times bigger salary, money, than I got in Estonia.

During the interview Ervin, one of my interviewees in his late forties, asked me a question in return:

Let's say if every Estonian got short-term work in the UK which matches their education or which they would like, and worked here a month, what do you think how many people would like to return to Estonia?

Next he answered the question himself, stating that amongst those over fifty probably most would return, and amongst the under-fifties, only maybe 20% would return. He thought that the main reason people would stay is a good salary.

As well as the analysis by Ciupijus (2011), according to other studies on migration from Central and East Europe, people's decisions are mostly based on similar reasons – to earn money for their families back home or to ensure a better future for themselves when they return. For example, according to Jack (2011), the priority for many migrants is simply to make as much money as possible in a short period of time. Yet the initial idea of short-term migration and making as much money as possible can also translate into long-term settlement. Although available quantitative and qualitative data suggest that as much as half of migrants from Central and East Europe (CEE) that arrived in 2004 subsequently also left the UK, and many mobile migrants indeed take part in temporary and circular migration, research also suggests that a large number of CEE migrants have stayed or are planning to stay in the UK (Ciupijus, 2011:545-546). The reasons for staying or leaving in the case of Estonian migrants will be further scrutinised in Chapter 9.

5.8 To explore the world, to experience adventure

In addition to economic, social and emotional reasons, many Estonians have also cited the reason of wanting to see more of the world as an aspect of why they decided to move to Scotland. Marlene is one such person. She explains in her interview that she came to Scotland because she liked it here:

Well, this is indeed a very funny reason, nobody usually believes this. Everybody states that they came to earn money. They don't believe that actually I did not come to earn money. /.../ I don't know, for me it was a fairy-tale land. Everything was so beautiful and everybody was so polite and everything was so clean and cute. And then I got such [a longing]..., I wanted to come here all the time /.../ And well, every time I came here, I spent my money that I had earned in Estonia, then finally I had an idea to come to work here. Well, a possibility that I could live here, at the same time earning money. Not that I come here and waste all money I have earned there [at home], and then go back and start this all over again.

While Marlene's love of Scotland and travelling is brought up as a major reason for her wanting to come to Scotland, it can nevertheless be argued that perhaps financial reasons were still a part of the story, as had Scotland been cheaper to visit perhaps the attractiveness of moving there would not have been as strong. Of course, as mentioned before, it could be that the interviewees had indeed many interrelated and inseparable reasons, with financial or economic gain not necessarily being the primary or most important factor. Economic reasons often seem paramount in terms of migration decisions of CEE migrants but when looked at in more detail the greater complexity of the reasons for migration become apparent (Burrell, 2010).

In Ervin's interview he talks about similar reasons for wanting to move to Scotland:

I travelled to Scotland [from England] for a weekend, well, to see what Edinburgh is like. After all, according to tales it is a very beautiful town, and it happened to be August and it was festival time and... and when arriving to Edinburgh, let's say, I realized in my mind that this is the right place [for me] which I have been looking for all my life.

We can see from these excerpts that the reasons which influence people in their decisions can be of quite an emotional nature. Sometimes it is even difficult to explain or reason why one or another place is preferred, as this does not only have to do with economic reasons alone. People are able to move somewhere they like, even if they have no supportive network waiting for them, just like a jump into an unknown. The beauty of the new place and the excitement of moving (as well as bigger salaries perhaps) seem to compensate for the loss of existing supportive networks.

Another interviewee, Annika had a real adventure before she accidentally ended up in Scotland:

I bought a one way ticket to London, allowing myself a three week grace period. Then I was thinking what I would do there in London, I didn't come to any particular conclusion, then I posted to a XY Forum that a rookie is moving here and whether anyone has any proposals. And then one couple from N, which is 40 minutes from Glasgow by train, wrote me to come to live with them. /laughing/ OK! They had three pit bulls, had their damned motorcycle custom shop, both were building, man and woman were building motorcycles. And then I was living there, guarding the dogs, guarding the bikes. /laughing/

While Marlene and Ervin fell in love with Scotland and then decided to move here, Annika did not have any previous knowledge about Scotland. She decided to come here purely because of contacts she had made with people on an online forum who formed her 'temporary trust network'. She had no clear idea what to do in London and was influenced by a chance, an opportunity, rather than deep considerations about her future in the UK. She was lucky to get help from totally unknown people and everything turned out well.

Emma, an educated specialist, sets out her main reason for leaving Estonia as follows:

My motivation has never been to leave Estonia for economic reasons, to have a better life or to do it for practical reasons. /.../ The intellectual curiosity, well, this is the thing. Money comes with it somehow, you have to work and manage, but this is not the motivator why you are doing this. The bigger goal, I have a feeling that the majority of those who leave

Estonia don't have this bigger goal, what they want to do with their lives. I don't want to sound arrogant and perhaps it is not necessary to have a goal, many people don't have one, but perhaps a lot of things pass them by, they don't realise it [because] they are occupied with chasing money, the lack of spirituality is super-huge! This wow! could be a motivator: how and why do they do something [abroad], and that's why I migrated.

Emma was driven by curiosity and need to explore the world. She put herself in opposition to those who migrated only for economic reasons and to chase money; she also complained about the lack of spirituality nowadays. Mikk who in many ways seemed to be the opposite of Emma in terms of his formal-education, mentioned similar reasons for migrating to Scotland in his interview:

First, I wanted to see the world, because a human being is curious and he simply... a person has a need to constantly widen his horizon.

The wish to see the world and to get new experiences is a factor in terms of motivating Estonians to migrate all the way to Scotland. Without the existence of this need it would be much less likely that they would have left Estonia for Scotland and not a closer economically more affluent country, if they were purely leaving for economic reasons (unless the other pull-factors were very strong).

5.9 English Language/Higher Education

Another major reason why Estonians migrated to Scotland was to learn English, or to pursue higher education in Scotland. Mikk on top of earning money and having a curiosity about the world, also understood the necessity to speak English:

And also I wanted to study English, because I know that English is important and in school... I didn't have time at school, I was going in for sports and I wasn't interested in English. I thought that... when someone is dumb then of course he thinks that he is the cleverest, and I thought that why would I need English if... /laughing/ if I don't feel any urge for using it somewhere. And it was 'satisfactory' at school and I didn't thrive for more, for that my mark would be better. But now, later, when we got already the [independent Estonian] Republic and then already it was...

simply it became necessary. And I started to become interested [in it] as well.

Mikk represents the generation who was educated in Soviet times when people had almost no possibilities to go abroad or to use English at home. During more recent decades, knowledge of English has become important in Estonia. Coming to work and live in an English-speaking country can be considered to be a good opportunity to learn English. Learning English can be seen as one of the key motivating factors in applying for a job abroad.

Hardo is one of a number of students who came here to study at university:

I didn't hear many good things about the Estonian universities and I also wanted to see a wider world, what is happening there, and I have always liked English. So I had a choice: USA or Great Britain. Where to apply? It was the easiest to apply in the UK, and money-wise I chose Scotland. The reason why I chose Scotland was that in England I should have paid [student] fees.

Hardo is honest about his reasons, and the majority of students I have interviewed so far have had the same reason for coming to study in Scotland. Every year, more and more Estonian students choose Scotland over England because of the fact that there are no fees for higher education courses. Exact statistics about actual student numbers from Estonia are currently missing, but these numbers seem to increase steadily every year³⁰. As explained previously, UK-educated Estonian students are in many ways in preferential position to the Estonian migrants working in more precarious low-skilled jobs, as these Estonian students are statistically likely to be able to enter the UK work-force at the more higher skilled level, and to experience more social mobility as migrants (Ciupijus, 2011).

³⁰ At University of Glasgow, in September 2016, there were 35 registered students from Estonia (based on MyCampus data, checked by postgraduate administrator Maggie Baister)

5.10 Conclusions

Different time periods as well as different political and economic situations impacted upon the ways that people ended up leaving Estonia. Some of my informants were forced to leave their homes and personal decisions were not always possible – this was seen in the departures which took place during wartime. Wartime migration consisted of different stages and different possibilities in which the outcome was often unknown and unpredictable. When people started their journey away from home, they had no idea what was waiting for them. Between leaving home and arriving to the UK there was a long time span.

Now there is no such external force to push people out of Estonia. However, one can also ask whether the last decade's economic crisis in Estonia which has left so many people without work and forced them to move somewhere else where they could find work to support their families, actually leaves many alternative personal choices. The similarity between those two groups is that both political and economic factors can cause (forced) migration and it is often an interaction of both.

At the same time, although post-war refugees were political refugees, they also made a personal decision whether to further emigrate or not (and the decision whether to migrate to the UK or elsewhere) on the basis of economic reasons. Economically developed countries were more preferable destinations for further migration, amongst other reasons. The war refugees preferred not to go back to Estonia for political reasons. However the so-called pull factors for them were getting out from war-torn Germany, leaving the DP status behind and starting a new life. Often Estonians did not want to leave Europe as there was a belief that Estonia may soon become free again. Therefore, in the late 1940s it was still considered a temporary migration, as people hoped to return to Estonia soon.

In the first group, leaving Estonia and being on a road towards an unknown future was a long process which involved escaping the approaching Soviet army, and after the war, living in the DP camps. This period was several years long, and in my opinion, can still be viewed as being 'on the road' or 'on the move', a half-way stage on their way to the UK – living in Germany DP camps was after all temporary. My interviewees spent quite a considerable time at these different stages. When they describe this time in their interviews, they talk mostly about life in Germany and less about decision making and the

reasons for coming to the UK/Scotland. Sometimes the decisions were not theirs to make, sometimes they also lacked general knowledge about what was waiting for them in one or another place. The implications of this for their identities (as war refugees, people with no homeland ties, in the UK as foreign workers) were huge. They did not have a possibility to return.

Perhaps because they have always had the possibility to return to Estonia quite easily and never lost their social networks and contacts back home, the recent immigrants only mentioned the fact and reasons of leaving, describing their feelings at the time and their thoughts only very briefly (if at all): for them it was usually, however planned or spontaneous, still a straightforward process without any complications. As we can see from the interviews, they did not have to leave everything behind, as they had the opportunity of taking personal things with them or of storing them safely somewhere in Estonia. They thus did not feel so cut off from home and did not lose all of their previous contacts, although some of them chose to start a ‘new life’ in Scotland.

Relationship and emotional reasons, financial aspects, wanting to see the world, and wanting to study/learn English were the most common push-pull factors that influenced contemporary Estonian migrants to move to Scotland. For those who were united with their loved ones or families, there was no choice where to go, as they just joined their families. Looking at the process of decision making amongst people who have come to work here, several admit that the decision to come to Scotland and not somewhere else was made due to advice (usually from a friend, family member or family acquaintance who was or had been working in Scotland). We can see here that trust networks were important for both groups, and despite different environments of migration, some migrant agency is apparent in both cases.

In many cases, the decision was made in combination of all of these reasons. As Elina explains:

I had everything OK in Estonia that time, I couldn't complain. I have nothing [bad] to say about Estonia. Why I am here, the reason was certainly to see the world. The other thing was to speak English, to study English. And money of course. Money [here] is still bigger than in Estonia.

We can see similarities in the first and the second group of Estonian re-settlers - for both of them, coming over to Scotland (or to the UK in general) offered them a new beginning, better prospects in life, be it education (“the world will be open to you!”), earning money, starting a new life or a new relationship or being reunited with the partners and families. One can state that moving to Scotland, for most of my interviewees, contained hopes for a better future. The reality of this is explored in the following chapters.

6. Arrival and adaptation to a new environment after the Second World War

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will have a closer look at the processes through which the post-war migrants tried to fit into their new surroundings, for which the term *adaptation* has been used in a broader sense of meaning (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974). This chapter will examine how the new environment as perceived prior to arrival matches with the reality and how the newcomers' experience of new life has been after arriving in Scotland. The adaptation process has different stages. I will look at the positive factors and difficulties involved in adaptation, support received and ways of overcoming homesickness. In this chapter, contacts with Scottish organisations and Estonian official events will also be looked at, while social life itself in a more informal way will be looked at in Chapter 8. The key themes in this chapter are trust networks and outside help, first impressions, language usage, participation in organisations, as well as customs and manners, difference in sending and receiving societies, and discrimination and bullying. A considerable part of this chapter is devoted to looking at the Church and its role in post-war Estonian migrants' lives. Here material is also linked to the overarching theme of home and homeland, which emerges through the data explored in this chapter, relating also back to the question of diaspora and transnationalism.

6.2 Conditions and stages of adaptation

According to several migration studies, success or failure in adaptation is affected by the nature of migration (was it voluntary or forced?), and whether there is a willingness to stay, to return to the homeland or to migrate further (see also Chapter 2). As the experience of Estonians after the Second World War should be considered forced migration, Estonians were war refugees and not economic migrants. Arguably this also determined their attitudes towards living abroad and adaptation. Although by accepting the job offers in the UK as EVWs they officially became economic migrants in the eyes of UK officials, they still regarded themselves as refugees (Raag, 2001; Miles and Kay, 1988; McDowell, 2005 and 2013). Of course the dichotomy of economic vs. forced migration is a blurry one, as explicated in Chapter 2, yet it is likely that self-identification as a refugee would have an effect on the adaptation of newcomers in a new society. This was especially true in the

case of Estonians where the Estonian organisations in exile were making efforts to preserve this consciousness and mobilise the migrant communities politically.

As described in Chapter 2, the adaptation process has different stages. The first positive phase starts with arrival and is usually full of optimism, but after a while in a new environment people may experience several psychiatric symptoms and depression (Jürgenson, 2011; Tyhurst, 1982). Amongst the sources I have used in this research, the diary of Helju includes chapters which indicate a constant low mood and might even indicate depression – these chapters were written in a DP camp in Germany. People might have started to understand their real circumstances and the seriousness of the situation after the war was over in the DP camps, where there was nothing else to do and working was not allowed. As the statistics show, after the Second World War, there was generally a much higher suicide rate amongst the Baltic EVWs than there was amongst the general British population (Gilbert, 2013: 215). The more negative phase leads to the third phase: coming to terms with one's surroundings and getting used to the new environment. In the specific case of Estonian post-war refugees, it is possible that the first phase, or perhaps even the first two phases were "outlived" already in the German DP camps (Jürgenson, 2011). Often it is very difficult to split these time periods into clear stages as they may overlap, and the experience of my interviewees may be different from this classification. As the interviewed wartime refugees were children and young adults at the time of settling in Scotland their experience could also be markedly different from that of their compatriots who were adults at the time of relocating to Scotland.

According to Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 197) there are many different conditions in the receiving society that will influence the nature of its interaction with the immigrant population, for example the demographic composition of the receiving society, its degree of urbanisation, the stage of industrial or post-industrial development, its political organisation, degree of cultural monism or pluralism, and the nature of its social stratification. We have to also keep in mind how Scotland may have seemed to Estonians who arrived here at different times. After the Second World War, industrial towns were in ruins, while hard work and a simple, sometimes even uncomfortable life was awaiting the EVWs in rural Scotland – post-war living conditions were often poor overall (although they certainly improved). Post-war reports on EVWs (for example: Bülbring, 1974; Tannahill, 1958) have highlighted problems with housing – there was no appropriate

housing available and some workers ended up living for years in overcrowded hostels (this specific issue is discussed further in Chapter 4). At least this was a common experience initially in England, as Mall remembers their family's coming to England in chapter 5 and highlights the poor living conditions that existed at the time.

Other interviewees have also remembered the same, and that male and female family members were often separated from each other into different hostels. Meelik remembered that he had to live several years with his dad and his brother in a male hostel, while his mother and his sisters lived in a nearby female hostel. Amanda remembered that while her dad had a room in a hostel – the whole family used the bath in this hostel as they did not have a bathroom or hot water at home – the family, who followed him a year later, lived nearby in rented accommodation. The father was allowed to come visit them at home almost every night.

I will look more closely also at factors which facilitated and complicated the adaptation, including the importance of being able to speak English which would have made it easier to adapt to the new environment.

6.3 Location of settlements

In Scotland, EVWs were sent to hospitals, to work in agriculture and also to mines, while the majority of this community lived in hostels which were run by different authorities (Tannahill, 1958). As previously described in Chapter 4, these hostels were often located in remote places, far from towns. When the compulsory length of time that the EVWs had to spend working was over, many Estonians started to move closer to the bigger communities of Estonians. McDowell (2004) mentions the same in the case of Latvian EVWs – the distance from their compatriots was a key factor in seeking new employment. Gilbert (2013:196) points out that at least initially the geographical distribution of the Baltic post-war communities reflected the areas where there were manpower shortages. In most cases, the Estonians who started to arrive from Germany in the late 1940s were not given the option of deciding themselves where they would like to end up in the UK. Very often, Estonians also had relatively little, and certainly insufficient knowledge about the geography and administrative divisions of the UK, and therefore often spoke about England when they meant the United Kingdom (Latin: *pars pro toto* - a part taken for the whole). Some of my interviewees remembered that they had some limited choices, but on

the other hand as they did not have sufficient knowledge of the UK and its regions and towns, it did not help them very much, thus even in these cases outcomes were often made by chance and based on little information.

As an example of this, Liisbet describes her choice to come to the United Kingdom as something that was borne out of sheer chance. In this case the interviewee's choice was coloured in favour of Britain through a chance letter from a relative stranger – her father's dead friend's brother – who said that a nursing degree from England would give her good career prospects. This off-chance and arbitrary causal event then determined the fate of Liisbet:

We stayed overnight in London, next day travelled up near Preston, to Inskip camp. Waited two weeks, then I was told to take the train! Pack your bags and you will go to Macclesfield! Can you imagine, my mum had been sent to Macclesfield! When me and mum had the interview, I told [the Board] I would like to go to London and mum can go wherever she wants. I want to go separately, not with mum. They looked at me: You don't want to go with your mum? I don't want... Imagine then that I was sent to the same town! There were two hospitals. West Park, I went to West Park, mum was in Birnwall.

It can be seen from this example that the decision where to go depended on many different factors – for example the advice of friends and family members, as well as actual job offers and vacancies in the domestic and health sectors. However, sometimes refugees did not have as much free choice. In the previous example, Liisbet's preferences were not taken into consideration and she ended up in the same town. The words then the entire world will be open indicate that Great Britain, possibly may not have been considered as the final stop after leaving Germany for a better life, which in the case of Liisbet became true as she later emigrated further to Canada, together with her mother.

6.4 First impressions

First impressions are often important in making decisions about the future. Emily Gilbert has mentioned that in most cases, the post-war refugees' first impressions of Britain were

hardly positive. Her interviewees used adjectives such as dull, grey, drab, foggy and smoky to describe their experience, and their descriptions of Britain “reflected the huge contrast between this ‘never seen before’ landscape, and the newly industrialising, green, rural and picturesque vista that was their homeland” (Gilbert, 2013:190). However, devastated post-war Germany would have been a more immediate reference point for many, especially for those who were still children while leaving Estonia. My interviewees were mostly children when entering UK, and their first impressions are about ice cream and cakes which were given to them on arrival, and which they had not seen in war-torn Germany. Amanda remembers cakes and that even their mother got a cake, and that the British officials took care of them while travelling to Scotland. She does not remember much more from travelling and surroundings.

6.5 Help on arrival

For the EVWs everything was arranged – on arrival they were taken to their places of living; most of the hostels also had a canteen there, so the newcomers did not have to worry about any practicalities in the beginning. Later on, when families started to follow, the EVWs had had time to prepare their arrival and only a few families had to live in hostels, while the others were able to find lodging nearby. Mr Endel Aruja, an Estonian physicist who had spent the wartime in the UK, being granted a scholarship by British Council for studies in Cambridge in 1939, became a great helper for arriving EVWs. He spoke English very well, knew the local customs and habits as well as official procedures. These newly arrived EVWs often received his contact details from fellow Estonians and wrote to him asking for help and assistance³¹. He was also the person who helped to arrange CARE parcels from the International Rescue Committee for Estonians all over UK, including Scotland, with the help of local pastors who knew the people in need. In Scotland, pastor Gnadenteich sent Mr. Aruja information about such people (his letter from 20.2.1951). In addition, those Baltic Cygnets who ended up in Scotland also received a great deal of extra help from the head of Scottish League for European Freedom (SLEF), Mr. John F. Stewart. In his letters to R. E. Muirhead (8.2.1947, 22.2.1947), and to Endel Aruja (13.5.1947, 19.6.1947, 27.12.1947), he described his work with Baltic EVWs, for

³¹ His well preserved private archive in Toronto contains this invaluable post-war correspondence.

example, to resolve issues with their taxation, offering language tuition and helping to get their previous education acknowledged. John F. Stewart also managed to organise a support network of wealthy Scottish families who assisted of the Baltic Cygnets in their new life.

My interviewee Elfriede remembered John F. Stewart and his family as follows:

And here was one very nice old gentleman; we all called him Uncle John, John Stewart. He lived in Juniper Green, [on our arrival] he came to meet us at the station with his kilt on /.../ Before the war, he had something to do with the timber business, wood... timber business. Something like that. That's why he had good feelings towards all Baltic States. So Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians... it was an extra special feeling, indeed. He was really nice and he was waiting for us there. Their home was a bit further from here, in the suburbs, their door was open [to us] all time. Especially for Estonians, here there were more Latvians, of course we did not know them, but some of them were there as well. Uncle John and Auntie Peggy. And really, at the end I stayed here in Edinburgh the longest and finally when Uncle John died, their daughter also lived there, and also his wife [his widow], at that time eighty seemed very old. But when their daughter wanted to go on a holiday with her children, then I moved in with her [the widow] for a week with my children and.... She was really like Auntie Peggy. Like a real aunt. Now of course there is no-one there... They were extra friendly and helpful, I know, especially for those whose profession was a doctor or a dentist, so he helped them how to proceed, to get their profession [acknowledged] here as well.

As one can see from this excerpt, the relationship which started between J. F. Stewart and the EVWs with their arrival, in many cases grew into a personal friendship, even a certain closer 'family' relationship. The young women who had lost their families were taken in and offered warmth and community by total strangers. Loyalty and close ties were built between people who did not know each other before and that is how refugees started to form their networks abroad. To a certain extent, they were still treated as refugees rather than labour migrants. By getting the cygnets' pre-war education acknowledged, Stewart made it possible for them to have upward social mobility in Scottish society. He was also

planning to establish a Baltic Society for them (letter to E. Aruja from 13.5.1947). At the same time, as we can see from this excerpt that contrary to Stewart's hopes, Latvians and Estonians did not really mix with each other – Elfriede states that she did not know personally any of the Latvian cygnets.

As for holidays, Elfriede remembers the afternoon teas and her first holiday in Scotland.

One thing I remember that lots of us, when we first came here, that we were invited to visits, these were these Ladies' Afternoon Teas, so everything was so nice there. Perhaps they felt that they did something good. I remember, somewhere, me and Erika, Leida was not there, we were spending the whole week, somewhere in someone's big estate, we were invited there as guests. I have no idea where it was, everything was somehow so strange there; this life was so different [from ours].

John F. Stewart had organised a supportive network of wealthy Scottish landlords and ladies to host the Baltic girls who, by the time of their first holiday, would have not been able to save enough money to pay for anything themselves. They also would not have had any friends or family members here, whom to visit during their days off. It is clear from what Elfriede said that she enjoyed the Scottish hospitality but, coming herself originally from a wealthy middle-class family, was also very conscious that her hosts lived in a social world very different from the one she found herself in her new host country.

There were social organisations and societies which also participated in the adaptation processes of the EVWs, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the local Mishant Inn Women's Guild in Maybole for example, which organised a party for the Estonian agricultural workers. Such gestures made the EVWs feel more welcomed and certainly facilitated their adaptation. Amanda who came to Scotland and settled in the Highlands with her family in spring 1948 as a child, remembers that time:

We had no choice, we had to get used to [the new life]. There were no other foreigners, except the Ukrainians. But there were no other Estonians, the closest family was perhaps in Perthshire. We took part in everything [in local activities]. /.../ The first family who came to visit us was from about half a kilometre away /.../ one evening I see that a woman

with two children is standing near the gate, she had a basket and they came to visit us and brought all kinds of... eggs and all sorts of nice things which we hadn't seen in Germany after the war. So they took us under their wing. Across the road, there was a small [shop] ... there wasn't really a village, there were big farms scattered far away from each other. The village was 3-4 kilometres away, with a post office, school and church. But this small shop, it sold different stuff: bread, oil for lamps, we didn't have electricity. And they had a son /.../ and they longed for another child, a daughter. So Edda was invited there all the time. /.../ We did not have water in this cottage so we went to have a bath to the camp. Dad had a room there. When he was working he usually cycled home in the evening, but sometimes he stayed there.

On arrival they had to get used to the realities of an uncomfortable rural life with no electricity or water, the comforts offered by bigger towns. On the other hand, it was probably easier to arrive in a close rural community where everyone knew everybody, and many people were related to each other, as Amanda has mentioned later in her interview. Neighbours even took care of their baby sister so Amanda's mum could occasionally work on nearby farms. These gestures of their neighbours made Amanda's family feel welcomed. The kindness of neighbours helped them to adapt. The goodies their neighbours brought were unusual for those who came from poorer post-war Germany. Therefore while re-settling to Scotland, my interviewees, like Amanda here, were using Germany and the DP camps as their reference point, rather than Estonia. As mentioned, many of my interviewees who left Estonia as babies or small children would themselves have been too young to actually remember much about Estonia itself. This point perhaps strengthens Jürgenson's (2011) claim that the early stages of displacement were outlived already in the DP camps. It is unsurprising therefore that their memories are framed in terms of post-war economic hardship rather than the trauma of war and displacement.

In terms of adaptation, Amanda remembers her parents building a new life in Scotland:

Perhaps my mother was [homesick], my dad wasn't, anyway, he called himself a cosmopolitan /laughing/. They did not have time for it, you just had to settle in, to start a new life here. My mum was so glad when Lucia Kitsing came and when she met other Estonians, dad was at work and...

For Amanda's mother, there was no time for sorrow or sadness, she had to manage. She was comforted by the arrival of her DP camp friend – an Estonian lady whom she helped to get a job in a nearby farm and soon her other social contacts also started to develop. The importance of the closeness of other co-nationals for the post-war Estonian refugees is again highlighted here.

6.6 Language command

A good command of the language of the host community is central to adaptation and success for those moving abroad. Amongst the post-war EVWs, several reports state that only 10% knew some English and one of the most important factors responsible for impending adjustment was the slow rate of learning English (Tannahill, 1958:68; Gilbert, 2013:227). Here I will look at the level of English the Estonians spoke when entering Scotland.

My post-war interviewees have stated that almost all of them had some previous knowledge of English. In the case of children it was usually acquired at school in the German DP camp, or in the case of young adults, already at school in Estonia. As Amanda remembers:

When the girls asked if I wanted to come to play with them, I was able to answer that I don't speak English. Well, I had studied it for one year in Germany, in a camp, in an Estonian school. But how much could you learn in only one year, and there was this teacher, you remember I told you that the teacher did not like me anyway /laughing/ But my dad, dad started to learn by himself, from Pitman's books, so when he arrived here, they asked him if he spoke English and he responded that very badly, not very much. Then they spoke to him and said that you actually speak very well. That's how he got this job as an interpreter, Russian, between those Ukrainians and English speakers, otherwise he would have ended up doing the agricultural work. But it was a sheer luck that he got this, more like an office work.

Amanda, being already bilingual (German and Estonian), picked up a third foreign language very fast as actually many children do. She was not bullied like her younger

brother. Her multilingual father, thanks to ability to speak at least some English, got a better job. This also gave the family a special privileged status in both rural and immigrants' circles and enabled her father to start developing his social contacts.

Helju, a young adult while entering UK, does not remember how she managed to learn to speak English exactly:

I don't even know it myself, it just happened somehow. It is like a child is learning, perhaps learning a language in a short time, I don't know how they do it.

It was also not easy to speak and understand English in Scotland due to the different and strong regional dialects and sociolects of English. Elfriede remembers:

I had learned English at school, a year or two, but you see, at the time we came to Edinburgh, then I thought that people must have something wrong with their throats, a sore throat /laughing/ Scottish... at that time especially simple workers at hospitals, that time speaking, I thought that this is sore throat. How can you pronounce words like that? /.../ In Inverness the language was much clearer there. But at the same time, we had to learn medical English as well.

Elfriede encountered difficulties in Scotland because of the different regional accents and variations of English she was not aware of. She points out that in spite of those differences which she found confusing and difficult, she also had to learn a totally new branch of professional English – a medical language. She also remembers some funny situations which were caused by her insufficient English knowledge:

There was no preparation at all. Simply, you started the next morning in the ward, the patients did not know if this was your first day or what country had you come from. So it was the first morning, I remember I started in the medical ward, not surgery. For some reasons in the whole hospital the men called these... urine bottles slippers. They called these bottles slippers. I remember the first man told me: Nurse, I want a slipper! Then I opened his night-stand and started searching for the slippers for his feet. No, I want a slipper! Of course he wanted... /laughing/ And I was

putting slippers on his feet! Then someone came to my help that slipper means bottle, he wants the bottle, but no-one told me what kind of bottle he wanted. What for is this bottle? I had never seen before in my life how men do it and what do they use this bottle for /laughing/ But I was putting slippers on his feet and he must have had an urgent need already. And then someone said bottle, and I was thinking of a drink bottle but he did not seem to want a drink. And then someone helped me, the bottles are there... I am sure the others have also had such silly things, but we had much more of these, [because of] the difference of languages, and especially these local words.

As one can see from this excerpt, in addition to a new work environment which the young girls were totally unprepared for, there were misunderstandings based on language and local colloquialisms as well. On the top of language problem, it must have been very embarrassing for a young girl to deal with such intimate matters of the human body (of others) she did not have to deal with before and was totally unprepared for. It is of course one thing to speak and understand English, but it is clear that people can be misunderstood not only because of their insufficient command of English, but also because of their insufficient knowledge of local customs, culture and manners.

6.7 Attitudes towards the Estonian language

When people start learning local languages and customs, little by little they also start adapting into the host society. Most of them were concerned with maintaining their mother tongue, but in an environment where people did not have supportive Estonian networks, Estonian schools, or anything else which would have supported them linguistically, it often proved to be difficult (this is also the case nowadays, as we will see in the next chapter). According to the three-generation-model of linguistic assimilation (Alba and Stowell, 2002; Alba et al., 2002), the third generation of immigrants' offspring is mostly monolingual in English and does no longer speak their ancestors' language at home.

Many researchers have highlighted that Estonian identity is a language based or language centred identity (Ehala, 1998) – language has always been considered to be one of the 'main pillars of Estonianness'. My post-war children interviewees all remember their parents speaking Estonian at home and most of them learned English when they started

school. In the larger Estonian centres in for example Northern England and Canada, there were Estonian Saturday schools and other children's activities. Preserving the Estonian language was considered very important amongst the first generation of Estonians abroad. Amongst those people who were already adults when they immigrated to UK, many never even learned to speak English fully. Amanda remembers that her mother helped to translate for the Mägi family in court, who could not cope on their own due to their lack of English. She also remembers Mrs Eelloo, with whom her mother was close friends:

Mrs Eelloo lived at Oban Drive, over the Queen Margaret Bridge. She never learned to speak English. When her son sent her a TV set so his mother could learn the language, Mrs Eelloo sent it back to her son. She was a very good seamstress and somehow she managed to communicate with her customers. She worked from home.

Mrs Eelloo, preferred to exist in the closed bubble she had created, resistant to change. The older generation often had such a reaction to a changed circumstances. Tannahill (1958) mentions that EVWs over age 45 were more reluctant to learn English and many relied heavily on their diasporic communities and support networks. Mrs Eelloo did not need a good command of English to get along in her everyday life and with what she was doing. Until the very end of her life, she had Estonian contacts so she was not forced to make efforts to build a non-Estonian social network abroad and to make efforts for bridging the linguistic and cultural gap, or to fully adapt. This example points to Mrs Eelloo's strong connection with Estonian diasporic community and dependence upon this, could talk about this in terms of quite a 'closed diaspora' experience but at the same time she lived successfully in her local context.

It has often been portrayed in the existing literature that preserving Estonian language and culture was seen as the main task of the post-war Estonian communities abroad. However, many children remember the Estonian school as a rather boring commitment which was forced upon them by their parents. Voldemar remembers interacting a lot in Estonian and having less time for his local non-Estonian friends:

I had some English friends at school, but then of course you had the Estonian school on Saturdays, folk dance on Sundays, and when would you interact with your other friends then?

Voldemar, Karoliina and Karmen all had the opportunity of taking part in the activities of the Estonian school in England, thus speaking Estonian became an essential part of their childhood lives. The language maintenance is easier when there is a critical mass of co-nationals and schools, clubs etc. can be organised. The people who ended up in Scotland did not have these possibilities. Elfriede remembers one situation that led her to make the decision not to speak Estonian with her children:

Ellen married Frank who was much older and his hearing was not good. That time those hearing aids were so bad, and Ellen spoke Estonian to her daughters at home, and Frank was crying. That's why I thought that I would never teach Estonian to my children. He couldn't hear and he didn't know what his wife was talking about with the children. He tried to learn, but he was old, he ordered those Estonian children's books from somewhere and so on. And he simply said, could someone speak to him as well, he also wants to be part of the family. Yes, somehow it was so sad. He said, speak to me, I don't understand what my wife and my children are talking about.

Elfriede who was one of the few Estonians left in Edinburgh at that time did not believe that one day she could or would go back to Estonia, and she had also started her new life and a family in Scotland. The language unites the speakers and is part of their identity, but according to her was also something that could create alienation and division, tear families apart and build walls between people. Elfriede who by that time had learned to speak English, made a decision to give up her mother tongue which at that moment seemed 'useless' anyway, and keep her family linguistically coherent. The fact that she felt the need to thus justify not speaking Estonian to her children, and the implicit emotional guilt already speaks volumes about the importance of the language to the new migrant communities, and (at least to the first generation of Estonians) the importance of its succour and its survival.

Karoliina similarly talks about her reasons for not passing on Estonian to her children, although some 30 years later:

When I was younger I didn't think of this, my whole life was about small children, the everyday actions around them, I did not have time to think

about these things and I didn't realise it [Estonian language] was in my blood or somewhere deeper all this time, because we always thought that perhaps it will never be possible to go back to Estonia and what's the point of teaching Estonian to the children, if the country will soon be wiped out. When Tom was born, especially in eighty-six, we thought it made no sense to try to pass it on, it would bring us only pain and trouble. But when Estonia regained its freedom we realised that there is hope and future and it all brought everything alive again. It is strange and complicated.

There is a similar feeling of emotional guilt in Karoliina's voice, who felt that actually she gave up a part of her identity and essential being ("it was in my blood") by not talking Estonian to her children and passing on her mother tongue. However practical this decision seemed at the time, it caused her doubts later on, especially after Estonia became independent again. That time, in the late eighties, however, it was also a way of protecting herself from "pain and trouble" and of reviving the painful memories of her parents, of exile, and of the fact that the chances of Estonia being free and independent seemed slim.

The decision whether to pass on Estonian from one generation to the next was thus while seemingly simple, often complex and murky – mixed with pain and guilt – almost a battle ground for the multiple identities of the interviewees. The decision not to speak Estonian even if it was metaphorically *in one's blood*, and indeed connected to the earliest memories of the interviewees, was sometimes made because of the host society's own prejudices against the newcomers. Not speaking Estonian thus also became a way to deny one's otherness, to in some ways deny the Estonian identity of the bearer which alienated them from the majority.

6.8 Racism and bullying.

Amongst those who arrived shortly after the Second World War, many children experienced racism and bullying. Otto tried to keep a positive attitude and stressed that most of the children were actually friendly and nice to him, bullying, however, happened to him as well:

There was an occasional one who taunted me by saying oh you dirty German, and I'm not German I said but in the end I just walked away from taunts like that because I can't help, can I? Eight and a half... My birthday was rather late, I was actually only eleven in a secondary school. Eight and a half to ten and a half. How can I, eight and a half to ten and a half, teach them the modern history and politics that I know that even their parents wouldn't have been aware of, you know. So I gave up. But they'd misunderstood that anybody who came from Germany must be an enemy.

