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Abstract: The introduction to the first part of the special issue of *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, titled "On the Move: Migration and Diasporas", situates the articles included in the issue within theoretical discussions of significant factors that have influenced population movements, formation of diaspora communities, and diversification of the transnational life style during the past decades. The introduction discusses the genealogy of the concepts of diaspora, transnationalism, migration, and mobility, also drawing attention to their simultaneous circulation within the inter- and cross-disciplinary field today. Both forced and voluntary forms of migration are addressed. The relevance of the contributions of the current issue to larger tendencies and theoretical debates on mobility and migration is outlined. The study of migration and mobility constitutes a vast area of academic inquiry, yet there is not enough research on migration processes in Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet countries. The articles fill this gap, engaging in a variety of issues, theoretical and methodological approaches, and diverse regions and historical contexts. These include historical transnational commuting practices, the effects of status shifts from voluntary to forced migration, the inadequacy of contemporary ICT-based communication means in comparison with face-to-face encounters, modes and strategies of (transatlantic) transnational identity, affective economy of migration, including its traumatic impact, and relevance of the researcher's positioning in terms of the national culture of homeland and host country. Many contributions highlight the important role of

sociality in managing migration and mobility, and in so doing, also diversify and contest central conceptual paradigms within the field.

Keywords: diaspora, forced and voluntary migration, mobility, sociality, transnationalism

CURRENT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

With a continuous increase in the global number of international migrants, which constituted 271.6 million or close to 3.5 percent of the world's population in 2019 (see Migration Data Portal), the study of the interrelated areas of mobility, migration, diaspora, transnationalism, and globalization forms a vibrant field of research. Characterized by inter- and transdisciplinary nature, it is also marked by the continuous evolvement of distinct disciplinary traditions and related methodological premises (see, e.g., Brettell & Hollifield 2015a [2000]; Sirkeci et al. 2019; Vargas-Silva 2012; White 2016). The scholarly study of migration, marked by first systematic data collection initiatives, is believed to have emerged from the contexts of eighteenth-century mass mobility in Europe, transatlantic mass migrations of the nineteenth century, and northern Chinese migrations to Manchuria in the twentieth century (Harzig & Hoerder 2009: 54–55). Conceptualizations of a more comprehensive nature of migration can be traced back to the emergence of sociology at the turn of the nineteenth century, a time characterized by mass migration of both European and intercontinental scale. In time shedding the eugenic perspective, characteristic of the early perspectives of migration, sociology as a field has always incorporated a focus on migration and mobility (FitzGerald 2015 [2000]: 115). However, in many disciplines, such as, for example, demography, geography, and political science, migration and mobility have emerged as important areas of research only over the recent two or three decades. Even in anthropology, a discipline that together with sociology holds a leading position in contemporary research on migration and mobility, an understanding of culture as a bounded, territorialized, stable, and homogeneous entity dominated until the 1960s, discouraging the study of cultural change and "forms of social organization that are characteristic of both the migration process and the immigrant community" (Brettell 2015 [2000]: 148–149). Diaspora studies, a subfield of the study of migration and mobility, in its current format representing an array of "multiple and interlinked social science and humanities approaches", consolidated as a field only in the early 1990s (Stierstorfer & Wilson 2018: xvi, xiii), followed in less than a decade by a transnational paradigm shift in migration studies (see, e.g., Portes & Guarnizo & Landolt 1999; Vertovec 2009), prevalent in the current perception of the field.

Two trends that characterize the study of migration and mobility today in its different variations and theoretical and methodological advances are, firstly, conceptual alignments and debates that can be traced in particular around the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism and, secondly, the furthering of the development of inter- and transdisciplinary paradigms and research initiatives. Thus, for example, in the introduction to *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, the editors Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani (2013: 2) propose to organize different forms and implications that derive from the vast movements of "populations, ideas, technologies, images, and financial networks" of today's world around the both overlapping and clashing conceptual frameworks of diaspora and transnationalism, as well as that of globalization. Some of the characteristic features of diaspora Quayson and Daswani provide (ibid.: 3), such as "the time-depth of dispersal and settlement in other locations" and "the development of a myth of the homeland", match the characteristic features of diaspora contained in the influential paradigm of diaspora outlined by Robin Cohen (1997: 26) which, in turn, is based on the work of William Safran (1991). However, while Cohen's emphasis is on homogeneity and strength of ethnic group consciousness, in its current conceptualizations, diversity and even conflict – in terms of responses to the homeland and host nation as well as in relation to class structure and "forms of material and emotional investment" in the diaspora community – are highlighted (Quayson & Daswani 2013: 3).

As several scholars have pointed out, the concept of transnationalism started evolving by way of escaping the "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002) characteristic of the study of migration. It refers to the "often unstated assumption that national society or national state is the 'natural' unit of analysis and of data collection" (Faist 2013: 457), extending both to the understanding of the homeland but, even more importantly, to the understanding of host countries, in particular in terms of assimilation. While retaining a focus on communal attachments, the transnationalist perspective moves away from the exclusively ethnic bias and widens the criteria of communal identification to the categories of difference including, for example, that of race, class, sexuality, schooling, and professional and political affiliation (Faist 2013: 457; Quayson & Daswani 2013: 4). The transnational perspective has influenced the way in which diaspora is conceptualized today, including an emphasis on "the circuits and circulations that fundamentally undergird migrant social identities across borders" (ibid.: 5), which Cohen touched upon but did not emphasize to the degree it is highlighted in transnationally oriented analyses today. According to the contemporary understanding of diaspora, it is not a concrete and stable entity but a "series of contradictory convergences of peoples, ideas, and … cultural orientations" (ibid.: 4).

Steven Vertovec has described the transnational turn in the anthropology of migration as a shift in focus "from groups in specific localities to groups and their activities as they engage cross-border, multi-local processes and practices" (Vertovec 2007: 968). The conceptual frame of transnationalism also expands on what is included in terms of mobility: the focus not only on groups of people but as importantly on "notions of citizenship, technology, forms of multinational governance, and the mechanisms of global markets" (Quayson & Daswani 2013: 4), all of which are also part of the process of identity formation. One of the central defining features of the transnational perspective, characterizing both the identity formation processes and the ways in which transnationalism is practiced, is the notion of simultaneity, elaborated by Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller as a key feature of the transnational social field. Taking (transnational) mobility as their starting point, Levitt and Schiller (2004: 1011) expand on the conceptual frame of society, detaching it from the boundaries of a single nation state and proposing, instead, as the key characteristic of migrant experience, "a simultaneity of connection" that is neither "full assimilation" nor "transnational connection but some combination of both". The concept of simultaneity has, however, also been subject to criticism on the grounds of its realizability in real life or even failure on all accounts (see, e.g., Werbner 2013; Quayson & Daswani 2013: 106–124).

Like conceptual renewal processes in diaspora studies, migration studies that has been related to methodological nationalism has undergone a number of shifts aiming, for example, to transcend both the "disciplinary, geographical, and methodological limitations" and the formerly exclusive nature of scientific and scholarly investigation of migration (Gold & Nawyn 2013: 3). The diversification of researchers in terms of "nationality, class, gender, religion, race, life experience, and sexual identity" leads to the positing of new research questions, adhering to loyalties and proposing perspectives absent in the earlier research tradition of migration (ibid.: 3). The focus on "the field of international migration per se" highlights the "interdisciplinary, eclectic, complementary and integrative" nature of research in the field as well as its "competing and contradictory" nature (ibid.: 3; Brettell & Hollifield 2015b [2000]: 2–3). The task of "re-ground[ing] – or "reboot[ing]" – migration theory" (Favell 2015 [2000]: 318), considered to be of importance by the majority of critical consideration in the field may vary in essence. In addition to the perhaps most widely adopted transnationalist perspectives, revisions may include heightened attention to the distinctive features of different geopolitical and historical contexts that may vary to a considerable extent in European and American or Australian context. With regard to recent migration trends in Europe, aspects to consider include the citizenship of the European Union, in force since 1993, the EU enlarge-

ment of 2004 and 2007, and the following new migration flows, dominantly from the former Eastern bloc and the Baltics, which defy "straight-line models of immigration to citizenship", constituting, rather, complex and often circular forms of transnational migration (Favell 2015 [2000]: 325). Academic research on migration is also increasingly geared toward contributing to policymaking processes on the national and international level as well as public debates and discussions on the subject.

MIGRATION AND SOCIALITY

Compiled in the spirit of inter- and cross-disciplinary dialogues, characteristic of and encouraged within the field, the first part of the special issue of *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, "On the Move: Migration and Diasporas", brings together researchers representing a variety of fields of the humanities and social sciences: sociology, anthropology, folklore studies, history, and life writing studies, supplemented by the work of literary scholars and linguists. The topics addressed in this issue include different waves of migration, the current migration crisis, gendered aspects of migration, transnationalism, and social and cultural adaptation in host countries from both historical and contemporary perspectives, across an array of socio-political and cultural contexts. The contributions of the current volume focus on migration dominantly from the perspective of the individual, and highlight, in particular, the crucial importance of the ways in which social engagements and bonds and communication networks are formed and function (or fail to function) on individual and collective levels in the context of forced and voluntary migration. All this attests to the importance of the notion of sociality as "the interactional core of all human life" (Anderson 2015: 100; Toren 2012: 48) for migration research. Defined as "a dynamic matrix of relations through which persons are constituted in interactive and mutually constitutive ways" (Long & Moore 2013: 19), sociality is viewed as harbouring the potential of "emerging relational fields" and relying on improvisational dimensions of communication that include ambivalences, impasses, and failures characteristic of human relations (Anderson 2015: 97, 100; Long & Moore 2013: 2). With regard to the field of migration and diaspora studies, of importance here is the delineation of two strands of diaspora research provided by Quayson and Daswani who credit the work of Cohen (1997, 2008), Dufoix (2008) as well as that of Brah (1996) with the outlining of social typologies of diasporas characteristic of the social sciences approach to the study of migration and diaspora. Another strand is exemplified by the work of Marianne Hirsch (1997, 2012) on postmemory and the work of Paul Gilroy

(1993) and James Clifford (1997), enriching the academic debates on diaspora by introducing questions of the nature and the role of memory, specificities of memory processes, affective aspects of dispersal and re-settlement and "the intersubjectivities of social identity" (Quayson & Daswani 2013: 8). While it is primarily the latter thread that is credited with introducing questions of sociality and relationality into diaspora and migration studies, it is also Brah's (1996) notion of diaspora space characterized by the centrality of "social and moral relationships that continually structure and restructure it" (ibid.: 4) that makes a significant contribution to such a perspective. With regard to the current scene of mobility, applicable dominantly to its voluntary forms, the emergence of a new kind of migrating population has been traced, "composed of networks, activities and patterns of life that encompass both their host and home societies" (Glick Schiller & Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992: 1). This is related to the inclusion of different forms of mobility, in the contemporary world particularly relevant in terms of work-related commuting practices expanding the concept of labour migration as well as virtual communication possibilities facilitated by information and communication technology (ICT) development that blurs the boundaries between different forms of mobility.

NAVIGATING THEORIES: INTRODUCTION TO THE ARTICLES

The current special issue "On the Move: Migration and Diasporas" includes seven case studies on migration and their social and cultural consequences in different regions of the world: Europe, North America, the Middle East, and the Far East, covering diverse historical contexts from the nineteenth century to the present. Both migration forms – voluntary and forced – are under discussion. Voluntary migration concerns primarily labour migration, but in addition to the main push factors such as unemployment or low wages also the emotional status of migrants has been addressed. Forced migration and its consequences are treated based on examples of various wars of the twentieth century: World War II, and the armed conflicts in Kosovo and Syria. The authors analyse different situations where war destroys cultural traditions, separates kin or places children face-to-face with violence, which causes traumatic experiences at both group and individual level. Several articles also analyse how and why the members of one ethnic or national group leave their country in some cases forcibly and in some others voluntarily. Finally, the studies presented in the current volume demonstrate how one migration form can shift to another, and that the boundary between voluntary and forced is not always clear.