Otto fell victim to prejudices and the lack of knowledge of the children. Post-war negative general attitudes towards Germans have been mentioned in a few sources (Gilbert, 2013; Kool, 1999). Very often attitudes just mirrored the parents' lack of specific knowledge about European politics, different European nations and countries and the collective memory of the war, which was being constructed in the UK. Amanda who never experienced bullying herself has told me about her younger brother:

I did not understand it because I just begun to interact with everyone there, but my younger brother who was five at that time went to school. We came in May and he went to school after summer break. He had difficulties, I didn't know it that time, he was called a Nazi and the boys were beating him. Then of course he got angry and then got beaten by the teachers as well.

Her little brother who was born in Germany during the war when the family lived there and therefore spoke German (as well as Estonian), was bullied and experienced such a big injustice at school at a young age, which he seemingly connected to his Estonian language and identity. He must have felt very helpless and probably did not even fully understand what was happening to him. As a result, he stopped speaking Estonian all together and wanted to become as Scottish as possible, so he wouldn't stick out as a foreigner. Nowadays he does not speak Estonian and has no contacts with Estonia and other Estonians. Voldemar has an explanation why he was called a Pole:

They did not understand that there are more foreigners than the Poles. Because there were so many Poles here. And they were here during the war. They were in the army at the wartime and that's why we were called

Poles. It means if you were Latvian or Ukrainian, you were a Pole [for them]. /laughing/ This was the only thing which happened from time to time.

In Scottish society at that time there was probably just a generalised lack of knowledge about people who arrived in Britain as EVWs. Perhaps it was still better to be seen as a Pole than as someone who had come from Germany, as Poland had been allies with the British in the war, as this was the case of Estonian EVWs and which caused bullying and insults. It is interesting however, that parallel to the post-war Estonians being called Poles, the same is true for many modern-day migrants who have also been called Polish both in a neutral and in a way they deemed as prejudiced (see Chapter 7).

6.9 Changed social position

As stated before, Estonian DPs were mostly from wealthy and educated middle-classes. All EVWs experienced downward social mobility in their new host country as the jobs they were recruited for were far below their education level, this of course was an additional element that made adaptation harder.

As discussed in the chapter ‘Estonians in the UK’, an example is Elin Toona-Gottschalk’s emails and writings, the Estonian war refugees often experienced restrictions based on their new societal status. My interviewee Ilmi who worked in England remembers:

There were those young students who trained to be doctors, once we went to play volleyball with them. They asked us, invited us to play volleyball. Oh, then we got given such a hard time by the hospital’s matron: how dared you go, you are the lower people, you don’t even have the right to interact with them /laughing/ Oh, there was a big difference.

Ilmi experienced downward social mobility by moving to England. She was engaged in a harmless volleyball game, acting as equals with young doctors, which was considered a harsh violation of social rules by the matron. The social strata that she was placed in upon arrival did not offer much chance for socialising, as she explained that often Estonians did not find much common ground with other co-migrants (Eastern European or Irish), and felt superiority, considering them uneducated, simple and unclean (according to Helju’s diary). On the other hand, the other migrants must have thought the Estonians also perhaps snooty

and aloof. McDowell (2004) noticed the same in the case of Latvian ‘cygnets’ and says that class and ethnic differences between the foreign workers were also a source of conflict, and often a barrier for social contacts (2004: 35). Liisbet personally experienced social downgrading in a hospital in England, where for official photos, she was not allowed to stand together with other (English and Irish) hospital staff, but as a foreigner (‘an alien’) was asked to stand behind them in the next room instead. As we can also see from the interviews, Estonians at that time in Scotland had random positive contacts with wealthy and upper classes (Elfriede’s holiday in a Scottish castle, Amanda’s parents’ lunches with local upper class people) which perhaps were uplifting for their mood, but at the same time stressed further the social gap between them and their alienation from society and the strict system of social stratification in the UK itself.

Amanda has a memory of visiting some members of local ‘high society’:

Fraserburgh, the closest town, there the biggest and fanciest department store belonged to a family, Benzie and Miller, and there were two Miss Benzies, they were perhaps about 40-50 years old then, and their mother, they lived with their mother. I don’t know how father knew them but we were invited there once, in Christmas time. I remember, we ate the mince pies first time [in our life]. But mother and father had been invited there before, for lunch, so... /laughs/ It was indeed very posh company.

In the literature on war refugees in England (for example Tannahill, 1958; McDowell, 2005; and Elin Toona-Gottschalk’s memoirs) it has been stated that because of strict societal distinction the newcomers from the wealthy and educated Estonian middle-classes were socially ‘downgraded’ in the UK and may have not felt at home because of that, which made adaptation difficult also from the perspective of class.

Elfriede remembers her Estonian colleague amongst hospital staff, who worked in a very low position:

This was [a woman’s name]. And her husband had also something to do with ships, was he a captain or a shareholder, so this lady had the biggest of diamonds... earrings and rings, and she had to wash the floors here at the hospital. And then she told me, I wouldn’t take these rings off, that

with them... that these are the only ones which have been left for me from my old life, from everything, and then with them she... perhaps she wasn't given any gloves, so all these big rings were exposed indeed.

The frustration and perhaps even the humiliation of a woman who had been well off in her life back home comes across from this passage. She might have worn her jewellery as the only sign from her previous wealth and position, to remind herself and the others of her previous societal status, therefore adding the value and respect to herself. It is also a curiously apt metaphor for the Estonians in exile who were caught outside the class stratification system of the UK – outsiders to the culture and customs of traditional working class societies yet certainly not accepted by, and cut off from, the middle or upper classes.

6.10 Access to education

There were also restrictions in education. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Estonian war refugees had problems in England to give their children an education due to their children's age in light of the 11+ system³² in England. Elin Toona-Gottschalk wrote an email to me where she described this problem:

They [Estonians] were all well-educated but the English did not acknowledge their efforts in a cruel class system which made sure that they did not "rise above their station". We were simply "bloody foreigners" and even when our circumstances improved, this problem still persisted!! Most of all young people were suffering when higher education became impossible to reach, based on the eleven plus exams. However, many of our youth had studied in a secondary school already in Estonia or in Germany.

This was indeed the case amongst two of my interviewees, Meelik and Endel, who on their arrival were already too old to be able to receive a formal secondary education. Other children had more luck getting into schools, Helbe remembers:

³² Children had to take an exam at the age of 11 which sealed their further fate in education. For taking this exam, a good command of English was needed.

My dad wanted very much that I could continue in the school and then... in the beginning when we went there I was still in the primary [school]. There my class teacher happened to be an ex-military pilot, who had been bombing Germany and he had a very good attitude towards me. He knew this political stuff and communism and Russia and all. He said that you are quite a talented girl and you should try to study further. Perhaps I didn't have enough English but I started to understand that a child can learn fast, although speak badly, but will learn fast. And then he recommended, there was some kind of schools government and the person who spoke to my dad asked that if you had been in your home country would you have wanted to send your child, to put your child into school there as well? Dad said, but definitely, in our country everyone [wants it]... the educated people, at least the ones with whom I [socialise? Identify myself?]. Well, OK and it was how I got into one girls' school. And of course in the beginning there were problems with language. But I must say that there as well, everyone was nice to me.

Here we can see the different attitudes towards education – the middle-class educated Estonians had brought their faith in education with them, which contrasted and clashed with their social status in UK as migrant workers. Unfortunately, none of my interviewees knew relevant information about the situation in Scotland at that time, however, this might have been one reason why people from Scotland moved overseas³³.

Meelik remembers his problems on arrival:

You see, I was already too old to go to school. In England, the compulsory education ended at age fourteen at that time. And I was already thirteen but didn't speak the language. In Germany I learned English a bit, but as soon as we arrived to England, there was a post office close by, and mum sent me there to buy stamps. I don't remember how much money she gave me: so go and buy some stamps. I went for stamps, I had already learned

³³ In Scotland, the qualifying exam or 'quali', similar to the English 11-plus, was abolished in 1957, <https://www.elevenplusexams.co.uk/news?page=855&pg=73>

English for two years in the Estonian school in Germany, but I had to give up and return, they did not understand what I wanted /laughing/ Although the stamps were the only things they sold there.

Despite learning English in Germany, Meelik's practical language skills were not sufficient to manage and he did not have the chance to get formal school education in England due to his age. He describes attending several English classes in the workers' hostel and then passing some certificate courses in Mathematics which did not require as much language knowledge. One of the teachers of these courses invited him over to work as an apprentice in the technical drawing office in a mechanical company at the age of 15. Meelik studied alongside working for years, taking different evening classes, and he finally managed to get a higher national certificate and even became a member of the British Institute of Engineers, before migrating further to Canada. Meelik's example proves that for some it was still possible to overcome their initial social and class stratification and to experience upward mobility in terms of training and jobs. After experiencing downward social mobility by moving to UK, it took a lot of energy for him to receive education, and certainly he thinks that it would have been easier for him to study and reach his goals, had he been able to receive a formal education like Helbe. Of course in a highly stratified society as an 'alien' he was lucky to be able to progress. Karoliina who was living together with her Estonian family, grandparents and cousins in a close-knit Estonian community, remembers that she didn't speak any English at all before school. Her parents put her into a pricey private school for a year for her to learn English, because they had heard that it would be difficult for her otherwise.

6.11 Contacts with local societies and organisations in Scotland

Those Estonians who came to live in Scotland after the war, often received help from local organisations. As we saw in the previous chapter, the SLEF and John F. Stewart were helping the Baltic Cygnets. As was mentioned in Chapter 4 we can see that some local organisations sought contacts with post-war EVWs. Here I will explore how my interviewees remember contacts with post-war Scottish organisations.

It is interesting to observe how people got in contact with local communities and organisations in the first place. It emerged from the data that many Estonians of the post-war community had joined local organisations. Amanda remembers that her dad became

active in the local church; her mum was asked to join a WRI (Women's Rural Institute) by a neighbour, and she herself joined the local Girl Guides.

Mrs Robertson went to the Women's Rural Institute, they had an old car, an old Ford, like a box. Mother cycled there, Mr Robertson gave a lift to his wife and they took mother with them. /.../ So she went there, and dad was already connected tightly with the church, because these Ukrainians did not speak English, then father was interpreting in the church. /.../ We as children went to a Sunday school and there were also girl guides.

The local community, despite being a small rural place, offered several possibilities to the newcomers, as we can see from this excerpt. Amanda's mother took part in gatherings of the Women's Rural Institute together with her neighbour's wife. Amanda explains this further in her interview:

They had meetings and lectures, and then there was some kind of knitting circle or... I really don't know, I was twelve years old then and was not interested. Then they had fundraising events, yes, indeed. When we had a summer festival in the village or something like that, I remember my mother sewed me a pretty blouse and a skirt./.../ And then there were these tents, I don't know whom these belonged to, they [the women] made cups of tea there and [sold] cakes they had baked. They could earn money with this. And my mother was sewing these kinds of crinoline dolls. They were available to buy at Woolworths, these small dolls. And then she made such pretty dresses and hair for these dolls. I don't know [why] some people bought them. /laughing/

It is clear from Amanda's account of her mother's involvement in the local group that she very much tried to become a part of the rural society that they had joined. Going as far as to make dolls for the Rural Women's Institute sales and taking part in their tea and cake events, it seems that her mother put a lot of effort into these new relationships with the local women. As there were not many other Estonians around, perhaps Amanda's mother was also pushed to make the most of trying to start networking with the local Scottish women, something that she might not have thrown herself into as much had there been other fellow countrywomen and men around with whom the family would have shared

similar war experiences, Estonian culture and customs, and language. Through their father's devotion to Ukrainians whom he helped by translating for them in the local church in Tyrie, it led to the family becoming members of the same church, which led to children going to the Sunday school there, so finally the whole family were involved in the life of the local church. There was no possibility for Amanda's family to join the Estonian congregation in Scotland because they were cut off from other Estonians by the long distance between them. Becoming active in the local church facilitated the family's adaptation to their new rural Scottish life.

As stated above, Amanda's father became connected to the local congregation in the first place through the Ukrainians, for whom he translated during the church services. This can also be seen as an interesting transnational experience. Being himself from a family with tight connections to the church (his grandfather, father, uncles and brothers were all Lutheran pastors) led him to consider studying theology in Edinburgh at some point but, according to Amanda, he had to drop this plan due to financial hardship – he had three children and a wife to look after. James Welsh Esq. from Glasgow also mentions the family in his letter to Endel Aruja (14.3.1949), in response to Aruja's enquiries about Estonians in Scotland:

So far, I have only been able to ascertain the position at one hostel, namely Tyrie, Fraserburgh. I got a friend to enquire and he reports that there are only 2 Estonians at the place. One of them, R. B[...], however speaks English well and may be useful /not understandable/ to arrange matters so that he could visit other camps. For educational purposes he would like to become a clergyman in the Church of Scotland but I cannot say of this is possible. I will try to Church [?] Council to see if they can help in any way but this may take time as I have so many other duties at the moment. Have you any information about B[...]? I, of course, have not met him personally.

We have already seen how Amanda's mother became highly involved with the local women's group, and it is clear that her father also aimed to become an important member of the local community and local church. The fact that the Church Council was trying to sponsor his studies already speaks volumes about his importance in the local community,

and the family's success in adapting to their new surroundings and trying to make the best of their new location and community life.

As already mentioned in the previous chapters, Estonian children also took part in the local Scottish Boys' Brigades, Scouts and Girl Guides activities. Amanda remembered in her interview, how she became a member of local girl guides – she was invited to take part by her classmates and once she got a bike she was able to cycle to another nearby village for the guides' meetings once a week.

In the beginning I did not have a bicycle, then it was bought for me. This was my dearest possession. My treasure. Oh, my bike! My own bike! And then I cycled a great deal. I cycled far because where my guides were, it was further than school. And I came back in the evening when it was dark. But well, it was a country side. /.../ It was safe, nobody attacked you. You didn't even see anyone around, only cows and sheep.

The Girl Guides provided Amanda with a social life and getting a bicycle widened Amanda's possibilities to socialise, to become independent. Her 'very own bicycle' opened up her way for deeper adaptation in a new homeland.

6.12 Religious life in post-war Estonian community

Amanda's family was far away from other Estonians, but in bigger towns, there were regular church services in Estonian (see more in Chapter 4). For some migrants, religious participation offers not just a way to express and interpret their individual interests and to remain connected to their origin communities; it also provides a link to churches and religious organisations that maintain an active collective engagement by creating and shaping transnational spaces (Menjívar, 1999: 589). Shortly after the war, amongst other organisations, the church had a great role in organising Estonian society abroad. Gilbert (2013: 225) also highlights the role of church in post-war EVWs lives, she argues that through religion, the in-exile Baltic community could differentiate themselves not just from the host society but also from the atheist Soviet Union, their religion therefore acting as a marker of nationality and of identity.

The Estonian pastor had to travel a lot and every Sunday he held a sermon in a different place. The timetable for the sermons was published beforehand in the aforementioned

Estonian diaspora newspaper, *Eesti Hää*. Otto who at that time lived in Northern England remembers the organisation of the Estonian church as follows:

Going back to the Estonians, there was another unifying group, authority really, which was the ministry. I remember two. Can't remember the name of one but one was called Laaneots. He was based in Nottingham. One Sunday in the month he would, let's say, be in Bradford. The next Sunday, the next month, the other Sunday in the next month he would be in Leeds.

Otto calls the church 'authority' which already tells a lot about its importance for the Estonian community. From his interview, it also comes out that one minister had to arrange sermons in multiple places and was all the time travelling around and meeting the needs of Estonian congregations in different places.

Other researchers of Estonians abroad (for example Jürgenson, 2011) have also highlighted the church's role in uniting the Estonians – besides practising their religion, these church services offered an invaluable opportunity to meet up and socialise afterwards. Even those who were not particularly religious attended these meetings. Also marriages and baptisms were held regularly. Information about this was given in the newspaper *Eesti Hää* (*Estonian Voice*). For sermons, different local churches were used. Elfriede remembers vaguely one church which was used in Edinburgh:

Yes, they [the sermons] were in this church, I don't know whom it belongs to now, if it was... but there, they rented it when they... it was this Deanbridge, a bit out of the West End, and when the church evenings were there, yes, it was one of those churches and meeting of [Estonians], perhaps a couple of times a year.

Chapter 4 gave a glimpse into Estonian church life in the UK. We know that Estonians rented several churches in Scotland for their services and events. Elfriede did not remember exactly which church the Estonians rented, but she remembers the frequency of services ('a couple of times a year'). In the next interview excerpt, Elfriede tells more about the pastors and churchgoers who attended the services in Edinburgh:

E: Yes, there was a church. The pastor came from Bradford I guess. First he came from London, minister Taul, wasn't he?

L: Taul was perhaps one of them, and Gnadenteich was in the meantime a Scottish....

E: Gnadenteich. But finally we had pastor Aaviksaar! He came from Leicester. /.../ Well, the majority [who came to the services] were men who were in Leven at the agricultural work. Here [in Edinburgh] there were some women as well.

Here there is evidence that the links were strong between England and Scotland, in the field of pastoral care. Because there were not enough people to merit the employment of their own pastor in Scotland, pastors from England were appointed also to serve Scotland. Elfriede remembers one occasion when she was still in Aberdeen, when the Estonian pastor came to Aberdeen, the Matron of the hospital gave the Estonians a hospital room for use so they could have their service. At that time there were only three Estonian women there. Here we can see how church became a transnational feature, uniting England and Scotland, and creating a transnational religious/cultural space for the Estonian community wherever the services were held.

Aksel whose father was one of the first Estonian pastors in the UK and who later became a pastor himself gave some interesting background information about organising the Baltic churches in UK. As mentioned before, and as Aksel remembers, during the period of the Soviet occupation there were no official ties between the Lutheran church in Soviet Estonia and the Estonian congregations abroad. The World Lutheran Federation however had the Estonian Lutheran Church in Exile (founded in 1948) as its member, and Aksel's father was working as a mediator between the Lutheran Church in Soviet Estonia (which became a member of the World Lutheran Federation in 1956, after Stalin's death) and the Estonian Lutheran Church (in exile). Aksel remembers:

All those heavy black fabrics for cassocks went to Estonia through my dad. As my granny was a seamstress, she said: how big is this guy, lets send him as much [fabric] as possible so that he could also have a suit made for him as a bonus /.../ 90% got their new black cassocks from there, plus a new Sunday suit. So the Lutheran World Federation came in with money, but my dad was a mediator.

In his interview, Aksel also remembers how his father met the bishops of Soviet Estonia in Geneva where the World Lutheran Federation's headquarters were based, and how he had to contact the Estonians, at the same time avoiding being overheard by Soviet informers. Thanks to Aksel's father and his personal contacts they managed to supply the Soviet Estonia's pastors with material help, as they had few commodities and were operating within an atheist Soviet system. Perhaps even more valuable was the hope generated in the meeting, in order to keep going with their work during the Soviet oppression. This is proof that the Church actually managed to establish transnational links through the Iron Curtain and via those links Estonian pastors could take part at religious fields of transnational activities. Nowadays there are multiple contacts between the Estonian Lutheran Church and congregations abroad, and despite the decreasing number of congregation members, there are still congregations abroad maintained by these organisations.

Aksel who in 1961 became a full-time Estonian pastor in Northern England also remembers his rare visits to Scotland:

L: Did you hold services in Scotland?

A: Very rarely.

L: Mhmh. I saw the name in the [Estonian] newspaper, it was you or your father. But you were placed more North so it was probably you?

A: Well, Scotland is North indeed, it is even more North from London. So... in that sense I had closer to go. But you see the Scots [Estonians in Scotland] there, well, my father did know almost all of them [personally]. Yes, so they did not want such a beginner. It was only when dad couldn't make it that I was sent [there] from time to time.

L: Do you remember Estonians in Scotland?

A: Not really, well you know, you go there, there could have been fifty people in a church, and there was a coffee table afterwards and then you went to catch a train and travelled back. Yes, the ones I see in the church, well I knew their names, but you get to know them only when there is a marriage, baptism, funeral, when you... you were also seated in the

parents' table during the baptism, in relatives' table on funerals, in the case of weddings, which always annoyed me because I too was young, in the parents' table. I wanted to be with those who got married and who were the most beautiful people there.

As it turns out from his recollections, it was not always easy to get to know other people than those who you shared a table with for a pastor. As a holder of an official position his informal interactions with the community members were restricted.

As described in Chapter 4, after church there were always social gatherings. It becomes clear from Aksel's memoirs as well, that meetings and socialising after church was one of the many reasons people chose to take part in the activities of the Estonian Lutheran Church, as after the services there were often social events. The Lutheran Church was thus a wider gateway to Estonian diasporic activities. Amanda also talks about her mother's and Mrs. Eelloo's church visits and socialising:

And they went to Fife of course where more Estonians were, especially men who had married Scottish women, and then Pastor Aaviksaar came there. I don't know if he was from London. There was a church and then drinking and eating, more drinking than eating perhaps.

Mrs Eelloo and Amanda's mother both lived in Glasgow where they did not know any other Estonians. To be able to partake in Estonian social events, they usually had to travel somewhere else in the country, where more Estonians lived and these events were held (for example Estonian sermons). Here, Amanda herself also ironically points out that attending church was not the main aim of some Estonians that went to these events, as it was rather an excuse to get together and have a party after the service.

People thus went to church for different reasons. For example, Aksel is very critical about the different political reasons for which he thinks some of the less religious Estonians abroad went to church for:

And the main reason I finally discovered was that everybody knew that the Soviet Union was atheist, through the press or through some contacts. They were scarce but there were contacts. So we had enough information, and well it was common knowledge, if you had been reading books, that

their state is built up on atheism and that's how they want it to remain. Well, also those Estonians who were not churchgoers back home, now only because they were against the Soviet rule, became church-people. /.../ the church had to be controlled in a way that the pastor had to have anti-Soviet services. In the beginning I didn't kind of understand it, but if this begun already in Bradford and later I discovered this was also the case here [in Toronto] and in New York, then it became clear that this was one common... sign in Estonians. That they went to church because they were against Soviet Union, not because they felt some love or wish or urge to go to church. /.../ Yeah, well... one of its magnets was that now we keep the church, now we have to keep the church going, not because God wants it, but because otherwise the Russians will destroy it. So that now we have to keep it safe here. /.../ But quite soon I understood that yeah, we got additional special Sundays: the anniversary of leaving our homeland, such a service had never existed before. Ee... naturally there wasn't either... an anniversary of deportation. The anniversary of the Republic [of Estonia] had always been and was brought abroad as well. But then more national days were added. Now it has become a tradition, everybody likes it, especially those pastors who came from Estonia from before, for a shorter or longer time, that let's have a prayer for the homeland, while the organ is playing God will guard upon you.

Aksel felt that church services had become another weapon in the political struggle of refugees against the occupying Soviet Union and Soviet ideology which in their eyes was trying to erase Estonia. Sermons thus became more of a political reconfirmation of their thoughts and feelings towards the Soviet Union, and their faith in Estonia, not necessarily (or mostly) in a Christian God *per se*. A glance inside the particularities of sermons abroad also showed that several anniversaries of a political nature were added, as well as several new traditions (a prayer for the homeland during services for example). Estonian matters were taking over the usual church matters and prevailing in the collective mind. This shows that as 'Estonianness' seemed to be even stronger than religion, the church was perhaps to some extent politically 'Estonianised' to make sure that people would come. The fact that these traditions created abroad are by now taken over also by some present day Estonian pastors who had visited congregations abroad shows that the exile

community had a huge role in shaping present day Estonia's events and narratives of nationhood.

In connection to this topic, Aksel also has memories about Estonian pastor Oskar Gnadenteich who was serving the Estonian congregations in Scotland and later in Ontario, Canada and who was against politics being introduced into the sermons:

Oskar Gnadenteich got given a hard enough time by the people for being a weirdo, praying for the enemies, for the Russians. And that he did not allow people to sing the Anthem in the church. No one had ever heard such thing before! And when Oskar asked where you actually heard an Anthem being sung during an ordinary church sermon, in times of the First [Estonian] Republic, well nobody remembered such a thing. So you see, as I told you, to form a village [to build a new life abroad?] it meant to stick the church into it as well, and to give the church also some tasks, but little by little he learnt that those tasks did not fit here.

The church was highly politicized during the post-war times and had a much wider role in the exile society than simply a place of Christian congregation. Some pastors were also against the many new roles of the church for the diaspora community, as becomes clear from the excerpt above. They thought a place of worship should be first and foremost that.

Besides being a political weapon, the church was also used for a very wide spectre of other things on top of being the centre of social life and anti-Soviet resistance: Aksel remembers how several businesses started first from the church – meetings in church were used to advertise and market the products of Estonian entrepreneurs (publishers, bakers and so on). Later as the Estonian community became more established these activities grew apart from the Church, as 'Estonian Houses' were built for social activities and Estonians started their own local businesses. We can see from this that the Church was of a high importance for people in terms of social networking and keeping contacts with fellow countrymen, as well as for substituting other social institutions because they did not exist abroad. Those Estonians who move to Britain nowadays would not attach the same importance to church attendance, although the Estonian sermons are still held in London and Bradford on quite a regular basis. However, the church has stopped to act as a locus for other cultural activities as there are so many secular possibilities to get together and keep in touch nowadays. It is

interesting to compare this situation with the Lithuanian one in Scotland. The Scottish Lithuanian society – a home to dance groups, football team, choirs and scouts, the Lithuanian cultural centre (then it was called Scottish Lithuanian Institute, since 1979 Lithuanian Social Club) in Bellshill was established in 1950 when the Lithuanian community bought an old Episcopal church. The Lithuanian Social Club still acts as the focal point of the community, although the choirs, dancers and scouts are now defunct³⁴.

6.13 Estonian official celebrations in Scotland

In this section I will look at formal gatherings of post-war Estonians, compared to Chapter 8 which will look at informal social contacts. As described in Chapter 4, there were more than 200 Estonians in Scotland in 1949. The Association of Estonians in Great Britain had different affiliations in Scotland in the late forties, but started to disappear in the fifties, due to the decreasing number of Estonians. The newspaper *Eesti Hääl* (*Estonian Voice*) mentions several formal gatherings in the 1940s and the 1950s in Scotland, like celebrations of Estonian state anniversaries and summer festivals. As explained in Chapter 4, these events were mainly organised around the church events and also for celebrating the Estonian state anniversaries and Midsummer celebrations. None of my interviewees had recollections about the large-scale Estonian events mentioned in the newspaper. The one exception to this is the visit of ambassador August Torma, which Voldemar recalls during his interview. It was one of the biggest Estonian social events of the year, the important visit of the Estonian ambassador. According to *Eesti Hääl*, this was in 1954, in the Waverley Hotel in Perth, where Ambassador HE August Torma personally participated:

I think it was the same year we left [Scotland]. There was the anniversary of the Republic somewhere, I believe it was certainly in Perth, because we lived near Perth. And then Torma, the ambassador, also came there. And I read... recited one poem, at the age of four. The only thing I remember of this, when I had to go up [the stage] to do that, I had no courage to go, so dad had to come with me and I was holding dad's thumb. Only his thumb, when I was doing it. But this is the only thing which I remember.

³⁴ A media article: http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/scotland/strathclyde/article_4.shtml

Voldemar also remembers a big hall full of people and that a photo was taken of him sitting on the lap of ambassador August Torma. Unfortunately, as Voldemar explains, this photo was lost and there remains no physical evidence of it – but it carried a lot of importance within and for the family, both as a reminder of the event and as a constant reminder of their Estonian roots. The event was certainly very important not only for a little boy, but for the whole Estonian community in Scotland. The visit by the ambassador enabled the community to feel connected to the other exiled Estonians who lived in the rest of the UK and had an easier access to both the Estonian embassy and social gatherings. Unfortunately I have no data of similar events later on. As the Estonian population in Scotland was decreasing due to onward migration, organised celebrations became rarer and finally ceased to exist. There were still some personal contacts and meetings, as in the case of Amanda's mother and Mrs Eelloo who used to meet up until Mrs Eelloo's death (see more in Chapter 8). One can assume that this was also the case of other Estonians who chose to stay in Scotland.

6.14 The Media

The Estonian newspaper in the UK, *Eesti Hää*, started in 1947 and is still going. In the beginning, people relied heavily on information from this source. In the case of post-war Estonians and their offspring amongst my interviewees, the circle of readers has steadily shrunk. Some families nevertheless still order *Eesti Hää* out of tradition or habit (the 'new migrants' do not read it). Nowadays they read mostly local British newspapers and TV. Karoliina sometimes reads *Päevaleht*, the Estonian daily and orders Estonian wool for handicrafts from their website. Karoliina has the best Estonian language amongst the post-war Estonians' offspring. Most probably do not read Estonian newspapers because of their lack of Estonian language proficiency, as well as no habit of reading Estonian local news which have only recently become accessible and have little relevance to them. Voldemar admitted this in his interview. Roosi speaks about her experience of trying to read *Päevaleht*:

Once in a while I read Eesti Päevaleht online. It's good because it helps my sort of contemporary vocabulary, to more... you know, rather than a more old-fashioned one, in a way. But I have to read it slowly and I have to do a lot of deciphering, but it's good though, it helps the little brain

work you know. But that's about it really. Lately I've been trying harder, more Estonian websites.

Roosi uses the newspaper mostly for language learning purposes and fun (“it helps my sort of contemporary vocabulary”), rather than for information. She admits that the other websites she uses are mostly for learning Estonian and even the most primitive ones have been useful for her to ‘re-establish a language pattern’.

6.15 Conclusions

This chapter looked at Estonians’ arrival and adaptation during the post-war period. Coming to Scotland could be a challenge for people who have no practical knowledge about the administrative divisions in the UK or how things work locally (for example, not being familiar with the local customs, language, taxation or schooling system). Help was often needed and has been greatly appreciated and accepted at the time of arrival, both in post-war period and, as we can see in the next chapter, everything said above is relevant also nowadays. For post-war EVWs, one can argue that it was in some sense much more difficult to adapt, but on the other hand they were forced to get used to life in the UK, because they did not have many other choices. A return to the homeland was considered impossible, the third choice being to move to a third country in the West, which was indeed an option for many Estonians who initially came to UK. People who managed to establish close personal ties or families with locals were more likely to stay here, as we can see from Elfriede who married a Scotsman and stayed in Scotland, while her sister and a friend both emigrated further overseas. The same is relevant also in the case of contemporary migration, as we will see in the next chapter.

One cannot underestimate the multifunctional role of the Church in the lives of post-war Estonians. There were many pastors who took up the role in Scotland, even if only on occasion. They were involved in local people’s lives by offering them religious interactions, but the Church had also other important roles to fulfil – it was a place of social gatherings and served also as a place for establishing business contacts and dealing with other important matters. Coffee tables after the church services were places where people met and networked, for some these social gatherings were even more important than the sermon itself. Pastors could be of help also in the mediation and distribution of charity parcels, as we saw in the case of pastor Gnadenteich and Endel Aruja. At the same

time church services were also a political tool for the emigre communities, who politicised religion in their diasporic fight against the Soviet occupation, which was however not universally welcomed by all involved in the church.

7. Adaptation nowadays

7.1 Introduction

Many researchers consider the post-war migration to be forced migration, as stated in Chapter 6. Nowadays, people can choose freely whether to move or stay, but still often have little choice but to move away from Estonia to find a job to support their families. As was said already in Chapter 2, the line is often blurred between forced and voluntary migration. While the previous chapter gave an account of Estonian adaptation in Scotland after the war, this chapter will look at the adaptation of Estonian migrants in Scotland nowadays. There were considerably more interviewees in my research who belong to this group.

Before evaluating how well Estonians adapted to Scottish society, we have to consider their employment, (further) education, questions about belonging/feeling at home and their personal social networks, as well as their future visions. We will see that the group of Estonians I interviewed is very heterogenic by their level of education, language proficiency and ambitions, and that people hold distinct positions in Scottish society. People have also thus unsurprisingly managed to adapt very differently.

In this chapter I will look at where Estonians prefer to live in Scotland, then have a closer look at their trust networks and help received on arrival. Further in this chapter I will look at conditions which facilitated and complicated the adaption, like language proficiency, economic and social security, ethnic tensions and language usage. Different fields of transnationalism can be discovered in this material, for example economic transnationalism which manifests itself in remittances being sent back home to Estonia or establishing a transnational company, and cultural transnationalism which can be seen in usage of different media channels.

7.2 Location of settlements

As described in the previous chapter, the post-war EVWs were sent to places where a work force was needed and (at least in the beginning) they did not have much power to decide themselves. Nowadays there is the principle of free movement of labour within the EU. However, in a study of Polish migrants who arrived after 2004, Trevena et al. (2013) found that a majority of their respondents rarely had the opportunity to choose their location in

the UK, and that those who had the opportunity to choose were in many cases led by prior prejudices and rumours, rather than by facts. Here I will look at the possibility of choice and how this was discussed by my respondents.

The map (in Appendix B) depicts my informants' locations in Scotland nowadays and in the post-war period. The biggest communities in Scotland are in the bigger industrial and university towns and cities and where large food processing and agricultural enterprises are situated. We can see from the map that the Estonians both post-war and nowadays tend to live rather in the central Scotland and in the East coast. Nowadays the biggest population is in the biggest towns: Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

In migration literature it has often been highlighted that newcomers tend to move into areas where there already exists an established migrant community (for example, see Gold and Nawyn, 2013). Gilbert (2013:367) has noticed that although some of the new Baltic migrants have moved to locations which do not have communities, many others have moved into areas with well-established Baltic communities. This leads to the question of whether the Estonian newcomers in Scotland decided to settle in locations which already had Estonians living there before their arrival. My data does not give any evidence of such decisions based on the general knowledge of Estonian compatriots inhabiting some areas. Rather, as explained in the previous chapter, the decision-making has seemingly mostly been done based on close personal contacts and amongst small personal trust networks (see Tilly, 2007).

In most cases (with only a few exceptions), my interviewees from the post-1991 group already had someone who was waiting for them and who helped them through the initial difficulties of finding work and a place to live. Usually this person was a friend or family member. My interviewees who were about to marry a Scot and relocate here had all visited Scotland before and had had their way paved for them by their future spouses. As discussed in the theoretical review of migration, women seem to be more mobile in terms of moving abroad to marry and this can also be seen from my data – amongst my interviewees, those who moved to Scotland in order to marry a local and live with them were all women. As discussed in Chapter 5, the main reasons for migrating in modern times are normally personal reasons/family reunion, financial and economic pull factors, adventure, and/or education/in order to learn new skills/a new language. As explained previously, for those who were (re)united with their loved ones or families, the choice of

where to go was already predetermined. Several respondents also admitted that the decision to come to Scotland and not somewhere else was made based on advice received from a friend, family member or family acquaintance who themselves were or had been working in Scotland.

7.3 First impressions

Just as some of my interviewees from the recent arrival group had visited Scotland before moving here, and had already formed positive and even romantic views, a big part had not visited prior to arrival. In this section I will take a closer look at how Scotland seemed to Estonians in the beginning. The vast majority of my interviewees mentioned the friendliness and general positivity of Scottish people, comparing it to Estonians' usual introversion and (seeming) unfriendliness. As we can see from the following, first impressions about Scotland also vary a lot. Most people were stunned by the beauty of Scottish nature and liked the urban architecture, some, however, considered Scotland gloomy, dirty and out-of-date. This can also be tied to the specific location of the residence of the incomers, and the reasons for their arrival. For example students in more lively and central urban areas would ostensibly have a different experience to factory workers in a peripheral, impoverished urban area.

Hardo, who arrived in Edinburgh as a student, remembered that Scotland seemed very dark, gloomy and cloudy because of the weather. Ulmi mentioned trash and rubbish everywhere, unclean streets in Glasgow. Maali also had bad first impressions:

In my opinion, it was terrible, when we came [to Peterhead] and look how squalid everything was. How dirty it was, all the places were full of rubbish and...

Maali's terrible first impression could perhaps be as much an indictment of inequality and poverty in Scotland as a true first impression of the country as a whole, as it is interesting to note that Peterhead in Aberdeenshire is still an area with relatively low levels of deprivation (in fact the least amount of deprived zones anywhere in Scotland) compared to the rest of the country, according to statistics by the Scottish Government (Scottish Government, 2016). Kirke has a different, more positive first impression about the same place – a little town of Peterhead where they arrived together:

My first impression was that [these were] dollhouses... they didn't seem real. Peterhead is a totally red town, there are no trees, therefore it seems like a dollhouse built from play blocks, a doll-town, this is not a real town. These chimneys here and... It was such a nice sunny day, the first moment was... roses were blooming in some gardens in February.

One of Kadri's first impressions of Scotland was coloured by the beauty of Scottish nature. She, like many more of my interviewees, found Scotland very beautiful:

I liked the architecture and the nature here and when I got a new job in a highland village, I was totally stunned by these mountains, because I had done some mountaineering in my youth. I was very happy, as my youth memories came back, about being in the mountains.

Kadri re-built a romantic connection with her youth thanks to the Scottish mountains. The familiarity and sense of belonging due to the landscape helped her overcome other difficulties in her settlement in Scotland.

The first impressions were probably influenced by many different factors including the locality of one's whereabouts, one's first acquaintances, and first experiences. Will the positive first impressions make people more likely to stay in a foreign country? In Kadri's case at least it did not work out in the end. The next part of this chapter will look at different factors which might have a role in complicating or simplifying one's adaptation.

7.4 Helpers

In most cases (with only a few exceptions), my interviewees from the post-1991 group did have someone who was waiting for them and who helped them through the initial difficulties of finding work and a place to live. Usually this person was a friend or family member. My interviewees who were about to marry a Scot and relocate here had all visited Scotland before and had had their way paved for them by their (future) husbands.

Ingrid remembers moving to Scotland in the following way:

I: When I came for the first time, Christmas '95, it was a very cold winter, same as the Estonian winter. I thought, OK, one can live here. Well... it took around two years to adapt. And my husband helped me.

L: Yes. So, your husband helped you, so you didn't feel helpless or lonely in the beginning?

I: I believe everyone feels helpless and lonely and this is simply a process which everyone has to go through to adapt.

We can see that for Ingrid it was important to be able to see some similarities with Estonia (harsh winters) which made her feel more comfortable about her move. Even having a loved one waiting did not make it easy for her to feel at home initially. At the same time, she had a pragmatic view about the difficulties of adaptation, loneliness and a need to overcome these obstructions in order to adapt. This may be compared to how Amanda's parents coped after the war, as explained in Chapter 6.

As we saw already in Chapter 5, a few people who came to work here in the last few decades were helped by employment agencies (some even managed to get a place to stay through the agency). Reio, who highlights money and relationship problems as the main factors for leaving Estonia, describes finding his way to Scotland via his personal contacts with the agency owner (see also Reio's interview excerpt in Chapter 5). However, many of my interviewees also stated that they did not trust the agencies, and that they managed purely by themselves without outside help. They found a place to live and to work for example, by exploring the newspapers and notice boards. Kadri describes her efforts:

L: When you came here, did anyone help you to settle in?

K: No, no-one.

L: You managed it all by yourself?

K: I came here with no idea about a living or working place. I simply arrived, booked into a hostel and then started in the public library, sat and started to look for a job. /.../ Two weeks in the public library and then I

got a job. /.../ in the beginning [I stayed] a week in Stirling, and then in Dundee.

L: Did you feel a bit helpless or did you manage all right?

K: I didn't feel [helpless], I was very pleased with people being friendly and helpful, especially in the library. I could sit in the library much longer than in England, for example. I could be there a couple of hours in a row.

L: Online?

K: Yes. I was very pleased.

Kadri was led by the determination to find a job and finally she managed. Indirectly, she was helped by the friendly staff in the library. Their friendliness made her feel welcome and helped her tackle this otherwise difficult situation. Her experience can be compared with earlier, post-war migrants (for example, Amanda's family) who were helped by the local Scottish community in finding their bearings. The post-war situation was different in many ways, as people did not have many belongings and help was perhaps also more material help.

As mentioned before, my respondents did not seem to trust employment agencies. As some of them mentioned in their interviews, this was because of what they had heard and read in the Estonian newspapers. There agencies were often portrayed as treating job-seekers in an inappropriate way (taking a large commission from their earnings, having unclear and suspicious contracts, cheating and being untruthful about the nature of work abroad). Annika remembers her work-hunt and how her previous mistrust for agencies actually proved to be wrong:

I was very stupid in the beginning, I thought that I will manage on my own, and I will apply and that everyone will urgently need me. Of course, this was not the case. Finally I had been looking for a job for quite a long time and my savings were all gone, before I finally gave up and went to the agency, registered myself, and next morning I got a phone call to come to work. And I am still with the same company!

Annika is one of the few people who arrived in Scotland without any previous contacts or knowledge – no pre-existing trust network (Tilly, 2007). As she explained in her interview, and as was mentioned in chapter 5, she was helped by strangers. These strangers invited her over and offered her a place to stay. It is obvious that for the Estonian migrants with prior contacts, trust networks were very important and that, without these life could be difficult. Yet, the experience of Annika also shows that it is also still possible to manage without. In her case her Scottish hosts and the agency through which she found a job eventually replaced the traditional role of the trust-network. As Annika did not have a previous Estonian trust network, she developed contacts with mostly Scottish people and other migrants.

Kirke, who followed her Estonian partner together with her mother in law and little daughter, remembers how her partner was sorting everything out for the family:

K: He found our first, rooftop flat, two bedrooms. There we then arrived and right away, he also found us both jobs in the same factory. He found a flat with a reasonable, cheap rent.

R: In principle, the attitude there was that [I was] engineer, engineer. Engineer's wife has to get a job. It was their attitude. Then at least two of us were working. Granny dealt with the little girl.

Reio, who had arrived through his personal informal contacts with an agency, paved the way for the rest of the family to follow by first finding a suitable and cheap flat. He encountered a positive attitude from his employer who helped his spouse get a job in the same factory, which also shows the importance and role of the employer in migration and helping the settlement and lives of would-be newcomers. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 2 usually one member of a family, often the man migrates first and then the family follow (Gold and Nawyn, 2013; Ryan and Webster, 2008). This can then lead to long term settlement. The experience of a family member initially moving to the UK, being followed by the wider family, is common also amongst the other EU 2004 accession states, specifically Polish nationals according to research by Trevena, Heath and McGhee (2015). Moreover, according to the authors the number of UK-born children of post-accession Polish migrants is also increasing year on year. In comparison with the post-war Estonian settlers, this was only partially true in the late 1940s due to particular categories of people

being administratively mobilised by the British authorities. First, unmarried persons (women) were taken and later, when they had “run out” of unmarried people, they extended their choices to married people and those with families.

The existence of a supporting family members (grandmother in the case of Reio and Kirke), especially where young children are concerned, is also a factor in aiding long-term migration and settlement. Reio and Kirke’s family have settled in well, they have bought a house in a Scottish town (which also points to the likelihood of long-term settlement) and their children (the younger one already born in Scotland) are also well integrated into society, have many local friends and are taking part at several after-school activities. The experience of Reio and his family therefore fits the general trend of CEE post-accession long-term migration and family settlement in the UK.

In the meantime, the grandmother of the family re-migrated to Estonia. It is similar to other Eastern European migrant communities (Trevena et al., 2015) where older people who do not speak the language have more difficulties to adapt, to learn a new language, to create new social networks and adapt to new surroundings. Here a parallel can be drawn with post-war EVWs, Tannahill (1958) has mentioned adaptation problems in older people (over 45) and a good example is also Elfriede’s father, who was visiting her from Soviet Estonia and despite of all three of his daughters living abroad, decided to go back to Estonia where he lived alone (see more on this in Chapter 8). In the end his social circles were there and he did not speak English. Jürgenson (2011) also encountered such cases in his research in Argentina’s Estonian community – elderly persons who migrated to join their children abroad, but later decided to return because of language problems and problems with adaptation.

An interesting anomaly here is the case of older CEE migrants who came to the UK, especially older women. This reflects the insecurities this category of women often face in Estonia, and wider in the post-socialist space. At the intersection of gender and age, employees face greater uncertainty and discrimination in the work place. In my own research, there is multiple evidence of older Estonian women who do not interact with local people and are looking forward to returning to Estonia after having earned some money for their families to survive. At the same time, there are people who are eager to adapt and stand hard working conditions in terms of securing their future. Lulle and King (2016:53) also highlighted women’s flexible attitudes, who knew their key economic

target, and explained that they are not long-term migrants. In the case of elderly Estonian short-term migrants in this category, they have roots in Estonia, many of them also own real estate in Estonia (their own home), which is waiting for their return. For example, Elina, who was 45 when she was interviewed, talked about buying a house or a flat in Scotland. She explained that she would like to be here until her retirement and then to go back to Estonia. She also had a flat there and all her family was there as well.

7.5 Language

As in Chapter 6, several other researchers (Tannahill, 1958; McDowell, 2005) have noted that poor English language proficiency as an impediment to adaptation for post-war migrants. The language proficiency amongst recent newcomers of the younger generation is assumed to be better than it was amongst the post-war migrants, because nowadays English is the most commonly taught foreign language in Estonia. During the Soviet occupation, however, it was the most commonly taught third foreign language after Russian³⁵. But the situation is similar to the post-war one in terms of adaptation and language proficiency. As it has been shown in other studies (De Lima et al., 2011; Jack, 2009) a lack of English fluency for work purposes was one of the main barriers to accessing employment in Scotland, there is a direct relationship between language acquisition and the wage rate of a migrant worker. While it is not necessary to acquire language skills to work in the UK, it is possible that doing so will enable long-term migration and settlement. The following part will concentrate more closely on the level of English the respondents spoke when they arrived in Scotland.

Although finding speaking English very useful, not all newer migrants have managed to master a higher English language proficiency. One of the recent migrants, Keiu, related her experience as follows:

Because I had an anti-English attitude already since school, thanks to the teacher, my English was actually very bad. By now, it has improved a bit but I still don't feel that I could manage everywhere. /.../ At work I interacted only with workers, then [my English] developed a bit, and now

³⁵ See more about this in <http://ekn.hm.ee/system/files/Keelehariduspoliitika+%C3%BCleuvaade.pdf> and http://www.estonica.org/et/Haridus-ja_teaduskorraldus_Eesti_NSVs_1940-1991/

I am going to English classes, once a week, and I am planning to go to study at Motherwell College.

Keiu's explanation shows that English is a valuable asset to her. Whether she ends up staying in Scotland or not, Keiu is gaining skills in the hope of better employment. Some interviewees also highlighted the difference between colloquial and academic English, for example, Kaie who got her Masters' degree in Scotland:

For coping with everyday life, my [English] language was good enough. For passing the academic curriculum, however, I had to make serious efforts.

Some people have come to work in Scotland over recent decades with the hope of learning English but language tuition is often dependent on funding, at the same time migrants may not be able to access these classes due to their work schedule (SSAMIS, 2016; De Lima et al., 2011) A respondent, Marlene, who was very eager to improve her English, is an example of such a worker:

I had, I mean, very big plans; I thought that first I will learn English. I went to enrol myself in August, all places were already full. Then there were [other English language] courses available, I went there twice. But the timetable was such that, well, I finish working in the early morning and then come home and then around 9-10 it is really hard to wake up again. /.../ I went twice, then I was ill in the meantime, then I was off work and indeed it was my own fault that I didn't go there anymore.

As Marlene further elaborates on her experience:

As I am, I am really insecure, because first: language proficiency, then my age – I am not twenty five anymore. If I was, then I would have been long gone from here, I don't know where, somewhere else. [But] without a good command of English I am afraid. I am afraid of a negative response, and this English language and this all.

In the case of Marlene who is in her fifties, insecurity and poor English skills in combination with her age caused her stress, and a barrier to further job prospects and

applying for other jobs (similar to the situation with many post-war EVWs, but also nowadays (see De Lima et al.; 2011)). The intersection of age and language skills in Marlene's experience is not uncommon, as explained previously. There are many similar experiences amongst the other interviewees doing low paid menial jobs in Scotland. Overall, those who did not speak English sufficiently on their arrival have felt the need to learn it in order to manage better in their new country of residence, whether they have been successful in this pursuit or not. If learning English was one of the goals of them migrating to Scotland, failure to do so was (amongst others) an important reason leading to their return to Estonia. This was the case with Marlene and Mikk.

7.6 Economic security

In the theory chapter, there was discussion about different theories of migration, for example push-pull theory, world systems theory and so forth. In the literature on CEE migration, it has been mentioned that economic security is often a key to understanding the reasons for migration, although it is usually not a sole reason for migration or longer term settlement. Indeed, when asking people why they decided to migrate to Scotland, the most important reason given was often money. Many of my interviewees from the recent period stated that they would go back to Estonia if there would be the same salaries as in Scotland. Milla has to support her daughter who is a student in Estonia. She is aware that without working abroad she could not manage.

If I would find work in Estonia, where I would earn the same as, let's say the Estonian average, it is quite big, 700 or 900, let's say if I got 900 gross every month, it is, I don't know... around 600 or more [pounds], I would go back to Estonia. I would go back. I would not be here.

Tauno tells about his reasons for working in Scotland:

The only reason is that the salary here is bigger. But at the same time, I work also harder. In principle, I have only two free weekends in one month, every second weekend is free.

Tauno admits that the salary is his only reason for working in Scotland, but at the same time his working week is much longer as well, which is also common in the case of other Eastern European migrants (Eirich, 2011) Here parallels with the post-war experience can

be drawn – for example also mentioned in Tannahill (1958), EVWs were often working longer hours and harder, to put more money aside to ensure the wellbeing in the future.

In Chapter 2 it was mentioned that transnationalism has different fields of action, or different ways of being executed – political, economic and socio-cultural. After arriving to Scotland, two of my interviewees established transnational businesses, importing Estonian art to Scotland. Unfortunately these businesses did not flourish and were closed soon. Practicing economic transnationalism can also be present in the form of remittances sent back home. While salaries are much higher in Scotland than in Estonia, many other people, like Milla, support their families back home. This links back to the wider picture, which was discussed in Chapter 2 about the economic transnationalism. This practice is already noticeable in the post-war Estonian exile community, when Estonians living abroad economically helped their families in Estonia during the Soviet period. As is also mentioned in Misiunas and Taagepera (1993), after the reopening of contacts after Stalin's death, many Estonians began to send parcels to relatives and friends back home. This help made some people back home even wealthy, by Soviet standards. Here we can see the way similar forms of transnational exchange can exist, albeit in very different contexts.

7.7 Social security, differences in society and culture

When talking about the differences between Estonia and Scotland, almost all of my interviewees have highlighted the friendliness of Scottish people. Compared to Estonians who often seem unfriendly and grumpy, Scots are generally talkative and nice to strangers.

The one thing most of the contemporary migrants I interviewed have highlighted are their difficulties in managing to sort out some of the practical necessities of everyday life, for example landline, car insurance, internet or TV provider contracts. Interestingly, according to my interviews, these things take much longer and the service providers are not as efficient (as in Estonia). Some people have also mentioned poor customer service in the banks. Here, things often seem to be more bureaucratic and take more time and energy to be resolved. At the same time it has also often been mentioned in the interviews that for dealing with officials (for example for claiming tax credits or child benefit) there are usually detailed instructions supplied with the forms which help a great deal.

Ervin remembers how he registered his own company:

Establishing a company was easy. Through the phone. I went to the office where you have to register your new company, it is near the railway station and Haymarket in Edinburgh. I went there and asked whom I should contact, a phone number was given to me, I made a phone call there right away, registered my company, papers were sent to me and that is all, the end of the story.

Ervin found it easy to establish his company primarily via a phone. At the same time, Kirke and Reio have complained about the same service in another town – not being able to interact with a real person instead having to put up with dealing with someone nameless and anonymous over the phone.

In her interview Emma recalls societal values and the security that Scottish society offers, which is (still) missing in Estonia:

Scotland has taught me a lot, for sure it has made me softer, not as cruel as in Estonia, as the values are there, to be honest. It all comes from home, I mean my husband is a Scot and he has very left-wing views, these things are somehow connected I suppose, but well, I say that even if you are alone in the Scottish society, one thing is the identity or, well, you may be left on your own as a person, but in my opinion, the state never leaves you as alone as it can happen in Estonia.

A lot of what Emma has mentioned reflects on the idea of social security and a possibility of a more secure life here in Scotland, particularly the way the state is here as a support. It is interesting also that she mentions becoming “softer” and “less mean” herself within a more secure Scottish society, where she does not feel threatened. It links back to the pull factors discussed in Chapter 2. This kind of security may make people feel more ‘at home’ and aid in further positive decisions of longer term migration.

While Emma talked about feeling safe within the welfare society of Scotland, other recent interviewees have noticed big differences in the UK amongst different layers of society. Milla works in a factory and was shocked by the lack of general knowledge of her co-workers who seemed uneducated to her:

I don't have an idea how many years they have gone to the school. They don't know anything. I mean our [Estonian] first and second grade children are more knowledgeable than many of our factory workers who are local. It was so terrible for me.

The gap between Milla's and her co-workers' educational level made Milla feel that she did not have very much in common with them. It has been pointed out that the overwhelming number of A8 migrants who came to work in the UK are employed in occupations in lower-skilled occupations for which they are over-skilled (Trevena, 2009). Another respondent, Kaie, was surprised when her driving teacher asked her whether they have cars and roads in Estonia. In that sense of meaning the situation can be compared to the post-war society who had only a vague knowledge about newcomers' background. The post war EVWs who had come mostly from wealthy and educated middle class backgrounds, experienced big changes in their social status, for example the lady who wore her diamond rings while scrubbing the hospital floors. This interesting topic would benefit from more in-depth research.

Sabine feels totally differently about Scottish society than Milla, and condemned Estonian society's overvaluation of education:

In terms of work, here the young people have more possibilities than in Estonia. In Estonia, they are more after education. Here they give everyone a chance. At least it seems to me. Everyone is equal. The society is more equal here.

Sabine expressed her belief in an equal society and sees more opportunities here than she had in Estonia. Interestingly, she is one of the few people who thought that Scotland was more equal than Estonia, and that everyone had an equal chance here – as compared to Milla for example who noticed huge class distinctions. Coming from the perspective of a working person in Estonia, the wages for working people without an education would indeed seem higher and thus more “equal”, however, it seems that Sabine's view of the equality in Scotland is more to do with her adaptation to the post-Soviet neoliberal consumerist value system prevalent amongst Estonians. Since even uneducated working people are able to afford more in Scotland (a ‘more normal life’, see McGhee et al., 2012), regardless of their education, in her view Estonian youth pursuing higher education in

Estonia are wasting their time. From Sabine's point of view education should be a gateway to higher income and consumption, a market tool, and not for the sake of gaining knowledge itself.

Kaie has explained how adaptation happened for her:

Their culture of behaviour was strange for me, all this small talk and such, well, you know... this is all like what we experience in the beginning such ... erm... fake politeness, but which you later on acquire yourself. Because you... start like copying your environment for the purpose of language learning.

While Kaie is talking about copying the locals, Laila also stressed the large extent to which she had to learn the behaviour of local people in order to adapt, but sometimes she gets tired of this and is longing for 'a different culture'. Some of my informants who have adapted well and consider themselves as a part of the Scottish society have also stressed that it is like being able to juggle between two languages and identities, being able to use both in everyday life, although in different proportions. Like Laila, for a successful adaptation for many others it is also considered important to keep their Estonian social circles as well as their local Scottish ones. Here we can draw parallels with Karoliina's family in the post-war era – in her explanation it was mentioned that they took the best from both societies and had separate social lives, as their Estonian and British social circles did not overlap (see more in Chapter 8).

7.8 Scottish welfare system

As mentioned in the earlier paragraph, some of my respondents, like Emma, were very appreciative of the welfare state in Scotland, and of what they perceived as a good welfare system. In the media and amongst some politicians, there has been a dominant discourse of Eastern European migrants who are abusing the UK benefit system. This information has of course been proven generally inaccurate (see Trevena, 2009; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014). This popular discussion in the media in the last couple of years may have left a bitter feeling for some migrant workers. Most of the Estonians I interviewed were conspicuously proud of earning their money by working and not claiming benefits, as a way to refute these claims.

Amongst my interviewees there was only one person who openly admitted to abusing the welfare system. Reimar talks about his life in Scotland:

I am officially unemployed. I own a garage as a hobby and I also fix sea containers. /.../ Generally, I don't have a problem with money, in that sense that I already have everything I had ever wanted and ... if I need something then I don't have to count money when I go shopping. I can buy it. Well, if I need something then I just go and buy it.

We can see here that money is important in deciding about one's future. Money allows people to have a better life. Even Reimar who is officially unemployed and does unofficial odd jobs in the meantime here can afford such things many Estonians in Estonia could only dream about. Money gives security – people are able to live a 'normal life' and this is encouraging them to settle. Reimar's attitude is similar to that of Polish migrants, who viewed 'normality' through the prism of consumption, which they could not afford in Poland (McGhee et al., 2012). Reimar contrasts Estonia to the UK in the same way, through a lens of consumption and his own ability to consume.

7.9 Living conditions

In the previous chapter we saw how some Estonians struggled with normal living conditions after the war and that some EVWs were forced to live in hostels for years. It has been mentioned that poor access to good quality and affordable housing is actually an issue for participants of all ethnicities and housing costs took up a large proportion of their available income (De Lima et al., 2011). During the interviews, I asked my participants a question about their living conditions back in Estonia and in Scotland. The majority of them stated that their living conditions were the same or better in Estonia than they were in Scotland. At the same time it also became evident that many people who came to Scotland to work, for example in food processing factories, wanted to save money by living in and renting rooms in overcrowded shared flats, where for example heating was turned low or even switched off in winter to save more money (one of my interviewees described it as sitting in a cold flat wearing winter coats). Other comforts were also foregone in order to be able to save more to send home or to save for one's future. Instead of taking public transport, some of my respondents stated that they walk to work in order to save money (as public transport costs would have taken up a huge part of their income compared to public

transport costs in Estonia), even if it sometimes took an hour or even longer to get there. Also, when available, many of my respondents said they were likely to accept overtime work, to earn more money. This was similar to the post-war EVWs, from recollection, who wished to save money to improve their living standard, or to migrate further. These post war EVWs also often worked overtime and shared flats and houses with other families (Tannahill, 1958; Bülbring, 1954).

7.10 Racism and bullying

Recent studies (McCollum et al., 2014; Sim and Bowes, 2007; Kay & Morrison, 2012) confirm that the general public in Scotland is less opposed to immigration than elsewhere in Britain, but at the same time there is also evidence of some hostility towards migration in Scotland. I asked my interviewees from the current migration movement whether they have ever experienced social differences, restricted possibilities or being overlooked because of their national origin.

Usually the status of the majority is higher and the newcomers have to redefine their identity (Jürgenson, 2011: 272). There are not enough Estonians to form an identifiable minority group for the locals (as it is in the case of Poles), therefore Estonians, whether they like it or not, are often seen as part of the bigger group of Eastern Europeans (the majority of migrants). In some cases we can see that Estonians have been and are identified as Poles (as in the case of Voldemar and Kristina), because this national group has been here for longer and has got a lot of members. In some cases, Estonians are also classified as Russians, due to the Soviet occupation which put Estonia on the map of Europe as part of Soviet Union. The newcomers' self-identification can be different, as we saw in the case of Kristina (below), who does not agree with the outward definitions imposed on her, and rather self-defines as Northern European/Scandinavian.

Amongst recent migrants, Kristina remembers her early days in a local school and being bullied by other pupils:

Because the Scots, it means, in Great Britain there is some kind of overall anger towards Eastern Europeans. Mm... For example, people were throwing empty drink bottles at me. /.../ Yes, and then said Go home Pole! I didn't say anything, just walked away. /.../ It is not even about not being

a local, from Great Britain, it is about exactly... that you are an Eastern European, that you are not a Western European, I think there would be a totally different attitude if I was from Sweden for example. It is exactly the attitude that ... that oh they are these economic migrants, who have ... yes, who have come here to take our jobs. I have... sometimes I said that I am half Finnish, this way reducing somehow... my Eastern Europeanness. And then explained that Estonia and Finland are very close and Finland is like Estonia, trying to connect Estonia with Northern Europe, not Eastern Europe. Or then... yeah, I have been telling them that for example Skype is from Estonia and so, how well developed Estonia actually is. That that people don't even know what Estonia is indeed, they don't believe, they don't believe that in Estonia everybody has computers and inter... that there is internet. People have a feeling that Estonia is some ... Estonia is like some mudhole.

Kristina seemingly takes being Estonian and defending Estonia's achievements seriously. She is proud of this, but at the same time, to protect herself from insults, is pretending that she is half-Finnish, trying to connect Estonia with Nordic countries rather than the often marginalised Eastern Europe, due to its depiction in the mass media and political rhetoric. Being called a Pole is similar with the post-war children's experience (for example Voldemar), as Poles have been and also nowadays are the biggest migrant group from Eastern Europe. Being outwardly identified as an 'Eastern European other', the respondent has interestingly tried to fight this outward identification and reimagine her identity as part of the accepted in-group of Western/Northern Europeans *in lieu* of her negative experiences. Similar to the post-WWII bullied Estonian children who were called Germans, and thereafter denied their Estonianness, the respondent has tried to negotiate her own identity by denying parts of her nationality and her Eastern Europeanness, which has negative connotations in the imaginary of the British population and her young peers. Interestingly, not only does the respondent try to distance herself from the dreaded Eastern European identity with which she does not want to be associated ("sometimes I said that I am half Finnish"), but also Estonia from Eastern Europe ("Finland is like Estonia"). For this respondent, her identity is seemingly a constantly changing battleground on which she resists and negotiates outward identification from the society around her, and her identity

and national/social ties (her exact level of Estonianness for example – only half when it has negative connotations).

Some of my interviewees were also critical about other Eastern European nations. They have highlighted Estonians' ability to adapt into a different culture and contrasted it with some other nations' inability or unwillingness to do so. For example, Annika tells about ethnic relations in her workplace:

Some Poles are such that, they come here from Poland, well, come for a better life or collect money, but they don't make absolutely any effort to fit in. In the sense of meaning that they have been here for five years and this is not even a joke, I meet such girls every bloody day at my work, they have been here for five years and can't speak a word in English! They got work through their Polish agencies, well, in some factories, in those factories on the production lines they are supervised also by Poles, you see, in that sense of meaning they don't have any need... they visit the Polish hairdresser, they visit the Polish nail spa, go shopping for food in the Polish shop, instead of... you need a bloody pint of milk, instead of going to the Tesco across the road, no, they travel to the other end of town, to the Polish shop. Because it has to be Polish milk, everything has to be Polish. /.../ They come to work every morning, in the kitchen it is also divided, there is a Polish table and then a Scottish table, well. /.../. For example those Poles walk in, there is perhaps one Pole sitting at the Polish table and five Scots at the Scottish table, but she says good morning only in Polish. And then you feel like, don't you see me or what? In that sense I am not the smallest object in the World, you can't miss me in any way. You just ignored my presence, and the same way when they leave, goodbye is only in Polish. At the same time work related talks, in production, which have to be talked in English, everything is only in Polish, all the time Polish bla-bla-bla. And then again another war will be launched between Poles and Scots. Well, then some meeting is held, then those Poles start to defend themselves that... last time it got already so ridiculous... that... we are not respected in this company, because we are female and foreigners. And then it makes me feel like like come on... in the

beginning I promised myself not to interfere into this, but as soon as this sentence was said, then I felt like, like come on, I am also a female and a foreigner, why don't I have such problems like you? So, if you made even half the effort that you are waiting for from others, then you wouldn't have any of those problems.

What Annika said in relation to the Polish workers in many ways reflects back to the identifying of oneself as the 'better' East European migrant (Ryan, 2010) and which was mentioned earlier in this chapter, as a way to distinguish herself from the negative implications of being associated with 'a deviant group' in society. Of course, learning a new language is not easy (as was also mentioned by Estonian respondents who had originally aimed to come to Scotland to learn the language), and in many cases the difficult working conditions and working hours make it even harder for people to learn English even though it makes life and career prospects easier. By self-identifying as the well-integrated, English-speaking migrant, Annika is seemingly trying to distance herself from the 'othered' out-group of Polish workers and position herself closer to the in-group of Scottish workers. The fact that she sits at the Scottish table is manifest proof of her own identification with the dominant, local group. Annika is not a Pole and thus cannot really be a part of the Polish community at her work, of course, or of the support network of the Poles. She is annoyed when her identity in the foreign out-group is inadvertently touted and her dominant position questioned ("I am also a female and a foreigner"). Her lack of empathy for the non-adapted Polish workers ("why don't I have such problems like you? So, if you made even half the effort that you are waiting for from others") again sets to distinguish her from the other workers as the one who is making the effort, the one who does not have problems and is the good migrant. Her further othering of the out-group secures her position and identity in the in-group.

Annika also talks about her views on discrimination:

I guess, discrimination happens only when you let yourself be discriminated against. Those same Poles for example, to be honest when I went to work there four years... four and a half years ago, there was really such attitude that those Scottish aunties, in reality, they said such things like fucking Polish and so on, totally openly. But the girls did not say anything, they let it go. Well, if someone would come to tell me that I am

some fucking Estonian, fair enough if you had just called me a fucking idiot, this I could understand, perhaps I am an idiot, but if you just take my nationality... if you think ill of me only because of my nationality, because I am some kind of Estonian or Spaniard or Pole or whatever, then I would be very upset that hold on, in what sense. Perhaps they were a bit discriminated in the beginning, but they let themselves to be discriminated. I never let them, perhaps those Scottish bitches tried the same with me, but I never allowed them to do so, and if you don't allow them, then at the end they lose interest. They understand that it has no sense. In that sense of meaning, I try to earn my living in a same way, come [to work] in the morning, go [home] in the evening, I don't want to take your job away from you, so this discrimination, in my opinion one can discriminate you only when you let them to do it to you. If you step up, then they can't be bothered anymore.

Here Annika stresses the workplace identity she shares with local workers, rather than presenting herself as a migrant worker to local workers. Again this is perhaps a way of identifying herself with the larger in-group rather than being cast as an outsider. She highlights that through what they are doing every day, they have more in common with each other than what is different between them – everyone has to do their work and to live their lives. Her view on discrimination (“discrimination happens only when you let yourself be discriminated against”) seems to not only deny the existence of other non-verbal, implicit and structural discriminations, but to further stigmatize those who are unable to stand up for themselves in her view. This is perhaps a coping mechanism. Her resentment for the Polish female workers who counter the discrimination they face in the employment tribunal (“war will be launched”) also seems to partly stem for the fact that she is inadvertently grouped with them as the outsider.

Annika, while ultimately expressing solidarity with her Polish co-workers, nevertheless criticised them for keeping to themselves, not learning the language and not making any effort to integrate. To a certain extent it may reflect experiences and discourses within Estonia – i.e. one often hears that it is each individual's responsibility to learn Estonian and 'integrate themselves'. In Estonia there are still (primarily older) people among the large Russian-speaking community established in Soviet times that have lived in Estonia most of

their lives, without speaking any Estonian. The tensions between those ethnic groups still exist, even abroad, as the next part of this chapter shows us.

Marlene has experienced ethnic discrimination against her at her workplace, not by locals, but by another migrant group from Estonia, the ethnic Russians:

Some of them have called me a fascist, I am not the only one who has been called so. We had an [Estonian] woman on the production line, one day she comes to me crying that can you comprehend, I was called a fascist. I said don't mind, well, I am also trying not to take it personally. But... well, she came to me and cried and I was also called... one young girl wanted to be friends with me and then suddenly she called me a fascist. Then I didn't speak to her for a few days but then I forgot it and forgave her. Well, she told me later that she didn't mean it but then I said, why are you throwing such words around then? Well, I have felt indeed, especially those Russians who are from Estonia, they slag the Estonian life off you know, and then I defend it and that how it is exactly, they are criticizing that everything is so bad and horrible [there], and then I defend it, perhaps that's why we have those arguments. But as I was told by one Russian woman from Latvia, she said one day... she is from Latvia. She said that, here all people are like... you have to be arrogant and aggressive, sell your own granny. They do everything to make people besides them feel like nobodies, but they are everything. Well, to sum up, I don't know, this collective is so... even our supervisor told us, well I said that I will leave and he asked why, you are a good worker, what's the reason, and then I told him that the collective [is the reason]

Marlene felt offended and marginalised because of her nationality by people of other ethnic descent from Estonia (Estonian Russians). The issue reflects the wider societal complexities of Estonia, shaped by its Soviet past. While Marlene has left Estonia to work in Scotland, her identity and social relations continue to be shaped by the societal structures and ethnic tensions she left behind. She encountered the Estonian Russian speakers in a completely new social space and setting (factory floor in Scotland), yet of course the complex issues have not disappeared and can re-emerge. Again, there is an interesting duality at work. While Marlene and her Russian language co-workers

undoubtedly share a lot in terms of their background, roots and current situation as East European foreigners abroad, who are different from the Scots, and may even share opinions about their new place of residence, finding comfort and solidarity in their sameness vis-à-vis the host population, the ethnic tensions can also (re)emerge at any point and divide the workers (“one young girl wanted to be friends with me and then suddenly she called me a fascist”).

The feature which is specific to the post 1990-migration is tensions between ethnic Estonians and Estonian Russians. Many of my interviewees are referring to this in their interviews. In both migration waves, Estonians who arrived were interacting not just with those from the majority culture, but also with other minority communities. After the war, Estonians came into contact with fellow EVWs from other Soviet-occupied countries, for example, Amanda mentions her family’s good relationships with the Ukrainian workers, in some cases Latvians, Lithuanians and Poles. They related themselves to the other groups and saw similarities in their fate, feeling solidarity. Similar actions are apparent in the present day context, where there are everyday contacts with Poles and other CEE migrants. This shows the complexity of the situation for Estonia’s population – both within Estonia and outside it. It is in some cases influenced by living with transnational social spaces shaped by the soviet past and (increasingly) the Russian present. The Estonian-Baltic Russian interaction has a quite specific character, in that it reflects a complicated relationship within the country of origin. Boundaries between the ethnic groups were strongly institutionalised within Soviet Estonia when there was a high level of residential segregation and – subsequently – an inversion of hierarchies following the end of the USSR, with many ethnic Russians now expressing a feeling of being politically and economically marginalised within the society in which they were raised, as many Estonians felt prior to 1991. This material shows that the relationship between different ethnicities and language groups at the everyday level is far more complex than it is often inferred from more macro-level studies of these relationships, and this complexity manifests itself in very interesting ways in the context of settlement in Scotland. There are frictions between Estonians and Russians at the workplace, but at the same time also a feeling of solidarity deriving from the fact that people find themselves in the same boat in terms of working conditions and being equally marginalised by the local population. As Chapters 8 and 9 will show us, in some cases Estonians and ethnically Russian Estonians or other Russian speakers have positive contacts and interactions in Scotland.

In the case of economic migrants, their social contacts with other Eastern-European and Baltic migrants at their workplaces and also during their free time can lead to the conclusion that they might have a common Eastern European or Baltic group identity. On the other hand, my interviews show that those contacts exist purely because of the work environment and similar socioeconomic background, as well as similar habits in eating and drinking culture, which perhaps can be also viewed as a common post-Soviet heritage and which will be looked at in Chapter 9. This is the case when it comes to Marlene, as in her work environment the majority are not local but those of Russian ethnic background/Russian speakers. Marlene and also others have felt that they have been feeling pressurised by this majority to interact in Russian at the workplace. This situation is an interesting contrast to the current situation in Estonia where after the collapse of Soviet Union, Estonians have once again become the majority and Russian speakers, having been the majority throughout the Soviet Union in the time of Soviet occupation, are the minority now³⁶.