In the article "The Kosovo Conflict and the Changing Migration Patterns of the Gorani Community: Continuities and Shifts", **Ivaylo Markov** takes under observation the Gorani people, defining them as an "archetypal migrant community", thus referring to their everlasting "being-on-the-move" that has been caused by various reasons and realized in different ways. Markov gives an overview of the dynamics of migration patterns specific to the Gorani from the times of the Ottoman Empire until the last two decades. In the context of the special issue Markov's case study can be regarded unique. It addresses the migration practices of an ethnic group for whom labour migration has been an integral part of everyday life for several centuries. Historically, this was a model where men did seasonal work away from home in neighbouring areas, earning living for their kin; their wives and other family members stayed in their home villages. As Markov mentions, this model is sometimes defined as the "Balkan culture of migration" because, in addition to the Gorani, it was practiced by several Balkan peoples. One can say that with some reservations, the "Balkan model" is comparable to the practice of commuting, which has developed in Northern Europe in the recent decades. Workers' active cross-border mobility is characteristic of all three Baltic countries and also Poland (see, e.g., Hazans 2003; Telve 2017). Even if everyday practices are not exactly the same, these migration patterns are in principle comparable. However, we refer to this parallel primarily to highlight one important difference between them. Commuters in the Baltics are often criticized because of the resulting labour shortage in the homeland, influx of migrant workers from outside the European Union, falling birth rates, etc. In addition to that, they can be characterized as "comfort migrants" who are looking for greener pastures. Markov's study clearly shows the opposite attitude towards labour migrants in the Gorani community. He describes how labour migrants were respected by their families who sent them away and received with traditional ceremonies as the members of the community who ensured the welfare of their kin. The main purpose of Markov's study is to highlight the tendencies distinctive to migration patterns which began to develop after the Kosovo armed conflict in 1998–1999 – a pivotal event throughout the region. As many people were forced to abandon their homes, it is defined as "mass exodus"; the same term is often used to refer to the wave of mass migration caused by World War II from Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries to the West. In his study, Markov shows the replacement of men's migration by family migration and the expansion of the number of countries of destination: in addition to the Balkans, the Gorani began to leave for Switzerland, Germany, France, Luxembourg, Sweden, Finland, etc., melting into the mass of labour migrants who had reached there in the wake of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc in the 1990s.

Desislava Pileva examines changes in the migration practices of four mixed families following the outbreak of an armed conflict in Syria in 2011. Her article "From Mobility to 'Exile'. Shifting Co-Presence: Narratives of Bulgarian-Syrian Families in Bulgaria" is based on the interviews with family members where one of the spouses is a Syrian who came to study in Bulgaria during the socialist period. The roots of this article can be found in Pileva's earlier study "Images of 'Our Foreign Friends': Representations of Students from the Middle East and Africa in the Bulgarian Newspaper 'Student's Tribune' (1960s–1970s)" (Pileva 2017), which deals with foreign students' social and cultural adaptation and the interaction with some other ethnic groups. In the article published in this special issue, Pileva compares the ways the kin communicated and spent time together before and after the Syrian armed conflict. One can say that *before* and *after* in Pileva's research are not just adverbs but function like key concepts, the first of which refers to the possibility of being together physically and the second one to the lack thereof. The study demonstrates transition from one type of migration to another. Pileva highlights the change in the situation of Syrians, arguing that as a result of the military conflict the Syrians who voluntarily settled in Bulgaria have ended up more or less as exiles. Thus, their immigrant position has changed cardinally, they are not free to come and go any more and their normal communication with relatives is blocked. Pileva's study demonstrates that the hindered common activities and inhibited face-to-face communication cannot be regarded as just individuals' personal problems; first and foremost, it means that the continuance of traditional Syrian lifestyle has been put under pressure. Pileva examines the substitution of physical presence for virtual presence or communication from a distance, briefly discussing whether the ICT tools can replace traditional forms of communication or merely supplement them. The answer is, in a sense, predictable – at least in cultures where physical presence and interaction are of great importance, virtual communication can only play a complementary role. We would like to highlight that in her study Pileva describes a new type of meeting opportunities the migrants use in a situation where the ordinary lifestyle no longer works. In connection with the war, Syrian refugees have reached Europe and many of them have been granted asylum, for example, in Sweden or Norway. In those third countries their Bulgarian relatives can visit them without any restrictions; it enables to re-establish the physical proximity. Thus, Pileva's study documents the emergence of a new communication channel at least partly in accordance with traditional norms. This tendency can be regarded as a novel topic in the study of migration.

In the article "Uncertainties of Transnational Belonging: Homeland Nationalism and Cultural Citizenship of Lithuanian Immigrants in the USA" **Vytis**

Čiubrinskas takes under comparative observation the representatives of two different migration waves, the first of which was triggered by World War II and the second one by the collapse of the Eastern Bloc in the 1980s–1990s. The article is based on several fieldwork trips and it can be considered an in-depth treatment of his earlier study on Lithuanian immigrants, the purpose of which is to explore the ways of immigrant ethnification and inter-ethnic networking as post-socialist legacy transported to the USA from Eastern Europe (Čiubrinskas 2018). In the article published in the current special issue Čiubrinskas (2020) aims to demonstrate how the migrants of different waves – forced and voluntary – use their social ties and cultural resources, acquired under various political and historical circumstances, for coping with their transnational belonging. In order to achieve his goal, Čiubrinskas operates with two key concepts: *homeland nationalism* and *cultural citizenship*. These key concepts have proven to be effective tools for illuminating the differences in the coping strategies of the two waves in the context of transnational belonging. The semantic field of homeland nationalism is centred around the moral imperative according to which an immigrant must be devoted to his/her country of origin. For the representatives of the first wave of migration this functions as a guarantee, saving them from vanishing in the huge American melting pot. Cultural citizenship or moral economy used for networking with Eastern European immigrants is a concept Čiubrinskas applies to analyse the strategy of coping with marginalization of the second-wave immigrants. In his article, Čiubrinskas discusses the development of these strategies, showing that the roots of homeland nationalism and cultural citizenship are in different soils: the first strategy began to develop in the displaced persons' (DP) camps in the 1940s, and the second one can be regarded as a relic of the socialist period of Lithuania. We would like to draw attention to the historical overview of the development of exile Lithuanians' cultural and political principles in the DP camps built on the Nazi-free territory of Germany, outlined by Čiubrinskas. It deserves attention for at least two reasons: there is little research done on this (see also Hollo 2020) and, secondly, based on the experiences acquired by refugees and sociocultural ties of immigrants created in DP camps, they built up their lives after immigrating to third countries in the 1950s.

The article also contains several novel observations about the coping strategies and self-assertion of the representatives of post-socialist immigration wave. Čiubrinskas demonstrates how and why the new immigrants' networks get started, cross ethnic boundaries, and create a common environment or so-called one's own people's circles, which unite post-socialist immigrants from various countries. Čiubrinskas also shows how the transnational lifestyles of the two waves differ from each other and how this situation causes communication

problems between them. Thus, he touches upon an important mentality-related issue that is also being discussed by immigrants outside the academia. The United States, similar to Canada, have large post-World War II Baltic diasporas that have expanded with thousands of compatriots since the 1990s. Representatives of the two waves perceive differences between "old" and "new" immigrants. One part strives to bridge them, claiming that they are all just Latvians/Lithuanians/Estonians, the other part recognizes differences but shares the opinion that this is not a barrier for communication. The third part prefers to communicate with the immigrants who belong to their own wave as Čiubrinskas demonstrates in his study, which can be regarded as a remarkable contribution to migration studies on the Central Eastern European region.

The article titled "Emotional State and Inequality among Lithuanian Emigrants" by **Dainius Genys**, **Ilona Strumickienė**, and **Ričardas Krikštolaitis** is based on a survey conducted in 2018; the group of respondents contained migrants from Lithuania whose regions of destination were Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, and Southern Europe. As it is known, emigration is commonly linked to unemployment, low wages, and poor living standards worldwide, and there is no reason for doubt that these factors also have a certain impact on emigration from Lithuania. However, the research team approaches these issues from a novel perspective of the emigrants' emotional state, which often remains in the background or is completely overshadowed by economic problems. Based on the results of 1,500 questionnaires, the researchers investigate whether the migrants feel needed or superfluous, happy or unhappy in their homeland, and what their attitudes towards their country of origin are. The study is largely driven by the thesis that the circumstances in which people do not have the opportunity to experience positive emotions can lead to serious social consequences. According to the authors, the negative emotions can hinder or even stop the process of knitting society as a unified social fabric. In other words, the underestimation of people's emotional state can turn out to be a national security risk. With that in mind, the results of the study would deserve not only the attention of the academic circle but also of the policy makers in Lithuania as well as in other Baltic states and in Eastern Europe in general. The study compares three cluster groups: the *learning youth*, *precariat*, and *potential*, which are differentiated on the basis of education, income, and employment. As a result of the survey, it becomes apparent that migrants are missing opportunities to formulate their emotions in public and to publicly discuss the reasons for leaving homeland. The migrants believe that if these opportunities existed, there would be less criticism of migrants and a better understanding of their problems by their compatriots at home. In turn, that would have a positive effect on the migrants' emotional state. On the other

hand, the study shows that the migrants' citizen activeness is relatively low and the expectation that all problems should be resolved by the political order is, vice versa, high. The comparative analysis of three cluster groups reveals that the representatives of the *potential* group are somewhat more accustomed to contributing to the advancement of society than the representatives of the other groups; the *potentials* have a deeper awareness of their role as creators of public goods and well-being in society. It can be concluded that their relations with the country of origin are balanced better than those of the other groups. We would also like to highlight the fact that women dominate the *potential* group. The aim of the study is not to analyse the emotional state and attitude towards the country of origin on the basis of gender. Nevertheless, the results of the study suggest that women's emotional state may be better in comparison to that of men's who are dominating among the *precariat*. As migration is not exclusively male-dominated space and women migrate not only as family members (McDowell 2013; see also Markov 2020), gender-based approach to labour migration in the Baltic countries could be one possible line for further investigation.

In the post-World War II years, the goal of the Swedish public policy was to retain a homogenous Swedish culture. Almost all immigrants came from neighbouring countries and were expected to assimilate into the native Swedish population. In the middle of the 1960s, media debates began, in which some debaters demanded that the minorities should be allowed to promote their ethnic identity and culture, and some others advocated for assimilation. These debates turned the minority-related issues into an important political one. In the 1970s the situation changed due to the resolution of the Parliament, which stated that Sweden was no longer dominated by Swedish culture but was becoming a culturally pluralist society (Eckehart 2017: loc. 143) and also Swedish researchers became more interested in immigrants, including World War II refugees.

Maija Runcis' contribution to the special issue, "Estonian Diaspora in Sweden: An Analysis of the Collection "Life Destinies" at the Swedish Nordic Museum", can be placed in this context. Runcis demonstrates how the archival collection produces a narrative about World War II refugees of Estonian origin in Sweden, which underlines their adaptation to Swedish society at the expense of other elements of identity, most importantly their Estonian identity. The author questions the widespread view generated by several researchers that Estonians as well as other Baltic peoples represent a well-integrated immigrant group not only in Swedish multicultural society but in other Nordic countries as well (see, e.g., Raag 2004; Kyntäjä 1997). Runcis brings novelty to this discourse primarily due to its unique source material. In addition to

interviews with exile Estonians, carried out by the Swedes as the representatives of dominant culture, the collection "Life destinies – Estonian diaspora in Sweden" also contains the interviewers' notes and commentaries on the situation in which the interview was conducted as well as the interviewees' manner of behaviour, outfit, home design, etc.

In the article titled "Traces of Trauma in Estonian Women's Life Narratives of World War II" **Maarja Hollo** deals with the mediation of the traumatic impact of witnessing warfare and the precarious escape journey to the West. She aims to identify the textual strategies and thematic accents employed for communicating experiences that can be interpreted as traumatic. Like Pileva (2020), who analyses immigrants' practices of communication and being together in two different periods – *before* and *after* the events of the Syrian war, Hollo also distinguishes two temporalities: secure and beautiful childhood before World War II and shook-up life order after the beginning of World War II, the escape to the West and the years spent in displaced persons' camps. Hollo claims that life narratives rarely contain detailed descriptions of traumatic experiences and discusses the possible reasons for that. She concludes that the Estonian tradition of self-referential storytelling does not facilitate the expression of traumatic experiences; there is no cultural model for elaborating or even naming this kind of experience. Hollo has chosen life narratives that can demonstrate how war draws a line between happy memories and memories that contain traumatic elements. But is this boundary always so uniform and the contrasts so obvious? The documentary "Coming Home Soon: The Refugee Children of Geislingen" (2018), produced by Helga Merits, can be used as an example for discussing this issue. The documentary is based on unique film clips made by Estonian amateur filmmakers during their flight and life in DP camps, various archival sources and memories of former refugee children who now are in the eighties. In their stories one can hear an echo of traumatic experiences similar to those analysed by Hollo: there was hunger, sickness, and death that turned the beautiful German town called Geislingen into a 'black hole' in the memory of a refugee girl. But there also was another side of life that made people remember the years spent at the camp as 'the best part of childhood' and the camp itself as 'a nice nest'. According to several former camp residents, the camp was a place of socialization, where young people learned how to cope with life abroad. Thus, one can also see in this documentary the emergence of the strategies analysed by Čiubrinskas (2020). Because of the current refugee crisis life in camps has once again become a topic of importance. In an interview for the Estonian Public Broadcasting, Merits said that thematically, her documentary fitted into the present day. But she also explained that there was much in Europe that was not yet talked about in connection with World War II and

these marginalized or repelled memories moved from generation to generation; they had an effect on the individuals' way of thinking and self-identification. Merits concluded that making the past clear gave people freedom to look into the future (kultuur.err.ee 2019).