7.11 Newspapers, TV

In Chapter 2, different types of transnational activities were discussed. Watching TV and reading newspapers from the country of origin in this research is considered to belong amongst a set of socio-cultural transnational activities (see also Snel et al., 2006; Vancluyssen, 2009). As all these media sources are now accessible online, this can perhaps be considered to be the easiest way of transnational activities (see also Aksoy and Robins, 2000). Following local media helps to adapt, while following homeland media helps to tackle homesickness (O'Connor, 2010).

In my interviews, I asked what media channels and printed sources my informants are using for getting their information, both in Estonia and in Scotland. It came out that the 'new' Estonians did not order the British Estonians' newspaper *Eesti Hää* (*Estonian Voice*); mostly the Estonian main daily newspapers *Postimees* (*Postman*) and *Päevaleht* (*Daily Paper*) were read online. While the older generation embraced *Eesti Hää* because they had a well-formed diasporic identity and had no other sources / no desire to read

³⁶ More information about ethnic relations during the Soviet occupation can be obtained at http://www.estonica.org/et/Haridus-ja_teaduskorraldus_Eesti_NSVs_1940-1991/

Soviet Estonian publications, Estonians today have easy access the media spaces in their homeland. Some people intend to follow the online press every day, some less frequently. Many of the female informants also said that they sometimes read the tabloid *Õhtuleht* (*Evening Paper*), as well as different Estonian women's magazines online. Sabine mentioned that she was reading Estonian newspapers a lot after she had just arrived to Scotland and was homesick. Nowadays she is using less Estonian and more local media. People usually also read printed newspapers, journals, and media when someone brought them over from Estonia, but did not order any printed issues from Estonia themselves. Estonian newspapers were often read but mostly online. The most popular online news portal amongst Estonians in Scotland is *Delfi.ee*. Many Estonians were complaining about the main Estonian newspapers not being free of charge online, which made them less accessible.

Some people were interested in narrower topics or themes in the press. For example, Kristina is reading only articles in the Estonian press which are about the UK, because she is interested how the UK is depicted in the Estonian press and has noticed that the events are often shown from a different point of view as in the press in the UK.

Amongst my informants, only a few people read local newspapers regularly, the majority read them occasionally whenever they got hold of one – for example the *Metro* which is distributed free of charge, or local newspapers and magazines in the waiting rooms and other similar places. Many students read *The Guardian* because of the wide range of topics and quality of stories. Those who read local newspapers praised them for better content and more interesting articles than the Estonian ones. Ulmi admits:

British newspapers have a very good content, I like it very much here that the written press is of very good quality. You can also read The Sun but in case you want a good quality press you can read it. I like that here you have newspapers on Sundays. When you go to Estonia, there is nothing to read in the newspapers, everything is so uninteresting there. You will notice it right away.

For the majority, though, probably because of their low language proficiency, a regular following of British written media did not exist. Mikk said that he used the daily free newspaper *Metro* for improving his English:

I always take the metro newspaper and keep it, because, well, I am studying on it, I can understand something, and what I can't understand and what I am interested in I will ask about. I will look it up on a dictionary. That way I am practicing and learning.

As taking English courses are often out of the question for those migrants who work shifts (as was discussed earlier), Mikk used *Metro* newspaper as free language tuition. Unlike Mikk, Elina said that she did not read any newspapers regularly, but that she watched local TV channels regularly for the same, language learning, purpose:

In the evenings I watch the English language TV and I always put the subtitles on. It teaches me to write, to read and to pronounce. I have always subtitles underneath. Many of my Estonian acquaintances here watch the Russian satellite channels all the time. And Reio has the Estonian TV. But I tell them that of course it is good to watch the Estonian TV channels, and the Russian TV, interesting films and programmes and everything, but I can imagine if I had it then I wouldn't watch the English language channels anymore and then my English language... all my education would come to a standstill. That's why I don't want it.

Elina decided to learn to speak better English, at the same time she mentioned that many local Estonians watched Russian language channels, because they could understand the language better. This might also be the case for Estonians living in Estonia. Overall it points to the emergence and existence of a transnational media space where ethnicity is not always paramount. In Scotland, some people even have Estonian TV channels at home. This seems in a way 'taking the easy way', not making an effort, as Elina did. Kaie said that she also watched more British TV, but for different reasons:

It [the Estonian TV] has become estranged, I don't want to watch the Estonian TV even while I'm in Estonia. I can't watch it. There is something with all those adverts... I like the TV here, the BBC, I like the way how the news are set.

Kaie does not like Estonian commercial channels because of their multiple adverts, and preferred news on British TV channels. It is interesting that my Estonian respondents TV-

watchers felt a quite big cultural gap between their homeland and British TV, similarly to for example Turkish migrants (Aksoy and Robins, 2000).

On the other hand, Milla who watches a lot of Estonian TV, including news programmes, praised the Estonian TV channels and found them more interesting, because they allegedly showed newer and better films than the British ones in her opinion. Nowadays it is fairly easy to watch Estonian TV online, as also the on-demand archives of all of the main TV channels can be easily and freely accessed. Which programmes my respondents chose to watch varied a lot. The two main things which were on the 'must watch' list of most of the interviewees were the Estonian regional song contest *Eesti Laul* (*Estonian Song*) for the yearly *Eurovision* song contest (in Estonia the country's representative at the Europe-wide contest is chosen by the public in the style of many popular TV music contests) and the presidential reception at the anniversary of the Estonian republic, the so-called "parade of the penguins". Some people also liked Estonian domestic TV series, as for example *Kättemaksukontor* (*Revenge Office*), a criminal comedy with female detectives. Some mentioned that watching Estonian original series made them happy when they got a glimpse of a well-known place, or just gave them opportunity to see the beautiful nature of Estonia. Kristina, as many others, liked an original Estonian TV series *Kartulid ja apelsinid* (*Potatoes and oranges*) which is about love and relationships, but for a different reason:

These are very well made TV series and in some sense it is like... it is not even connected to Estonia so much, it could be anywhere, in any big city, so, well, it is not directly Estonian-style, it rather shows how cosmopolitan Estonia has become. But I was also proud to see that such good TV series can be made even in Estonia.

Kristina feels proud of Estonian TV which has caught up with the 'Western' TV shows and quality standards, and is making good quality series, at the same time she admits that there is nothing particularly Estonian in them, other than just the language.

The most popular TV news programmes amongst Estonians in Scotland are *Ringvaade* (Estonian State TV, channel 1) and *Reporter* (Kanal 2) evening news shows. Many of my informants said that they followed these programmes (both or only one of them). The frequency was different, from every day to a few times a month. It gave them the

possibility of being informed about what was going on in Estonia and at the same time these programmes were also entertaining to some extent.

Koidu who constantly watches local TV programmes, admits that she watches Estonian TV programmes only very rarely:

The Estonian broadcasts I watch online, only when there is something really interesting, or something has happened in Estonia which interests me, or the sports broadcasts in case they are not shown in the local [British] TV.

Marlene and Ulmi admitted that Estonian TV and radio channels are sometimes streamed in their laptops all the time while they are at home – for example in the kitchen during cooking or other home tasks.

Nowadays one can access news and information also via Facebook and Youtube and other ways not possible before. Sabine comments on this:

In Estonia, there... There are many different links in Facebook, where you can look up what and where, for example about useful food products and nutrients, or about cosmetics, skincare and so on. But actually about politics, I haven't read much.

These examples demonstrate the multiple ways to access information in Estonian as well as in English nowadays. Sabine is actively using this possibility, it saves time reading interesting things reposted on Facebook. Sometimes she watches something on Youtube for nostalgic reasons – an excerpt from an Estonian theatre play or a film, as do many others. Before she used to watch DVDs with Estonian films together with her Estonian friends, nowadays it happens less often.

This section has shown very clearly that Estonians have very different socio-cultural transnational habits and vary in their frequency and preference of following Estonian or British media. The Estonian media helps to tackle homesickness, while British media are often used for language (and culture) learning purposes. It seems that those who have come here for longer and have formed better connections in the local society tend to follow British media more because of its content and quality and relevance in the society in which

they live, and are losing contact with Estonian media little by little. Overall, a surprisingly small number of my informants was following Estonian media regularly, even despite the fact that it has become very easy to follow online (although most articles in the main press are pay-per-view, but the TV programmes are free). It is similar to post-war Estonians and their offspring who do not follow current events in Estonia or Estonian media at all, or only check it very rarely.

7.12 Conclusions

In this chapter we had a closer look at current migrants' adaptation and transnational activities. To compare with the last chapter, which focused on adaptation in the post-war times, we can see that in terms of settlement the post-war Estonian community has not really had an influence on the current settlement of Estonians in Scotland. At the same time one can see that those two migration waves do not have much connection points in other fields of life either. What is similar, is that both post-war and nowadays, people who migrate need trust networks, without any help it is difficult to manage in a new environment. As we saw in the case of post-war migration, the pattern is similar, with often one family member coming first and then being followed by the rest of the family. This form of 'networked migration' also occurred in the same way with friends.

From my data it emerges that the group of Estonians I interviewed is very heterogenic by their level of education, language proficiency and ambitions, and people are holding distinct positions in Scottish society. Although current circumstances which allow for the free movement between countries are very different from the post-war ones, it has not been easy for Estonians to adapt here, as life in Scotland does often not match their initial expectations, for example learning more English or having better career prospects after a while. Much like in post-war times, Estonians have experienced downward social mobility in Scotland. In addition, it is not easy to get used to a different culture and lifestyle, as well as to different societal values. Life abroad does not always seem to give the financial security they had hoped either, which is perhaps expected in the beginning and is nowadays the main reason for migration. Foreign workers are vulnerable, foreigners may also become victims of abuse and racial discrimination, by both their Scottish and foreign co-workers. Most Estonians stressed their hard-working personalities and not being a burden on the local welfare system. At the same time, people admit that they have gained from the UK welfare and benefit system which allows them to have a better life than the

one they had or would have in Estonia. In the case of students, free university education (in contrast to the higher education system in England) is the main factor which attracts them to Scotland.

As described in the theoretical chapter, transnational activities can be divided into economic, political and socio-cultural activities. In this chapter we have witnessed examples of socio-cultural transnationalism which has been expressed through the acts of reading (online) newspapers and journals, watching TV and films, and socializing. As diverse as the Estonian community is here, the transnational ties of these community members are maintained through diverse types of activities – reading newspapers, watching TV and films, enjoying music and art, and the other bringing in and taking out different goods for sale or sending remittances back home. Different people experience this on a different level – and some are more engaged in those activities than others.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Kivisto (2001: 571) has argued that transnationalism can be viewed as one possible variant of adaptation. To decide how well Estonians have adapted into Scottish society, we have to consider their employment, English language proficiency, further education, questions about belonging/feeling at home and their personal contacts. In the end, successful arrival and adaptation (as described in this and previous chapter) is important in making further decisions in one's life. Whether to stay or to leave is determined by how well one can adapt to one's new surroundings – establishing oneself in a new life, making friends, close contacts with other people, finding a good job or getting into a relationship in Scotland. This chapter has paved the way for Chapters 8 and 9, which will look more closely at the Estonians' informal social networks, definition of home and all the related mental fields, and also their view of identity through this. Also, in Chapter 9 we will have a closer look at the reasons interviewees have given for staying or leaving Scotland.

8. Informal networks and social ties

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will look more closely at Estonians' involvement in social activities in Scotland on a more individual level, their participation in informal social networks and their contacts both in Scotland, Estonia and elsewhere and how their socialising habits have changed overtime.

As explained in Chapter 2, in this research the term 'network' will be used (Poros, 2011). Trust networks were already mentioned in Chapter 6 in connection with help on arrival and adaption. In this chapter, I will have a deeper look at the informal relationships between Estonians over time. When I started my interviews, I was surprised when several Estonians admitted that I was actually the first Estonian they had physically met in Scotland. Both the offspring of post-war Estonian EVWs, as well as recently arrived economic migrants were amongst those who said that they had not encountered other Estonians in Scotland.

As it has already been discussed in the previous chapters, the lack of an Estonian social network was one of the reasons why many Estonians who had arrived in Scotland after the Second World War decided to migrate further elsewhere. Below I will now look at people's recollections of their social networks. I will look more closely at how Estonians established social contacts and built their networks, both ethnic and cross-ethnic, which are based on 'bridging' and 'bonding' (Ryan, 2011).

This chapter will first look at Estonians' social gatherings and social networks after the war, both with fellow Estonians and also cross-ethnic networks, after which the focus will move towards the present picture. There will also be a comparison of 'old' and 'new' Estonians' contacts. The second part of this chapter will have a look at the processes of cross-border ties and networks, through which people try to keep in touch with Estonia and with other Estonians globally, and how this has changed over time. The additional focus in this chapter is on online social networks, which have become increasingly important in the last few decades.

8.2 Social networks and gatherings after the war

8.2.1 *Networking with fellow Estonians*

As we have seen from the previous chapters, Estonians reached Scotland after the war, and often after a difficult escape and a long period spent in the German DP camps, mostly without any wealth. They often experienced downward social mobility in society when they arrived at their new destinations. Mostly they had been cut off from fellow nationals by long distances. The organised social life in Scotland was almost completely absent and consisted of very little apart from church services and some other official events. One can assume that in such difficult circumstances people probably used all possibilities to meet each other and socialise in Estonian in more informal ways. Chapter 6 described social gatherings after the church services, which can be seen as events that gave the community chance to create bonds and relationships, even if it did not help in terms of upwards social mobility in the host society. It was comforting for those people who had lost their close family contacts and previous trust networks due to dislocation. In my data, occasional meetings with other Estonians happened whenever there was a reason for this. For example, when an Estonian ship was in Leith harbour. Elfriede who lived in Edinburgh then, remembers such visits in Leith:

They [the Estonian vessel 'Keila'] were bringing paper for money [printing] to Leith harbour. Sometimes, I don't know if it was written or, I don't know how that time [it was announced]... there were no phones, no internet, how would they know that there were Estonians here? But they met us at the hospital and this captain of course invited us to visit his ship. Of course there was good food available. /laughing/ At that time this was important, who had good food. And when they were in Leith they let us know to come to visit them again. But of course... we were in one sense... we didn't have any life experience or parents like the others had. To go to the harbour in the evening to look for a ship that time... decent women did not go to the harbour looking for ships. But well, us, we all went there, we didn't know anything about manners, and nothing bad ever happened. But well, it was fun, they did have a company and they were glad that [Estonians came] and they could feed us poor girls. Sometimes, when they were docked, they went out with us. There were young men there as well.

The sailors sought company while on land, but from the young girls' side there was also a practical reason to visit the ship – good food. As Elfriede realised later, visits to the harbour area in Leith in the evening were potentially dangerous, and not considered morally decent for young girls in their new host society. The interesting question is how the Estonians managed to spread information about such gatherings at the time of no phones or internet. Elfriede does not remember this particular detail.

Looking back in time, Estonians often also did manage to find contacts with other Estonians during their long quest, whether they were in the UK or in Germany. Helbe remembers occurrences of this in Germany:

I didn't understand this as a child, but Estonians always had some sort of contact, wherever we went, in some restaurant or club there were notices up, Estonians are meeting there. And we went all over Germany and again and again we found a club like this somewhere, even in Berlin they had a place. I don't know how the Estonians did it, but it was so.

Of course, travelling at that time was expensive, even though the Estonians had arrived in the country a short time ago, lived apart from each other, and did not have many means for travelling, people from the community still visited each other occasionally, and staying overnight with fellow countrymen and friends was common. Amanda remembers several visits to Scotland by their family friends (her sister's godmother and her husband) by car from Corby in Northampton. She remembers visiting Edinburgh and doing other sightseeing in Scotland together with them. The family friends also provided a link between the Estonian family in Scotland, and the Estonian community in England.

Amanda also remembers informal Glasgow Estonian gatherings which her mother started to participate in, once her family had finally moved to Glasgow:

Yes, of course, there was Mrs. Eelloo in Scotland. When we came to Glasgow, she was there. Mother and Mrs Eelloo always got [together], Mrs. Eelloo often came for lunch on Sundays and then on the anniversary of the Estonian republic they met, both had baked something.

She also remembers one Christmas gathering in Glasgow at Mrs Eelloo's flat which she attended and where in addition to their family of five, there were also Mrs. Eelloo's family

and some other local Estonians. In the end, there were only Amanda's mother and Mrs Eelloo left in Glasgow out of the Estonian community, but they still continued to meet up until Mrs Eelloo's death in the 1980s. Also, the Estonian newspaper (10.3.1950, p. 3) mentioned social gatherings at Mrs Eelloo's flat after the church services in Glasgow. Mrs Eelloo became a 'core' of the post-war Estonian network in Glasgow. This was a tiny inward looking network, which united them as they were in a similar position (Estonian first generation exiles). This is typical 'bonding network' (Ryan, 2011). As was explained already in Chapter 6, Mrs Eelloo did not speak English and although she managed financially (she was a seamstress), she failed to learn more English and adapt into her host society.

The case of Mr and Mrs Mägi is similar. As already mentioned in Chapter 6, Amanda and Elfriede remember visiting the Mägi family, who lived in the countryside in a very old-fashioned manner and always had Estonian food. People from Northern England have also mentioned their small farm and visiting the family several times; it seems to have been a popular place to visit amongst Estonians. It transpired that people even came to visit the Mägi family farm from as far away as Bradford, as Voldemar remembers. Elfriede recalls the following:

Harry Mägi got married and they lived in such small... they bought a smallholding. There he lived as if it was fifty years ago. /.../ We visited them several times./.../ He had guns right behind the door, and he went shooting rabbits, and then they kept pigs, they got an income from this. It was totally... he was like, if to compare to an American hillbilly. So far away, I don't know where he had his farm in Estonia, I don't know, but he was totally a countryperson.

In many ways, this harking back to one's roots by the Mägi family could be taken as a sign of trying to create a mini-Estonia within their new surroundings, and in a way of refusing to fully adapt and give up their 'Estonianness' and ethnic roots, to almost be in denial about their new circumstances and the home they left behind in exile. The fact that the family chose to surround themselves with visiting Estonians from around the country and to host fellow countrymen in their smallholding from around the UK, rather than trying to fit in with the locals, also showed their way of trying to create a new normalcy and little piece of Estonia far away from their homeland. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are many

examples in World migration history about how migrants try to create conditions which correspond to values at their country of origin – the homeland is not abandoned, but taken along to a new country (Jürgenson, 2012:13). Here one can draw an interesting parallel with today's migrants, for example the Poles Annika talks about in her interview, who have created pragmatic networks based on shared ethnicity – going only to Polish shops, eating only Polish food and creating a 'Little Poland' abroad.

Because there were not so many Estonian events and chances to socialise in Scotland which can be considered a UK periphery, people often took part in cultural, events held in Northern England, in this sense creating overarching transnational or in this case UK wide networks of Estonians. Voldemar remembers the following:

V: But people, Estonians who were living in England and in Scotland, they were connected. They knew what was going on and about to happen.

L: Through the newspaper?

V: Did Eesti Hääl... Eesti Hääl begun to be printed in 1947? But yes, people knew, actually we visited Bradford earlier. It was certainly before we moved here. It would have been '53, '52. As a three year old, we visited the [summer festival] Suvepäev here. It was a beautiful big festival, which was more in Leeds, I think.

L: And then people from Scotland came here for this festival?

V: Yes, we came indeed. With the whole family. So, it didn't matter... all the Estonians came together. They all knew, so... because of these connections. Somehow. So, everyone knew what was going on amongst Estonians...

From this excerpt it becomes clear how important these meetings were for Estonians, that they even came from such a long distance. The information about similar events was shared through the Estonian newspaper, and also through the informal networks and channels of the Estonian community. It also shows how widespread the network of Estonians was at that time; that everyone was very well connected and therefore still close, despite the geographically long distances and lack of nowadays means (internet).

Amanda remembers visiting Catthorpe Manor³⁷ in the Midlands (near Rugby) where children's' summer camps and also Estonian summer festivals were held, something that was clearly highly significant to her mother.

We went to Catthorpe with our mother now and again. For mother it was important.

Estonians, despite the distance, lack of individual transport (most of them did not have cars) and modern communication methods, were able to stay informed through the newspaper *Eesti Hääl* and via their networks of family, friends and acquaintances, and came to the Estonian events from long distances. The visits to England were also the catalyst in the case of Voldemar's family as well as probably others, in shaping their decision to move to England and be closer to the other Estonians. It is clear from Amanda's memoir that getting together with Estonians and having Estonian events was more important for her mother than for herself. This is probably because Amanda was a child when she moved to the UK. For her, her Estonian identity may have not been as strong and as important as she also felt at home in her new surroundings. For her mother, who had spent most of her life in Estonia, the connection to her homeland and to other fellow country people remained a much more vital part of her existence in the UK.

The situation was wholly different in the much larger Estonian communities in England. Karoliina who grew up in an Estonian community in Northern England, remembers embracing two different cultures and languages. Her experience as someone who was involved within the much larger and closer knit Estonian network is an interesting illustration of the extent to which the large Estonian community was an important factor in people's lives in places with a higher density of Estonians. It also helps to explain why Estonians chose to emigrate on from Scotland, like Voldemar's family, in search of social connections with other Estonians. Karoliina remembers her childhood as one of being caught between two cultures:

I was always a bit like an outsider and a stranger. I had very blond hair, long braids. When I was in primary school and some new pupil's parent

³⁷ Catthorpe Manor is owned by the Latvian Welfare Fund in the UK. Estonians were and are renting it for their events.

came to the classroom, the head teacher said: and here is our little Estonian. I was very proud of this. Nowadays it would be very politically incorrect. But I was very proud that I was a bit different. When I went to secondary school, there was no difference, my English was perfectly normal. I never learnt any English at home, so my parents sent me to a small private school when I was three. /.../ I always felt that I was a bit of an outsider, because we had our own folk dancing and such things, the others could not take part or understand these things, I had two lives – I had my school friends and a very active [social] life through them, and then our domestic life, where we had our birthday parties which were... people were sitting around the table and playing musical instruments and they arranged singing nights. My English friends were more reserved and they would have found this behaviour a bit strange and wild, so we had separate lives. My mum and dad had their English friends and their Estonian friends, but they were never brought together, because when there were Estonians they always talked in Estonian, it would have been very strange and alien to speak English to fellow Estonians. /.../ Well, it was not wild, but people were simply talking louder and let's say the social rules, for example that you don't speak about religion or politics, these were not valid in Estonian society, so those people were more eager to speak about anything and express their opinion, and this created a more lively atmosphere at the gatherings.

Karoliina had two separate social lives. Even her parents kept the two friends groups separated from each other. Aun (1985: 42) also mentions this in the case of first generation Canadian Estonians, who “developed a pattern whereby they lived one life at the workplace in English /.../, and another in their leisure time in their own Estonian society and organisations”. Karoliina was lucky not to be bullied for being a foreigner (as Amanda's brother, Otto was, and also Voldemar), she could have the best of social activities from both sides, enjoying the openness of the Estonian community as well as her local friends. Already from an early age she noticed differences between English and Estonian social gatherings. She explains how she was constantly choosing between her two identities. It is interesting that rather than feeling an ‘insider’ in both groups, she explained that she felt like “an outsider and a stranger” which makes one think that her domestic

Estonian identity was always present, even when she moved in British circles where she did not stick out as a foreigner. She explains it further below:

When I met [future husband] David's family at the age of sixteen, I started to see his family and noticed that other families behaved differently in their homes, then I started to feel more that we were from a different culture. /.../

In Karoliina's opinion the main difference between British and Estonian networks are cultural – she perceived their behaviour, and interactions with each other to be different.

8.2.2 Cross-ethnic post-war networks

Already in Chapters 6 and 7 we discussed Estonians' interactions with the local inhabitants. We can see that in the case of Amanda's family who had good social capital (language proficiency and contacts), they built both close relations with the Ukrainian EVW community, and made successful attempts at making contacts with the local society – this can be seen as horizontal bridging (Ryan, 2011). Amanda's account of her parents socialising with local department store owners, a "very posh company" (as described by her in chapter 6.9) is an account of vertical bridging (as in Ryan, 2011).

Amanda's father who worked as an interpreter for EVWs, met a lot of people through his work and because he spoke a number of foreign languages and successfully established contacts with other people, he soon got his social life going. A good connection with John F. Stewart and through him with local high society helped many Baltic women in Scotland build 'vertical bridges' which caused a flow of information and resulted in a qualitative take-off in the host society, by getting their higher education acknowledged in Scotland and therefore getting better jobs, getting their bank savings back, and so on, as John F. Stewart has described in his letters how he has managed to help Baltic EVWs (see chapter 6.5).

None of my informants mentioned any common social activities with Latvians and Lithuanians. John F. Stewart had the hope that Baltic EVWs would be united into a close Baltic society (Chapter 6), however his hopes were not really fulfilled. While elsewhere (England, Canada, Australia) the Balts cooperated for example in political protests, and also somewhat in culture (organising festivals and fairs, for example see Aun, 1985; Kool,

1999), such cooperation has not been recorded in Scotland, although it was present in England. Among the Baltic organisations established after the war in Scotland, the Lithuanian one has lasted the longest (see also Chapter 6).

One can argue here that already post-war Estonians experienced transnational ways of living, while interacting simultaneously in two different social spheres – the Estonian and the local sphere. The Soviet occupation cut off social ties with the homeland, which other ties with Estonian communities abroad replaced. The new communities took over the role of the homeland in the migrants' interactions. It is interesting to explore how local and transnational ties function alongside one another, but the unique factor in the historical case is that links back to the homeland at the time were scarce but that this still did not prevent transnational ties from emerging. This could be seen however, as 'diasporic', as often here the relationship to the homeland was problematic, physical access to homeland being restricted.

8.3 Social networks nowadays

8.3.1 Estonian ethnic networks nowadays

Nowadays there are more Estonians here in Scotland than ever before, though relatively speaking their number is still very small. There is no overarching Estonian organisation in Scotland which would unite all Estonians, the contacts between co-nationals are rather loose and perhaps not regular. As I have been actively participating in the Estonian events put on in the recent years in Scotland, I have a unique opportunity to write about these events from the point of view of both a participant and organiser, rather than a distant observer of such events or solely as recounting someone else's experiences. Of course there are also downsides to having been an 'insider' at these events, therefore the outcome might be more subjective (see more about this in Chapter 3).

As mentioned before, social networks can be very dynamic and change over time. About ten years ago, when I came to Scotland, Estonians were united by the *MacEstonians* group, a mailing list in Yahoo Groups, and they had 'live' gatherings in Edinburgh once a month in a cafe or bar, as well as occasional bigger events (see more in chapter 4.8.5). Nowadays, almost all communication is based on virtual communication on the Internet – there is a big Facebook community *Eestlased Šotimaal (Estonians in Scotland)* and recently also a closed group for Estonians in Glasgow has been established. The Estonians in Scotland

have very little ties with the Estonian organisations in England and elsewhere in the organisational level, nor do they have any official, registered organisations, although there are two student societies in Edinburgh and Aberdeen (see Chapter 4).

Roosi remembers the MacEstonians' meetings in Edinburgh as follows:

We used to meet about once a month, usually at Ossians, or Hector's at Stockbridge. And it was always a group, it was always a big group, sometimes about fifteen, sixteen of us. /.../ And so, we used to just get together about once a month, then we started a MacEstonians group. The Google group. We were sitting, we were all sitting, Sabine, Virve, myself, and Pille and Doris, and I think I think Marlene was there as well. We were sitting at Hector's in Stockbridge one evening and... what we gonna call ourselves, you know, we're gonna make a Yahoo group, yeah because we need to start connecting with the other Estonians, and really, when Pille was doing it, it was great you know, it worked really well and it hasn't been, it hasn't taken up since Pille left. It's a lot of work and she said it was a lot of work to keep it going. And unfortunately, I mean, I would love to take up the banner, but I just don't feel my Estonian is good enough to be able to communicate with people here. And they've all left now. I think a lot of them have left now. I don't think there's as many living here anymore.

As we can see from this excerpt, Roosi, who is a child of Estonian war refugees and grew up in Canada, enjoyed these events and gatherings. She also appreciated Pille's work as an organiser and coordinator of the local MacEstonians group. Yet on the other hand she was not interested in organising something herself, nor taking part in other activities anymore (she even claims that '*it hasn't been, it hasn't taken up since Pille left*'), as many of her Estonian contacts in Edinburgh have moved back to Estonia or on to other countries, and she does not feel her Estonian is good enough to actively participate in the local Estonian life. Now she keeps in contact only with one to two local Estonians. Perhaps these contacts do allow her to feel part of a community to certain extent, but otherwise she is already moving in many social circles and might not feel the need for a bigger Estonian circle so urgently. Elfriede who is the only post-war Estonian living in Edinburgh, according to my data, has a few contacts with contemporary Estonian migrants, although due to her

otherwise still busy social schedule she does not regularly meet with them, and usually does not take part in the Estonian events organised by other Estonian migrants.

Marju tells about informal Estonian social gatherings:

Sometimes somebody organises a house party. I have been to such parties. Of course there will be only those who have been invited, sometimes you are asked to bring your Estonian friends with you, but these parties are not advertised online or anywhere else. Usually public information is posted on Facebook when some Estonian conductor, musician or other performer ends up performing in Scotland, or when somewhere is played Arvo Pärt, who is perhaps the most famous Estonian in the world. Then somebody puts an announcement there [online], so others would also hear about such an event. The thing with Estonians is usually that if someone organises something then first everybody makes such big promises to be present, but it usually ends up with only a couple of people attending. This [organising] is not a rewarding or gratifying thing to do. Perhaps that's why no-one bothers to organise anything anymore. And everyone has got their social life already online anyway.

We can see from this that while information about Estonia-related cultural events is shared, the Estonians' social life is quite restricted in terms of participation in smaller events, and people are used to meeting their friends and acquaintances (bonding networks) rather than organising bigger public gatherings for a wider audience (this is similar to other CEE communities, for example see Piętka-Nykaza & McGhee, 2016). Marju also mentions that everyone nowadays already has their friends with whom they keep in touch (using the internet). Perhaps what she means here are both Estonian online communities as well as people's personal online contacts with friends and relatives back home.

Many people would like to participate in events from time to time, but are not interested in making an effort to make things happen themselves. For example, Sabine mentioned in her interview that she would like to take part in Estonian activities for example once a week, as does her friend who now lives in Australia. However, she has no time and she is not interested in organising something herself.

In Chapter 4, we discussed student societies and the more formal events they organise. In university towns where there are not enough active Estonian students around to form a society, some Estonian students still celebrate Estonian anniversaries together. Kristina who knows only a few Estonians at her university remembers:

K: We always celebrate the Anniversary of the Republic...

L: With your Estonian friends?

K: Together with the university [Estonian] friends. And then we go, then we meet before Christmas, before we go home for Christmas, and cook mulgipuder³⁸ and glögi³⁹.

L: Estonian foods yeah?

K: Estonian foods, yes.

L: And how do you celebrate the Anniversary of the republic?

K: Well, we just meet and watch the President's reception broadcast.

L: mhmh, well. What else do you do there?

K: And drink wine or, perhaps somebody has some Saaremaa vodka, drink Saaremaa vodka /laughing/, eat Kalev⁴⁰ chocolate.

As can be seen from this excerpt and also from the information about Aberdeen Estonian Student Society (in Chapter 4), consuming Estonian products (chocolate, potato salad, vodka) is an important part of Estonian celebrations, as well as being in contact with Estonia through domestic TV channels (through the internet), especially watching the broadcast of the Presidential reception at the anniversary of the Estonian Republic where foreign diplomats, Estonian politicians and celebrities come together in a very formal

³⁸ pearl barley porridge with bacon strips

³⁹ Scandinavian hot Christmas drink

⁴⁰ famous Estonian chocolatier

surrounding, with musical interludes by Estonian musicians and speeches by important Estonian politicians, thinkers and so on. This tradition is probably brought over from Estonia where this reception is very widely watched and afterwards discussed both in the press and in personal social circles. This represents a good example of transnational practices taking place through the media, in this case watching TV.

Amongst my interviewees who had come to Scotland to work, the majority interacted mainly with other local Estonians, they had on average two-three Estonian friends or acquaintances with whom they socialised. When they worked together with other Eastern Europeans, the Estonians often socialised also with them. But instead of organising and participating in bigger cultural events, they preferred to visit each other privately and also to travel and make trips together – in Scotland and beyond. Milla explains about this further:

We wait until the weather gets better and then just go for a drive. If there is someone who has the same day off, we go walking or drive somewhere together. We've been together to Paris, and London, and those local walking trails. Arthur's Seat [in Edinburgh]. We've been there a couple of times, but there is always someone who hasn't been there, and so we go again. Edinburgh is generally such a beautiful city, the beautiful old town and all.

Milla, like many of my other interviewees, mainly keeps in touch with a couple of other Estonians and does not have a wider social network of Estonians in Scotland. Their little group's common activities are mostly coffee evenings, travelling and sightseeing.

Annika who has recently become active in Estonian events, recalls:

Ah... in that sense of the meaning I have Estonian acquaintances here, but nobody special who ... with whom I would hang all the time. They are all more such people whom you would meet perhaps a few times a year. All those meetings have been agreed months ahead. But such everyday Friday-Saturday evenings, they are mostly Scottish people, at the same time there are others as well.

Annika differentiates between her looser social contacts ('acquaintances') and closer contacts/friends ('with whom I would hang all the time'). Unlike many others, she has managed to develop her connections with locals. Meeting her Estonian contacts happens with agreements set far in advance and those contacts are more distant and not spontaneous.

Sometimes ethnic networks can also be based on pure economic calculations, as in the case of Tauno who works in a country-side farm but lives in a small town, and shares a common car with a few neighbours he works together with. Instead of giving a lift to them with his personal car which he also has (for not work related trips), they decided jointly to buy a car which they then jointly maintain (share the repair and other costs). None of his co-workers have a driving licence, so in the meantime the car just stands in a parking lot. This proved to be the most cost-efficient way of travelling to work.

8.3.2 *Cross-ethnic networks nowadays*

Only one person amongst my interviewees, Reimar, declared that he deliberately does not keep in touch with other Estonians, the exception is his direct family, his father and brother, who also both live in Scotland. He has an overall negative attitude towards Estonia as a state, and also Estonians. At the same time he has contacts from other countries, he also speaks Russian, listens to Russian music and has some Russian-speaking pals from his previous workplace in a factory. In this sense of the meaning Reimar can be viewed as a transnational outsider (Dahinden, 2010) – he uses certain local contacts for managing his everyday life, and has a few family members in Scotland, but he has chosen deliberately not to have contacts with Estonia and is cut off from his friends and family back there. At the same time he is not interested in his new local society and local or national politics in Scotland either.

Why some people prefer one or another national group for social interactions is also difficult to say. Bridging and establishing weak social ties in the new host society enables one to gain valuable information or to improve their chances to climb upwards on the social ladder, which can be seen often in contacts with local people, for example business partners. Reio talks about these contacts which finally helped him to establish his own company. Bonding and strong social ties give people the feeling of safety – socialising with people who have a similar experience or who are ethnically-linguistically close, as in

the case of socialising with other Eastern-European migrants who have similar habits, food and drink preferences, and who speak a common language (Russian in the case of Estonians), as it clearly comes out in my interviews.

It may actually depend on available possibilities rather than people's actual preferences, as it was in the case of Laila (see below) who before meeting fellow Estonians was socialising with (Estonian) Russians. It is probable that contacts are first found amongst those people with whom you spend most of your time or who live in the same vicinity – colleagues, neighbours, and so on, regardless of their nationality. Some of my interviewees have found it difficult to make friends with local Scottish people because they do not have any contacts with them in the first place (see also Chapter 7).