In the article "The Task of a Cultural Researcher: Telling the Story of Siberian Estonians" **Anu Korb** interprets the mission of a researcher based on her personal activities and experiences. In 1991–2016 she made sixteen academic fieldwork trips to Estonians living in Siberia to observe their folklore. In the introduction to the article, Korb gives a brief overview of Siberian Estonians' various migration practices in the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth century: voluntary emigration, deportation, and remigration are represented. Considering the status of Estonia in the nineteenth century, one can say that Korb's article is the only one in this special issue dealing with internal migration.[1] Korb's study capitalizes on return migration, which gathered momentum when the Republic of Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union during World War II. Referring to Kulu (1997) and Jürgenson (2015), Korb explains that the reasons for expatriation were often political and ideological: several return migrants became functionaries of the Communist Party, thus damaging the reputation of the representatives of Estonian eastern diaspora. The Estonian diaspora can be divided into two groups: the eastern diaspora (incl. Siberian Estonians) and the western diaspora consisting mainly of Estonians who fled to the West during World War II (see also Runcis 2020 and Hollo 2020). According to Korb, the attitudes of Estonians in the homeland towards these groups are different: in general, the western diaspora is viewed more positively than the eastern one. Claiming this, Korb highlights the fact that has been rarely addressed in research on Estonian diaspora. Of particular interest here, however, is the fact that at the global level, the stigmatization of migrants is mostly discussed in the context of their new country of residence (e.g. Brown 1998; Padilla & Perez 2003) but Korb shows how migrants can become stigmatized in their own country of origin. The author strives to demonstrate how the negative image is accompanied by a low public interest in the problems of the representatives of the eastern diaspora. However, the article also sheds light on the relationship between the researcher and his/her subject. In the course of long-term communication, the researcher as an outsider can shift more and more into the insider's position and as a result he/she can become a spokesperson for the subject in society. Korb's paper impels for reflection on whether the close relationship that during long-term fieldwork often develops between researchers and their subjects, promotes or hinders the researcher's objectivity.

As **Stephan Steiner**, whose essay concludes the first part of the special issue, has noted, for historians in the field of contemporary history, forced migration in Europe usually associates with the totalitarianism of the twentieth century. However, looking back in the history reveals that the roots of this legacy are actually in the population policies that various countries gradually began to practice already in the late Middle Ages. According to Steiner, in the early modern period, a large part of Europe was in the grip of the "deportation frenzy". Public debate over deportation took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, conferences were held and resolutions were signed, and *pro et contra* treatises were published; the bibliographical list presented by Steiner (2015: 117) is remarkable. Since that time different problems connected with migration, both forced and voluntary, have been part of the agenda of scientific debates with varying intensity, depending on the intensity of migration processes. Because of the migration crisis of 2015, forced migration has once more become a highly topical issue – in the media, peoples' homes, art exhibitions, documentaries, and certainly in scientific studies. Inspired by the debates circulating around the current migration crisis and based on his deep knowledge on the field, Steiner in his essay "Deportation and the Crises of [Early Modern] Europe: A Brief Historical Introduction" outlines the prehistory of deportation as an avant-garde demographic policy, the aim of which was, first and foremost, to clean certain territories from "unwanted elements". Steiner demonstrates the outstanding progress of forced migration practices based on three examples: (1) the *degredado* or mass deportation system which functioned in the Portuguese sphere of influence as an epiphenomenon of the colonialism era that began in the fifteenth century, (2) dispersion of Moriscos, who were descendants of the Spanish Muslim population, and their subsequent deportation to North Africa and France in the seventeenth century, and (3) a large-scale population transfer in the Habsburg Empire known as *Deportation on the Waterway* in the eighteenth century. In his essay, Steiner argues that the roots of the crisis we have to face today, and the ways "how we came to where we are" can be traced back to the past practices of forced migration.

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NOTES

[1] As a result of the Great Northern War, the territory inhabited by Estonians was incorporated into the Russian Empire; Estonia remained part of the Empire until 1918, when the Republic of Estonia was founded.

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THE KOSOVO CONFLICT AND THE CHANGING MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE GORANI COMMUNITY: CONTINUITIES AND SHIFTS

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Abstract: The Gorani are one of the archetypal migrant communities in the Balkans: migrations in search of livelihoods and better living conditions have become for them a structure of everyday life, influencing and determining the peculiarities of the local culture and the social organization since (at least) the middle of the nineteenth century. The periods of relatively voluntary labour mobility have alternated with those of compelled and forced resettlement. Firstly, the historical Balkan model of labour mobility known as *gurbet*, or under the South-Slavic term *pechalba*, is shortly described. Then the contemporary movements following the Kosovo armed conflict in 1998–1999 are examined. The aim of the article is to study the dynamics of migration patterns and continuities and shifts in the concomitant social and cultural processes namely in the last two decades, within the context of post-conflict developments in the region.

Keywords: community rituals, Gorani, Kosovo conflict, labour mobility, migration, post-conflict developments, return visits, socio-cultural transformations

INTRODUCTION

Góra is a historical and cultural area located between the mountains of Sharr, Korab, and Koritnik, which was part of the Ottoman Empire until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Afterwards Kosovo became a part of Serbia – Gorski srez (county of Góra) – as a subdivision of the Prizrenski okrug (district of Prizren) (Toncheva 2012: 15). During World War I, Góra was conquered by the Central Powers and assigned to the Bulgarian (until May 1916) and to the Austro-Hungarian (until October 1918) zone (Avramovski 1985: 243–244). In 1925, when the state border between Albania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was finally established, the region was divided: the so-called Kukaska Góra (9 villages) was united to Albania, while Prizrenska Góra (19 villages)

became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. After World War II, within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1963–1992), Prizrenska Góra was united to the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija within the Republic of Serbia, and two villages (Urvich and Jelovjane) became part of the newly established Federal Republic of Macedonia. Since 2008 it has been a part of the newly declared independent Republic of Kosovo. My current research focuses namely on the population of the Prizrenska Góra.

Today the Gorani are a Muslim community. The population adopted Islam at the times of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans; most researchers regard it as a process that started in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries and continued until the middle of the nineteenth century (Jastrebov 1904: 95–96; Cvijić 1931: 175; Lutovac 1955: 41–42; Selishchev 1929: 406; Kanchov 1900a: 47). Until today, however, they have spoken a South-Slavic dialect, which is claimed to be part of the Serbian, Bulgarian, Macedonian or Bosnian languages. Because of the turbulent and complicated historical destiny of the region, in most cases studies have focused on the issues of origin and identity and have been related to ethnic, national or religious claims (Toncheva 2012: 73). Apart from the issues of origin and ethno-religious affiliation of the Góra population, other important research topics are not difficult to outline. The mobility and migrations of individuals and groups of people and the concomitant socio-cultural transformations are among them.

In this respect, it is important to mention that the Gorani are one of the archetypal migrant communities in the Balkans: for them migrations in search of livelihoods and better living conditions have become a structure of everyday life, influencing and determining the peculiarities of the local culture and the social organization since (at least) the middle of the nineteenth century. In the course of time, the periods of relatively voluntary labour mobility have alternated and intertwined with those of compelled resettlements. The aim of the article is to study the dynamics of migration patterns and continuities and shifts in the concomitant social and cultural processes in the last two decades, within the context of the post-conflict developments in the region.

The article starts with brief descriptions of my fieldwork and the process of data collection. Next, I review the migration history of the Gorani community. Then the contemporary movements following the Kosovo armed conflict in 1998–1999 are examined. As a result of the latter, significant changes in the main migratory characteristics and destinations can be observed. The increasing numbers of family migration and settlement in several Western European countries today replace the male temporary labour mobility within the ex-Yugoslav countries. The migration dynamics is influenced by complex processes taking

place in post-conflict Kosovo – a number of political, economic, social, cultural, demographic, and psychological factors intertwine, determining the feelings of marginalization among many Gorani and influencing their aspirations and strategies for escaping from the country.

FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The paper draws on ethnographic first-hand data collected among the representatives of the Kosovar Gorani. The "multi-sited ethnography" approach (Marcus 1995) was applied. On the one hand, I visited selected villages[1] in the region of Góra in Kosovo (migrants' origin area) three times at different times of the year (in total 25 days). The first fieldwork session took place in May 2018, in the week around St. George's Day (Đuren in the local dialect). It is the biggest fest in Góra, when most of the people working and living abroad come back to their native villages and the kin reunites. The second field research was conducted in the summer (end of July) of 2018, when many migrants were home for their annual holiday. The third visit took place in the second half of September 2018 so that I was able to see the region when there were only the permanent residents, and the migrant workers were abroad. On the other hand, I worked in Belgrade, Serbia (10 days, March 2018), and in Skopje, North Macedonia (5 days, September 2018), which are working and living places for many Gorani.[2] In total, 77 interviews were conducted with people of different age, gender, education, and profession. Some people I interviewed twice or more, in some cases even in different localities. I also met and talked to the relatives of my interlocutors from Góra in Skopje and Belgrade and to those from Skopje and Belgrade in Góra.[3]

Although there was a questionnaire with basic research topics, I preferred to conduct semi-structured and unstructured interviews, in order to better outline people's evaluations, attitudes, and perceptions. I often encouraged my interlocutors to narrate their personal life experience, i.e., the biographical approach was also used. In their life stories people express their perceptions of successes and failures, and make generalizations about these, which helps them to explain the choices they have made in life (Brettell 2003: 24–25). Such ethnographic data allow the researcher to observe the changes in the cultural and social experience of the individuals, their points of view and daily practices, and the meanings people attach to their actions (Roberts 2002: 21). This approach takes into consideration the subjectivity of the narratives, yet finds them valuable as far as they reveal the respondents' opinions, dispositions, and attitudes (Lieblich & Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber 1998: 8–9).

MIGRATIONS OF THE GORANI: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

Labour mobility out of the birthplace with the aim to earn the means of subsistence has been known for centuries among the population in a broad area of the Balkans.[4] The model, according to which men earn money "away" or "abroad" (in a neighbouring region, a bigger town, another state/country or "somewhere in the Balkans"), but return seasonally or yearly to their home places and families, is known as *gurbet/kurbet*, or under the South-Slavic term *pechalba/pechalbarstvo* (Hristov 2015: 31). The work engagements and activities are diverse – agrarian, such as harvesting and sheep breeding, or craft industry, such as construction, pottery, confectionery, and bakery (Palairet 1987: 25–37). There are even a number of common typological features that give cause for calling this model the "Balkan culture of migration" (Hristov 2010: 11).

Speaking particularly of the Gorani, in the early Ottoman period their basic economic activity was animal husbandry, and especially sheep breeding (Hasani 2011: 314). The region is mountainous and good arable land is scanty, but there is plenty of grazing land. During the winter, Goranian shepherds take their herds to the Adriatic and Aegean coastal areas and even Anatolia. These shepherds were part of the networks in the Ottoman Empire, which supplied the demand for meat, wool, hides, etc. Craft industry and labour mobility, however, were other important possible options for households to earn their livelihoods. In the second half of the nineteenth and especially in the first half of the twentieth century, the developing *pechalba* became a more important source of making a living, compensating for the gradual abandonment of animal husbandry. According to the interpretations of many researchers, the destruction of the agrarian system and the profound social crisis in the late Ottoman Empire, caused by the weakening of the centralized power and intensifying robbery, reduced sheep breeding in the region (Selishchev 1929: 405–406; Cvijić 1931: 134–135; Trifunoski 1952: 415–416; Ivanov 1993: 140–141; Hasani 1995: 155). The dissolution of the empire, the formation of the new countries in the Balkans, and the establishment of state borders throughout the region were also important reasons (Hristov 2015: 39–40; Toncheva 2012: 38–39).

So, it is documented that at the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century many Gorani worked all over the Balkans – in Serbia (and later on in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Turkey, and even in Egypt (Kanchov 1900b: 102; Cvijić 1931: 199; Lutovac 1955: 233). They specialised mainly in bakery, selling of dried nuts and fruits, pastry and ice-cream, as well as drinks such as *boza*[5], *salep*[6], lemonade, etc. Commonly these migrations were seasonal – the men left in the autumn (around St. Demetrios' Day) and returned in the spring for St. George's Day. Sometimes the work was

year-round; then, especially in the cases of joint family households, their male members travelled on a rotational basis every several months. However, when the work destinations were more distant, some men were not able to return for several years. There are stories about such men, who could not recognize their children in the street when they came back; in other cases, the father found out that some of the children had died during his absence.