Poor English is not the only barrier to friendship with locals. Those Estonians who have got married with Scots have found their Scottish social circles through their new families and their partners' friends and did not need to struggle to start participating in local social networks. However, most of my interviewees who have no Scottish spouses and who moved over to Scotland as adults (rather than students), despite their good command of English, have no Scottish friends. Marju talks about her social contacts in Scotland:

L: What nationality are your friends?

M: Some Estonians, some from other nationalities – Irish, Caribbean, East European. Not really Scottish, it seems like they all have their friends already and they are not interested. In my opinion, it is overall very complicated to get to know new people here. You can't go to house parties to meet new people, as in Estonia, because people don't invite you to visit them. In the pub you won't go to interact with a stranger either. I have noticed that between colleagues, they avoid closer friendships, the relationships are kept cool and distant. It is more complicated to interact with locals than with Estonians. /.../ Sometimes interacting with Estonians helps to reduce homesickness, I do it from time to time even with those I don't have actually much in common otherwise.

Even a good command of language and social mobility in an English-language work environment, as in the case of Marju, does not always give the possibility of making close social contacts amongst locals. Marju finds the social habits of Scotland very different

from the ones in Estonia, where the contacts between people are less shallow and can become closer (involving visiting each other's homes), and in the first place are also easier to establish. Marju states that keeping in touch with other Estonians (weak ethnic ties) is not based on how much you like them or how much you have in common with them, but rather on a basis of necessity, the necessity to socialise sometimes in your own mother tongue so as not to feel homesick, or to socialise at all. Therefore she meets with fellow Estonians of different social status and/or interests with whom she would never socialise while in Estonia. Here we can see again what Ryan (2011) talks about when she explains that shared ethnicity may not be a sufficient basis for close ties, and that people tend to seek contacts with those who are similar to them in another way than just shared ethnicity. Again, in Marju's case she has friends from other nationalities, not Scottish however. Marju is obviously frustrated with not being able to make local contacts (bridging), due to the different socialising habits found in Scottish society.

Laila had been living in Scotland for a few years already before she established contacts with local Estonians. In the meantime she was socialising with Russians instead:

I have a Russian couple from Tallinn with whom we interact a lot. I haven't met any Estonians yet. Those Russians added me to the Russian Facebook as well. I have always been good in Russian and then occasionally I met these Russians who had just come from Tallinn, and that just went on, we started to socialise frequently, and through them with other Russians as well. I can't say I am interacting with other Russians very much, but through them I have been taking part at their events sometimes, in the Russian restaurant. I don't think it was homesickness which made me to socialise with them, rather longing for different culture. Well, sometimes I miss socialising... here the socialising culture is so different.

Laila started to socialise with Russians from her home town as she felt a cultural bond with them, and, like Marju, Scottish socialising culture seemed more alien to her. While interacting with people from a similar socioeconomic background, Laila enjoyed the Russian socialising habits which were different from the Scottish ones and more like what she was used to in her home in Estonia. Actually, by now she moves in multiple social circles, having made contact with the Estonian community here, and through her partner

she takes part at Scottish social and cultural life as well. Later on in her interview, Laila also mentions similar Estonian foods with Russians, which unites these two groups. Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein (2016) have highlighted the positive relationships with other post-Soviet migrants which is based on common understandings and habits. However, Laila does not take part in the Russian network anymore and has withdrawn from the Russian Facebook page as well – the reason for this are the recent events in Ukraine⁴¹ and Putinist propaganda which also found its place on the Russian Facebook page, and with which Laila totally disagreed. By now she has become a part of the Estonian online community on Facebook instead and is following it. So in her case, the initial contacts with Russians seemed to have compensated for the non-existent Estonian social network in her new home.

Marlene has more Russians than Estonians or Scots in her social circles, which is related to her work environment in a factory. She admits that these people are just colleagues and that she has friendly encounters only with a few of them. They are native Russians from Latvia and other Russian speakers from the former Eastern Bloc. Marlene shares a similar food and drinks culture with them. In the little town where she lives there are no other possibilities to socialise, as Marlene does not speak English very well and is thus limited in her possibilities to interact with other nationalities. Thus her socialising is restricted to Russian speakers. These contacts help her to bond by sharing similar experiences abroad and are obviously an important source of support for Marlene – this is also common for CEE migrants in smaller places and something possibly quite specific to Scotland (SSAMIS reports).

According to Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein (2016:10) it is not only the common language but also the sense that ‘these people’ understand us, ‘they are like us’, being in similar socio-economic position. However, the younger generation does not speak Russian anymore. Kirke who also actively participates in the Aberdeen Student Society’s events tells more about Aberdeen Estonian student society from her point of view. She states that although there are more than hundred students in this, she has only met the most active 20. She pointed out that there are practically no social contacts between native Estonians and Estonian ethnic Russian students:

⁴¹ In 2014, Russian military incursions into Ukrainian territory

K: As I have understood, they have no common social life, I have never seen any Estonian Russians. However, if speaking about film evenings or other Estonian events the students have organised, the other nationalities have come, Chinese, Italians, others, well, international students have dropped by, but there have never been any Estonian Russians. I have seen them occasionally elsewhere, in a jazz concert there was one girl, spoke a very good Estonian by the way, but this was the only time I have seen her. At the same time they all want to identify themselves as Estonians.

L: But why don't they seek contacts with Estonians then?

K: Often it is due to the language barrier, well Estonians don't speak Russian and they don't speak Estonian, they are used to their own community and... they don't care. It is incomprehensible why don't they come to parties, the Estonians have tried to invite them, but it does not work.

Estonian Russians may also have already their Russian ethnic networks which help with bonding so they do not need an Estonian network. There are also tensions between ethnic Estonians and Estonia's Russian speaking minority, as already discussed in Chapter 7, which explored the history and character of Estonian - Russian ethnic tensions.

8.3.3 Socialising through the internet and Facebook

Nowadays, a great deal of socialising is happening through virtual channels, not in a physical setting. Below I will have a look at virtual communications and networks between Estonians. As Dekker and Engbersen (2013) have stated, social media transforms the nature of migrant networks by enhancing the possibilities of maintaining strong ties with family and friends and by addressing weak ties with local ethnic networks. As we can see, it facilitates both bridging and bonding. Nowadays many people do not belong to traditional, closely-knit, tightly bounded communities, but instead move in and out of loose, frequently changing (virtual) networks within which the ties between people are generally weak. We can see an example of those networks also in the case of Estonians in Scotland. It is interesting to observe how virtual, internet-based communities are offering new and convenient means of communication from a distance and across borders. Janine

Dahinden (2010: 59) calls the “old” type or the traditional type of an émigré society a “transnational action through the mobilisation of collective representations based upon (symbolic) ethnicity/religion bounded solidarity of destiny” and highlights it as the main type of transnational action in case of localised diasporic transnational formations. This captures the experience of the post-war Estonian migrants, at least at a UK level. In Scotland, such traditional societies do not exist, and as we saw from above, the post-war Estonian organisations in Scotland had a very short life.

Estonians in Scotland started to communicate in online environments with the start of *MacEstonians* yahoo group which has been dormant for several years now and has been overtaken by the Facebook group *Estonians in Scotland*, a social network which, one can argue, has even more looser ties. There are not very many members who actively post, the majority just follow the group. Kirke who is one of the moderators for this FB group talks about her experience and the group members’ activities:

It was created 3-4 years ago. The biggest problem was always that we knew there are Estonians here somewhere but we couldn’t reach them. When the group was created, it started to grow with an amazing speed, people found it. Before we tried to create a website, but it did not work. The possibility to share live information in Facebook is much more efficient and now it has perhaps 400-500 members⁴². Not everyone is Estonian or in Scotland, some exit the group, some join it to gather information about studying in Scotland for example. I would say there are 1-2 persons to join every day. Some may, after gaining information, also leave the group. No-one is kept here against their own will. The main topics are: where to get cheap flights /laughing/, this is the most vital thing on how to visit Estonia. Someone may have discovered a new line with flight connection. Then different towns, are there any other Estonians and where to meet. Then someone replies yes, I am here or I am there. Then legal problems, someone may ask specific things and people share this information. There are no new posts every day, but if there are, people reply actively. The vast majority are students there, I have a feeling that

⁴² 557 members in 11.10.2016

2/3 are students and 1/3 are working people. In recent times, I haven't seen the factory workers anymore, they haven't participated at our events either.

The Facebook community which has proved to be very useful in information sharing has many members but only a handful of them are constantly active. There is an active core and the inactive periphery which contains people who may be connected to the community only temporarily until they have received the information they are interested in, mostly about studying in Scotland, finding a job or getting legal advice. As Kirke admits here, and it proves Dekker and Engbersen's (2013) point, it also facilitates further transnational actions by sharing useful information (e.g. travelling between two countries). Due to its usefulness, also the younger generation Estonian Russians have joined this Facebook page, but from my older, 'diasporic' generation interviewees, only Karmen and Roosie are on the site.

Recently, there has been more signs of grassroots activism also amongst the Estonian online network in Scotland. In Facebook, invitations to attend events are posted on the group site every few months and it is interesting that there have emerged several people who have taken the initiative in terms of organising events. This shows a difference in terms of a decade ago, in terms of the *MacEstonians* group and organiser Pille Petersoo, who was mentioned in my interviews as the sole person in charge of organising Estonian events ("*she organised all these events all the time*" as mentioned by Kaie). After her return to Estonia events in Edinburgh ceased to exist. However, some people still have expectations that someone or some organisation 'from above' should organise events for them which they then can either choose to approve and attend, or not to attend. Recently, a discussion was started on Facebook (5/5/2016) about this:

A. L. So, I will ask with an interest, as did T. T., whether there will be a Midsummer night bonfire organised in Scotland or not?

K. M. If someone is ready to organise it then there will be one /tongue emoticon/

A. L. /grin emoticon/ But who is then responsible for this group here?

K. M. Me and many more others, however it does not oblige us to be responsible for organising parties /grin emoticon/ As a nice change, I would also like to attend a party for a while which has been organised by someone else than myself

A. L. Hmm... OK, then there won't be any bonfires in Scotland /sad emoticon/ ...sad ...so sad

K. M. But why don't you find a nice little corner or BQ place and invite us? That's how we held our parties here. Someone shares a good plan, offers a place, who is available then attends, brings their own picnic basket along /smile emoticon/

As we can see from this excerpt, it confirms the idea of a grassroots initiative and free organising, loose ties between network members. It also shows that times have changed, and traditional organisations where a couple of people or a small group 'organised everything from above' are over – at least in terms of the Estonian society in Scotland for the time being. The rhetoric of “who is responsible” and “will be organised” show the typical passive consumer attitude by A.L. In the contrast to this, K.M asks for initiative to be shown, and for other members to do something themselves, rather than simply wait passively for an invitation.

People need their ethnic networks to some extent. As Kirke mentioned in her interview, in the *Estonians in Scotland* Facebook page, there are often announcements from Estonians who have recently moved to Scotland and would like to get together with other Estonians. In Scotland, there are no traditional diasporic activities (dancing, singing) for Estonians abroad as there is in bigger Estonian cultural centres (London or Toronto). Many Estonians are simply passive in participating in cultural events and they keep in touch only with a few closer Estonian friends/acquaintances. At the same time Estonians tend to visit local cultural events as well. Based on my interviews, it can be said that those who are more active in local cultural and social life (see also below in this chapter), are also more active in participating in Estonian social life. Some people like to participate but are not interested in organising anything, because of family obligations, lack of time, skills or interest.

As keeping in touch with friends in Estonia has become easier over the internet, people don't seem to feel an urge to socialise on ethnic grounds alone – just for the sake of speaking Estonian and spending time with their fellow country people. This seems to happen more in the case of specific Estonian social events – for example even from the Facebook excerpt above we can see that Estonians seek out the company of other Estonians when it comes to Midsummer's Eve celebrations (a very important festivity in the Estonian calendar). This perhaps ties in with what student respondents said about meeting up on Estonian Independence Day with fellow countrymen to watch the Presidential Independence Day Celebration Ceremony (see more about this below in this chapter – specifically about the relations between 'old' and 'new' Estonians.) The 'bonding' is done via the internet with close friends and family members. In the host society they aim to do 'bridging', to establish themselves better here. Also, as already mentioned before, research on Poles (Pietka-Nykaza and McGhee, 2016) has established similar tendencies to be 'bonded' and tend to develop 'strong' ties not within homogeneous 'ethnic communities' but small, close-knit networks or family groups.

The online community, in addition to practicing socio-cultural transnationalism, also helps Estonians practice economic transnationalism – there are many entrepreneurs who advertise their transnational businesses through online channels. Their businesses vary hugely as there is a very wide range of services offered, from transnational delivery services between Baltic states and Scotland, to culinary businesses (gingerbread and cake bakers), to even an Estonian online contact lens business operating also in Scotland.

8.4 Relationship between 'old' and 'new' Estonians

Here we have been looking at social networks from the post-war period and also nowadays. As the first generation has almost disappeared, the offspring of the first generation have been contacted and interviewed to gain further understanding and to see if the second generation Estonians in Scotland have kept their ties with other Estonians, or developed new ones. It is interesting to see how these two migration waves are interconnected, if at all, and to what extent and how these different layers interact with each other.

In my interviews, I did not find many references to contacts between the 'old' and 'new' generations of Estonian migrants. It seems that there is virtually no relationship between

the two different migration waves in Scotland. Elfriede, Otto, Karmen and Karoliina belong to Estonian social networks in Scotland in a very limited way, yet they have occasionally taken part at one or two Estonian social events if invited and have some Estonian acquaintances with whom they do not keep in touch regularly. On the other hand, they have regular contacts with Estonians elsewhere in the UK, in the world, or back in Estonia – mostly relatives and childhood friends. Their children do not speak Estonian. Roosi, who is the daughter of Estonian war refugees and grew up in Canada has mentioned that despite being Estonian, she does not feel comfortable attending Estonian events (see also above in this chapter) because of her inability to speak the language well (although she understands a great deal and is also able to speak). She has only a few contacts amongst the 'new' Estonians. She met her first Estonian contact at an Amnesty International concert in the audience. This led her to be invited to other Estonian gatherings.

She came up to me during the break and she said you sang that really well. She said it's an Estonian song and I can't believe it, somebody singing an Estonian song. I said well, I'm Estonian, and she said oh really. She didn't realise that I was Estonian. So I think it was her who told Pille about me because I think she had my contact details.

Roosi did not show any initiative herself, nor seek contacts with other Estonians but was invited to the Estonian gatherings by Pille, and now she is happy to socialise with a few Estonians from time to time. She even started to teach music to another Estonian woman's children. Amongst my interviewees, there were also others who admitted to being invited to and included in Estonian networks totally by chance, by meeting other Estonians in the street or somewhere by accident, and getting involved in that way.

Talvi who has no contacts with other Estonians in Scotland, has no language problems like Roosi in interacting with Estonians, but she has mentioned that because of her busy life running a charity and a big family she has no time for any socialising at all, and she has never taken part in any Estonian activities, unlike her older sibling who lives in Wales and is socially very active there. Talvi keeps in contact only with closer relatives who do not live in Scotland. Voldemar, however as an example of an Estonian post-war migrant from England is socially very active in Estonian circles in his home town, and has summed up

why there is no relationship between 'old' and 'new' Estonians in England the following way:

They came to live abroad, they don't want to be surrounded by the Estonian language. If they want, they can go back to Estonia. But for some events indeed, the Midsummer Night party, and let's hope that at the Anniversary [of the Estonian Republic] they will come along. Some young mothers come for the Mother's day celebration. But generally they come to see and taste a foreign land, well, we have a different situation, we have been here and had to keep together, to keep the Estonians, the Estonian songs, the Estonian language /.../ we had to keep the Estonianness alive because we were refugees. Estonia was under Russia. So, it is a different feeling. Estonia is free now, you can buy a plane ticket for 50 pounds and you can fly back at any time.

Here we can see that the newcomers' attempt, instead of seeking contacts with the existing Estonian network, to take part in 'vertical bridging' – forming non-ethnic social ties in the host community. Voldemar talks about organising Estonian events, and his experience is a very different experience of that in Scotland where Estonian social life is run by 'new' Estonian migrants, unlike in many of the 'old' Estonian cultural centres in England. The newcomers' lack of an urge to socialise with local Estonians can also be because of their close transnational social ties with Estonia. With frequent contacts with their relatives-friends there, the newcomers don't need to be part of an ethnic social network. Also, in the case of Voldemar, the generation gap (belonging to the "diasporic" post-war group) and perhaps also the cultural gap, seems to be stronger than the unifying feeling of Estonianness, contrary to how it was shortly after the war. Ryan (2011:715) in her research on Polish migrants has also found that "reaching out beyond narrow Polish enclaves was regarded as not only desirable but also necessary for career and personal advancement". However, people still seem to have a need to sometimes meet their fellow country people – for example during festive celebrations, as mentioned before. Voldemar also points out that the 'new' Estonians are more likely to attend special events and special occasions where there is a party – food and drinks involved. The importance of food and drinks as a manifestation of Estonian identity is looked at more closely in Chapter 9.

8.5 Contacts with Estonia and Estonian global networks

8.5.1 *Contacts after the war*

When talking about personal networks, contacts with homeland and relatives and friends there are important. In this section, I will have a closer look at Estonians' contacts outside the UK – with Estonia and relatives and friends elsewhere, abroad. As already mentioned, during the period of Soviet occupation, migration was almost non-existent between Estonia and the UK. Even communication pathways were difficult and thus communication itself was scarce. Within the Soviet Union, those who had decided not to return to their occupied homeland were considered enemies of the state.

Some of my interviewees remember that their families were afraid to write to those still in Estonia, in case it caused trouble for them. As Endel explains further:

No-one really wanted to risk with writing, because if Stalin's people got information about it, if they knew that you had relatives abroad, they could start harassing you. Here, lots of people had an opinion that better not... better not to get in contact.

Voldemar also has memories about his dad stopping contact with people in Estonia:

So the thing in the beginning, when they said to many people, it was... to many... my mum did not find them, she did not find them. After the war what happened was that she couldn't find them. Dad, in the beginning, as much as I know, had written, he had two sisters. Yeah... but... then here he was told that... it would be much better for them, if they didn't have contacts abroad, it may cause problems for them, so... that's why many... stopped this.

It was a decision made by Voldemar's family considering their relatives' wellbeing. However, despite their fears that it was not good for those who were left in Estonia, people had contacts with relatives in Estonia already during the Stalinist period, although it was rather more difficult and thus also uncommon. Paap remembers his family's contacts with Estonian relatives as follows:

Yes, the only thing which we naturally did in our letters, we used a personal code, in correspondence. For example, that time politicians were aunties and uncles, yes, but we understood each other and what was meant. /.../ For example uncle Joosep, it means Stalin who was in Kreml, uncle Joosep has developed this and this ailment, and perhaps he will not live long. Pity of course when an old guy passes on, but well, this time is waiting for everyone and so on...

Things changed for the better after Stalin's death according to my correspondents. People gradually re-built their contacts with family, relatives and friends. Karl Aun (1985: 154) mentions that in the beginning, "very limited exchange of letters became possible, mostly between close relatives. On both sides it was understood that the letters were censored and therefore correspondents were very careful about what to write. /.../ As a result, the information received through these letters was incomplete and spotty and questions naturally arose as to what extent these letters reflected the truth and to what extent they reflected what those in Estonia had to write or were ordered to write." But as time went on, more intellectual freedom appeared, although the Estonian communities abroad remained suspicious of this.

Karmen remembers her family's contacts with her grandparents:

K: I wrote to my granny and granddad always in Estonian, they always wrote long letters for me /.../

L: When did you get in touch with them, can you tell me?

K: I believe it would have been... I remember sending a parcel to Estonia, it could have been fifty seven... eight, the first one could have been a bit earlier perhaps.

L: /.../ Assumingly after Stalin's death?

K: Could have been. Yes, yes it was.

In Khrushchev's time there were already contacts, regular correspondence and even visits between Great Britain and Estonia, but not on a big scale, it was rather in exceptional cases

only. Meelik remembers his cousin from Estonia being able to visit the UK because he was a Communist Party member. Families were never allowed to come to visit all together, and people were allowed to visit their relatives abroad only alone, to avoid them escaping from the Soviet Union with their family. Endel whose aunt visited their family from Estonia remembers the following:

They were allowed out only one by one, not with their families. My cousin had several children, perhaps she could have wanted to come, to take her family with her, but not, only alone.

However, some families did not have any contacts with their relatives in Estonia at all, or the contacts were minimal. Very often the contacts ceased to exist when the older generation died, because for the refugee children and grandchildren, their relatives in a faraway Soviet Estonia were of course never very close due to limited (if any) pre-war contact with them. Often people were afraid of talking about their relatives who were left in Estonia, to safeguard them. Talvi remembers that her father and mother had very different attitudes towards having contact with their families:

I haven't met them, they were strangers for me in a way, I knew that I have aunts and uncles and so on... dad didn't want to talk much about his family, especially about those who stayed behind in Estonia. Also... he was afraid that he had left, he wasn't very much loved by the Russian government and if there are too many contacts and if I talk too much, this could harm them. Mother said... as she came from much poorer background so about her people I can talk. Once in school, I can't remember was it in German or French class, we had to prepare... a family tree. And my dad banned me to do anything with his family. For that I got into trouble in school. So he didn't allow... Mum said I could talk about her family as much as I want. They were more of a poor country folk.

Not keeping in touch with relatives in Soviet Estonia was a political decision and made to protect these relatives. It depended on the status of the family as well, as a renowned professor's family was probably under a bigger threat than a poor farmers' one. At that time, the common collective understanding abroad was that one has to be cautious while revealing anything about one's family, especially the pre-war intellectual, social and

political elites for whom, according to Aun (1985:154) “a prolonged Soviet occupation meant a complete destruction of pre-war values in Estonia along with the ruination of the country economically and the annihilation of the Estonian population./.../ The meagre information that reached the West reconfirmed the beliefs held by the Estonian community abroad.”

People however, started to send parcels. Often relatives in Estonia started to rely on the parcels of goodies from abroad, which contained things that were impossible to obtain in the Soviet Union (coffee, nylon scarves and ladies’ tights, soap). These were also used as ‘hard currency’ in the Soviet system where many things were lacking. Talvi also remembers her mother sending parcels to her Estonian relatives:

L: Do you remember what your mother put into these parcels when she was sending them to Estonia?

T: I don’t remember. Simple things.

L: Foodstuffs or clothing or?

T: Yes, rather clothing, I don’t remember exactly. And needles, needles! I remember they didn’t have such simple things. She was in contact with them a little and, but she needed to do it very carefully... what she could write to them and what they could write to her... She must have read many things between the lines.

Talvi remembers, like Paap, that her mother had to ‘read between the lines’. Those contacts remained shallow in many cases, because people were afraid of writing anything which could harm their relatives.

Sending parcels can be seen as an example of early economic transnationalism and the same tendency is going on also today. Nowadays people do not seem to send so many parcels anymore, although this is still possible and there are parcel delivery services, and also new transnational business set up between Scotland and the Baltic states offering delivery services between the two countries. Most people simply bring goods with them as presents when they visit Estonia. Some Estonians also send money back home to their family members, as we heard in the case of Milla.

Estonian families and relatives were often scattered all over the West, in different countries. They formed a global network (further on “global estonianness” in W. Rand, p.109), many ties were already created in German DP camps. Elfriede who used to phone her sisters who lived in the USA and Canada regularly, describes how they managed a joint project - to bring her father over to Scotland (he flew from the USSR to London where Elfriede met him) and later to Canada, to visit his other two daughters:

And we brought, we could afford to let him come here as well, don't remember what year it was. Oh, my second daughter was small, around two, perhaps over fifty years ago, I don't know. So the visa. And then we managed to get him a visa from here, so he could go to Canada where his other daughter was, but he was refused the entry to the USA. And then, Erika, they took him to the border and Linda, Linda's and Kaia's father [said] that this is America, this is our land, but he was not allowed to enter. Yes, and then he came back, but he didn't want to stay anywhere. Young families and everyone has their own life, he was then perhaps over seventy, so too old for learning the language, so his life was there and friends and /.../ He was, came back here and from here flew back home.

This is a description of Elfriede's dad's reunion with his daughters after several decades of separation, and his only visit abroad from Soviet Estonia. Why an older person refused to migrate and live with one of his daughters' families can be easily understood, as also Elfriede mentions that he did not speak the language, therefore could not have been able to communicate even with his own grandchildren, also he had all his social contacts, his trust network, back in Estonia. It complicated the situation even more that all his daughters were in different countries, one of which (USA) he was not even allowed to enter. He did not want to become a burden to the young families either. These negative factors for him were more overwhelmingly important than the positive elements of living with one of his daughters in a free country, and he thus decided to return. As research has shown (Jürgenson, 2011), amongst many older people who migrated and joined their children abroad, many returned to Estonia later because they could not adapt to their new surroundings.

When her sisters were still alive, Elfriede used to keep in touch with them by phoning regularly, therefore having transnational contacts over the phone. Nowadays she is

sometimes in contact with her sisters' children, also over the phone (landline). She does not have internet and she is not interested in newer possibilities for communication.

Often people re-established closer contacts with their relatives in Estonia after it regained its independence. Voldemar who was born in Scotland and whose family did not have contacts in Estonia describes his first visit to Estonia during the Soviet times:

Quite good, I don't know it is weird, isn't it, there... it is after all where you are from... when I first saw them I was forty years old, I had been living for forty years without knowing any relatives, you know. Two brothers, mum and dad, and that's all. First time I went back, and then I get all of these new [relatives] new aunts and their children and... oh, there were so many of them from my dad's side. And mum's... mum's [family] is very small. And there is a lot from dad's side you know.

Voldemar further describes the way in which his family managed to get in touch again with their relatives. His mother wrote to her uncle's old address and they got a response from her brother:

And he phoned. And we found him. So, when in eighty nine we went there, we visited them. We were not allowed but no-one seemed to care. So, we visited them, I went to my dad's birthplace as well. It was eighty nine. /.../

Voldemar remembers how he imagined Estonia in his childhood and how it was the first time he visited:

Every time I imagined a picture of Estonia it was black and white. It was like a horrible place, and it is black and white, and it was just like a holy place. Well, when I first time went there it wasn't black and white, but the folks who walked around it Tallinn /laughing/ well, everyone looked like we were going back to the nineteen-fifties.

It is possible that Voldemar imagined Estonia as a monochrome black-and-white place also because of old images, the old black and white pre-war photos the family had from Estonia. At the same time Voldemar stresses that Estonia was a "holy place", even if it looked and seemed like a horrible scary and gloomy place in the imagination of a child.

Most of my interviewees from that period however state that they found Estonia beautiful and homely (especially Estonian nature, but also old Estonian towns), although they also thought that the Soviet occupation had destroyed and ruined so much (by building ugly concrete blocks, by destroying the Estonian cultural heritage and nature). Other studies about returning to homeland and family reunions, for example Sutton (2004) confirm that family identity and place identity can indeed be equated.

For the generation who arrived in the UK shortly after the Second World War it was not easy to adapt to the new country. They were cut off from their families and friends in Estonia and many of them did not keep in touch with them for political or other reasons. Things have changed a lot nowadays. Amongst my interviewees of the older generation, many visit Estonia every year or every second year. Sadly, Elfriede explains that she is already too old to get affordable travel insurance and therefore she has not visited Estonia for a few years now. She still keeps in occasional contact with her old friends and relatives, by mail. So does Amanda, who also has a wide circle of correspondence (both online and by phone and by mail) with relatives and friends who live in other countries, for example Canada, New Zealand, Austria and Germany.

One of the most unique ways of keeping in touch with her sister is described by Talvi:

I don't see her very often, but with her we swap audio tapes. I haven't been able for a long time, because our cassette machine was... it broke. But now as I have got all necessary stuff, so now I should also send her... we talk on the tape, send it to her and she talks on a tape and sends it back to us. In English, because of my husband. So we keep [in touch], it is quite a good way to keep in touch.

While being interviewed, Talvi was simultaneously working on her MacBook, dealing with international crowdfunding and other very modern features. It surprised me that she didn't use digital recording possibilities. It was their family tradition and perhaps Talvi preserved this out-of-date unpractical way only because of the memory of her parents who started it years ago and it had become a tradition, a certain family ritual.

8.5.2 **Contacts with Estonia nowadays**

Nowadays there are far fewer obstacles and difficulties in the way of having close contacts with the homeland. While we can see from the post-war migration group that older Estonians are less eager to use modern technologies for communication with friends and relatives elsewhere, contemporary migrants give a different picture. The most common ways of keeping in contact are through internet, using Skype and also cheap phone calls which are very widely offered (both landline and mobile phones). Most of my interviewees visit Estonia (alone or with families) at least once a year, but often even more frequently. As there is no direct flight from anywhere in Scotland to Estonia, travelling is more expensive, but this does not seem like an obstacle.

Keiu, who is not socially active in Scotland and has only a few acquaintances, told me that she is keeping in close contact with relatives in Estonia as well as siblings living abroad elsewhere, mostly via the internet. Other present day Estonian migrants also mostly use the internet and phone calls, some of them have been able to sign cheap deals with different companies, some use the internet to call, using Skype or other programmes and providers. For example, Elina keeps in touch with her family mostly via mobile phone calls:

I have in the contract... a cheaper rate in the contract, I don't remember actually how much it was. However, it is cheaper. Well, I don't chat for hours. Mostly with my daughter. I call her... With others I communicate mostly on Facebook.

Mikk has a cheap Vodafone card to phone Estonia:

We have... I mean we bought a Vodafone card, which you top up with a tenner and you can phone ten minutes abroad with this card.

Ervin, like many others, uses Skype for phoning his family in Estonia. About the frequency of the contacts he explains the following:

Perhaps... one day perhaps ten times, then maybe a week passes, not once. It depends how fast my life pace is, because there is also two hours' time

difference./.../ I am relatively, well, too lazy to write. So it is easier for me, when I have a straight contact, so it is easier...

Laila talks about keeping in contact with her family and friends:

I have a contact with my mother every day. In the morning and in the evening. When I have days off we always skype as well. And I have two sisters in Finland. That I skype with them as well. /.../ [with my Estonian friends] I had more contacts before, when I came here, I guess it is just this distance, that's how it is just declining little by little. With some people you still maintain contacts, but then you don't interact very often, perhaps sometimes rarely. I would say that this side has kind of declined.

Milla has the same experience that contacts with friends decline over time:

[I interact with them] now less often. Before, indeed, there was more calling. On birthdays and in Christmas time, at the New Year. I phone my mum every Sunday. But the rest of contacts are through Facebook.

L: What do you phone, a landline, or a mobile phone ...

M: Landline indeed. With mum I speak every Sunday, but the contacts have started to disappear. With certain people you just can't do it. I still have school time friends with whom I visit every year while in Estonia, and actually several of them.

As we can see from this, Estonians nowadays keep in touch with close family members in Estonia as well as abroad, using mainly phone calls and Skype. For contacts that are more distant, Facebook and other web-based social networks are used mostly. Writing letters is not mentioned in any of my interviews with recent migrants. From my interviews it comes out that while living abroad, the social networks back in Estonia have started to decline and contacts have become less frequent. The most frequent contacts are with close family members, like for example mothers and siblings. This is similar to Boccagni's (2010) findings where transnational ties are mostly a tool for coping with the negative effects of an extended separation from family. In terms of both time and space, there was little evidence of macro- or meso-level transnational social ties, i.e. migrants linking back to the

social institutions of their homeland (political system, market and civil society). Most of the ties are on the micro-level, between close family members (bonding networks).

Internet has enabled people to contact friends and relatives very easily, both abroad and back home. As has been previously stated in research about internet usage amongst migrants (for example Castro and Conzáles, 2011:3), exchange of photos and messages help them to maintain connections with members of their personal social networks and maintaining strong social contacts back home will also facilitate homecoming. As can be seen also in case of this research, people use this possibility a lot.

Physical contacts nowadays with other countries have been made affordable and easy due to cheap airlines. However, it is not so easy to get to Estonia from anywhere in Scotland as currently there are no charter flights to Estonia from anywhere in the country. Thus one must fly via London, Amsterdam, Helsinki or Riga. Amongst my interviewees, most people have said that they visit Estonia usually many times a year, often together with their Scottish partners who show a great deal of interest towards Estonia (this is the case with Laila, Doris and Koidu). While in the field of transnationalism, it has been often discussed that transmigrants also have an influence on their close surroundings in a sending country, I haven't come across any research which has been about the direct influence of transmigrants towards their family members and close persons in the receiving country. Such an influence is easily observable in my interviews and amongst my interviewees. For example, Ingrid's partner has bought a flat in Estonia, as has Laila's partner, who is also considering moving to Estonia. Kaie's partner is interested in Estonian music and films even more than Kaie herself – these are just some examples.

Such an influence can be seen very clearly amongst the Scottish spouses of Estonians who live in Scotland. According to my interviewees all of them regularly visit Estonia, are interested in Estonian culture, nature, film and music (like Kaie's husband). Four or five of them have started to learn Estonian, have bought real estate in Estonia and are planning to move there once retired at the latest (or at least have expressed such wishes verbally). Some Estonians have already returned to Estonia with their Scottish spouses, and started successful businesses there, but, according to my discussions on that topic, many are afraid of restricted possibilities to find work and also of the smaller salaries. On the other hand, smaller salaries and lower social security is in, the words of another, compensated for by a better living environment, clean nature and easier administration.

8.6 Conclusions

A very clear distinction can be seen in terms of formal Estonian events, celebrations of Estonian festivities and important events, versus more informal social networking. If we compare the two groups, we can see many differences. It is revealed in my data that nowadays fewer and fewer formal events are organised and social gatherings are mostly held in smaller groups. If wider audience parties are not accessible or not organised, in the case of only a few Estonians (Amanda's mother's and Kristina's case) formal anniversaries and occasions are celebrated with a few people. The societal role of the church and Christian congregations amongst Estonians in the UK has seemingly completely disappeared, at least amongst my respondents.

It is interesting to observe how virtual, internet-based communities are taking over the function of traditional Estonian societies abroad (with members' boards, regular meetings, annual fees and headquarters). One can see that nowadays contacts between fellow Estonians have become looser and less about physical, face-to-face meetings, yet at the same time they also involve more people in general, although most members of online networks are passive. Loose social ties via the internet and social networking sites like Facebook may still help in maintaining contacts with fellow Estonians and boost feelings of being part of a community which still seems to be important for some people, perhaps to replace social ties which were loosen by migration. It is also interesting to observe that there are minimal contacts between students and people who have come here to work.

Estonians had and continue to have multiple social contacts also with other nationalities – whether they be locals or other migrants. Their social networks are multi-layered, as often people seem to keep their local and Estonian friends apart. This is the case both in the post-war and contemporary times (like in the case of Karoliina and Annika). In some situations, people's social networks are built on contacts with other migrants due to lack of contacts with local Scottish people or other Estonians – like in the working collectives which consist of mostly Eastern European workers. Their ties in this case are mostly based on a common Soviet past, common (Russian) language, similar cultural and culinary habits, some of which are also tied to their Soviet experiences of the past.

Nowadays there are no restrictions in communicating internationally. The old-fashioned way of communicating by writing letters and sending postcards has almost disappeared and

has been taken over by more modern, cheaper, quicker and easier means of communication, such as phone or Skype, email and Facebook. However easy it has become to keep in touch, we can still see from the data that in the long term people closely maintain only the closest family ties they have, and their wider range of social contacts in Estonia often starts to narrow down after having lived abroad for a while. People seem to keep only the closest bonding ties. The importance of virtual spaces in shaping migrant experience and facilitating transnational actions has become very important. Estonians are nowadays connected in Scotland with weak social ties, mostly over quite a loose online social network, which enables them to take benefits out of this network exactly as much as they need at the moment, and to contribute towards this network as much as they want.

Coming back to the question asked in the beginning of this chapter – who is at the other end of these transnational connections (Boccagni, 2012), the majority of transnational ties are maintained in a quite narrow personal level and these ties mainly help the Estonians to cope with living abroad, far away from their families. So, in the other end of transnational ties in case of Estonians are mostly families and closest friends. Such ties are maintained not only with contacts in Estonia, but also with family members and friends in other countries throughout the World (Elfriede and Laila). Rather than forming wide global networks, these ties are more of a personal and family nature. The case of Talvi is otherwise interesting, because she has other transnational, or perhaps rather global organisational ties, dealing with rainforests in Honduras and Cameroon. Unlike most of my informants who feel at home either in Scotland or in Estonia or both, she identifies herself as a global citizen, and her Estonian and Scottish belonging is less important for her. It is a good example of how global processes have been incorporated into personal lives and person's identity, and also a good example of social action at a distance, how people who are not physically mobile develop wide transnational and global links and act through these links. In the case of Talvi, she can be seen as a highly skilled transnational mobile (Dahinden 2010) through her professional activities in a charitable organisation which are not connected to her country of origin or current home country.

The main gateway for all transnational activities have nowadays become online spaces (mainly Facebook). Socio-cultural transnationalism can be seen in maintaining contacts with family and friends in the home country, participating in different cultural activities, watching Estonian television and reading Estonian newspapers/magazines abroad, amongst

others. As we have seen, most of these activities are very common amongst almost all of the interviewees of this study, and thus that socio-cultural transnationalism is widely practised. In a smaller scale, there are also evidence of economic transnationalism, e.g. establishing transnational businesses, buying and managing real estate in Estonia.

9. Staying or leaving - Where is home and what is 'home'?

9.1 Introduction

After the war, Amanda's family stayed in Scotland, while Voldemar's family moved to England. Elfriede stayed in Scotland, while her sister and the friend she had first arrived in Scotland with both emigrated further overseas.

It is difficult to say whether the people who came to Scotland nowadays intend to stay here or migrate further, or perhaps return to Estonia, as their settlement is very open ended in nature. The fourth option, migrating within the UK/Scotland, is also possible. The decision to stay or leave can change overtime, sometimes very quickly⁴³. People, after leaving Scotland, may come back here some time later or at least may intend to return in the future. Some of my interviewees have expressed such wishes. This is for example the case with Emma who was able to get a good and challenging job in Estonia, but who is considering returning to Scotland (or migrating elsewhere in Europe) in the future.

Nowadays, people come to Scotland voluntarily, though, as said before, the border between forced and voluntary migration is not always clear-cut (Van Hear, 2010; Jürgenson, 2011) and much of what will be said in this chapter would seem to confirm this. Some of my interviewees have stayed while others have decided to leave Scotland or have done it already. This is a very complex topic and there is usually more than one reason which determines the future decision. In this chapter, I will have a closer look at the reasons people left Scotland or stayed here. From this, the discussion will move on to related topics of home, homeland and what exactly creates home and identity. In this chapter I will look at what 'home' is to three different groups: post-war EVWs, their offspring and contemporary Estonian migrants. The family, food and other important factors of home-making and identity will also be closely explored.

Finally, based on their social and physical mobility, locality, scope, and intensity of transnational activities, I will make an attempt to determine the three core types of Estonians in Scotland.

⁴³ After Brexit, the situation for EU migrants in the UK has changed, due to the decision to leave the EU.

9.2 Leaving Scotland or staying here in post-war times

As Scotland was not a popular destination for migration, many of the Estonians who came as a part of the different post-war work schemes (see Chapter 6), after having worked the compulsory years in Scotland, left for better opportunities. John F. Stewart described this situation in his letter to E. Aruja (27.11.1951) where he wrote:

We have not many Estonians here now, as most of them have gone to Canada, where those who write to me are doing very well indeed. Two of our greatest favourites have just passed all their examinations in nursing at Inverness and are later coming back to Edinburgh where we shall warmly welcome them.

The decreasing of Estonians in Scotland was also mentioned in the newspaper *Eesti Hääl* (1.12.1950). I interviewed one of John F. Stewart's "greatest favourites" Elfriede, who still lives in Edinburgh. The reason she stayed in Scotland was because she got married to a Scotsman and started a family here. But both her sister and her friend, with whom she came together from Germany, left Scotland for overseas.

Voldemar describes his family's move from Scotland to England:

A lot of people left Scotland, they... they had gone to work there, but once the job was done, like Pitlochry [power station] was finished, there wasn't much work left for people. A lot who were working... I, I know were working also in the farms. But when the farms were... the land was returned after the war, they of course didn't need so many workers. And of course they got machinery. So, then people who were in Scotland had to start looking for work, and of course in Bradford there was a lot of it. And there were already [Estonian] people here living in Bradford, and in Leeds, in Leeds there was a very big community. And then they [parents] left there, just to find work, they all worked here in the wool mills. Because that time, 1954, 1955, 1956, if you didn't like it where you were working, you just walked out and took, took a new job, because there was so much work here at that time. And that's why they came here. To work. /.../ There was of course an Estonian School in Bradford. It had started

even before we had bought Eesti kodu⁴⁴. They held it in one school, not far from here, around the corner. So, all the children went to Estonian School on Saturday afternoons. We always had three classes. Now, I don't believe the youth [nowadays] would do that, but we had to go there until the age of 15.

On the one hand, finding work was important for people and they used their ethnic support networks to find work, which then caused them to move to the centres where there were better work prospects and a lot of other Estonians. Voldemar's family had visited Bradford already before the decision was taken to move there, for an Estonian summer festival. It becomes clear from Voldemar's account that for many families with children it was very important to move somewhere where other Estonians lived, so as to be able to take part in Estonian cultural and societal activities (for both adults and children), which were discussed in Chapter 6. The existence of an Estonian school for their children was a major pull factor which made Estonians move to Bradford, as it ensured that the Estonian language ('the bastion of Estonianness') was passed on to the next generation.

As described in Chapter 4, after Stalin's death when it became clear that the situation in Estonia would not change, many Estonians lost their hope of returning to the homeland and migrated further overseas. By that time Estonian communities in Canada and the US had established themselves very well and news spread about better living conditions, bigger salaries and also more opportunities for (higher) education. Many Estonian refugees also had family members and contacts abroad, which made the move even easier. These were the reasons why many families and individuals decided to migrate to Canada. This was the case with Helbe's family, Meelik, Liisbet, Paap, Valve, Haljand, Ilona and Urmet. Endel has described the decision to migrate further as follows:

The majority went, those who could went to Canada or USA. Or, the further away from the Russians the better.

⁴⁴ *Eesti Kodu* is an Estonian community centre in Bradford, one of so-called 'Estonian Houses'.

On top of political decision (getting as far as possible from the Soviet Union) there have always been other reasons – better salaries and opportunities for education, for example. This also comes out from my interviews (see also previous chapters).

9.3 Staying or leaving nowadays

As we saw in Chapter 2 in the studies on Eastern European (mostly Polish) migrants (Pires and Macleod, 2006; Eirich, 2011; McGhee et al., 2012; Trevena et al., 2013), most immigrants had a flexible approach to where they would live in the future, but still the majority did not want to return and had a quite pejorative attitude towards life back in their country of origin. They found their ‘new lives’ more dignified and ‘normal’ – of higher quality in terms of material living standards. Also, families are more likely to stay, whereas childless people are more mobile. Following the above research, I will look more specifically at the case of Estonians leaving and staying in Scotland to see if there are parallels to the research above confirming previous findings, or whether the small sample of interviewed Estonians have had different life paths from this.

9.3.1 Reasons for leaving

Amongst the Estonians who have come to Scotland in recent decades, some have decided to leave. Amongst my interviewees, altogether eight people out of thirty have left (as of 17.11.2016). A number of reasons have emerged leading to this decision. Hardo, who studied in Scotland, left shortly after his studies finished, although his initial plan was to stay here:

I have become more patriotic with these years. My plans for life have also changed, in the beginning I planned that I will go abroad, will study and work there, big salaries and all is fine, but by now I have understood that I still like it in Estonia so much more, that I like this... the whole culture much more. How to manage, how things work, and I like this actually better [in Estonia]. Less bureaucracy and more such... well, more it is more sensible to me.

His years in Scotland have evoked different feelings in Hardo; he has suddenly realised that the values of the living environment in Estonia are important to him and he has made up his mind, however good the possibilities were for him to get a better job and a much

higher salary here than back in Estonia. For him, what he perceives as Estonian culture is important, and he also stresses the importance of seemingly more familiar and easily understood everyday habits in Estonia as a reason for returning. As a well-qualified young specialist, he ultimately has good salary prospects in both countries. Issues of life quality are important to him in his decision to return to Estonia.

Marlene came to Scotland first as a circular migrant (Dahinden, 2010), later on she moved on and got a permanent job which did not last long as she had problems at work, a low social status and she did not manage to establish strong local ties in Scotland. However, in the future she may come back for temporary work again. Marlene and Mikk decided to leave because they missed their family in Estonia and were discontented with their work, the experience of an abusive working collective (as explained in previous chapters) and also their lower living standard in Scotland, due to being able to do only low-skilled work here. As Marlene explains:

Those jobs [in Estonia] I liked very much. Even my boss said that look at her, she is always in a good mood, whatever problems there might be. It was a job which I liked. I have always liked to interact with customers. The current job is not for me. I came for... because my English is not good enough for work in a customer service job or to apply for a new job. So I didn't have another possibility, I had to get such a job... which I really deeply dislike.

Marlene did not experience upward social mobility. This is why she decided to return. The question of life quality is also important in her decision making process as she left behind in Estonia close family ties and good living conditions (a big family house). Mikk also explained that he did not manage to learn more English, which was one of the reasons why he wanted to come to Scotland in the first place:

At the work place... I sort everything out in Russian. A bit of English when it is needed... but well, 75% is all in Russian.

Marlene had a similar experience to Mikk at her workplace:

One of my sons asked me if I speak perfect English now. I said I don't speak perfect English, but perfect Russian instead. /.../ Well, let's say that on work days I speak Russian the most in my day.

Mikk and Marlene's experience reflects tendencies today where migrants relearn and reactivate other languages, particularly in factories with many other migrants where possibilities of learning English are restricted due to the backgrounds of the dominant labour force, where other languages, e.g. Polish and Russian, are the common language, not English. Marlene's co-workers were mainly people from Poland and the Baltic states, but amongst the latter group, the vast majority spoke Russian as their mother tongue (see also SSAMIS, 2016: 2). Since it is very difficult to acquire the English language under these conditions, it is even less surprising that in the case of the Polish work colleagues of Annika, many people who lived in Scotland for a number of years did not learn any English at all, due to both structural and social barriers as well as perhaps (but certainly not only) a lack of personal motivation. Insights into the poor conditions of host society as barrier to adaptation and permanent settlement, were also relevant in 1940s, as mentioned before, and led to many Estonians choosing to move further overseas to Canada, Australia and the US, where members of the Estonian community felt more welcomed.

Getting a job in their new country of residence did not always enable the newcomers to feel secure either. As Maali and Kirke remember:

M: It was because the factory was such...

K: ...with very bad reputation actually.

M: Yes, especially in recent times. When they need they take people in and then fire them again. I heard again that last week ten people were fired.

As we find out in her interview, the first year Maali did not have anything permanent and she had to do odd jobs like vegetable harvesting and working in different factories. Such an uncertain life can be tiring both emotionally and physically. Maali returned to Estonia after 6 years of working in Scotland, despite having bought a flat in a little Scottish town and leaving part of her close family behind in Scotland. By now, as I was told by her family, Maali has re-migrated and sold her flat in Scotland. She is happier and more content with her life in Estonia, according to her family members who stayed in Scotland.

Emma who married a Scotsman and run a transnational business here for a few years, has always had a positive impression of Scotland:

It has always amazed me how well I actually feel in Scotland as an Estonian. Whether it had to do with the country's tininess, their mentality, I don't know.

However, despite her positive emotions in regards to her life in Scotland, Emma re-emigrated and made a career back in Estonia. She visits Scotland only occasionally. According to her own words, she left because of more prosperous career possibilities back home and also because of her underage daughter. Her husband is juggling freelance jobs in order to spend more time with his family in Estonia. Emma, similar to many respondents is dreaming of leaving again one day – either coming back to Scotland, or migrating somewhere else.

Despite falling in love with Scottish nature, Kadri was lonely and homesick in Scotland and soon after giving the interview, returned to Estonia. While already in Estonia, she wrote me a happy and content email where she describes her life back home, family gatherings and cultural events she attends and things she likes to do there. She tried to suppress her loneliness and homesickness while in Scotland. Nowadays, thanks to globalisation and technological change, we have easy means of keeping in touch with families and friends, more intense contact with those back home. But this may also cause homesickness. This happened in the case of Annika who is otherwise well adapted to life in Scotland:

The only time when I am homesick is summer, when everyone in Estonia has a chill and grill. When you log onto Facebook, the only thing you can see is everyone on a holiday, everyone is chilling and grilling. This is the time when I am so terribly homesick that I could take the next flight home. At other times, I don't have homesickness.

Annika's temporary homesickness is caused by differences in climate (rainy Scotland versus sunny Estonia) and cultural practices and traditions (in Estonia, garden grill parties are a very common social activity in the summertime). She also misses the company of her family and friends, spending time together. Summer is the main season for socialising in

Estonia. Mihkel is similar: the thing he misses the most is his family's summer house near the river, as Mihkel thinks this is the best place to be.

On top of being homesick, Kadri - who worked for many years in England and Scotland and who felt herself more at home in Scotland - also explained that she was often abused and mistreated by colleagues and bosses. Often she had to work overtime and when she applied for days off, she didn't get them. It is interesting that despite being bullied and mistreated at the workplace, Kadri found living in Scotland more agreeable than living in England, even though she felt misunderstood by locals. She puts it down to cultural differences.

K: People are still... it is still an alien culture, and sometimes people can't... perhaps I can't understand them sometimes, or perhaps they can't [understand] me, perhaps there was also some language barrier. Especially in the beginning.

L: What do you think, is this barrier rather language barrier or perhaps cultural?

K: Rather cultural. Not a language barrier so much.

Kadri is a good example of circular migration (Dahinden, 2010), when looking at low-paid hotel workers' locality and mobility. In the case of Kadri, coming from England, she did not manage to establish strong local ties in Scotland either. There exist, as mentioned in interviews, also highly skilled and well paid Estonian medical specialists who have worked temporarily in Scottish hospitals as locums, due to staff shortages, during their annual holidays. While Dahinden (2010) highlights weak family and ethnic relations and stresses stronger professional and friendship ties as a feature of this group, the Estonian circular migrants in fact seem to have close ties with their family. Perhaps circular migration can also be considered when looking at students who have not necessarily adapted to life in Scotland, and circulate between their university (term time) and home (holiday time). Again in my data the majority of students seem to have adapted well, many stayed in Scotland also during their holidays and worked here full time as there were better salaries in Scotland than back in Estonia.

Hardo also points out cultural differences as one of the reasons he chose to leave after his studies:

If to speak about why I don't want to stay, the first is that having been living together with British people, the need for cleanliness in Estonians is very big. Brits are somehow very dirty, I haven't seen a British home so far which would be in order. Student homes I mean, I haven't been in other homes, but it has been a very disturbing sight. The other thing is their attitude towards money. Estonians don't waste money like this. Or perhaps they think more before taking loans so thoughtlessly. For example two of my flatmates, the one will end 18 000 in debt, the other one 30 000 in debt. And they are buying iPads, MacBooks and other things. I don't know any Estonians here who would do so. The Estonian goes to school, starts working if money is needed, the Brit just takes up another loan. When you go out it is clearly visible who is a Brit and who is Estonian, or not even Estonian, but generally from abroad.

For Hardo, the British students' attitudes to cleanliness and consumption were alien, but of course as a student studying in a foreign country it is to be expected that he must have been more mature and independent than students who did not have to face the stresses and experiences of studying in a new country. As well as this, coming from a relatively poorer country would have certainly altered Hardo's handling of money, and perhaps enabled him to become responsible and mature in his finances. His distaste for the 'wasteful' attitudes of his British contemporaries were also perhaps an inner reflection or identification with the 'hard-working' Eastern European trope ("the Estonian goes to school, starts working if money is needed"). It is also interesting that in his comparisons, Hardo does not contrast Eastern and Western Europeans, but Brits and other foreigners. Ultimately, Hardo never managed to establish strong ties with locals and his network mostly consisted of fellow Estonians and other foreign students, according to his own words.

It has been stated (SSAMIS, 2016) that those who arrived as teenagers feel more at home here and have adapted better. In my research, several persons with families were interviewed, and two interviewees gave information about their teenage children who came with them to Scotland. Contrary to the SSAMIS report, teenagers seem to have experienced even bigger difficulties than adults (see also Kristina's account on bullying in

Chapter 7). Kaie talks about the difficulties her teenage son has felt in trying to fit in in his school in Scotland. By now he has left and is living with his dad in Estonia.

He went to school here. He went to school for a few years, but to be totally frank, he was in such an age that... /.../ in his early teens, he didn't... I can't say he was enthusiastic about [being here]. What happened, oh, what can I say... everything was so complicated, let's say even... everything is very regimented, it was at that time. I don't know if it is or will be like this in Estonia as well. I would say, the difference is indeed that here this bureaucracy is so massive. Everything has been made so complicated. /.../ for a child who was in Tartu in the summer... to go for a walk, to go swimming in the summer, walk... well, such great freedom, here everything became so restricted. It is not safe to cycle, and where do you let your child outdoors here, for going to the ball ground you have to take a bus and so on. Well, he got really annoyed by all this, everything had been so easy for him before and suddenly, well, everything has to be planned ahead all the time, well. Such a lack of independence.

Kaie's son, who enjoyed great freedom as many children in smaller towns in Estonia still do, did not like the restrictions he encountered in urban Scotland. The spatial aspect of the move is also important here – perhaps moving to a more rural part of Scotland would have made a difference to the experiences of the teenage boy, and allowed him more independence and freedom to partake in his hobbies and activities. Amanda's post-war experience in rural Scotland as an 8-year-old – cycling and socialising alone, without parental control, with a great deal of freedom – also perhaps underscores the extent to which the experience of Kaie's son was also a spatial one between more urban and rural locations, although it could be that this would also be more difficult in rural Scotland nowadays due to changing youth culture and a lack of facilities. The presence of a parent back in Estonia also of course enabled and simplified the move back. Kaie respected her son's choices and let him move back to Estonia. Amongst my interviewees, Ulmi had a similar experience when one of her two children, also in his teens, moved back to Estonia to be with his father.

On top of the new exciting job she got in Estonia, Emma also highlights her daughter as the main reason for returning:

When she was born then I thought that if you keep her in the [Estonian] community, she will learn Estonian without any problems. But in reality it wasn't like this at all. When she went to nursery, and she comes home and calls you Mummy!, not Emme! /laughing/ I still remember this moment when I thought that it was like thrusting a knife into my heart. /laughing/ This little moment as they often happen in life led me to think of bigger problems, and the decision [to return] was taking a more clear form./.../ Perhaps I thought that half a year is enough and then she will become an Estonian and then we could return again. But once we got to Estonia, everything seemed to be so easy there /.../ I got a place for her in the kindergarten and it was so convenient, which was a total revelation for me who had come from Scottish society, you take your child to the kindergarten at 9 am and pick her up at 5 pm. And I know what she is doing there. Well, in Scotland the nursery was not very well structured. You take a child there and leave food with her, she will be looked after but no-one will engage her with anything, she is just there. In Estonia, which I think is ingenious especially for raising a child, is the discipline, which I think Scotland did not have. In the morning everyone goes to eat at 9, then we will all draw together, then we cheerfully put our clothes on and go outdoors, All this sounds like a chaos, doesn't it, but everyone is lined up, taken outside, walked, back to eat at 1pm, two hours of sleep, then again outdoors. So this was a very well structured, disciplined daily plan. That time I thought it is ingenious, it created a feeling of safety in a child, in my opinion it was really ideal. Let's say the main reason for me coming back was because of my child.

After moving to Estonia for emotional and family reasons, Emma also found the Estonian childcare system more suitable for her needs, as the child was in the Estonian language environment and was engaged in several activities in the kindergarten. Despite her initial plan to return to Scotland after a while, Emma decided to stay further in Estonia. She has also noted the following:

These two things [work and childcare] together, this of course had a fatal effect on my family life, but today looking back I must say this was the

right decision. I was and still am much more needed in Estonia than in Scotland. I felt like I was more useful in Estonia, and it is much easier to have a career as an Estonian in Estonia than in Scotland. In Scotland, the systems have already taken their final form, even if you can do the same work in Scotland, you are like a little washer in the system, but Estonia is still developing, you can contribute to it. Naturally you want a better life in Estonia.

On top of what she considered to be a better and more convenient environment in which to raise a child, Emma also evaluated her opportunities for building a future in Estonia more positively. She believed that she would have more of a chance to actively engage and participate in the creation of new 'structures' as the scene in Estonia further evolved, and felt that in Scotland her contribution had been restricted to that of a passive cog. Here the difference between the social status, income and education levels of Estonians who migrated to Scotland also becomes evident, as for Estonians moving to Scotland to work in menial jobs the monetary aspect far outweighed other aspects. As someone with a relatively high income in both Scotland and Estonia, for Emma the relative agency she has at work and the cultural and social roots she feels towards Estonia played a major role in her staying there, despite the fact that she would have almost certainly made more money in Scotland. This is also because she also identifies with Estonia and sees herself as Estonian and thus sees her mission in building a better future for Estonia, as well as herself. The same optimism and willingness to achieve something can be seen in student Kristina's interview:

[I would move back to Estonia] if I found a job... how to say it, if I got a job I could never have in Great Britain, well, where I was more appreciated, more valued in Estonia, due to my skills, language skills and my degrees, if I was more needed, more valued.

9.3.2 Reasons for staying

Amongst my respondents who wanted to stay, the reasons for staying were mostly family related and economic. When looking at these reasons one can clearly see that as mentioned already earlier in Chapter 7, the biggest motivation and most quoted reason for staying in Scotland was earning more money here than in Estonia. This is the case with many

migrants who have experienced downward social mobility in Scotland and are staying mainly for financial reasons. Much of the research shows that financial and economic reasons are key which guarantee a sense of material security which helps also to foster emotional security and wellbeing, a normal life (as it comes out in my data below) – so economic factors are a catalyst for other reasons for staying. Study of Polish migrants (Trevena et al., 2013), has found that people with families are more likely to stay. Although we found the opposite to be true in the case of Emma, who returned to Estonia mainly because of her daughter, Keiu who lives here with her small children, has a different experience, similar to that of the Poles. She comments on this topic the following way:

Here it is easier to survive. The quality of life is better. For example, the economic situation, in Estonia you had to struggle twenty-four-seven, and you won't have time for your children, your family. At the same time for the money earned you can only pay rent and for the necessities. But here, in principle, you could travel and afford something for yourself. At the moment I am at home, even on benefits it is still possible. If I returned to work there will be even bigger possibilities. In Estonia there is no such thing.

Confirming what has been said about the Polish migrants, Keiu as a single mother feels more relaxed and free of everyday financial struggle here in Scotland, in contrast with Estonia. She also highlights the economic reasons for staying. Here again the issue of class and income level is highlighted as important, as Emma as a sought-after professional did not have to worry about her income in either country.

My (interestingly only female) respondents who had come to Scotland because of a relationship with a Scot seem to be the most resilient in facing the difficulties often experienced by migrants, due to their family's support. At the moment they are not likely to leave Scotland, as they have also stated that their home is in Scotland for now (see also further in this chapter). However, almost all of them have also bought real estate in Estonia and are planning to move to Estonia together with their partners in the future, perhaps once they retire. According to some, their partners were actually more eager to move to Estonia, if there was work for them there. Because of a lack of work in Estonia, they had postponed their return to retirement. However, through my interviewees I have also heard about

several Estonian women who have already returned to Estonia, accompanied by their Scottish spouses who had started successful businesses in Estonia and are doing generally well.

Ervin mentions security as a main reason for staying. He highlights low rates of criminality in Scotland, but at the same time also stresses social security – he does not need to be afraid of the future because the state takes care:

I have no worries about what will happen tomorrow, it has been organised that I will not get into difficulties, more or less. But in Estonia, for example where you will be made redundant, there is no difference what education you have, your family will suffer as a consequence at least six months afterwards. Here there is no such thing.

What is easy for one person in one country, may be problematic for another person (Emma's and Keiu's different preferences in raising children in Estonia and in Scotland). On a basic level, Scotland seems to be a more 'caring state' than Estonia and offer more security (benefit system is better organised, but at the same time there is no affordable full day child care system) according to my interviewees. In the case of a more ambitious mother, Emma, the Estonian childcare system was preferred which enables mothers to go to work full time and at the same time leave their children in a what she perceives as a more intellectually engaged environment.

Some of my respondents were unsure whether they would leave or stay and it seemed to depend on whatever life is about to offer them.

9.4 Home

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the age of migration has brought about a situation where the idea of home has undergone dramatic changes. Home has become more mobile, more individuated and privatized; everyone can now choose their own home (Rapport and Dawson, 1998). Here I will look more closely at how Estonians – the post-war EVW generation, their children and nowadays 'new' migrants – construct the idea of home: through identity, collective memory and social interactions in everyday life.

9.4.1 'Home' for the first generation of post-war Estonians

As described in Chapter 4, the post-war Estonians longed for their lost homeland, although it did not officially exist anymore, wanted to return, not assimilate into British society. The question of where home was for the first generation of Estonian refugees and their offspring was not a question that was easily answered, and indeed there was no coherent single narrative that came out clearly from my interviews, as was the case with the resent migrants. Helju mentioned the following in her interview in connection to the idea of home:

I still think of Estonian nature, Estonian culture.

Here we can perhaps draw a parallel with the Czech construction of homeland as home, through sacralisation of its natural beauty and national heritage in research done by Holy (1998).

Ilmi mentioned the following in her interview in connection to the concept of 'home':

We thought that Britain was a safe place where the Russians would not get to us. We thought that we will work here so we could... we would have an opportunity to return back home.

Even all those years later, Ilmi still calls Estonia her home, to which she wanted to return. Although Britain was considered to be only a temporary safe place to wait out the liberation of Estonia, this of course did not happen for a long time. Many of the old generation of EVWs never took up British citizenship, which seems to underline this strong connection to Estonia. Otto remembers the following about his mother in relation to this:

At that time, she never, in fact, took up a British citizenship, it was largely irrelevant for her. And I still actually have her, that sort of 'passport'. It was, it is called a Travel document, convention of the 25 of July along with the title, and anybody can have it, anybody who claims to be a refugee. A stateless alien was the phrase here in the UK. People like my mother and myself, but I was a child, my mother was regarded as a stateless alien, meaning a foreigner, but a foreigner who belonged to no

other country. Until her death she retained that. I came over in fifty one and that was a time to start a primary school here. So I went through the primary school, secondary school system, struggled a little at first because I couldn't speak English but I managed to eventually, to get university entrance, which was when Bradford came in, I became trained as a mechanical engineer in Bradford. I am very happy with that. And getting British citizenship which at that time could only... there were strict rules for it and I took it up at the first option which was working for 20pounds 50 pence 50d in those days for an application form, filled it in, be caught to a process which actually took about a year if not more. But I did that in my first year of working which means I did it... you could only apply if you were 21 years old, you must have resided in the country for 2 or more years and you must have a reasonable command of English but you are required to be interviewed as well and provide references as well, four references and one interview which was done at the local police headquarters in Leeds. So I became a British citizen in sixty five.

Otto's mother remained a 'stateless alien' until her death, and so did Voldemar's mother, who travelled abroad only once and for that occasion had to apply for a paper from the Home Office which allowed her to return to the UK. Here can be seen the tragedy of people whose homeland did not officially exist anymore. The situation is similar to that of the Russian émigré community, who left Russia after 1917 during the civil war and felt a similar loss of a homeland, that though physically it was still there, it did not exist as their homeland (Raeff, 1990). In the case of Estonia this was perhaps even more stark, as not only had it gone through a regime change, but also ceased to exist as an independent unit, an entity, even as a geographic unit on maps. As we can see later in this chapter, this was also one of the reasons, and perhaps the main reason, why Estonians in mixed marriages did not teach their children any Estonian.

9.4.2 Home for the second generation of post-war Estonians

Voldemar was born in Scotland and he told me that some of the people of his generation, the offspring to the post-war EVWs, have actually returned to Estonia to live there. Every time he visits Estonia, instead of just going there or visiting it, he 'returns' there:

So many people say it and I know people who are my age. They have ret... gone to Estonia. And, well, we all say that, all of us who have been born abroad, we talk that we return, this is strange, but we return when we go to Estonia. Now I can say it, but the very first time when I went there, then I also returned. I had never been there before, but... that was, how we talked about it.

Voldemar here uses the collective narrative of 'returning to the homeland' which was created and cultivated throughout the diasporic community's long years in exile as a sort of quasi-religious imagined promised land, when there was no way to return to Estonia. In that sense, although he had never left Estonia – he was actually born in Scotland – he nevertheless 'returned' as a representative of those who had escaped and cut off from their homeland for the decades of the occupation, in the common mythos or legend of the diasporic community.

As we can see from this, for the Estonian war refugees 'home' was considered to be Estonia as a country (see also Chapter 2, Sarup, 1994, and Brah, 1996 for more about the idea of 'home'). At least in the beginning the older generation saw themselves here temporarily. Perhaps the relative ease with which people nowadays are able to travel and communicate between Estonia and their new country of residence has changed this relationship somewhat. 'Home' is still in Estonia for some second generation individuals, for example Karoliina. She explains further about this idea of 'home' as follows:

When I meet new Estonians I always have a very homely feeling. But when I meet another English or Scottish person, there is like something reserved between us. /.../ When I first met Karmen I had an instant feeling that I had known her all my life, totally. /.../ Perhaps it is like a big family across the world, isn't it? A small nation but like a big family somehow.

As we saw above, Otto applied for British citizenship as soon as he could and in his interview he describes the difficult and complicated application process. By the time Estonia regained its freedom the older EVW generation had become too old to return to Estonia. This generation's children who were already born in the UK often did not speak Estonian any more, and neither did they have any particularly strong ties with their

parents' homeland. There are also exceptions here, for example Karoliina describes her first visit to Estonia:

I had such a feeling that I had returned home. I don't know why. It was simply that I heard Estonian spoken around me, and I was just like an animal in its genetically natural nest. I don't remember what I was expecting, but I know that this feeling was such a strange, very deep feeling, I didn't understand why I felt like this because I should have rather felt like when I go to Germany or France where I've never lived before. I don't know, but this is just the biological feeling, or this culture was so grown into me as a child. And the feeling that this land is so important and so valuable and so tiny, so it has to be preserved and taken care of... I don't know, these emotions are so complicated. But every time I go there I feel right away that I am at home, when I actually am not. My home is... I don't even know where my home is. I feel that I am Estonian, it is where my biological and genetic... as a person or animal or what I am, I am from that corner of the World. But I don't know, perhaps I am British. But I can't put myself into any corner where I would belong. When I lived in America then I felt I came home to Scotland. But when I am in Scotland I don't feel very much at home here. So strange.

Having been part of a very active Estonian cultural life since her childhood and never having experienced bullying for being a foreigner, Karoliina was able to maintain positive emotional connection to the Estonian language. Meeting other Estonians and hearing the Estonian language being spoken perhaps reminded her of her happy childhood and made her feel at home, like she had already known these persons for a long time and they were a part of her own family. This shows that the feeling of family and 'home' can also be language-based. However, interestingly, Karoliina has almost no Estonian contacts in Scotland and she is not seeking contacts with newcomers from Estonia. At the same time, Karoliina who says that she does not really know where her home is, feels at home on her rare visits to Estonia (see Chapter 6). Sutton (2004) has noticed the same in the case of Caribbean second generation migrants whose identity of home and family can be enlarged to a whole nation/country. Perhaps for someone who did not have any experiences of growing up in Estonia herself, the essence of her Estonian identity as based on being a part

of her experience of family *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world ('non-family') would have also created the mental image and destination, as Estonian language and nationality are to her closely tied to the idea of family. With the family thus comes homeland and home. The idea of 'home' embedded in the virtual space of language (Morley, 2000) describes Karoliina's experience of feeling at home because she was surrounded by people speaking Estonian, even though she had never been in Estonia before and was born in the UK. Here Karoliina probably means home in the wider sense of the meaning, home as a flexible, changing and negotiated geographical or social space (Morley, 2000). Therefore it can perhaps be argued here that a country/nation can be seen as a family, a language can be seen as home. In a wider, global scale Karoliina feels that Estonians create a global family which is formed on a basis of language and belonging and the common home for all is in Estonia.

By the time Estonia finally became independent the first generation refugees had become quite old. They still have fond feelings towards Estonia, in their feelings of home, nature and culture also have important parts. It can be concluded from Karoliina's and Voldemar's interview that even people from the second generation could feel the same homely feelings towards Estonia, even though they had never been there before. Karoliina does not even know what to consider as her home. Perhaps she feels the same 'uprootedness' as her parents, or perhaps she feels that when going back to Estonia she is fulfilling her parents' wishes (or the communal mythos of the post-war Estonian diaspora in the UK in general), applying their concept of home to a country which should otherwise be just a foreign country for her, like any other European country – as she herself admits.

However, feeling of belonging and identity does not have to be based on a common language and culture. Otto, who left Estonia as a small baby, spent most of his childhood in a German cultural and linguistic environment before moving to the UK and does not speak Estonian, has also spoken about his experiences of how he feels about his Estonian origin, where he states that he is indeed Estonian

I was out walking, I do hillwalking, I was out with the group, on Saturday. I am new to the group, relatively new to the group but there was the newer person came in. And of course they assumed my name that I had arrived yesterday from a completely foreign country a million miles away. So he says how long have you been here as we stopped for lunch, and I said, I

thought I could have a joke with this guy, and oh I've been here for so many years. Oh, have you? But I said, to answer the question, he was too embarrassed to ask me... to ask the question, oh where are you from? He didn't ask the question but I told him anyway. I am from Estonia originally. /.../How do I consider myself? By up to 1992 I used to consider myself... I used to have to ... sort of ... I used to have to say: I'm British but I come from another place as well, you know... but these days... In other days there was a hidden nationality, but in these days... depends on who's asking but ... I would probably start off, well, I'm really Estonian, you know, sort of, but me personally I would say yes, I am. You'll never lose your Estonian roots, do you?

After 1992, Otto started feeling proud to be Estonian. Before he had mixed feelings about his origins and was cautious of telling people about his origin, his 'hidden nationality'. Estonia was not on the map of Europe until 1992, so it is understandable that he feels that his birth nationality was hidden to some extent during the occupation. As we can see here, considering oneself to be Estonian does not have to mean actually speaking the language or participating in Estonian cultural life. For Otto, 'Estonianness' is something which comes with blood, at birth, and is now also fortified by Estonia re-gaining its independence. He uses the phrase "my Estonian roots", which is very interesting. Like trees have roots, so Otto feels that his Estonian origin is where his roots are, and he is proud of this fact. It is similar to what Kibria (2002) describes in the case of Chinese migrants in the USA. She calls this a 'primordialist conception' of homeland membership ("a matter of blood").

Talvi, who is a contemporary of Otto, had cosmopolitan feelings when asked to consider her home and homeland instead of feeling rooted in 'Estonia' as a homeland:

My background is that I was born in Estonia but raised here. I think it has influenced me a lot for taking up such work. Our work is now in Africa and Mid-America. Many charities, if you look at them, the majority of Scots are helping other Scots, English are helping other English. Because I was born in one country and grew up in another one, I speak two languages, it gave me a very international feeling. Otherwise people say that their first love is towards their homeland, the second towards Europe and the third towards the World, then in case of me it is vice versa. At

first, I am a citizen of the world. What single country should I pick? Scotland and Estonia are the second ones for me. But the first one for me is the World. So, for me it is very easy to take up work which is five thousand miles away from where I live. I am sure this has influenced me a lot.