After World War II, many Gorani families left their homeland forever because of the new political situation and socio-economic relations and the imposed ideological framework, marked by Soviet-type collectivization and forced expropriation of property by the communist authorities (Hasani 2002: 37; 2007: 146). After the split between the Yugoslav and Soviet leaders, Tito and Stalin, the borders with the neighbouring Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, who remained loyal Soviet allies, became practically impossible to cross. On the other hand, an agreement with Turkey for the expulsion of the "Turks" from the Federation to their "motherland" was signed in 1953 (Vickers 1998: 49). According to some narratives collected in Góra, in this period all migrant workers abroad had to decide whether to return home or to stay in their respective countries, separated from their families. Some remained in Bulgaria and Greece, but many went back to Góra. Soon after that, however, their property was nationalized. These developments pushed them to permanent emigration: based on their Muslim faith, many declared themselves as Turks and whole families left for Turkey through Macedonia (cf. Hasani 2007: 146).

The rest continued to live in harsh and poor economic conditions. As I have already mentioned, the roads to Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania as labour destinations were closed. The economic development of the Federation followed its own specific modified version of central socialist planning and industrialization after the split with Stalin. While most of the republics achieved economic growth, Kosovo within Serbia lagged behind in terms of economic development. In the 1960s the policy implemented on the Gorani community was marked by their social, cultural, and economic integration into the Yugoslav federation as a part of the Serbian nation. This additionally stimulated seasonal workers from the Góra region to turn their labour paths to the towns and cities within the Federation. There they worked as bakers, confectioners, and sellers of dried nuts and fruits in order to secure livelihoods for their households. From the end of the 1960s, with the signing of the official labour force recruitment agreements between the Yugoslavian government and some Western European countries, the Federation became a very active participant in the guest-worker programmes of the post-war Europe. Large numbers of the Gorani went abroad as *Gastarbeiter* in Western Europe.

Going to *pechalba* as well as temporary working in Europe was a male path. Except for the people who left for Turkey, there were only a few cases when women and children accompanied the men working abroad. Commonly, women stayed behind and were taken care of by the husband's parents, brothers or unmarried sisters, in most cases living together in extended rural households. The migrants' wives took everyday care of the children but all the decisions concerning the work distribution, participation in rituals, visiting wives' relatives, education, etc., were prerogatives of the head of the household. The wives and children of the migrants were very cautious about their behaviour in order to maintain their reputation unblemished. They were put under close scrutiny by the local community and were expected to be quite humble and modest in their public appearance. Such behaviour was required in order to guarantee the honour of both the husband working abroad and the entire household. My elderly female interlocutors often told sorrowful stories about their earlier years of marriage, when they wrote letters to their husbands and waited anxiously for weeks and months to receive an answer. There were also the cases when, instead of a letter from the husband, they received sad news of his death.

Pechalba was inscribed in the local cultural model and was structural for everyday life. For men providing livelihoods for the near kin was a moral obligation and duty. In order to save more money, men working abroad restrained their consumption to a minimum. The gain was sent or brought to the household in Góra for covering the primary vital needs – food, medicines, clothing, and housing. As soon as the boys turned over 10, they would go away with their fathers or uncles in order to take up their profession and to start gaining for the household (Hasani 2007: 146). According to my field materials, the young boys were sent abroad during the summer holidays or after they had finished their elementary or secondary education in order to learn the professions. For instance, one of my respondents told me that after finishing the fourth year at school, he and his brothers were sent one after another to their father and uncles working in rotation in Samobor. There they completed their secondary education and worked during free time. The girls, however, were not allowed to work abroad or even go to school there; they helped with the housework and learned at home all the knowledge and skills needed for their future role as housewives.

Similar to other regions with strong *pechalba* traditions (Konstantinov 1964: 71–74; Hristov 2014: 113–114; Markov 2015: 179–181), around the moments of the *pechalbar*'s departure and return, a ritual complex was performed. The *pechalbars* used to leave the village in groups in the autumn (commonly around St. Demetrios' Day). Some rituals of a protective nature, related to leaving home, took place. For example, a cup of water was spilt in front of the *pechalbar*, and

his relatives wished him a safe trip and work as smooth as the water flowing before him. The spouse or the parents often gave him some objects from the home to carry with him, in order to preserve the thought of "here" while being "there". Relatives accompanied by a procession of specially engaged musicians, playing *tupani* (drums) and *zurle* (zourias)[7] followed the men to a specific place at the edge of the village. From there they continued the procession to a closer or a more distant destination. After returning to the village, the relatives adorned the doors of the houses with freshly gathered flowers and green twigs, symbolizing the health of the *pechalbar*. His room was not to be swept this day, in order to avoid sweeping his luck away. Although the man was physically far from home, he remained within the thoughts of his relatives.

As the separation was a sad event, the physical return of *pechalbars* and their corporeal co-presence aroused happiness and excitement. The biggest fest in Góra (in the past, as well as today) was the week around St. George's Day. This was the time when most of the men working abroad came back to their native villages and the kin reunited. There was even the following widespread saying among the local population: *Ke da si, da si, za Đuren doma da si!* (Wherever you go, for St. George's Day you must return home!). *Pechalbars* were cordially welcomed home, again with music, dances, and a festive table. The fest[8] lasted several days and was organized in a meadow near the village, where people were grouped based on kinship. This period was also appropriate for arranging marriage agreements between young girls and boys and their families, since most of the relatives on both sides were present and could participate in the rituals. According to the classical ethnographic data and my older interlocutors' narratives, the physical presence of all members of a particular kin network coincided with the period of wedding ceremonies and the circumcision ritual for little boys. These events occurred during the summer, mostly in July and August, and before the departure of the *pechalbars*.

As Polish ethnologist Karolina Bielenin-Lenczowska (2010: 520) notes, organizing such fests was possible and rational in the place of origin, since only the local people could comment on their customs, and the material and social aspects of fests and rituals could be observed and evaluated only by them. Thus, in the *pechalba* model, people structured their life in order to provide the family's well-being in Góra. All practices, and especially *pechalbars*' regular visits in the native places, aimed at their permanent return, which was a common social norm. Because of that, the trips were unilateral – only men working away travelled back and forth; older migrant-workers, no longer able to work, returned permanently to the village of origin. Furthermore, the idea of leisure was not central to the trips to Góra – during the stay the returnees participated in community rituals that defined the family-kin life cycle and helped to provide

their households with resources and products for the time of their absence (for instance, they helped to make hay and fodder for the livestock).

CONTINUITIES AND SHIFTS IN MIGRATORY PATTERNS

In the 1970s and 1980s, some of the male migrant workers started to take their wives and children along with them due to the acquisition of self-contained flats and the overall improvement of living standards in their workplaces. These men were considered as breakers of the regular social order. In some cases, there were intra-family tensions and conflicts. Even in the early 1990s, this kind of family migration was still perceived as an exception, since most families were returning to their villages in the summer. All weddings were organised in the home village of the groom too, despite the fact that he or his fiancée were living away. According to my interlocutors in the village of Brod, for instance, there were more than 40 weddings every summer in the 1990s. The migrant's aim, even if he was living away with his wife and children, was to save enough money and to build his own house back in the native village, as it was stated above.

The Kosovo armed conflict in 1998–1999 was a turning point, which is deeply inscribed as a "place of memory" in the minds of my interlocutors. It was fought by the Kosovo Albanian rebel groups known as the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), whose guerrillas were calling for independence from Serbia, and the forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which strived to keep Serbian control over Kosovo.[9] Most of the Gorani took sides with the Serbs during the war, therefore they were institutionally and financially supported by the Serbian state in the post-conflict years.[10] Because of that their relations with the Albanians in Kosovo were estranged, especially among the people directly involved in the Serbian parallel institutions (cf. Trupia 2019: 149–150). Despite the presence of the Kosovo Forces (KFOR), there were revenge attacks and violent actions against the Gorani and their property. For instance, the narratives pointed at burnt-down shops, demolished restaurants, etc., as well as the closing of some Serbs-owned enterprises where many people worked. Thus, large numbers of the Gorani lost their jobs, including those employed in the collapsed Serbian administrative systems (education, healthcare, and the police). Furthermore, the Gorani where repressed for speaking their mother tongue, and in many villages Serbian classes were dismissed and replaced with Bosnian ones[11] (cf. Đorđević Crnobrnja 2014: 42–43).

According to the sources, until June 1999 there were around 17,000 Gorani in the region. As a result of all these political, socio-cultural, and economic reasons, and according to different estimations, between six and ten thousand

people left Góra in the following years, and these were whole families, not men working abroad (Mladenović 2001: 43; Hasani 2002: 320). My interlocutors consider this period as an example of mass exodus. It was observed that emigrants had their preferences towards a specific destination for migration, based on the village they originated from. This perception derives from the earlier chain-labour mobility. For example, the families from Bachka, Dikance, and Mlike went in the greatest numbers to Serbia, mainly to Belgrade; those from Zli Potok settled in the autonomous Vojvodina province; families from Brod found new homes mainly in Skopje, Macedonia. However, all of them point to the NATO intervention as well as the socio-political changes in the post-war Kosovo as the turning point of the sudden replacement of the typical *pechalba* by the migration of entire families. In most of the cases, the settlement was defined by where the husband or other close relatives had already worked (see also Đorđević Crnobrnja 2014: 40; 2016: 90). Families who tried to escape by applying for asylum in Western European countries were also numerous. Some of my interlocutors and/or their relatives have settled and today live in Switzerland, Germany, France, Luxemburg, Sweden, Finland, etc.

In 2008 Kosovo declared independence, which was not recognized by Serbia. The declaration elicited mixed reaction internationally, and this issue still divides the international community. Currently, all Kosovo citizens need an official visa permit in order to work or reside legally in the EU countries (Schmidinger 2013: 126–127). It is practically impossible for one to travel with Kosovo documents to countries that have not recognized the state. Simultaneously, in the last years Kosovo has been considered a "safe third country". Because of this complicated international situation, some Gorani acquired Bulgarian passports in order to take advantage of the opportunity for free travel, which the country as an EU member provides. However, because of suspicion of corrupt practices, in 2014 the possibility of the Kosovo citizens applying for Bulgarian passports was abolished. Thus, the European migration rules and policies also influence migration patterns of the Gorani.

In the course of time, all these developments have led to new inequalities and tensions. The "wealthy" relatives from the West are constantly showing their "wealth" with their homes, cars, and other prestige objects. Many of those who are left behind are envious and irritated at the same time. Simultaneously, there is a great pressure on migrants to share their "wealth" with relatives who stayed behind and to help them to migrate as well. In the given circumstances, marriage has acquired additional significance. The legal papers of the future husband or wife now play a certain role. As marriages are still predominantly endogamous, Goranian girls and boys having legal status abroad have become preferable partners. This kind of family formation is another important tendency

that strengthens the pattern of family migration. On the other side, several of my male interlocutors have chosen (again because of various reasons) to live and work in their villages in Góra. Most of them are in their thirties and forties and are not married yet. They speak with embarrassment, frustration, and disillusionment about their single status. According to their opinion, the young girls and women do not want to be married to men who are sheep-breeders, and therefore to live a rural life. They blame the common spread among the young girls, under the influence of family migration attitudes, to look for marital partners among the men working abroad, especially in Western Europe.

Thus, the ongoing processes of migration and mobility among the Gorani are complex and multi-layered. An important point to mention here is that during the last two decades the "family migration" existed along with the migration of single men (i.e., the *pechalba* model). Different types of migrants (labour, educational, marriage, refugees, etc.), living or only temporarily working in various countries, are interconnected economically and emotionally through family-kin ties, as they are connected with relatives and kin members in the places of origin. Gender and age dimensions are diverse as well – women and children also participate in migration processes.[12] Young brides move due to marriage and many children are born and raised abroad. In some cases, women continue to be only housewives, taking care of the children's needs and upbringing. Many other girls, however, receive university education and afterwards work outside of their homes, which a few decades ago was inadmissible, according to the traditional norms and rules for what people ought to do and how they ought to behave.

Living abroad with the entire family changes the migrants' priorities: the focus turns towards earnings to provide for the nuclear family living there, while remitting money to villages of origin comes second.[13] In the opinion of the people still living in Góra, the number of returning visits to the region has decreased over the years. As a cause they again see the armed conflict of 1998–1999 and the subsequent several post-conflict years – then the visits to the region were very dangerous, people were afraid of unexpected armed incidents. As a result, between 1999 and 2004, the return visits almost stopped, many missed the funeral of parents, others simultaneously regretted they were not able to marry in the village of origin (Góra) because of the war. As a result, even after the normalization of the situation in the region, visits became less frequent. For example, the number of wedding fests organised in the villages of origin has decreased; for instance, in Brod there are only three to five weddings yearly. Since generally most marriages are still endogamous, with preference for a partner originating from the same or neighbouring villages,[14] this change could be easily explained. As such rituals bring together the kin, and most

of the relatives who live away from the place of origin, yet in close localities abroad, the ritual is performed at the place of residence, which is convenient for the kinsfolk.

The second generation is another important topic for my interlocutors. According to the people residing in Góra, the children born and educated abroad will gradually lose the Gorani language, culture, and customs. All respondents living abroad argue that it requires special efforts to speak with their children in their mother tongue and to introduce them to the local Gorani culture and traditions. Aiming at preventing that, the parents take them to Góra during the summer vacation and stimulate their participation in local fests and rituals. Although nowadays teenagers and young adults get to know each other mainly via social media and virtual communication, their presence and participation in the celebrations of St. George's Day still has its significance and social role. Most of the children and young adults, however, do not perceive their parents' home villages, and Kosovo in general, as a potential place to live. The socio-economic underdevelopment and instability is often mentioned as a cause. Belgrade, Skopje, and other cities and towns abroad are the places where they were born, where they grew up and went to school, where their friends are and where they have established job positions. Sometimes the children-migrants even voice their criticism about being obliged to visit the villages of their parents in Góra. Also, the construction of houses in the region often fails to meet the younger generation's standards (Schmidinger 2013: 129–130). In this respect, a transformation in the nature of the return visits can be observed – they are often described in terms of "relaxing" and "getting away" from the stressful routine life abroad. Generally, the future return to Góra does not define the trips anymore; the idea of leisure becomes more central. Another very significant tendency is particularly visible in the presented data: the visiting trips are not unidirectional; on the contrary – people from Góra also visit their children or other relatives abroad; they travel to be present at weddings or circumcision ceremonies there.

CONCLUSION

The Gorani community offers an interesting case study regarding the continuities and shifts in the migratory processes. Different and even opposite migratory tendencies (with regard to residence) have evolved over time. Both the Ottoman Empire and Yugoslavia with their extensive labour markets offered opportunities for temporary labour mobility to the cities for the rural mountain population, such as the Gorani. In the 1990s there were still relatively good opportunities

for temporal work in Serbia. The Kosovo armed conflict (1998–1999), however, was the turning point. In the newly established social, political, and economic conditions of oppression, the former temporary migrant workers feared for their relatives left behind. The continuing tensions and crisis relationships with the Albanian majority stimulate and accelerate the family migrations and settlement processes abroad, which leads to significant socio-cultural transformations in the community. The presented data prove that the traditional family-kin relationships, behaviours, and gender roles have been modified. In the conditions of various patterns of migratory movements, the directions of visiting trips have changed significantly over time, with "stayers" and "leavers" travelling in both directions, challenging the established dichotomy between mobile migrants and static non-migrants (Janta & Cohen & Williams 2015: 587). Undoubtedly, this affects not only the everyday routines, but also the festivities and the observance of rituals – a problem that was just noted here, but would be researched further.

What kind of changes will occur in the overall migration patterns in the years to come? How do the migration practices and behaviour impact the processes of socio-cultural transformation and vice versa? These questions leave the topic open for future research, especially having in mind the dynamics of the international relations in the region and the aspirations of all countries in the so-called Western Balkans, including Serbia and Kosovo, to join the European Union.

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NOTES

[1] Some of the conversations and interviews were conducted together with my colleagues Veselka Toncheva and Desislava Pileva (in the Góra region) and Violetta Periclieva (in the town of Skopje and the Góra region).

[2] I worked in Dragaš, Leštane, Ljubovište, Dikance, Brod, Mlike, and Donja Rapča.

[3] My interlocutors in Belgrade descend from Dragaš, Leštane, Dikance, and Mlike. In Skopje almost all of the respondents originate from Brod; I also talked with the Gorani from Urvič and Jelovjane – two villages located in the Republic of Northern Macedonia, but these narratives are not analysed in this text.

[4] Michael Palairet writes that in the Balkans during the nineteenth century there were three large regions with concentrations of villages dispatching large numbers of people to work away: Central Bulgaria around Stara Planina and Sredna Gora; the Rhodope Mountains, especially to the north of Komotini; and the area extending from the western borderlands of Bulgaria and adjacent regions of southeast Serbia to Kosovo, Macedonia, and Pindus (Palairet 1987: 23).

[5] *Boza* is a malt drink made by fermenting cereal flour, generally millet (maize, wheat or barley are also used). It is thick in consistency, has low alcohol content (around 1%), and a slightly acidic sweet flavour. The drink is widespread in the Balkans, but also in Asia Minor, Caucasus, and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, etc.).

[6] *Salep* is a drink made from the flour of the tubers of the orchid genus. These tubers contain a nutritious, starchy polysaccharide called *glucomannan*. The drink is widespread in the Balkans and the Middle East, especially in the Levant.

[7] Wind instrument.

[8] Here the fest itself and its ritual elements will not be explored in detail. For more see Antonijević 1974; Toncheva 2012: 94–104.

[9] In March 1999, the KLA received air support from the NATO forces. In June 1999, after months of NATO bombing Belgrade and Serbian military sites, the United Nations (UN) approved the Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1244, which established the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) as the UN entity to oversee the resolution of the Kosovo crisis, and also identified the NATO-led Kosovo Forces (KFOR) as the peacekeeping force to maintain order in the region (Dankaz 2018: 73).

[10] The support continues after the Kosovo declaration of independence and even today – there are some parallel Serbian institutions, such as schools, hospitals, etc.

[11] Currently there is only one gymnasium with Serbian as the language of tuition, and it is not located in the municipal centre Dragaš, but in the village of Mlike.

[12] The ethnographic data show that girls who have finished secondary school in Góra, also go to receive their higher education abroad, often staying close to their relatives there.

[13] There are different indicators of the shift in the priorities. These include the strong propensity for naturalization, the acquisition of real estate in the receiving country, and investments in the wellbeing and education of the children there (cf. Iseni 2013: 234).

[14] The dynamics of marriage practices in correlation to migration and integration of the Gorani in Serbia (Belgrade and Tutin) has been studied in detail by Đorđević Crnobrnja (2018).

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FROM MOBILITY TO "EXILE". SHIFTING CO-PRESENCE: NARRATIVES OF BULGARIAN-SYRIAN FAMILIES IN BULGARIA

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Abstract: The article addresses the topic of shifting co-presence of four Bulgarian-Syrian families living in Bulgaria with their Syrian kin. Since the dividing line is the beginning of the conflict in Syria, the body of the text consists of two sections: the first one regards the physical co-presence *before* and the second one presents the virtual co-presence *after*. The notion *before* also refers to the free movements between "here" (Bulgaria) and "there" (Syria), and *after* encompasses the time of the peculiar "exile" of the mixed families who were deprived of the possibility to travel and to be bodily present. Therefore, the shift is shown by analysing the essence of the face-to-face and from-distance communication within the context of changing lifestyle circumstances.

Keywords: co-presence, exile, family/kin ties, ICT, mobility, Syria, visits

Being co-present with someone can often be taken for granted. Every day we meet, greet and communicate with different people, some of whom are dear to us, and for others we just have to be around. Sometimes we have the freedom to choose for ourselves with whom, when, how, and for how long we want to be co-present, to get and stay in touch over time and distance. In other cases, however, choosing is not an option – our communication patterns are shaped and dependent on factors outside of our own control, such as political circumstances, technologies, etc. Both of these alternatives concern many Bulgarian-Syrian families in Bulgaria. They used to be able to set their own manner of being co-present with their Syrian kin, regardless of time and distance, and nowadays these couples and their offspring have to find their (new) ways for maintaining personal connections with their relatives who live away from them.

As Maruška Svašek (2008: 214) claims, migration "almost unavoidably … moves individuals in alternative ways". Various meanings can be ascribed to this statement, placed in different contexts, and hence it may have many interpretations. However, here it is considered in the context of years-long process of movements between countries and homes, in different directions for different periods of time, under different circumstances, which were inevitably but also unforeseeably discontinued, leaving fewer alternatives for being co-present. In this respect, how did the mixed families manage their presence within the movement *then*? How do they adapt to the shift, or shift their adaptation *now*?

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Approach

The topic of the article is analysed through the prism of two patterns of co-presence – physical and virtual (Baldassar 2008). The former suggests simultaneous bodily presence of all parties, particularly family/kin members, at one place. Hence, in the context of migration, the boundaries between physical presence and absence can be diminished by visits. On the one hand, being physically co-present is essential for maintaining immediate face-to-face and "body-to-body" contacts with the longed-for people. It allows the family/kin members to "read" each other's minds to "hear 'first hand' … to sense directly their overall response, to undertake at least some emotional work" (Urry 2003: 163–164). The direct communication without intermediation (of people, devises, etc.) provides (more) genuine interactions, more or less eliminating one's chance to selectively present information.

On the other hand, by being physically co-present in Syria, one can "face the place" (e.g. the birth place), which also enables them to "face the moment" by participating in various daily activities and special events with the family (Boden & Molotch 1994; Urry 2002; Mason 2004). This way, not only the local marital partners (the Syrians), but also their mixed families have the perception of being (and are accepted as) an integral part of the kin. Therefore, striving for such close face-to-face interactions is provoked by a mutual longing for each other; it is driven by "kinship ties" and "cultural codes of behaviour" which give all family members a unique feel of intimacy (Stephenson 2002: 393; Svašek 2008: 219). Spending time together allows all parties, as Mason (2004: 424) argues, "to build up a history of having known each other over time, and to acquire mutual and shared knowledge of each other … sustained in between times in more virtual ways, over distance". Later on, when the mixed families

return to Bulgaria, some of the recollections of the meetings and events in Syria turn into both carriers and triggers of memories for emotional encounters (Svašek 2008: 218). These statements became exceptionally valid after the mixed families were deprived of safely visiting the Syrian kin, when their manner of co-presence (greatly) shifted.

The unrest in Syria, which in 2011 escalated into an armed conflict with many factions, made the physical distance between the Bulgarian-Syrian families living in Bulgaria and many of their Syrian kin members constant. Therefore, they all needed to find alternative ways of "being together" across distance and time. The rapid development of the information and communications technology (ICT) greatly facilitates coping with the new situation of physical separation, allowing them to get and stay in touch regularly. The mixed families have established their own communication patterns with their loved ones. However, the manners of maintaining connection are determined by the family/kin members' personal needs and technology literacy, as well as some "family norms and obligations" (Nedelcu & Wyss 2016: 203). This way, relatives from all over the world can create connected lifestyles together across space. Urry (2002: 265–269) calls that "virtual proximity", and Baldassar (2008: 253–256) determines it as "virtual co-presence".

According to Licoppe (2004: 135–136), via ICT people physically separated may create "contentious patterns of mediated interactions that combine into 'connected relationships'". Therefore, social relations transform under the influence of developing tools for communication (ibid; Licoppe & Smoreda 2005). As Nedelcu and Wyss (2016: 206) claim, new ICT tools "complement rather than substitute" the existing ones, widening opportunities for relatives to stay connected. Hence, the internet and social media become the only direct, though from distance, manner for immediate, unmediated, even face-to-face contact with the longed-for people living away. Everyday communication allows family/kin members to discuss socio-political topics, make decisions together on important issues, and talk / exchange messages regarding "nothing particular" (Wilding 2006: 131).

Considering all of the above, the aim of the article, on the one hand, is to discuss aspects of the Bulgarian-Syrian families being together with the Syrian kin *before* the beginning of the armed conflict, and on the other, to show some of the transformations the manner of being co-present has been going through *after* – during the last decade.

Throughout the text the notion "mixed" is used for describing the families. It is chosen as unifying in terms of bicultural, bilingual, and bi-religious, as well as cross-national marital couples (cf. Breger & Hill 1998; Vinea 2007; Edwards & Caballero & Puthussery 2010; Lopez 2017). The latter refers to marriages

between external partners, both of whom keep their birth citizenship and maintain connection with their native country, regardless of the place of residence (Cottrell 1990: 152). The terms "here" and "there" are also used; "here" as a synonym for Bulgaria (the place of permanent residence) and "there" – for Syria (the migrants' country of origin which in one way or the other is present within the mixed families' lives). These definitions were also used by my interlocutors during the conversations for geographically distinguishing both countries.

Methodology

The Bulgarian-Syrian families' sample is a part of a bigger study of mixed families I have been carrying out for the last five years. This text is based on first-hand ethnographic data, gathered through in-depth interviews, some of them face-to-face, and others online via Facebook or Skype (the interlocutors chose the manner most suitable for them). The participants were found either through the mediation of a common acquaintance, or thanks to another interviewee of mine. The conversations were carried out with one or two of the family members, a partner, and an adult child, on separate occasions. This allows to scrutinize different points of view about the same research topic and to supplement and compare the gathered information.