Talvi who, like Karoliina, was brought up speaking the Estonian language at home and in an Estonian environment, sees herself first as a citizen of the world, and a citizen of both of her home countries are secondary to this. Partly because of this cosmopolitan feeling she has taken up a voluntary job in a charitable organisation which deals with global rather than national issues.

9.4.3 Home for the 'new' Estonians

One thing that seems to emerge very strongly for the older (diasporic) generation (in relation to conceptions of 'home') is the very deeply felt 'loss' of homeland, something that, as we will see below, is less relevant in the case of the newer generation; they experience 'homesickness', of course, they would not be prevented or prohibited from actually visiting 'home', even if material circumstances make this difficult in reality. The post-war Estonians and their offspring therefore have a typical diasporic attitude towards home and homeland. In this sense, homeland for more recent migrants is something more tangible rather than simply imagined or symbolic, and this is true even for their children born in Scotland, who will generally visit or at least have some contact with their parents' country of origin.

Where 'home' is for recent migrants is difficult to say. It depends on what people mean as 'home' – is it a rental flat, a piece of real estate, a country or town, or perhaps an imagined space? Amongst my student respondents, both male students stated that their home is definitely in Estonia. As Mihkel explains:

If I say I am going home then I mean here in Aberdeen, but if someone asks where your home is then I say in Estonia. Yeah, nothing can beat it!

On the other hand, most of the informants made a clear difference between home and homeland, as well as between citizenship and nationality. Doris considers Estonia still as her homeland, although her home is now in Scotland:

I was born in Estonia, I will always be an Estonian, and even if I will live here for fifty years and I had been living in Estonia only twenty. But my home, because my children were born here, I am married, my home is here because my family is here, right? But you can't change your nationality. You were born in Estonia, your mother tongue is Estonian, both parents are Estonian, but well, I have two citizenships, I have Estonian citizenship and I have also British.... But by birth you are still Estonian.

Doris still feels like part of the Estonian state and she felt that it would have been wrong for her to lose her birth citizenship. As her family are in Scotland, she considers home to be where her family are. It relates to the idea of home being where family are, but homeland being the wider nation (Flynn, 2003). Amongst other correspondents, the issue of 'home' was also often tied to family, and specifically to children. Creating a 'home' for their children in Scotland was an important part of parenting for many. As Teele explains:

Before you have a child, the world is open. Then your home is wherever and you can go and do things. But when you have a small child, then home is created around this little child – his things, his first steps here, - this starts to create a circle of home around him. Then the feeling of home appears. And then the nursery school and mothers you meet there, and then you will say also that let's go home, so you will say this word all the time. Now we are going home and doing homely things there. You will talk about it more.

That home is created through children is an interesting point. Verbally communicating that one is "going home" also seemingly strengthens one's ties to the new place of residence, thus making people themselves feel more at home in their adopted country.

It is clear that family and home were very connected and interlinked to many of the respondents, so it could also be the case that if people still had many family members in Estonia and none in Scotland (for example Mihkel, the student) they would be more tied to the idea of a place in Estonia as their 'home'. Others who had created families in Scotland found it easier to also think of places in Scotland as 'home'.

Many informants stated that Estonia is and will always be their homeland but their home is where they are at this very moment. Home is where one feels comfortable and can relax, the place where one's things are. Elina expresses her plans to return to Estonia once she was retired and has mixed feelings about the idea of home:

I feel great here. The only thing I want is, what I miss here is that this is not my own home, the place I live. This is not my own home. If I had my own home which belonged to me, like for example Reio has.

Elina's concept of home is tied to ownership, and physical real estate which you own, as it is in case of Reio who owns a house in Scotland. She has a house in Estonia and does not feel totally at home living in a place which belongs to someone else, and which she only rents. This idea of a physical house as a home is different from the metaphorical, more spiritual aspect of 'home', as tied to one's family, country or language. But it is also the making of a 'new' home: the importance of the immediate environment you are in.

Emma who has moved to Estonia considers her family's main home being in Estonia at least for the moment:

It is in Estonia indeed. My husband also likes it here more and more. Where the wife is there will be the homely fireside, am I right? We have a country house and a fireplace there, so little by little we have started to move in this direction.

Emma's transnational family also has two homes where they stay, taking turns. It is making their family relationships very complicated. At the same time Emma is unsure about the future and open to all possibilities.

[My husband] tried to live in Estonia in the end of the nineties. But he is strongly for the SNP and has a very Scottish spirit, for him Scotland is very important, and we have talked about this between us lots of times, to be honest we are talking about this very often. We are so different, both our identities are so strong, he is for his Scottish independence and me, as an Estonian here [in Estonia], so how on earth can we be together. But there is obviously something else, well, as some kind of umbrella which unites us. We have been together for over seventeen years. So as a final

result, there is something which is more superior. It is actually very funny, I think of my child, who is she? When both of your parents are so strongly for their nations. It will be very interesting what she thinks about all this. If I ask her she thinks of a singing festival and says that she is Estonian, then thinks and says but I am Scottish too.

For after the end of her temporary contract working in Estonia, Emma does not have any plans yet. She likes Southern France very much and considers the possibility of moving there with her family.

Amongst my respondents, Milla stated that she has two homes: one in Estonia and one in Scotland. She describes how difficult it was for her to leave Estonia in the first years while living in Scotland, but that by now it has become easier. Laila feels that home for her are not places, but rather people who are dear to her – her mother is in Estonia, sisters in Finland and her partner in Scotland. Kristina thinks in a similar way – home for her is where the people close to her are, this is not connected to a certain country, a geographical point, but rather some sort of a social space. She admits that while in Estonia she feels at home, and that it would be interesting to move back and live in Estonia, especially when she meets her extended family or there is a song festival. But on the other hand, coming back to Scotland, also creates a homely feeling in her. For her it is difficult to say in the end whether she would move to Estonia one day.

We already talked about Karoliina's experience of feeling at home because she was surrounded by people speaking Estonian. The view of the home as a flexible, changing and negotiated geographical or social space (Morley, 2000; Rabikowska, 2010a, see the discussion in Chapter 2) also comes across from the respondents who had migrated to the UK from Estonia in the last few decades. People have very different opinions what home is. Some of the respondents were attached to a certain geographical place and consider their home either in Estonia or in Scotland, or both; others were rather attached to people who may not even live in those two countries (as in the case of Laila); while for some people home also meant ownership of real estate (Elina). Some of the Estonian respondents viewed both countries as their home countries, and had in addition taken up the dual citizenship (Doris). In the following section I will take a look in more detail at what factors contribute to the concept of home, how is home built and what does it consist of.

9.5 Family events and food

As it was mentioned before, and highlighted by Morley (2000), feelings of being home can be triggered by language – this was the case with Karoliina who after hearing Estonian spoken always felt at home, and felt that Estonians were a part of one big family. As described previously in Chapter 2, the importance of food has also been highlighted as a part of the ethnic identity (see also Rabikowska, 2010b) and Chapter 4 highlights food as an important source and marker of Estonian identity. When asked about their ideas about home, most of my interviewees started to talk about their family time together as well as different family events. Typical family activities and Estonian ‘family-time’ mentioned by most of my interviewees included celebrations of the anniversary of the Estonian Republic, Midsummer’s Eve, Christmas, and personal celebrations like birthdays. As mentioned before, Karoliina for example has fond memories of her Estonian family gatherings in Northern England, her strongest and fondest memories being about singing together, and Estonian food.

Chapter 4 where we discussed students’ formal social events, and Chapter 8 where we talked about informal social networks, revealed that students also celebrated the same main events as other Estonian migrants – the anniversary of the Estonian Republic and Christmas (they are away for their summer holidays on Midsummer’s Eve, so this was not on the list). Moreover when getting together emphasis was also on consuming Estonian foods and drinks, which had an important position in the celebrations. It becomes clear from this chapter, that similar to findings by Rabikowska (2010b) and other researchers, food has also had (and continues to have) a very important role in the Estonian community abroad. This is not surprising – indeed the role of food in identity building, and in creating a sense of stability and inclusion amongst migrants is well noted. When asked about their family relations and celebrations at home, the first topic of conversation in almost all the interviews was connected to food. The interviewees often described their favourite common Estonian dishes, for example sauerkraut and potato salad. These seemed to be very much connected to their Estonian identity and their feeling of ‘home’.

In her interview Elfriede remembered her struggles in finding Estonian food in post-war Scotland:

Where we lived in a flat, there was a fishmonger close by and fish was not rationed, you could buy as much as you wanted. I asked the guy whether they have salt herring. No, we don't, but we will order it for you right away! He ordered a whole barrel for me! /laughing/ It was there. Every time I went to this shop, the salt herring was there. Finally I didn't dare to go there anymore. No-one else bought salted herring that time in that district. There were Polish shops in other districts, a group of Poles was already here at that time. But there were none of them around there. So, finally I didn't go even near this fishmonger. The barrel was still there...

Craving for salt herring caused Elfriede to be in an uncomfortable situation, as she felt obliged to buy it because the fishmonger ordered a whole barrel only for her. Eating herring was one of the habits which was connected Elfriede to her Estonian identity. Perhaps it reminded her of all the times back home when her family was eating it. By liking it, however, she also felt marginalised and excluded, as no-one else in her district ate it. Seeing the barrel perhaps also reminded Elfriede of her 'otherness', and of not belonging in Scotland. It is interesting that contemporary Estonian migrants have also often mentioned salt herring or another typically Estonian fish, pickled Baltic herring (*vürtsikili*), as something which reminds them of their homeland, and is one of the foods which they are craving.

My interviewees also very often moved onto unfavourably comparing British cuisine to Estonian foods (a matter of taste of course). We can find similar comparisons also in the book of Elin Toona-Gottschalk (2013) where she describes the post-war British cuisine in a very critical way. Food was even mentioned as one of the reasons Estonian EVWs emigrated further from Britain (Valmas, 2007). As food forms such a huge part of the ritual of home-creation and identity (Rabikowska, 2010b), it is perhaps not surprising that Estonians would have been critical of British cuisine after arrival – perhaps this was a way for them to emphasise their identity, and the alien cuisine of Britain would have seemed worse for being different, especially when they did not leave Estonia voluntarily, but were forced to do so. It is also important to remember the post-war context of rationing, and a general lack of some foodstuffs, which were also mentioned in my interviews.

Otto remembers his mother's cooking and is proud that these Estonian traditions are carried on still today in his own family:

Sauerkraut, hapukapsad: They were reasonably obtainable. And also, oh gosh, you could turn ordinary fresh vegetables into the recipes you remember. My wife cooks some of the recipes she learned from my mother. /.../ [my daughter] was here last Sunday. And what was the recipe? It was sauerkraut, and what we call Mutti burgers, Mutti is German for mum. Burgers, and onion gravy.

For Otto, food seems to be the main connection with his Estonian roots now, as he does not speak Estonian. He has named his two daughters after his mother's Estonian sisters and is proud of his Estonian heritage. For Otto, it is very important that his wife has learned to cook the Estonian recipes of his mother, as it ensures that the Estonian family traditions continue. It also ensures the continuation of his own 'Estonianness'. This pattern can also be seen elsewhere, for example when looking at second and third generation Estonians (in my own experience in Toronto, Canada). Even when no Estonian was spoken in the family any longer, very often this belonging to an Estonian identity and 'home' was expressed and manifested through food. It is also in correlation with what Rabikowska (2010b) has written about food projects the concept of 'home', making food is a ritual of creating home and identity – this is clear in the case of Otto, even if his gender norms have passed this important task onto his British wife.

Food continues to have an important role in constituting the identity of being Estonian, and also has an important part in socio-cultural transnational activities. Some mixed families have tried to unite both Scottish and Estonian cultural traditions and try to follow them both. Emma's family follows many Scottish traditions at home – such as Burns Night for example – but at the same time also Estonian traditions, such as Midsummer and Christmas Eve. According to Emma they even celebrate the Irish holiday of St Patrick's Day, because she says it is such a well-travelled celebration. In terms of food they like for example Indian food, especially as a perceived evidence of Britishness. In this context they are quite cosmopolitan, but still ethnic in their family traditions. Rather than being a 'food orthodox', Emma thinks that people should eat the food of the country they are residing right now.

I think the difference is not so big, that I am craving for the herring, and now IKEA is here anyway, so I bought this herring right away. But it is not like you have to go to IKEA for herring on the weekend, you rather

take what is offered to you, I know Scottish people would probably disagree with me but they still have a classy food culture, if you pay for it you have multiple... [choices?] The problem is rather, and the same in Estonia, that you have to pay a lot of money for good food.

Emma with her unorthodoxy and food cosmopolitanism is a rare exception amongst my interviewees to whom food is considered to be one of the main markers of belonging and identity. As we saw before in the case of informal and formal events, talking about the Estonian celebrations and festive days, food (and drink) has always been a key position.

Doris recalls the food served at their family events and celebrations, as a highlight:

I bake a lot of such Estonian cakes like rhubarb cake and apple cake, people here don't really do it. Perhaps through the food, so you make potato salad and black [rye] bread and that is exactly such...

While most of my interviewees highlight the deliciousness of Estonian foods, and that their Scottish partners and friends also like the Estonian cuisine very much, Keiu has a different experience:

I always bake a cake because I don't like the local cakes. But the locals don't like mine. /laughing/ Yes, my cakes, because they are, at first they are moister than the local ones and second, they have jam or some kind of fruit in or on top of it. They don't like such things. They seriously don't like it. They like these dry and with just some cream in between. Relatively dry and very sweet.

Mihkel who longs for Estonian flavours, gets regular parcels from his parents in Estonia. These contain blood sausages, Estonian chocolates and bonbons, and even sauerkraut *Mulgi* style, with pearl barley. He also mentions often visiting Polish shops where sourdough rye bread and *kohuke*⁴⁵ are available. Tauno explains that him and his girlfriend often visit the Polish or Russian shops and cook at home. They barely eat any local dishes.

⁴⁵ Estonian curd snack

What they nowadays consider being the 'Estonian flavour' has probably been strongly influenced by the cuisine of Soviet times. Sometimes people are not really aware of the origin of those foods they connect with Estonia, for example Laila mentions the following:

Potato salad, sandwich cake, gulyas, stroganoff, those are all such .. foods which originate from our culture and people here have never tried them.

Laila mentions gulyas and stroganoff as typically Estonian, other interviewees have also mentioned shashlik as something typically Estonian, as well as longing for buckwheat porridge and *kefir*. These foods were introduced to Estonia during Soviet times and were never mentioned in post-war Estonian EVWs interviews. Here perhaps is another explanation of what Estonians have in common with other people from the former Soviet Union – common Soviet food culture. Many people have mentioned that they go shopping in the Russian shops. Annika has also mentioned that the local people don't like *kefir*, a fermented milk drink, available to buy in Russian and Polish shops. Oleksandra Seliverstova (2017) has written about the Soviet legacy, in the framework of banal nationalism and consumer citizenship, by which she means production of national identity by way of shared consumption practices. She examines how the roles of a citizen and a consumer are interrelated. According to her, the official narrative of Estonianness is intensively promoted through food products and food habits which is a part of cultural practice. She also mentions that ethnic Estonians might deny some consumer practices or products, which they associate with Russian and Soviet cultures, as part of a general fear of being again dominated by Russian culture and power. I did not necessarily notice this in the case of my respondents.

Food invariably has a strong role in the creation of identity and home, but what is considered to be Estonian food, this is actually very much based on the individual. Nowadays, Estonian food culture has much in common with neighbouring countries as well as other former Soviet republics, as it has been influenced a lot by them.

9.6 Language as part of home and identity – Estonian language in everyday use

As has been mentioned before, David Morley (2000) considers language as an expression of home. TV and media offer ways of being in contact with one's mother tongue even

when they are far away, as it was discussed in Chapter 7. During my interviews I also asked about my informants' everyday language usage. As seen from the previous part of this research, nowadays the Estonians' social networks and activities are very wide-ranging and also require different language skills. All of my interviewees speak or have spoken Estonian as a mother tongue, at least at some stage of their lives. Their daily Estonian usage varies a lot, depending on whom they are living together with, how often they phone their Estonian family and friends, or meet other Estonians here. Those who work in factories speak mostly Russian, the ones who work with British colleagues or who study, speak mostly English during their day. Estonian is a domestic language often only in the case where both parents are Estonian; all informants from mixed families use English at home.

What languages do Estonians speak with their children? When both parents are Estonian then, amongst my informants, certainly Estonian. It is more problematic and varies more in the case of mixed marriages. Those who did not have children at the time of the interview all univocally agreed that they would speak only Estonian to their children. Kristina explains why she would speak Estonian to her children one day:

Acquiring the Estonian language helps you to learn other languages, language acquisition is overall a very important thing, [and] a totally different world view will accompany the Estonian language than the English language. It will help you to understand the Estonians and also yourself.

Kristina, who amongst my interviewees was one of the rare bilinguals (spoke both languages equally well) discovered that for her different languages had an influence on her thinking and perception. Being a native speaker of a less widely spoken language, she thought that being able to speak any foreign language was in itself already a valuable asset and also widened one's worldview and understanding. Annika has pointed out different reasons for speaking Estonian to the children:

I don't understand those international families where children are learning to speak only one language. I know so many families here and elsewhere where girls are Estonian and men are foreign, and the child learns only their father's language. If you visit home and your granny

could not speak to her grandchild, then granny is forced to learn Spanish to speak to the grandchild. In my opinion it is totally out of the question, you are Estonian yourself and you should teach your child Estonian. However, that's what I am saying now. At the same time I talk in English to the machines while at work. Why don't I do it in Estonian? And with the animals I also speak English. It comes automatically, you see.

Annika as well as other interviewees who have no children yet, are very sure about the future language usage in their families and are determined to speak Estonian to their children. However, in some cases it is difficult not to speak English if you are used to doing it, like in the case of Annika – English comes automatically for her while she is speaking to animals and even inanimate machines. Machines and dogs are not the same as one's own children of course, but she is afraid that she may not speak Estonian to her children after all. As Annika herself understands, it is of course difficult to predict what will happen in the future and whether they will manage to fulfil their hope of speaking Estonian to their children or not.

In the case of Doris who migrated to Scotland with her Scottish husband, she has not been able to speak Estonian to her two children:

Actually I made the decision to only speak Estonian to them, and I started with it with the first child, I was interested in bilingualism and read a lot about it. But I wasn't able to do it, perhaps because there were no other Estonians around who would have supported me. Because actually you need a supporting system here. I went to work when my daughter was four months old, there was no supporting system, that time there was no internet and online newspapers, I was cut off from Estonia. Well, you visited only once a year, you couldn't even phone so often because it was expensive, there was no Skype... and when you are out with other mothers it seemed strange to me to speak Estonian to my child. And when my son was born, I thought again I will certainly speak only Estonian to him, but then I didn't speak to the child at all, I couldn't talk, didn't know what to say in Estonian to him. It was a total torture. Then I thought, well, I have to speak to him in some language, the outcome is better in English.

In the case of Doris, she felt not supported, cut off from her language and culture. Nowadays the situation has become better thanks to the internet and Skype. Still, the biggest problem for children from marriages where only one parent is Estonian and the family lives in Scotland, is that the children practically do not use Estonian anywhere else in their everyday lives. Even while visiting Estonia, many interviewees complained about Estonians' eagerness to improve their English, so their children would not have a chance to learn proper Estonian even when surrounded by other speakers of the language.

Minna, whose children spoke Estonian while very young but do not any more, explains her situation as follows:

Because they have Estonian passports, I did not try to acquire local passports for them, they have Estonian birth certificates, by nationality they consider themselves Estonians. However, they are half-non-Estonians. The problem in Estonia is that everybody speaks English. So, it is actually very easy not to speak [Estonian]. My mother speaks English to them, dad has also learned some things by now, half one and half another [language]. They [children] know expressions and words, they understand the questions, but can't converse freely. I guess that my mum's younger sister, their aunt, she is the only one who tries to speak Estonian to them constantly. But sometimes she finds English easier, when she needs to be understood quickly.

English has become the common language for almost all the family even in Estonia. At the same time Minna considers her children Estonian by birth and also because they have Estonian citizenship. Minna as a single mother, when her children were smaller, tried to visit other Estonians with children, to maintain her children's Estonian language, but her tight working schedule did not give her many possibilities to do that, as the closest Estonian family with children at that time was in Edinburgh and the other one in Inverness. Their mothers were at home and had possibilities to speak to their children in Estonian, while Minna's children had to stay in English-speaking day care while she was working full time.

My problem was that I was at work all days long. Well, [I saw them] only in the evenings, and if you communicate with your children so little, it is more important to communicate, to get your message through.

Milla, like Doris, gave up her Estonian while speaking to her children for the sake of communication. In Scotland, many other half-Estonian families have failed to find enough contacts for their children to maintain the Estonian language. Minna finally gave up when her son refused to communicate with her in Estonian due to bullying at school (as described before in this chapter). Some people have given up speaking Estonian to their children due to their British partners' disapproval and not wanting to cause any problems in the family (this was mentioned in Elfriede's interview for example). One exception is Ulmi whose husband is a native Gaelic speaker so their child speaks three languages at home – Estonian and Gaelic with each of the parents, and English as a common language with the whole family. Ulmi's husband has been very supportive towards his child maintaining both ancestral languages. Some families (2 interviewees in the research project) have employed an Estonian baby sitter or au pair, to strengthen their children's Estonian language skills.

Some people have highlighted the necessity to speak Estonian. Marju, who from time to time interacts with Estonians on a common language basis (see also Chapter 8) explains why she feels the urge to speak Estonian from time to time:

You may speak the [English] language very well indeed but it is still a foreign language. For example, it is always so difficult to joke in a foreign language and due to this people may not even be aware what a great and funny person you actually are. Your real character does not come across. This also diminishes your chances of making friends.

In Marju's case, despite her reasonably good command of English, she feels insecure and is aware of her own limits in more complicated fields of language usage, such as joking, blaming this on not having many local friends. For her, the Estonian language offers security and the freedom to express herself.

Many of my informants who have stayed here for longer and interact a lot in both languages have experienced the influence from English into their Estonian, and of course it works the other way round as well. Ulmi shares her experiences.

English has influenced me. Sometimes I can't remember words in either language. You make mistakes in English, and in Estonian as well. I have noticed that Estonian is awfully polluted by English, some people talk [in Estonian] as if they were translating directly from English.

Vivian is critical about her own language usage and tries to have more control over it:

My friend who now lives in Italy was visiting me, and when we spoke with each other we noticed that we were translating directly from English, our grammar and vocabulary have been influenced by it, and then we were jokingly correcting each other. When I go back to Estonia it passes in a few days. I am trying hard. Many people are spoiling languages, mixing them, perhaps it is some youth trend. I can't stand it. I always try, whatever language I speak, the language should be proper.

Maintaining one's mother tongue abroad is not easy, although thanks to the internet, cheap phone calls and Skype, it has become easier than it was before. The main problem seems to be lack of interaction in Estonian in Scotland, where there are no children's activities in Estonian. In mixed families, the Estonian mothers have had to make great efforts to teach their children Estonian, and some of them have not managed due to their circumstances, the long working hours, necessary to adequately communicate with their children, and also sadly the children's own unwillingness to speak the language due to being bullied for example. The most complicated situation overall has been when mothers have had to work, as this reduces their contact hours with their children, and their children do not normally have another possibility to speak Estonian to anyone else. Sometimes partners and spouses can also be the issue. Despite having lost the language, children can still maintain strong Estonian identities, as is the case with Milla's children. It is obvious that living in a foreign country for a long time can weaken one's connection to one's mother tongue. It is not surprising that many of my interviewees also expressed their disappointment with themselves at having started mixing languages due to this. Language is still seen as an important part of creating home abroad.

9.7 Creating a 'home' and identity through objects and artefacts

Sometimes people try to re-create a well-known environment around them to feel more at home. It has already been mentioned that in Elfriede's account amongst the post-war Estonian refugees there was an older couple (Mr and Mrs Mägi), who lived in the Scottish countryside, according to the customs, culture and practices of pre-war Estonia. This couple had maintained an old-fashioned rural way of living typical in Estonia, which may have seemed quite peculiar for other people. It was perhaps a way to fight homesickness, to create and keep an identity and a home by re-creating 'an old lifestyle' in exile. Even their home interior was designed following the pre-war rural Estonian fashion, with embroidered pillows and rugs in the Estonian fashion.

Estonian migration researchers (Jürgenson, 2011; Pehk, 2007) have noticed that even amongst second and third generation Estonian descendants, there is a considerable feeling of Estonianness: their self-determination is strongly influenced by their Estonian cultural background. For the war refugees who had lost contact with their homeland, everything which was brought from Estonia (objects, traditions, skills) had a special value. Estonian identity has been often carried on in old habits, but also in several artefacts and objects. Amongst the post-war Estonian refugees it was common to have an 'Estonian corner' in the home – a bookshelf with Estonian books and artefacts on it, paintings on Estonian themes on the wall, handicrafts with ethnographic ornaments, and other objects of nostalgia. These 'Estonian corners', prevalent amongst the Estonian community in exile around the world, helped the members of the community to remember (or indeed imagine, if they had never been to Estonia) fond memories of their lost homeland (Kalajärv, 2012; Jürgenson, 2011). It also represents the remaking of an immediate home in the immediate physical environment. Jürgenson (2011: 135) has noticed that the habit of using traditional and national symbols on different objects at home is a well manifested habit amongst migrant communities. The creation and use of national costumed dolls, ceramics, paintings and other objects with Estonian motifs started indeed the German DP camps by the refugees themselves as a way to remember and cherish their homeland.

Karoliina explains further about the importance of Estonian artefacts in her home:

At our home we have dolls wearing Estonian national costumes on the walls. And I have what my mother made, no, my grandmother made, a lot

of woodwork, wood carvings when they lived in a camp [in Germany]. I have many artefacts made by her, all kinds of wooden plates with burn-graved ethnographic patterns and wooden beer tankards with those ethnographic patterns on them, all these kinds of things are present in my home. It gives me such a homely feeling. When I was younger I didn't think of this, all my life was about the small children, the everyday actions around them, I did not have time to think about such things and I didn't realise it was in my blood or somewhere deeper all the time /.../ When I was looking for something in Estonia to take home with me which would be... important, or remind me of Estonian national culture, I didn't find anything. But it is perhaps like it is in Scotland, that here Scots don't jump around in their kilts and tartan stuff, but Scots who live in Canada they do. Perhaps it is the same thing. People there live their ordinary modern life and do not pay much attention to such things. But for us it was, you know, what represents our Estonianness, was all this folk dancing and our national costumes and my mother sat and embroidered the folk costumes for us, and all this... it was for a different reason that time.

Karoliina feels homely feelings about the traditional objects and patterns she has had around her since childhood and which are connected to her identity as an Estonian person. At the same time, she understands that these features are only one part of a nation's identity, which may not be exposed in everyday life, as she draws parallels with the Scottish community in Scotland and abroad. She understands the importance of these ethnic artefacts for the post-war refugee generation – it was a manifestation of identity for those who had been cut off their homeland. It is interesting that the new generation (including Karoliina and Roosi) is actively keeping up and also creating these objects herself – by handicraft and painting – thus also keeping alive the meaning of these artefacts.

Another point related to the importance of these artefacts to specifically the Estonian community lies in the fact that the country officially ceased to exist after the occupation. It was thus also undoubtedly important for the refugees to keep physical evidence of their country and culture present all the time because due to the Soviet occupation, officially

Estonia as a country and nation ceased to be for the outer world. Elfriede remembers the following in relation to this:

Nobody talked about Estonia, everything was Russian, Soviet. And lots of them didn't know anything at all [about Estonia]. I remember I mentioned Estonia to someone, and someone else asked, are they all black there? Esto... Ethiopia? But they didn't know at all what this word Estonia meant. Of course, those who were older, they knew indeed, but those who were our age, they had studied in school that [there is] a big Soviet Union.

Amongst my interviewees, Karmen talks in her interview about her five-year-old granddaughter who does not speak Estonian. Nevertheless Karmen has already got her a set of Estonian folk clothes. Her children or grandchildren have never been to Estonia, but her dream is to go there one day with her family. This shows again that folk clothes specifically had an important part in carrying and expressing Estonian identity abroad. For Karmen, even if her grandchild does not speak Estonian and probably never will, expressing her Estonian heritage through the national costume is still possible, and very important.

Nowadays, in Estonian homes, there are Estonian artefacts and national symbols (for example little flags, fridge magnets with Estonian national symbols) present, but perhaps not as explicitly as in Estonian homes in the past. It is extremely interesting that in the case of mixed families/couples, everything Estonian seems to be even more explicit than in the case of families where both parents are from Estonia. In one Estonian-Scottish family for example, an expensive collection of authentic Estonian applied and visual art – paintings, handicrafts, ceramics and glass – is exhibited in the house. The spouses of Estonians according to some of my interviewees are proud of their Estonian connections, and indeed practise and consume Estonian culture, art and music too. Kaie mentioned the following in her interview:

L: Do you listen to Estonian music at home?

K: No. Rarely, it means that Steve is listening to it. Yes, my husband is listening. That's it, I don't have to listen to it, he does it, he buys those records and and and listens to them.

In the case of Kaie, it seems like her husband is expressing more interest towards Estonian culture that Kaie herself – perhaps as a way to understand and feel close to the part of their spouse’s identity that they themselves do not have or share, or perhaps simply because they enjoy Estonian culture and music. There are also spouses who regularly read news about Estonia and retweet/repost this on social media sites, sometimes with proud comments.

9.8 Digital age. Living at home abroad

Nowadays thanks to the new government-issued Estonian ID card, Estonian nationals abroad can use digital technology to give an official digital signature via the web, they can access Estonian state and social institutions (like healthcare, tax information, as well as voting in elections) online. This has made it easier to be an Estonian citizen, and removed the need to be physically present in Estonia to take part in these bureaucratic and state institutions. These new developments have further enabled people to in some way still feel present in the Estonian state (even if only digitally) and to more actively participate in Estonian socio-political life, even from far away. Annika describes using her ID-card for the first time for the European Parliament elections online as follows:

I had postponed this because I imagined that you should undergo some cruel procedure [before]. But it was so easy, I will certainly use it in the future. But the European election was the only election I could vote for in Estonia, all the other ones are already here, I am not a resident of Estonia anymore. Actually, until last August I was still on the electoral list in Estonia, but when I ordered a new passport through the Embassy, they refused to send it to Scotland before I had filled in some paper about residency. From that moment on I can't vote in Estonia, except those European elections. Because I was registered out from my mum's.

For Annika, it seemed to be important to be officially registered in Estonia rather than Scotland – even if in reality she was actually a resident in Scotland. To take part in elections back in Estonia is one way for her to maintain close political transnational contacts with the homeland and to feel like she still belongs and is in some way present in the country, through her voicing of her democratic right to vote, and thus shaping the country’s future. Voting in Estonia or both countries is a clear evidence of transnational political activities (Snel et al., 2006).

By issuing ID cards and creating a virtual platform *e-Estonia*, as well as offering e-residency (with ID-card) to foreign businessmen, the Estonian state has actually become a 'de-territorialised nation state' (Basch et al., 1994) and this situation is hugely facilitating all types of transnational activities. This is an interesting topic and needs further research. Unfortunately, amongst my recipients, no-one else but Annika touched this topic.

9.9 Core types of Estonian migrants

As has been shown, there are many and varied transnational activities in which the Estonian migrants partake. One valuable insight into migrants' transnational actions has been Janine Dahinden's (2010) typology of transmigrants. My initial plan was to analyse Estonian transnationalism through these four core types of transnational migrants, based on their levels of mobility and local anchorage/social integration (Dahinden, 2010). However, this typology misses other important features, as for example, on top of physical mobility, also social mobility (Ryan, 2011) is important in understanding migrants' experience in a new country. Also, I decided to include Faist's (2010) levels of transnational action (kinship, circuit and community), and Boccagni's (2010) dimensions of transnational activity (individual, family and social dimension) in developing my own typology.

First, I would like to have a look at Dahinden's (2010) typology again and discuss its relevance in the case of Estonian migration to Scotland. The post-war generation has a lot in common with Dahinden's group 1 ('diasporic formations') as having low levels of transnational mobility, but high levels of locality in the receiving country, and low levels of locality in the sending country, therefore being 'localised' in a new country (Dahinden, 2010). In my opinion the more recent Estonian migrants fall mainly into Dahinden's types 2 and 3 (*localised mobile transnational formations* (high physical mobility and high locality), *transnational mobiles* (high mobility, low locality)), these types are also relevant for the post-war group, however. Group 4, 'transnational outsiders' are people with both low transnational mobility and locality who do not circulate between the countries and are not embedded locally. According to Dahinden, these are mostly asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. Especially since the freedom of movement inside EU, this group is rather irrelevant to my current research. Before moving forward to shaping my own classifications, I will take a closer look at Dahinden groups 2 and 3, and how they fit together with my data.

Dahinden's (2010) group 2, 'localised mobile transnational formations' are characterised by more elements of mobility – simultaneously high levels of mobility and high levels of locality in both receiving and sending countries. In my research, they are clearly the first generation of 'new' migrants who move regularly back and forth between the new host country and their homeland for their vacations, family events and in some cases also for business reasons. They are integrated into the social and professional networks of both countries, although not at the same level. My informants maintain transnational ties with their home country mainly on a family level and to a lesser extent at the societal level. Many of them have real estate (house or flat) in Estonia, but their main place of residence is in Scotland, although many are thinking of moving to Estonia together with their partners, for example once they retire or their children have grown up. According to Dahinden, this group's locality is less long lived than in the first (diasporic) group, their transnational actions are less conditioned by collective representation of ethnicity or religion, and conducted mainly through the family networks, as shown also in my study. Amongst the first generation of 'new' migrants who intend to stay longer, their ties with the receiving and sending societies are of varying weight and intensity. Some people in this group feel that their ties with the homeland have started to become looser, but they still exist in various ways (as mentioned above). More or less the majority of my interviewees belong to this group, at least partially.

Dahinden's (2010) group 3, 'transnational mobiles' are those who have low levels of locality in the receiving country (countries) but high levels of locality in the sending country, and mobility has become an important part of the life strategy of people in this group. Circular mobility is also a part of this group. In Dahinden's typology the 'transnational mobiles' contain two very different groups: on the one hand there are the 'transnational elite', highly skilled professionals who migrate for better career opportunities and higher wages, and on the other hand the 'new nomads' (Tarrius, 2000), the so-called nomadic entrepreneurs (suitcase traders and seasonal workers) who create circular territories and can simultaneously belong here and there. The new nomads do not want to settle in a receiving country and are mainly recruited through agencies, but acquaintances (trust networks) also play a role as go-betweens in their search for work. There were no people amongst my interviewees who currently took part in circular migration, perhaps especially because they are harder to reach for a study. I nevertheless heard of Estonian circular workers through my interviewees, who come to Scotland for

seasonal jobs – packing Christmas presents for big supermarkets or picking berries in farms in the summertime. Highly skilled and well paid Estonian medical specialists have also worked temporarily in Scottish hospitals as locums, due to staff shortages, sometimes during their annual holidays.

Unfortunately I was not able to interview a current circular migrant, although their input would have been an interesting comparison. Nevertheless, in some cases circular migration can lead to a more permanent settlement. In the cases of Marlene (who came to work as a seasonal worker) and Vivian (who came to Scotland to pick strawberries more than ten years ago), seasonal work led to full settlement in Scotland. Vivian finished her higher education in Scotland and has established herself well in her receiving society. Marlene on the other hand has returned to Estonia after being permanently settled in Scotland for a while, but may return in the future for temporary work. Kadri is also a good example when looking at the mobility and locality of low-paid hotel workers; she did not manage to establish strong local connections in Scotland and has also returned. Dahinden's (2010) classification is also not a clear fit for the Estonian migrants interviewed, as the Estonian circular migrants seem to have close family ties, while in Dahinden's classification weak family and ethnic relations as well as stronger professional and friendship ties qualify this group. Perhaps circular migration can also be considered to be the case of some students who have not adapted to life in Scotland and circulate between their university (term time) and home (holiday time).