The article focuses on four couples consisting of a Syrian man and a Bulgarian woman. The Syrians came to Bulgaria in the 1970s and 1980s in order to receive higher education in various fields.[1] Their Bulgarian spouses also have university education received in their native country. One of the couples got married in the 1980s and the rest – in the 1990s. Two of the families have one child and the other two – two children. The offspring of mixed descent are between the age of 8 and 39.

These particular families were chosen because of the significant amount of time they used to spend in Syria. Their way of life *before* the war was characterized both by settlement for a certain period or periods of time "there" and establishment of a manner of mobility "in-between" the two countries by executing organized systematic travels back and forth. On the one hand, this helped the migrants to preserve a palpable connection with the birth family. On the other, it allowed their spouses and children to become a part of the life "there" on a daily basis, and an integral part of the extended family as well. The possibility of frequent face-to-face contacts and personal visits, even residence in Syria, used to help all the members of the mixed families to "feel the presence of people and places involving all of the five senses" (Baldassar 2008: 252). As a result, they developed a strong and long-lasting relationship with their kin

and a connection with the country and the culture. However, *after* the beginning of the Syrian conflict the circumstances allowing these visits underwent (drastic) transformations. They not only interrupted the families' travels, but also changed the manner of communication within the dispersed kin.

CO-PRESENCE *BEFORE*

In most of the cases Syrians had very few or close to no visits to their home country during their student years "here". Therefore, the Syrians' first travels to their homeland and birth family in a long time were around the time they decided to get married. Hence, the couples' first visits "there" were inspired by the relationship itself, and sometimes were even initiated by their Bulgarian partners. In this respect, their main purpose for the women was to establish a personal relationship with their spouse's kin, so they all could start to get to know each other and really "see" each other.

However, in a certain season of the four families' lives, Syria became the dwelling destination, the country where both of the partners could develop professionally and even raise their children. None of the couples had considered settling down elsewhere in the country than in the Syrian partner's hometown. Therefore, they were seeking both to be co-present for their kin and to have relatives around on a daily basis. Through intense face-to-face communication, the relationship between the actors was unfolding in several aspects. In the next paragraphs, I will briefly present the life stories of the four families[2] regarding migration and mobility as lifestyle decisions.

After graduating from university and the birth of their first child, in 1996, the spouses of the *first family* (married in 1993) decided to move to Fayyaz' hometown in Syria. The particular occasion was his moving into the barracks, considered compulsory by the state. "There" the family resided along with the husband's parents and unmarried siblings. After Fayyaz had left the barracks two and a half years later, the family (already of four) decided to stay in Syria for a little longer. Both partners tried to establish their own private dental and psychologist practices in order to gain financial independence of Fayyaz' father and to move out of the parental house. However, in 2000, due to some financial difficulties in the entire Syrian family, which also affected Fayyaz and Irena, the couple decided return to Bulgaria.

The *second family* (married in 1980) left for Syria in 1985, after Arif had managed to pay off his military service. The couple and their four-year-old daughter settled in a flat within a residential building, which had separate rooms for a medical office. In this case, unlike the rest, the decision to migrate was

mostly the husband's. Arif hoped that developing professionally and achieving financial stability should have been enough to convince Magda to stay "there". However, for the Bulgarian wife, the physical absence of her birth family was emotionally difficult to deal with. Therefore, she spent most of the next four years residing with her parents and daughter in Bulgaria, and he – travelling intensively between the countries. Consequently, finding this situation unsuitable, in 1989 the family settled down in Bulgaria permanently.

The Syrian partner of the *third couple* (married in 1996) had to drop out of medical school due to some financial difficulties of his birth family. However, Asif decided to stay in Bulgaria, where later on he established an import/export business. The couple's first visit to Syria was in 1994, before they got married. The occasion for the stay, which lasted a few months, was the trading business he had at the time between some countries in the region and Bulgaria. About six years later, in 2001, Asif and Svetla returned along with their five-year-old son. Then their intention was to settle down "there" permanently, developing their international trading business, and living in their own apartment within the premises of Asif's parents. However, in a few years' time, Asif found it hard to re-adapt after having lived away for twenty years, therefore the family returned to Bulgaria.

The husband of the *fourth family* (married in 1998), like in the previous case, decided to stay and work in Bulgaria while still at university. However, in 1994, a couple of years after Jamal had met Jasmin, and some time before they got married, both of them went to Syria for a year. The travel was initiated by Jasmin, in order to become more familiar with the kin and the socio-cultural specificities before getting married. Shortly after their wedding in 1998, they established their second architectural bureau, this time in Jamal's hometown. Therefore, during the next decade or so the couple set up a peculiar manner of mobile life between Bulgaria and Syria, turning both countries into places of residence and professional development, as well as into homelands. However, they were planning for a permanent settlement in Syria, after the birth of their children.

In spite of the reasons for leaving Syria, none of the first three couples discontinued their co-presence "there". After the remigration to Bulgaria, the physical distance between the mixed families and the Syrian kin was somehow compensated by the new routine of mobility they all set. Based on opportunities and personal preferences of the mixed families, the frequency and the duration of the stays varied from yearly visits for a couple of months to travels every other year for a few weeks. However, while the children were of school-age, the travels were strictly coordinated with their summer vacations. This allowed the offspring and the parents to be co-present "there" as long as possible without

interfering with the family's lifestyle "here". During their visits, each couple stayed in the home where they used to live.

Among all, the *first family*'s travelling routine was the most regular and the duration of the stays the most structured. For ten years Fayyaz and Irena and their two daughters (b. 1993, 1998) were making well-planned annual visits. As the elder daughter stated, "my sister and I visited for three months … One of our parents took us there and usually stayed for two weeks, the other – came to get us and stayed for two weeks" (personal communication 2017). They never deviated from this routine, since no other period of the year allowed such a long stay "there".

The same also goes for the *third family*. Asif and Svetla were somehow duplicating the travel model they had established while residing in Syria when they spent the summer in Bulgaria, being co-present with the Bulgarian kin. After their move to the wife's home country, the couple managed to maintain annul visits to Syria for at least one month during the summer vacation of their son (b. 1996).

After their not-so-successful attempt to settle in Syria, the *second family* tried to find the most suitable and convenient way to be physically co-present with the husband's relatives. For a decade following their final settlement in Bulgaria, Arif and Magda visited Syria once in two years for a few weeks in the summer. This regularity was strictly followed while their daughter (b. 1980) was in school. However, when their only child went to university and especially after she left for Germany to continue her studies, the travels took place once in a while.

As to the *fourth couple*'s co-presence, it could be determined as somewhere in-between the two countries. However, their manner of travelling also had its variations. For most of the time, there were no specific reasons for Jamal and Jasmin's habitat and the length of their stays "here" and "there", other than their work commitments. However, between 2008 and 2010, the spouses deliberately dwelled in Bulgaria, because of Jasmin's pregnancy and the birth of the couple's first child. This event was supposed to be the awaited turning point for the family's permanent settlement in Syria.

Generally, the purposes for dwelling "there", along with the visits afterwards could be considered routine according to Baldassar, Baldock, and Wilding's (2007: 139–140) classification. On the one hand, the striving for better career developments of the spouses by establishing private practices/businesses in Syria was among the motives. However, this distinction is rather conditional, since in order for all of them to reside "there" (or wherever) and to be financially independent (from whomever), employment was needed. In some cases, the maintenance of professional and investment responsibilities regulated the

frequency of (some of) the visits. For instance, Asif had been running various trading businesses related to Syria and the Middle East region ever since the early 1990s. In this respect, until 2010 he had travelled to his home country and town alone numerous times for different periods. Meanwhile, however, he was able to logistically arrange the residence of his mixed family "there" in the early 2000s. Namely, aiming at settling permanently in Syria, Jamal and Jasmin had been maintaining their architectural bureau in his hometown for about a decade before the war. Throughout this time, both partners together were routinely travelling, as they stated, "sometimes twice a month" (personal communication 2016), between the two countries. Therefore, they were dwelling "within mobility" where "home is no longer one place. It is locations" (Hooks 1991 [1990]: 148; see also Urry 2002: 257–258).

On the other hand, choosing to go back to the hometown and to live along with or nearby the birth family made the striving for physical co-presence with the kin and/or the native place the most essential purpose for dwelling "there". Consequently, the Syrian partners were able to re-establish their direct communication with the birth family on daily and special-occasion basis. Although it was possible for the spouses to go back to their country of origin, they did not "go back" to their life before the migration. They had to adapt to the "new" socio-cultural environment and family/kin situation. At the same time, the Bulgarian partners and the children of mixed descent had the chance to develop close personal relationships with their Syrian relatives without mediation of some sort.[3]

Whether the couples were maintaining professional responsibilities or family/kin ties, all of them had enough time and opportunities to create their own daily routine of being co-present "there". The active face-to-face communication facilitated the mutual acquaintance of all actors, allowing them to adjust to each other's characters and specifics. In this respect, the more or less direct co-habitation with the relatives allowed the mixed families to be present and to participate in various socio-cultural practices and events, such as daily home organization, exchanged social visits, feasts, etc. Therefore, the couples, their offspring, and the Syrian kin had the chance to be co-present with each other in several manners.

The co-habitation made the mixed couples a more cohesive part of the kin on a daily basis. In the context of Petridou's (2001: 88) statement that a place acquires its meaning of *home* through practices, the Syrian husbands engaged in some activities, such as tea drinking every evening, which gave them the feeling of being "at home" (see also Rapport & Dawson 1998: 9). This way they were co-present with their fathers and brothers, just like in the old times before leaving for Bulgaria.

The co-habitation also gave the wives (and the children) another cultural perspective. For example, for Svetla one of the most memorable practices of the Syrian kin was the daily family lunch. "Lunch is very important for them. The everyday two-hour-long meal preparation was very stressful for me," she said, laughing (personal communication 2019). On the one hand, the process of food preparation was a form of being together, the time when all women of the kin gathered in the parental kitchen area. On the other hand, eating together was one of the strongest examples of the family's physical co-presence on a daily basis. It was a well-established and cherished practice, the highlight of the day for the women, children, and the men who were able to be home at lunchtime.

Aside from the daily manner of spending time together, there were some special occasions, such as feasts. The co-habitation allowed the couples and their offspring to be present and to participate in both familial and social activities (which in some cases took place at the same time), given the large kin group and their broad social circle. Therefore, for the Syrian partners these celebrations were a reminiscence of the past life in the home country. Such were gatherings with family members from all over the country and exchanging visits with relatives, neighbours, and friends for the celebration of Eid[4]. Another example was the Christian carnival in Jamal's hometown. Although for the Syrian kin visiting it is a general practice, the presence of Jasmin contributed to the experience. Going to the carnival together turned the Syrian relatives into mediators who introduced Jasmin to the local way of celebrating. Co-experiencing gave both the spouses and the kin a new perspective to the occasions and added a new dimension to their co-presence.

Although generally living or just being "there" meant that the couples and their children were co-present with the kin and the place, they did not have/want to be *really* present all the time. Hence, though the essence of co-presence is being together, the notion of private space while living and visiting Syria was present in the narratives. The private space of the couples who dwelled on their own differed from that of the families who lived with relatives, which therefore gave them different opportunities. While Jamal and Jasmin could find seclusion within their own home, Asif and Svetla had their own space in the apartment upstairs, in a building where the rest of the kin lived, and Fayyaz and Irena were able to get some privacy only in their own room within the in-laws' (parents') house. Therefore, in some cases the socio-cultural perceptions and communication could cause some rather negative experiences, especially for the Bulgarian partner, for example for Irena, who found it quite hard to cope with the intense presence of her husband's large kin group and their broad social circle.

> *His youngest sister and her children came by each week and stayed for a couple of days; it was as if they were living with us … Neighbours and guests came in all the time, entered the kitchen* [without asking for permission]*, opened the fridge, took whatever they wanted … it was so weird for me.* (Personal communication 2017)

For Irena's cultural perceptions these situations were too awkward, some even unacceptable, such as the notion of 'all doors open during the day', including those of the bedrooms, which became places for social exchange with kin members, friends, and neighbours. This behaviour was breaching her private space. Consequently, however, Irena did some adjustments to her own state of mind and those of the others. On the one hand, the co-habitation in Syria showed her different social boundaries (or lack thereof) along with cultural perceptions, which she eventually understood. On the other hand, she placed some boundaries between herself and the others on a daily basis (like closing her bedroom door whenever she needed to).

So, did seeking of private space mean avoidance of co-presence? I believe the answer is 'no', since the temporal overwhelming of a particular situation or a practice did not lead to the general rejection of social communication or spending time with the relatives. Looking for solitude was simply a part of the process of adjustment to a different socio-cultural environment. It gave the actors time to find their place and role within the kin.

Along with everything stated above, there was another purpose for the regularity of the visits of the first three families, and namely, to "ease the heartache from being separated", a notion that regards the so-called "special visits" (Baldassar & Baldock & Wilding 2007: 140–141). However, in this occasion the most important actors were the offspring of mixed descent and the Syrian kin. The visits gave the grandparents a chance and time to assume and preserve a role within the grandchildren's lives and upbringing.

In the case of Fayyaz and Irena's family, it was the main reason for strictly sticking to their travel routine. For the father, his daughters *had to* have a personal relationship with his birth family. Their summer stays in Syria were a topic of discussion neither between the spouses nor between the children and parents. When the family moved to Syria, their oldest child was a toddler and in about two years their second daughter was born. Therefore, the Syrian kin in general became an important part of both of their upbringing while residing "there". In this respect, later on, when visiting, not only the grandparents, but also the aunts, uncles, and their families took care of the two sisters. The kin's being co-present for the children, even though in a changed manner and not as thoroughly as they used to, was essential for preserving the personal contact.

The face-to-face communication and physical co-presence of the Syrian kin and the young child of mixed descent was the main purpose for Arif and Magda's travels during the 1990s. Therefore, the every-other-year visiting routine was disrupted when their daughter went to university. On the one hand, Arif's parents had passed away long before he moved back to Syria in the 1980s, and all his siblings had families. In this sense, he had no moral obligations to take care of anyone of his kin. On the other hand, when the daughter went to live abroad, the parental couple felt more obliged to be around her (and later on, their grandchild) than to be present for both of their kin.

The establishment of a personal contact between the generations was the main purpose for Jamal and Jasmin's visit to Syria in 2009. The family intended to spend some quality time together with the Syrian kin and to travel around the country before settling down "there" for good. However, in a few months' time, Jasmin found out she was pregnant with the couple's second child, which made them return for *a while* to Bulgaria. Nevertheless, this visit turned out to be the family's last one to Syria.

Although the travels that these four (and many other) families used to take to Syria resulted in *just* "intermittent moments of physical proximity" (Urry 2002: 258) to relatives, special/everyday events, and important/familial places, these visits were essential for maintaining co-presence and relationships. The possibilities for travelling back and forth made coping with distance easier for both the mixed family and the Syrian kin (see also Baldassar & Baldock & Wilding 2007: 144; Markov 2019). However, being able to spend time "there", to travel more or less intensively, turned this mobility into something granted. The *real* importance of the physical co-presence was realised after the visits discontinued (somewhere between 2009 and 2011), when everything changed for all of them. Afterwards the Syrian partners, but also their spouses and children, became "exiled" in a way, since they have not been able to visit the country and their relatives "there" ever since. This new situation was out of their control and an *alternative* communication adaptation was needed.

CO-PRESENCE *AFTER*

In this section I present some examples, marking a few of the changes and modifications within the mixed families' lives *after* the beginning of the conflict in Syria. As they have not been able to physically visit the Syrian kin, and vice versa,[5] the four families have had no choice but to stick to other ways for maintaining their relationship throughout the last decade.

However, communication from distance was not new for the mixed couples and the relatives "there". Syrians have been in contact with their kin back home ever since they were students. Back then, as well as for the next two decades, the ways, frequency, and regularity of communication were quite different. During the 1980s and 1990s, the four men were able to make phone calls about once a month. These were quite regular, needing prior arrangements as to the particular day and hour. Because of the high cost of international calls during this period, the number of relatives with whom migrants were able to talk was limited. They usually preferred to communicate with their parents, who then distributed information from and to other family/kin members.

Nowadays, the physical distance between relatives living in different countries, cities, and even parts of towns is quite easy to overcome. There is a wide range of ICTs for staying in touch from distance (Skype, Facebook, Viber, WhatsApp, and Snapchat). Social media and internet applications allow the exchange of short and long text/voice/video messages, as well as making of free phone/audio-video and conference calls at any time and anywhere. The "social glue", as Vertovec (2004: 220) characterizes the cheap international telephone calls in the migrants-kin relationship, is a perfectly applicable term with regard to the above methods of modern communication. The developing ICTs allow people from all over the world to maintain connection, compensating for "distance and … geographic separation" (Licoppe 2004: 138–140).

In this respect, when the possibilities to visit Syria safely were taken away, the only direct connection to the kin "there" was through the internet. Since the parents and most of the close family/kin members still remained in their home country, the virtual co-presence became an integral part of the mixed families' lifestyle. According to Baldassar (2008: 253), the frequency and regularity of the communication from distance are determined by "access to reliable and affordable" technologies. In this respect, every kin member "here" and "there" owns a personal smartphone; therefore, they have an *affordable* tool for getting in touch with each other. However, considering the extraordinary circumstances in Syria, the internet connection is not always *reliable*. Nevertheless, *appropriate* timing is also necessary for staying in contact. The partners of all four families are active and working people, therefore, they are not available for frequent and long conversations at any time. The same also applies to some of the Syrian kin, especially the male relatives. However, they all *make* time for intra-kin communication.

Bearing in mind the dynamic everyday life and the unforeseeable circumstances that may occur "there" at any time, the easiest and most practical way of maintaining a (relatively) regular communication is trough text messages. Although sometimes it may be time-consuming, it does not require real-time

communication; hence, it allows all parties to participate whenever available and wherever possible. Nevertheless, written communication does not substitute for the direct real-time contact. Although the frequency of audio-video calls via Skype, Messenger, and Viber are sometimes rarer than texting, talking with each other and even seeing each other face to face gives them the closest feeling of physical proximity, although being physically absent. The video connection allows all participants to observe directly each other's facial expressions and even body language, therefore "to read what the other is really thinking" (Urry 2003: 163).

Usually, the online contacts take place daily or weekly. Fayyaz, Asif, and Jamal exchange group or individual messages with their longed-for relatives. Irena, Svetla, and Jasmin also participate in group conversations and have their own individual contacts with some kin members. Virtual communication includes some of the closest Syrian relatives – siblings, cousins and their children, even some representatives of the older generation – parents, uncles, and aunts. However, the access of many elderly people to the new ICTs depends on the younger generation. Therefore, sometimes the communication with the nephews and nieces may prevail over contacts with the parents, such as in the case of Jamal, for instance, whose siblings' children often text him and Jasmin. Fayyaz' parents, however, have no difficulties in using the ICTs and internet applications. "Since my grandparents are there alone … my grandmother calls almost every night, sometimes even several times a day" (personal communication 2017). Hence, the main daily direct (audio-video) contacts of this mixed family are with the (grand)parents, not the younger generation.

As to Arif, the situation is somewhat different. The kin members he communicates with are his siblings and their families. However, no daily contacts via different ICTs were indicated, such as exchange of casual text messages in group or individual online conversations. This is how Arif described the frequency of contacts with his siblings: "Mostly they initiate the conversations in every two weeks, give or take. Sometimes we make calls … I usually forget when there is a feast, but they know and call every time" (personal communication 2017). This manner of not-so-frequent communication from distance has always been the case with them; therefore, it is not related to the lack of physical co-presence during the last ten years.

Generally, on the one hand, the parents of the Syrian spouses (when capable), as well as the youngest generation – the siblings' and cousins' children – mainly initiate casual conversations. The former prefer calls as the easier and most complete method for information exchange; the latter stick mainly to text messages. On the other hand, communication with the husbands' siblings and cousins is carried out both ways and is initiated by both parties. Regardless

of the initiators and frequency of the conversations, no particular reason or special occasion is usually needed for getting in touch.

However, the role of the children of mixed descent in the communication is not straightforward. Jamal and Jasmin's children rarely take part in the conversations with their father's relatives. Firstly, it is because of their age (11 and 8), secondly, they have never had the chance to establish direct connection with their Syrian kin, and thirdly, they do not master enough any common language. Therefore, the parents help their children to communicate during some of the audio calls.

Asif and Svetla's son is an adult, he has a common language with his Syrian kin, and has not only met most of his relatives numerous times, but also lived "there" for a while as a child. However, the physical separation during the last decade (while he was a teenager) has marked his relationship with the Syrian kin and led to quite scarce direct communication with them. The same also applies to Arif and Magda's daughter, whose face-to-face contacts with their Syrian relatives diminished about ten years before the conflict "there". Therefore, both parental couples share information regarding their own children, as well as the Syrian family/kin members, distributing it between all parties.[6]

Fayyaz and Irena's daughters differ significantly from the other cases. The regular yearly travels and months-long stays in Syria reflect positively on the personal relationships between the two children and the kin "there". After the discontinuation of the visits, all of them have managed to incorporate the communication-from-distance into their changing lifestyle. Both daughters have daily or weekly contacts via text messages and audio/video calls not only with their grandparents, but also cousins, uncles, and aunts.

The developing ICTs also add an additional functionality to the virtual co-presence – publication or exchange of visual materials. These, just like the text messages, contain diverse information, regarding everyday activities, interesting places, and special occasions, such as feast preparations or celebrations. On the one hand, there are social media texts and visual publications, which may initiate public comments on behalf of some of the longed-for people, regarding expressions of joy or wishes for well-being. For instance, Asif and Svetla's frequent travels between Bulgaria and Sweden (their current country of residence) are usually announced on their Facebook profiles and are often accompanied by visualizations (like a video of being on the road). This activity always receives comments from some Syrian relatives in Arabic. On the other hand, photographs and videos are exchanged in personal/group messages. The correspondences they provoke remain private between the communicating parties, which actually shows the close relationship between particular groups of family/kin members. This way, via their social media accounts and telephone

apps, the mixed families, including some of the adult offspring, and the Syrian kin are able to travel virtually and to be more present for their loved ones, though being physically separated. Hence, as Wilding (2006: 132) claims, they become "virtual families", who meet in "cyberspace" regularly or occasionally.

However, social media, such as Facebook, are also being used by Jamal and Jasmin, and Fayyaz and Irena as means for making strong civil statements about the war. Both families lost close relatives and friends in the conflict, some of them as civilian casualties, others as soldiers. Thus, Facebook has become a platform where they can show others their side of the story. By posting various graphic videos and photographs from the battlefield (during or after military actions), accompanied by strong statements, they turn their personal accounts into a platform for expressing their thoughts, fears, and anger, even disappointment, disagreement, sadness, longing, and mourning. On the one hand, via the social media they can find/provide support from/to family/kin members and other like-minded people (see also Glick Schiller & Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992: ix; Wilding 2006: 138). On the other hand, this virtual space is used as a way for overcoming the physical distance between "here", where they have to live, and "there", where they cannot be.

Generally, by using the ICTs, dispersed family members are able to "feel and function like a family" (Mahler 2001: 584). Although this applies in a more general manner to the usual communication within transnational families, such indirect contacts bear stronger values under exceptional circumstances. In the current cases, the virtual co-presence secures regular (regardless of the actual duration) exchange of information, ideas, news, or just having small talks between the mixed families "here" and their Syrian kin "there". Therefore, they are not only able to be co-present, but also to co-experience different events with each other over distance and time.

FINAL DISCUSSION

The sense of longing (and sometimes even the feeling of obligation) for the dispersed kin results in looking for opportunities to stay connected across time and space (cf. Baldassar 2015). In this respect, even the temporal residence in Syria was (partly) a result of the longing for the birth family and the homeland. Later on, the travels to "there" turned out to be physical as well as emotional journeys back to migrants' roots (see also Nguyen & King 2002: 221; Stephenson 2002: 392), which also constitute an essential part of the mixed families' background. In one way or the other, the visits, regardless of the duration and regularity, affected the couples' and their offspring's lifestyle, and vice versa. By spend-

ing time in Syria, all families declared their desire to maintain close family/kin ties, aiming at overcoming the physical distance between them. Therefore, the face-to-face meetings and family gatherings became special "events" on their own, and, being more charged with expectations, they demonstrated the participants' commitment to the relationship (Licoppe & Smoreda 2005: 327).

In this sense, when the possibility to travel to Syria and to be physically present for the longed-for people was (abruptly) discontinued, the four mixed families found themselves in a peculiar situation. They left the country thinking of going back again next year, or in a few months, as usual. This perception was a manifestation of their comprehension of the visits and the residence "there" as something granted, a movement that was under their control. However, they were left only with other ways for being co-present – mostly virtually. Although communication from distance was not new to the couples and the Syrian kin, being co-present via the ICTs while "away" turned into (almost) the only way for being present at all.

Although I find Urry's claim (2002: 258) that "virtual … travel will not simply substitute for the corporeal travel, since … [it] appears obligatory for sustaining social life" to be generally valid, in particular, when it comes to extraordinary circumstances, the virtual co-presence might be the only *alternative* for maintaining (any) personal connection across distance and time. Hence, the following statement also finds place in this discussion: "now, more than ever before, the proliferation of ICTs and new media environments has begun to challenge the premise that strong relationships require face-to-face interactions" (Baldassar et al. 2016: 135–136).