As seen from the data on Estonians in Scotland (also see Dahinden, 2010), migrants can often change their transnational actions over time and there are no clear cut differences between the groups of transnational formations, as people can move from one group to another as times go by. Many of my informants amongst the contemporary migrants have stated in their interviews that their ties with family and friends have become looser and less frequent over time, and that their transnational activities have also changed over time. Overall, all my informants had social contacts in both local and Estonian networks, and nobody was totally cut off or isolated. What differed between the respondents was the extent and intensity of those contacts, different levels of social capital and social mobility, and different kinds and scope of transnational activities that they conducted in their everyday life. In my study, in addition to Dahinden's core types (2010), I also took into consideration Faist's (2010) and Boccagni's (2010) divisions of levels of transnational

actions; on the top of physical mobility in both societies it is also important to look at social mobility and ties (Ryan, 2011 and 2016) in the receiving society. Based also on the activity of maintaining and creating transnational ties, the scope and intensity of these, we can establish the following types. Naturally, these types exist only in ideal and in real life there are many overlaps between them.

9.9.1 ‘Ambassadors’

Many of the Estonians I interviewed clearly belong to this group, which is characterised by close and extensive local ties in both countries, as well as relatively high physical mobility. The people in this group participate frequently in socio-cultural transnational activities which can also be combined with high or at least medium levels of economic and political transnationalism. People identifying rather with this group seem to have higher than average social mobility in both countries. They are usually educated (or have been self-educated, many of them receiving or having received their education in their new country of residence), have multiple skills and are actively interested in their surroundings – they read and follow both the Estonian and Scottish media for example, are part of both local and Estonian networks, and take part in the political scene in both countries although not necessarily equally. This group has a good amount of social capital, and they also feel at home in both their original and adopted countries. Their businesses are usually of transnational nature, and the main reasons for their stay in Scotland can be economic, but with their skills they would probably also manage in a third country, so they don’t necessarily feel obliged to stay in Scotland. It is not surprising therefore that some of them have considered moving back to Estonia or elsewhere should their circumstances change. This group is called ‘Ambassadors’ because they are proud of their home country and are actively promoting and introducing Estonian culture and knowledge about Estonia to their surroundings, therefore acting as ambassadors for their country of origin, or both home countries. The actual concentration of these ‘ambassadors’ in an Estonian community abroad could indeed be lower than it is in my data, because those who are active and more visible are undoubtedly the section of the migrant population that were easier to locate and to contact for interviewing. They were also undoubtedly more eager to participate in interviews about being an Estonian in Scotland than the other groups. The best examples of ‘Ambassadors’ in my data are Emma, Annika, Kirke, Marju, and Hardo.

9.9.2 'Followers'

The next quite numerous group represents those Estonian migrants who have a high or medium social mobility in their host society – they usually have an education (in Estonia or in Scotland), have usually no problems with the host language, have a decent job and have established themselves well in Scottish society (often thanks to their Scottish spouses), having stronger locality in Scotland than in Estonia. Their transnational practices are of a much narrower scope than in the previous group, their transnational ties are rather of kinship or family level (Boccagni, 2010 and Faist, 2010). They may follow the media in both countries, but less regularly and not to the same degree as the 'Ambassadors' do, often preferring one or the other country's media channels. They also may participate in political activities in only one country, or neither. When they own businesses, these are not transnational in nature. They still visit Estonia and to some extent feel like they are a constituting part of Estonian society, but their physical mobility is low, they have strong ties in Scotland and they are mostly well 'rooted' here. Their reasons for living in Scotland are mostly economic or family ties (married to Scots). They are called 'Followers' because they are likely to (passively) partake in certain transnational activities when they are given opportunities to do so – being invited by someone else to an event for example. In practice they do not show initiative, or start any cultural events themselves, nor do they actively seek to establish socio-cultural, economic or political ties neither in Estonia nor in Scotland. In my study, the people belonging to this group include Sabine, Koidu, Laila, Teele, Milla, Ervin and Doris. All my first and second generation post-war interviewees also belong to this group.

9.9.3 'Hide-outs'

This third and least frequent group in my study represents migrants with low local ties in both countries, low social mobility, and little social capital (medium or low level of education and usually non-sufficient English language proficiency). This group maintains very few transnational ties, some on the personal and kinship/family level, but have practically no ties on the society or state level. They also exhibit little socio-cultural and political transnational activity. Their physical mobility can be very low, but it can also be higher than that of other groups, depending on whether they have or have not 'rooted' in Scotland and/or are circulating between two countries. Because of their lack of roots they are not sure about their future plans either. They have similarities with Dahinden's (2010)

fourth group, the transnational outsiders. This group comprises of people who are also likely to be outsiders in Estonian society, and are not interested in participating in ethnic networks, are often critical about both countries, but are at the same time not knowledgeable about current events in either Estonia or Scotland. Members of this group tend to be in Scotland for purely economic reasons, and often do not see themselves as parts of either society, literally “hiding-out” from societal interactions. The reason for “hiding out” can indeed be their low social status. The best example here is Reimar, but also Keiu, Elina, Krete and Siiri belong to this group, amongst some others.

As we can see, the first two groups have high social mobility and high social capital, while the difference lies in the strength and scope of their transnational actions. In terms of ‘rootedness’ or locality, the second group is the best rooted in Scotland. The third group has the lowest social capital and also locality. In terms of actively establishing transnational relations (socio-cultural, economic or political) and creating new strong transnational spaces, only the first group can be taken in consideration, while they may persuade group 2 to also partake. The first and the second group is the most likely to have a positive ‘transnationalising’ effect on their closest family members and spouses.

If to look at the transnational activities of Estonians in general, we can say that people’s everyday lives are actually rather ‘local’ and there is not much transnational in it.

9.10 Conclusions

This chapter gave an overview of the reasons why Estonians decided to leave Scotland or stay here over time. The similarities between post-war EVWs and today’s migrants lie in their ability to adapt and create strong ties in Scottish society. Elfriede, Doris and many of my interviewees have managed to do this. For those who are single, experiencing downward social mobility and societal restrictions, this has been more difficult and they were also more likely to leave. While post-war Estonians longed for a bigger Estonian community and facilities for children, easier access to education, and the possibility of social mobility, nowadays people are concerned about their possibilities to learn English, and in many cases their hopes have not come true. People have also realised that they value Estonian culture, society and customs while living abroad and have therefore moved back to have what they did not realise they needed before they left. Many of my informants stress cultural differences which they have experienced in Scotland and which have been

difficult to get used to. Whether a person is intends to leave Scotland or to stay depends on many factors of course and is overall difficult to predict.

Amongst the reasons for staying, besides material reasons (better salaries), social security played a great role, as many Estonians consider Scotland more secure and the Scottish society itself is considered to be more safe and welcoming. At the same time, others have mentioned that Estonian society also offers things that are not so easily accessed in Scottish society - for example better day-care for children, or safer and freer environments for teenagers to practice their agency and independence in. Many non-Estonian spouses from mixed marriages have seemingly developed strong transnational ties with Estonia themselves through their spouses, and have considered moving to Estonia in the future or at some point (should circumstances change).

This is one of the interesting differences between migration today and post-war migration, as non-Estonian spouses were generally not involved in any transnational activities with Estonia – largely because Estonia as a country had officially ceased to exist (as Elfriede described in her interview) and thus they did not have the opportunity to create a personal contact with the country of their spouses, as was the case with Elfriede's family.

Karoliina's experience in this regard was to eliminate Estonian language and identity from their family's everyday life due to the painfulness of this Estonian experience as she described in her interview – nevertheless elements of Estonian identity remained in her home (in the 'Estonian corner'). Perhaps modern technology and the onslaught [onset] of the internet has also made it easier for people to become more acquainted with Estonian culture, music and art, and to thus acquire a 'spousal Estonian identity' from far away.

How Estonians understand the concept of home is very different, and varies from person to person. 'Home' can be understood in a concrete material way (a flat or a house that one lives in, or even specifically real estate that one has to own) and in more abstract ways (as a 'home' in the Estonian language or in Estonia as a country general). The post-war group and their offspring have a diasporic attitude towards home, which is expressed through longing for the lost home(land) and returning to this home(land). Even for the second generation Estonians, home is considered to be somehow related to Estonia – through food or artefacts, if not language. For some people home is where people close to them are, independent of the geographic location of the place. As my research has shown, homely feelings are additionally created through customs and food – food has a very important part

to play in Estonians' home and identity, and in the creation of 'family-level mini Estonians' abroad. As Brah (1996:4) has put it, people may feel anchored in their place of settlement, but still experience "double, triple, or multi-placedness of home" in the imaginary, which can also be said about Estonians in Scotland. As we can see from this research, home can often be a non-physical place, in other words a social space, defined by language and customs. These understandings are present in both groups.

Finally, based on social and physical mobility, locality, scope, and intensity of transnational activities, Estonians in Scotland can be divided into three core types: Ambassadors, Followers and Hide-outs. The second type seems to be the most 'rooted' in Scotland, has established multiple local ties and created home here. The third group is more likely to leave, due to lack of strong ties and low social mobility. Finally, the first two groups are most likely to 'transnationalise' their partners and non-Estonian family members.

10. Conclusions

10.1 Key findings

The research study has provided an in-depth insight into the personal experience of Estonians in Scotland in the second half of the 20th and the early 21st centuries, looking in detail at their departure from their homeland, their arrival in Scotland, their social networks, experiences of living abroad, transnational activities, home-creation, identity and identity-creation. I chose to compare the two waves of migration to see to what extent the personal experiences of respondents in the two groups bore resemblance to each other. I was also interested in finding out whether it was possible to apply the theoretical framework of transnationalism to the earlier migration event. I have been guided by specific approaches within transnational migration studies, as well as taking into consideration studies on recent migration to the UK and Scotland. In developing the theoretical framework for my research and the organisation of my discussion on transnationalism I have taken account of the research and theoretical insights by Boccagni (2010, 2012) and Dahinden (2010, 2012), especially their studies on the transnational activities and levels of transnationalism prevalent in the personal experiences of migrants. The three main themes in my thesis have been social networks, home and identity. A critical reflection on the concepts of ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’ has been central to this, developed from the findings of the empirical material collected for this study.

I decided to structure my empirical chapters by starting the analysis with the departure from Estonia, then moving towards arrival and adaptation, the Estonians’ social networks, and also looking at the further decisions and plans of the interviewees. The overarching threads in the empirical chapters are bound to ethnic networks, social ties, home and identity. It transpires that the two groups of Estonian migrants have more in common than initially thought, for example when looking at the nature of migration. As it has been stated before and we can see from this research, there is not always a clear cut difference between voluntary and forced migration – both political and economic factors can cause forced migration and voluntary migration can also occur under significant constraints.

The personal experience of the migrants from the two different periods are actually not so different from each other – Estonians from either era might have encountered help, and experienced difficulties with language or adaptation. The empirical data also shows that

while technological changes have altered the mediums of exchange, the importance of personal contacts and of keeping in touch with friends and family have remained.

Interestingly, during the Cold War period of Soviet occupation, the Estonian organisations abroad took over the role of the Estonian state which ceased to exist ‘on a map’. There is also evidence of transnationalism in many fields of life abroad already in that period. Even if one does not dispute the use of the term ‘diaspora’, my empirical work has brought to light a picture far more complex than the one painted in much of the existing literature on post-war Estonian migration, also questioning many of the basic assumptions.

Although nearly all of the post-war migrants can be conceived of as a ‘classical localised diasporic formation’ (i.e. in terms of Dahinden’s type one, for more see Chapter 2 and 9) rather than a ‘mobile’ or ‘circular’ transnational group, there are gaps in Dahinden’s framework which I intended to add to, and to develop my own typology (see Chapter 9). As I discovered, compared to the post-war Estonian societies in England or Canada, in Scotland there has never been an Estonian diaspora in its classical sense (see Chapter 2). However, most of my interviewees whose parents or who themselves came to the country after the Second World War seem to belong somewhat to a form of ‘diasporic’ group nevertheless. They have established themselves here in every way, are socially and economically integrated in the current country – ‘localised’ (Dahinden, 2010) – and visit Estonia only occasionally, if at all. At the same time, their Estonian origin is still important to them and they consider themselves part of this ethnic group.

In the case of the post WWII-group, leaving Estonia was a long and often painful experience (unlike the recent wave). People moved to Britain because of a fear of forcible repatriation, in the hope of a better economic future (‘the whole world will be open to you’), or simply to link up with family members or acquaintances. Other interesting points that came out of the research showed how the Estonian (and new ‘Baltic’) identity categories were shaped through the DP camps and taken to the UK as the basis for a new life in exile. Sometimes people hid their identity for decades (as in the case of Otto). Another interesting thing that became clear from the material is the picture it gives of the receiving society, and how little UK society has in fact changed during the period of study: often people were categorised as Poles (or more broadly, as Eastern Europeans) on arrival, which they sought to renegotiate by obtaining, in one case, a Nordic identity for example.

This negotiation of identity is something that also many present day Estonian migrants experienced.

Coming back to the question of forced and voluntary migration, although post-war refugees were political refugees, they made a personal decision whether to further emigrate (to the UK or elsewhere), or to stay in Germany, on the basis of economic reasons (pull factors). Economically developed countries were preferred as migration destinations, while other reasons were at play as well. The so-called push factors for them included escaping from war-torn Germany, where on top of material hardship there was also an ever-present threat of being forcibly repatriated to Soviet Estonia. Often Estonians also refused to leave Europe (at least initially), as they believed that Estonia would soon be liberated from occupation. In this regard it may in fact be difficult to decide if their migration should be considered temporary or permanent in the beginning, as in the late 1940s people still hoped to return to Estonia. It is similar to the contemporary situation in a sense, as people still often consider their move temporary at the start, staying for a much longer period or never returning in the end, which shows the on-going nature of settlement. Nowadays since flights have become considerably cheaper, families can also live apart, or take turns living in both countries (as Emma's family does).

What is also similar in the case of these two different migration waves, is that optimism about the future was a large part of starting a new life in a new country at the start. In some cases the belief in a better life was not actualised, and Estonians migrated further in search of this (either elsewhere in the UK or also abroad, nowadays also back to Estonia). As we can see from the data, people often did not have a clearly formed idea of where they were going or what to expect, in either of the groups. Their previous knowledge of Scotland was mostly restricted to ideas about its beautiful nature and landscapes. Some people ended up in Scotland accidentally. If we leave aside contemporary students who come here to receive a higher education, then for both groups Scotland overall has not been a very popular destination, yet, in spite of this, the majority of my contemporary respondents have stayed.

There are similarities in adaptation amongst the two categories as well. Coming to Scotland would certainly have been a challenge for people who had no practical knowledge about the local societal structures and institutions, or even bureaucracy. The existence of trust networks and helpers has thus been, and continues to be, paramount. In

the post-war period this help was offered by some local organisations and individuals with Baltic sympathies (SLEF and John F. Stewart, for example). This enabled the incomers to gain social capital and to establish ties which helped them gain upward social mobility. People who managed to establish close personal ties or who married members of the local community were more likely to stay here, as we can see from the case of Elfriede who married a Scotsman and stayed in Scotland whereas her sister and a friend both emigrated further overseas.

The same is relevant also in the case of contemporary migration. Nowadays the main reasons for staying in Scotland are social security and better salaries, at the same time many are unable to adapt and are returning to Estonia, due to difficulties with English and downward social mobility. People who have families or spouses here are more likely to 'root'. In terms of the Estonians' social networks it is of course considerably easier to maintain social contacts back home today than it was in the past thanks to new technologies, especially the Internet. However, personally I have found that the core of the Estonian social network has stayed similar throughout the decades: Estonian friends and family networks in many cases are still kept separate from other local contacts, and ways of socialising as well as the size of ethnic networks has remained largely constant. My data shows that Estonians nowadays do not tend to have a big ethnic network, the interaction is usually held with a 'core' - a small circle containing 2-3 fellow Estonians. Although the post-war data is scarce, it shows evidence of similar types of social networks and events. Estonians still seem to prefer smaller social 'bonding' networks with other compatriots which is similar to findings from research with other CEE migrant groups, e.g. Poles. In terms of contacts with other nationalities, Estonians had and continue to have bridging networks with other nationalities, either locals or other migrants. When Estonians have not befriended locals - which has proved to be complicated in many cases due to lack of language skills etc. - these ties with other migrants are often based on a common Soviet past, shared (Russian) language and similar cultural and culinary habits.

Nowadays, online social networks (for example Facebook communities) have become very important and have taken over the role of post-war traditional organisations. Amongst other tasks, the social networks disseminate information which helps to facilitate the process of settlement and to practice different transnational activities, both of cultural and economic nature. These social networks also provide members with occasional face-to-

face meeting possibilities. Like in post-war times, there are certain occasions which are celebrated together in a community, e.g. midsummer night, anniversary of Estonian Republic and perhaps also Christmas.

10.2 The transnational activities of the Estonian community

From my data it emerges that the group of Estonians I interviewed is very heterogenic in terms of their level of education, language proficiency and ambitions, and that they also hold distinct positions in Scottish society. As diverse as the Estonian community itself are the types of activities used to maintain transnational ties. ‘Cultural transnationalism’ is a catch-all term for those migrants who use different media channels, film, music and art, organising social and cultural events and gatherings (Annika and Kirke are examples of this). ‘Economic transnationalism’ refers to those Estonians who manage(d) transnational businesses (Vivian, Doris and Emma), for example exporting and importing different goods and offering services. Nowadays a main gateway for both of these transnational activities is Facebook as well as other online spaces. ‘Political transnationalism’ can be seen as participation in the Scottish independence referendum and other local elections, while at the same time a considerable number is also taking part in Estonian elections.

Political transnationalism has been made even easier by the introduction of Estonian ID-cards which enable participation from a distance, also enabling Estonian citizens to give digital signatures and carry on legal actions from distance. This also further enables Estonians to carry multiple identities. As the ID-card example shows, the role of the Estonian state is considerable in today’s world, while it played no role in the lives of Estonian post-WWII migrants in Scotland (iEstonia was not “on the map”). Since independence the Estonian state has really increased its transnational activities, enabling political transnationalism (for example online elections which can be completed by ID-card), making economic transnationalism easier and also in helping with socio-cultural transnationalism, by supporting Estonian culture, language and heritage abroad (the Estonian Institutes abroad, as well as different cultural/educational projects are examples of this). The societal role of church and Christian congregations amongst Estonians in the UK has now almost disappeared.

Reconsidering Boccagni’s (2010) research from the perspective of who is “at the end of the transnational ties”, it becomes clear that the majority of transnational ties are maintained

on a narrow and personal level. In the case of the Estonian migrant population these ties help them to cope with living abroad and away from their families. Thus in their case at the other end of transnational ties are mostly families and close friends. Such ties are maintained not only with contacts in Estonia, but also with family members in other countries throughout the World, and in this sense are similar to the post-war group who had personal contacts with Estonians globally (Elfriede and Laila are good examples of this). Rather than forming wide global (political, religious and socio-cultural) transnational networks, the ties that are created are of a personal and family nature. Also, based on my own data, the vast majority of my correspondents did not personally participate in more formal global Estonian networks in the post-war era, and thus their transnational contacts were mostly of a personal nature. My research also confirms that over time these transnational ties have become looser and the frequency of the contacts has been reduced. This reflects the wider literature on Central and East European migration to UK, which also shows a trend of decreasing contact with compatriots and the homeland over time.

The Estonians who have decided to stay in Scotland and have made it their home have done so for different reasons. A sense of greater social security, and the security offered by the welfare state has been an important factor in decision making about staying or going, as we can see in many cases. People feel more secure and looked after in the economically more developed Scotland, in comparison to post-Soviet Estonia. People also think of home differently than before. While for the majority of the post-war group and their children, home was still considered to be in Estonia, nowadays the concept of home has become more ambivalent and liquid. Different things contribute towards creating a home and a homely feeling. First of all, family members and close friends, but also artefacts, different types of food, and even nature. Home can even be seen as an imagined space in the Estonian language itself. As has been stated before, language is considered to be the strongest carrier of the Estonian identity. Yet interestingly in my data it also becomes evident that amongst the post-war Estonians, at least by the third generation, Estonian language ability was lost. This confirms the three-generation-model of linguistic assimilation (Alba and Stowell, 2002; Alba et al., 2002). It will be interesting to see if this model will hold for the descendants of the children of Estonian migrants today, as frequent transnational ties have made multiple linguistic contacts easier. On the other hand it has been shown that English monolingualism is still the prevalent pattern of migrant integration in the USA today (Alba and Stowell, 2002), and in terms of the Estonian migrants in Scotland, the same can also be

said so far. The experience of maintaining Estonian language in the family so far is very similar to that of post-war migrants, the reasons for not speaking Estonian to their children being based on similar reasons (especially where one parent is not Estonian-speaking), e.g. comparing the experiences of Elfriede, Minna and Doris.

Transnational activities can be detected already in the case of post-war generation, for example in supporting families back in Estonia by sending parcels and supporting them financially. Because Estonia was occupied, some institutions abroad took over the role of a state and coordinated also other transnational activities, therefore forming a global (cultural and political) Estonian body. Cultural transnationalism can be seen in international festivals and cultural events like ESTO, in everyday level multiple transnational ties united Estonians in different countries abroad with their family members and friends.

This study has shown that the Estonians who settled in Scotland or the UK in the post-Cold War era are in fact no more ‘transnational’ in terms of their identity and actions than the post-war group. Although they still consider themselves Estonians and have a strong ethnic identity, even when their homes are in Scotland, their offspring are likely not to speak Estonian, to ‘melt’ into the local population, their identities ‘mixed’, while they still retain some form of Estonian ‘roots’ to be proud of. In terms of transnational actions, there is a considerable difference in scale of transnational activities (e.g. a few transnational activities in post-war period versus multiple transnational activities nowadays, which have been facilitated by contemporary means like internet and cheap travel), we cannot deny that transnational activities were already present in the post-war times. The differences here are also mostly due to the fact that contact with Estonia was to a large extent very difficult, though not impossible, during the Soviet occupation but there were multiple contacts with other Estonians abroad, both at the level of community and at the personal levels.

As described in Chapter 9, there are possibilities for developing a new typology for Estonians in Scotland, by taking into consideration the locality and mobility in both the sending and receiving societies (Dahinden, 2010), as well as social mobility (Ryan, 2011) and the nature and level of transnational ties (Boccagni, 2010 and 2012; Faist, 2010). The groups are not so clear cut and in reality have overlaps, but three distinctive groups can be determined from the research: Ambassadors, Followers and Hide-outs. The first group is characterized by their extensive social ties in both societies, high locality (Dahinden, 2010)

in both countries, as well as higher than average social capital and social mobility (Ryan, 2011). Their transnational activities are also more intensive than in other groups, and involve cultural, economic and political transnationalism which is happening to a large extent online. In addition to online activity, they are main organisers of Estonian events and also active participants on them. The second group has a stronger locality in Scotland than in Estonia and their social mobility is quite high, but their transnational practices are of narrower scope than in the first group, being mostly of family and kinship level (Boccagni, 2010; Faist, 2010). Here belong also the first and second generation post-war migrants, and the recent migrants who have established strong ties with Scotland (are 'rooted' here). Their activity of establishing transnational ties is lower than in the first group. The third group ('Hide-outs') have less social contacts with neither countries societies, nor are they actively creating and maintaining transnational ties, which exist mostly in kinship and family level. Their social mobility in Scotland is lower than in the previous groups and they are not 'rooted' here. They are 'hiding out' in a sense from social interactions in ethnic and local societies at the same time. These people are mostly unskilled workers who are here for economic reasons.

10.3 Future areas of research

While at times the scope and themes of this research seemed colossal there were nevertheless many interesting areas and new territories that invited deeper exploration, in relation to the topic and the gathered data. There are a multitude of areas where extra time and effort could be spent in the future in order to broaden our understanding of the topic and to bring further insights about migration. I have gathered some of the most exciting and pressing possible future research areas below.

One of the most salient issues which came to the fore was the issue of societal hierarchy, and the entrenched cultural-societal-economic (and even linguistic) class-system in Scotland and the UK. Estonian newcomers often felt British society to be very different from the Estonian one, and post-war EVWs especially experienced sharp class and societal restrictions. While it has been claimed that British society itself is in flux and that the class-system is changing, it has inadvertently come to light in my interviews that latter-day economic migrants are still experiencing difficulties in settling in, due to perceived class-differences and sharp social divides because of their anticipated different social background and level of education. Estonian students have different experiences than that

of low-paid workers, and it would be very interesting to explore much deeper how ‘class’ and education impact upon the settlement experiences of Estonian and other migrants. On the flipside of the coin, it would also be interesting to see in what ways the notion of ‘Estonianness’ is actually stronger than societal class and class solidarity. One would assume that Estonian students in Scottish universities for example based most of their social interaction within class-based peer-circles (mostly middle-class, educated, with large social capital) independent of nationality or ethnicity. Did they also favour other Central and Eastern European migrants as friends, like Estonian factory workers? Or was this not the case since they already spoke fluent English (in order to study in Scotland), and thus simply socialised within academic circles irrespective of this? The habitation of Estonians coming from a less class-based society to Scotland/the UK, would also undoubtedly offer many insights not only about Estonian migrants’ adaptation, but also about the structures of British class hierarchies themselves in the contemporary period.

Chapter 8 included a short discussion about the influence of latter-day Estonians on their spouses and closest (foreign) family members, and briefly touched on the idea that they may also have become ‘transnationalised’ through their encounters with their Estonian spouses/friends/family members. According to my findings the influence of Estonian culture and the Estonian state towards those connected to them was almost non-existent in the post-war period. However, nowadays the situation seems to be qualitatively different, at least amongst my interviewees. This ‘transnationalisation’ is evident through them taking an active role in building and maintaining transnational contacts with Estonia through different socio-cultural and economic actions. These include buying or investing in real estate in Estonia, taking part in cultural transnationalism through importing Estonian music, films and books to Scotland, following Estonian news and media (and sharing this to their networks on social media sites like Facebook), and, ultimately learning the Estonian language –the ‘pinnacle of Estonianness’. The issue of this transnationalisation is really interesting in itself – the spouses and close family members of Estonian migrants could be the centre of another study on migration and ‘identity’, this time concentrating on the effects on the receiving, host society. As far as I am aware, no-one has researched this topic before. Adding here the current discussion about Brexit and the situation of foreigners in the UK, it would be interesting to see how this situation has changed the future plans of Estonian-Scottish families.

Looking into the different types of Estonian transmigrants, we could suppose that the aforementioned spouses are probably the partners of Estonian migrants belonging to groups 1 and 2 – the ‘Ambassadors’ and ‘Followers’. Here we can go back to the discussion of a nation state as a unit of analysis and claim that the role of a successful state is considerable, especially because of their (bureaucratic or otherwise) influence on foreign subjects who are connected to their own citizens - foreign spouses for example. It would be interesting to see if the existence and physical/psychological destination of Estonia as an independent state has changed any of the dynamics of transnationalisation. Is it possible that the post-war generation’s spouses’ transnationalisation did not occur to the same extent because Estonia as a free country did not exist, contacts with home-Estonians were not easy, and it was not possible to freely visit, as one would assume? Since Estonia has re-emerged on the map as a modern and successful European country, the transnationalism of spouses seems to have completely taken off – at least amongst my interviewees. While there not has been much scope within the bounds of this thesis to concentrate on the issues of the existence of the nation state and nations themselves (as well their continued importance), this historic comparison would certainly be an interesting one to delve into deeper.

Research into this area would undoubtedly also enable one to look more deeply, and from a new angle, into how nationalism(s), identity and belonging are juggled, as well as what the importance of borders and succinct national states are within the antithetical context of globalisation. While it has been lamented that the nation-state is in decline, perhaps it is only changing form. The Estonian state survived its liquidation and years of occupation, which seemed to have only made its importance more weighted subsequent to its rebirth, while technology has made being part of the ‘virtual’ Estonian state and bureaucracy also possible from abroad. These new developments also offer a multitude of very interesting different angles and approaches for further research into the topic of how changing national and international context can impact on the lives of individual Estonians.

Appendices

10.4 Appendix A: Informants' characteristics

Aksel (M, 70+) came to England as a child after WWII. Educated to degree level in the UK and now lives in Canada.

Amanda (F, 70+) came to Scotland as a child after the WWII together with her family from Germany and grew up in rural Scotland. Now lives in England.

Annika (F), 30, came to Scotland around a decade ago, to work. She is currently working and living in a big Scottish city.

Doris (F, 40+) came to Scotland two decades ago through England. She is married to a Scotsman and the family now live in a big city in Scotland. She studied in Scotland to degree level and is currently working as a professional. Has also a transnational business in Estonia.

Emma (F, 40+) came to Scotland through England, she is married to Scotsman and her family lived here for many years. Now lives in Estonia. She has studied in different countries and has a research degree in Scotland. Has managed a transnational business in the field of culture.

Elfriede (F, 80+) came to Scotland in her late teens after WWII as an EVW. She got a professional education in Scotland, married a Scotsman, is currently living in a big city in Scotland.

Elina (F, 50+) came to Scotland to work in an agricultural establishment a decade ago. She lives alone in rural Scotland.

Endel (M, 80+) came to England as a teenager after WWII, worked there and is now retired, living with his wife in the English countryside.

Ervin (M, 40+) came to Scotland a decade ago from England, currently living in a big city and working in his own enterprise, lives with his wife. No degree.

Haljand (M, 80+) came to England after WWII as an EVW. Later emigrated to Canada where he is currently living.

Hardo (M, 20+) came to Scotland to study at a Scottish university. After finishing his studies, he returned to Estonia.

Helbe (F, 80+) came to England after WWII as an EVW. Later emigrated to Canada where she lives with her family.

Helju (F, 80+) arrived in England as an EVW as a young adult. She married an Estonian, now lives in a small town in England. No degree.

Henni (F, 80+) came to England as a young adult EVW, later emigrated to Canada where she lives with her family.

Ilmi (F, 80+) arrived in England as an EVW as a young adult. She married an Estonian and now is living in a big city England. No degree.

Ilona (80+) came to the UK as a young adult as an EVW, later emigrated to Canada where she lives with her family.

Ingrid (F, 40+) came to Scotland two decades ago, established a family with a Scotsman, got her first degree here and is currently working as a professional in a big city.

Kadri (F, 50+) came alone through England, worked in Scotland for a few years in the hospitality sector and has now left Scotland to return to Estonia.

Kaie (F, 40+) came to Scotland a decade ago, got a research degree here and is now living with her Scottish partner and working in a big town in Scotland.

Karmen (F, 70+) was born in a German DP camp and grew up in England. Now living with her Scottish husband and children in a little town in Scotland. No degree.

Karoliina (F, 50+), was born in a EVW family in England. She got a first degree in England and a second degree in Scotland where she lived with her family. She is now living in England.

Keiu (F, 30+) came to Scotland following her partner. Currently living with her children in a small town. Not working. No degree.

Kirke (F, 30+) came to Scotland over ten years ago, following her husband. Currently lives with her family in a big town in Scotland. Got a university degree here, is working as a professional and also managing her transnational business in Estonia.

Koidu (F, 30+) arrived more than ten years ago, is married to a Scotsman, is currently working and raising children in a big city. She has a university degree from Estonia and is planning to get a second degree in Scotland.

Krete (F, 20+) came to Scotland following her partner, now lives in a small town and works in the food industry. She lives with her Estonian partner and a brother. No degree.

Kristina (F, 20+) came to Scotland as a teenager with her family a decade ago. Studied to degree level in Scotland and is now studying for a research degree.

Laila (F, 30+) came to Scotland five years ago, to be united with her Scottish partner. A professional who works and lives in a big city in Scotland. No degree.

Liisbet (F, 80+) arrived in England as an EVW as a young adult, together with her mother. Later on they both emigrated further to Canada. Now lives in Canada.

Maali (F, 50+) came to Scotland over a decade ago following her family members. After living in a small Scottish town and working in different jobs (mostly food industry), she has now returned to Estonia.

Mall (F, 70+) came to England as a child after WWII with her family. She got a higher education in England and is living in the English countryside with her husband. Some of her siblings have left UK for Canada.

Marju (F, 40+) came to Scotland to work as a researcher around a decade ago. Lives in a big city.

Marlene (F, 50+) came to live and work in Scotland with her partner Mikk. They lived in a small town and worked in food processing factory. They have now left Scotland and returned to Estonia. No degree.

Meelik (M, 80+) came to England as a teenager with his family. Educated to degree level in England. Later emigrated to Canada with his family.

Mihkel (M, 20+) came to Scotland to study at a Scottish university. He also worked during his studies. Following graduation, he moved back to Estonia.

Mikk (M, 50+) came to live and work in Scotland with his partner Marlene. They lived in a small town and worked in food processing factory. They have now left Scotland and returned to Estonia. No degree.

Mikko (M, 20+) came to Scotland a few years ago for work, following a family member. He lives in a small town and works in the food processing industry. No degree.

Milla (F, 50+), a divorced mid-level professional from Estonia and came to work in Scotland a decade ago. She was living and working in a small town in food processing factory. Has now moved back to Estonia.

Minna (F, 40+) came to Scotland following her Scottish husband over 15 years ago. She is currently working and living with her children in a big city.

Otto (M, 70+) came to England as a child a few years after WWII from Germany. He got a higher education and an academic degree in England, lives in Scotland with his family.

Paap (M, 80+) came to England as a teenager with his family. Later emigrated to Canada where he lives with his family.

Reimar (M, 30+) has been in Scotland around 10 years, currently not working, lives in a small town. No degree.

Reio (M, 40+) came to Scotland over ten years ago, for work. Professional, currently managing his own company. Lives in a Scottish city with his family. No degree.

Roosi (F, 50+) is a second generation post-war Estonian migrant who grew up in Canada and now lives in a big city in Scotland with her Scottish husband.

Sabine (F, 30+) came to Scotland around fifteen years ago on a professional vocation, has now established a successful business in a big Scottish city where she currently lives. No family. No degree.

Siiri (F, 20+) came to Scotland with her mother in her late teens. Now living and working in a small town, in the food processing industry. No degree.

Tauno (M, 20+) came to Scotland a decade ago for work, following a family member. He is living in a small town together with his partner Krete and working on a nearby countryside farm. No degree.

Talvi (F, 70+) came to the UK as a child after WWII together with her family. Educated to postgraduate degree level, now lives in a big Scottish city with her family.

Tiia (F, 30+) came to Scotland a decade ago and is currently working at an agricultural establishment in Northern Scotland. She lives alone. No degree.

Teele (F, 40+), came to Scotland to marry a Scotsman, around fifteen years ago. She got her professional education in Estonia, worked in Scotland in the medical sector and now raising children in a Scottish city. No degree.

Ulmi (F, 50+) has lived in Scotland around two decades, lives in a big city with her family. Has a degree from Estonia.

Urmet (M, 80+) came to England as a teenager with his family. Later emigrated to Canada where she lives with her family.

Valve (F, 80+) came to the UK as a young adult as an EVW, emigrated further to Canada with her husband where she now lives.

Vivian (F, 30+) came to Scotland to work around 15 years ago, married a Scotsman and studied/graduated at a Scottish university. Has managed a transnational business in the field of culture. Now works in the creative industry.

Voldemar (M, 60+) was born in Scotland to Estonian EVWs. The family left Scotland later, currently lives in England.

10.5 Appendix B: Map of informants' location in Scotland

Estonians in Scotland



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