But still, what about physical co-presence after the beginning of the conflict in Syria? The possibilities for face-to-face communication in person have not been completely eliminated, though they have severely diminished. Since travels to "there" have been impossible, meetings have been taking place outside of the conflict zone, in particular in two European countries, Norway and Sweden – the new settlements of some Syrian kin members who left their homeland after 2011. However, so far only Fayyaz and Asif each have a sibling who migrated along with their families, seeking refuge.[7] Hence, through more or less intensive face-to-face communication they and their families have been able to re-establish the physical proximity with longed-for people.

As to Arif's and Jamal's families, the closest interaction with anyone of the Syrian kin (all of whom reside in the homeland) remains the audio-video communication from distance. Although all the four families have created a pattern for maintaining family/kin ties via the ICTs, they still hope they would be able to return and to be physically co-present "there" again. In this respect, this is how Jasmin and Jamal thought of this moment at the time of our conversation.

> *In 2018 we intend to have a wedding reception in Syria, if there is peace at last. It is mainly because of our Syrian relatives; they would like to see me as a bride … We did not* [have an official wedding reception] *when we got married here, because they [the Syrian kin] couldn't attend, and I just didn't feel like it … but there, the Syrian kin is very united, they would* [appreciate it]. (Personal communication 2016)

The partners' desire was not to have only the wedding reception, but also to create a special memory of being with the longed-for people and to have the long-awaited family/kin reunion. However, in 2018 the couple celebrated their twentieth wedding anniversary "here" again without their Syrian relatives.

In this context, all of my interlocutors have been asking themselves the following question: Is meeting in a third country going to be the *only* way for physical co-presence with the kin in the foreseeable future?

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NOTES

[1] During the socialist period there was a bilateral cultural cooperation agreement between Middle Eastern and African countries (Tsonev 1999: 107–108, 111, 270–271; Filipova 2009: 323–324; 326–327; Pileva 2017: 47–62).

[2] The names used in the text are fictional. They are chosen from the names typical for the respective culture, but do not correspond with the interlocutors' birth names.

[3] This also refers to the language. Irena, Svetla, and Jasmin are proficient in Syrian Arabic. They acquired it while living "there" and have been maintaining it ever since with the relatives and at work. Magda, however, as well as most of the children, who have some passive knowledge of their father's mother tongue, have been using English. An exception is the daughter of the third family, for whom Arabic became one of the professionally used languages.

[4] It is the Arabic word for 'festival'. In particular, it refers to Eid al-Fitr (the end of the holy month of Ramadan), and Eid al-Adha (the end of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, a.k.a. the Hajj).

[5] Visits to Bulgaria by some Syrian family/kin members, particularly male siblings, and in one of the cases also the parents, were also registered. However, they were sporadic and took place mostly in the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. In the cases of Asif, Fayyaz, and Jamal, this was the time before their moving (back) to Syria and the establishment of a routine manner of traveling to "there". As to Arif's brothers, they discontinued their visits to Bulgaria (which had been quite often considering the other cases) in the middle of the 1990s, when the level of the (organized) crime drastically increased, and they as foreign tourists no longer felt safe "here".

[6] Considering the general study, the lack or the rare virtual communication between the adult offspring of mixed descent and the non-Bulgarian parent's kin is not the usual case.

[7] Thanks to the brother's migration to Sweden, Asif and Svetla also settled there.

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UNCERTAINTIES OF TRANSNATIONAL BELONGING: HOMELAND NATIONALISM AND CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP OF LITHUANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

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Abstract: The processes of trasnationalism, especially large-scale migration from Eastern Europe (e.g. Poland, the Baltics, and the Balkans) are visible in the creation of new realities through the representation of cultural differences and distinctive social experiences enacted in diasporas. The aim of this article is to show how social ties and resources are used by migrants to cope with challenges of transnational belonging from grass-roots level understanding of the complexities of intra- and inter-ethnic relations enacted by the last two waves of the Lithuanian immigration in the USA, based on the fieldwork conducted in Chicago in 2002–2003, 2007, and 2013. Social belonging of the forced (end of WWII refugees) wave of migration was challenged by the political subjectivity applied to any immigrant group, including exiles from communism, resisting the assimilation into the melting pot politics dominant in America. The economic wave of post-socialist immigrants of the 1990s was challenged by the uncertainty and precarity of their lives and jobs, especially in terms of their legal status, command of the official language, and professional skills. Homeland nationalism and cultural citizenship are addressed in this article as strategies of coping with the aforementioned uncertainties. Homeland nationalism of the forced migration wave along with the practices of ethnification was marked by the moral imperative of 'to cherish the home country' and helped to withstand the 'melting pot' America. Cultural citizenship of the labor migrants appears as moral economy brought from the homeland and used for inter-ethnic networking of immigrants from the Eastern European region as compartmentalized lifestyle to cope with marginalization, especially of those without papers.

Keywords: cultural citizenship, diaspora, homeland nationalism, identity, transnationalism

Upon the collapse of colonial and communist regimes, social uncertainty, distrust of collective formations and social institutions continue to characterize postcolonial and postsocialist societies. This becomes evident with heightened mobility and a rise in migration. New and mobile livelihoods are forged in which mobility does not necessarily mean deterritorialization, but rather a multiple in-placement making, and according to Karen Fog Olwig and Ninna Nyberg Sorensen, an expansion of space through personal as well as family livelihood practices that occur in two or more places (Olwig & Sorensen 2002). This raises the question of how the migrants themselves decide on new forms of bonding and loyalty to the places and the states.

The best examples of this are strategies and practices of transnational immigrants, because by participating in transnational networks, becoming part of a mobile livelihood (ibid.), and forging transnational loyalties (Vertovec 2009) they are contextualized in new local contexts (country of immigration) and newly formed ways of life within the diasporas and beyond their borders.

The transnational condition of migrants is also related to the effects of power leverage, especially when national states in late modernity tend to categorize immigrants as culturally radically different because they are understood, first and foremost, as being from another country, and therefore seen as culturally radically different from locals (Olwig 2003: 66). In their own turn immigrants take up countervailing strategies to cope with this and other uncertainties, among which the most common is ethnification. The question of descent, understood as originally belonging to a trans-local place, and homeland-related narratives become important for them, and this is why they essentialize their own histories, cultures, and identities in order to give importance to concepts like 'kinship' or 'native land' (Krohn-Hansen 2003: 86). Immigrants who arrive in a new country usually appear in the position of an ethnic minority, which brings about a shift in their identity as well as the construction of a new loyalty to the host country and a reaffirming of loyalty to one's country of origin. Hence, the dimension of transnationalism becomes especially important for revealing not only how diasporic bonds based on ethnic organizations are constructed, but also how sociocultural ties, which overstep the bounds of one country, are constructed, and new loyalties to the state(s) appear.

To understand migrants' sociocultural ties from an anthropological perspective, it is important to consider migrant experiences and knowledge of cultural behavior that were brought over from the country of origin as cultural capital. It is precisely through these cultural ties and cultural heritage that we can see the intersection of diasporas and homelands. Louise Ryan and others, who have researched the Polish immigration in London, use the theoretical framing of social capital to draw attention to the fact that the diversity of social networks

of immigrants strongly depends on cultural capital, especially when forging connections across networks with those beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community (Ryan et al. 2008: 676; Parutis 2014: 39).

In this sense Christian Giordano's ethnographic research on the Chinese in Malaysia (2003, 2011) is remarkable. For instance, when addressing the question of determining bonding among people affected by transnational migration, he demonstrates the importance not only of the bonds that form among immigrants in the host country, but also their foundation that stems from the country of origin (Giordano 2013: 199). He thus determines that the deep axis of bonding among the Malaysian Chinese is around clan relations (ibid.: 217).

This article focuses on the socio-cultural ties and resources used by migrants and their descendants for their strategies and practices of belonging in the case of Lithuanian immigrants in the United States, particularly in Chicago, which since the turn of the twentieth century has been the home to the largest number of Lithuanians residing outside of Lithuania. Overall, more than 100,000 Lithuanians or Lithuanian-background Americans lived in the larger Chicago at the end of the twentieth century (Kuzmickaitė 2003: 76). The Lithuanian emigration to the United States has been continuous for at least a century and a half. We can speak of three waves of migration and at least five generations of Lithuanian-background population in the United States and, according to the US Census of 2010, their number is estimated to be 654,000 (Cidzikaitė 2013).

I will concentrate on the two last waves of migration: the forced migration of refugees fleeing from the communist regimes in postwar Eastern Europe in the late 1940s, and the labor migration of the late 1980s and early 1990s, after the end of the Cold War.

The first, political wave of the Lithuanian immigrants carried the refugees of World War II and immediately after, who were fleeing the communist regime in Eastern Europe, to the displaced persons (DP) camps in the liberated Nazi Germany, and later to the United States and other Western countries. Of the about 70,000 Lithuanians who passed through these camps, at least 30,000 settled in the United States, primarily in the cities of the East and Midwest, and 12,000–15,000 in Chicago, as a result of the US Displaced Persons Act of 1948 (Kučas 1975: 287, 297–298). As the ties with the country of asylum grew stronger with each new generation, these displaced persons, so-called DPs, started to feel that America was their second homeland. However, their nationality was a fixed, pre-given, and invariable category to which they stayed faithful. Their experiences in the DP camps in Western Germany became a source of social memory for later generations and an example of a countervailing strategy for how to live in a country (e.g., the United States), without really becoming a part of it. Their experiences in the exile camps in Germany taught them how to

live in a society to which they did not really belong, and actually this wave of Lithuanian immigrants can be addressed as diaspora in the classic sense of the term (cf. Cohen 1997). These exiles identified with Lithuania as their homeland and even more so – as the nation-state to which they were loyal and to which they belonged as nationals, although it did not exist anymore on the world map as it was occupied by the Soviets. So, by becoming political immigrants in the United States, they applied precisely this strategy, which developed into diasporic nationalism. Eventually, the DPs, especially the second and third American-born generations, created a dual Lithuanian-American identity, and their diasporic identity became characterized by dual loyalty to both Lithuania and the United States.

In earlier established definitions of diasporic identity, the term 'diaspora', usually involving forced migration and traumatic experiences of expulsion, and Jewish and Armenian displacement, has often served as a model (Safran 1991, 2004). It is still used to describe the transnational ties of migrants who have endured expulsion or involuntary exile to their remembered or imagined homelands (Cohen 1996; Levitt 1998: 928). Such symbolic ties to the homeland are usually shared in the host countries among the forced migrants and their descendants as a symbolic source of resistance to assimilation into the host society, and are often forged into diasporic nationalism, extensively described by social anthropologist Nina Glick Schiller as 'homeland nationalism' and 'long distance nationalism' (Glick Schiller & Fouron 2001). All the three (diasporic, homeland, and long distance nationalism) could be understood as synonyms, so I would prefer to use *homeland nationalism* which is a conspicuous example of migrant identity empowerment and, according to Steven Vertovec, could be understood as 'politics of homeland' and 'politics of nostalgia' (Vertovec & Cohen 1999).

The second, post-Cold War economic wave of migrants started to arrive in the United States after the fall of the Berlin Wall and noticeably accelerated after Lithuania regained its independence in 1990. Between 1988 and 2000, there were about 20,000 'new Lithuanians' in Chicago alone (Kuzmickaitė 2003: 76). These labor immigrants of relatively low socio-economic status had to compete with other immigrants (mostly from Central and Eastern Europe) in the labor market. Due to this competition the 'new Lithuanians' used to rely on maintaining old and establishing new social networks based on kinship, neighborhood, or friend relationships as countervailing practices to survive. These social networks often intersected ethnic boundaries by becoming trans-ethnic networks which included immigrants from different post-socialist countries – Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, etc. – who shared the same Eastern European socialist past, common social and economic experiences, and remembered the

poignant narratives as well as facilitated mixed marriages and festive culture (Čiubrinskas 2018).

As it is widely proven, international labor migrants and refugees usually care for their cultural distinctiveness to be recognized and valorized, and easily become motivated to claim ownership of their cultural heritage practices and identity by constructing histories about their roots and by shaping their public and political practices of homeland (Malkki 1992). Thus immigrant ethnification becomes one of the countervailing strategies against uncertainty and challenges of migrant livelihoods as well as their lifestyles often categorized as 'strange cultures'. The response to that is often essentialist, pointing to the exclusiveness of cultural resources and cultural embeddedness of immigrants. Such cultural embeddedness could be seen as a model of cultural citizenship, which also includes social experiences, values, norms, and rules of conduct transmitted from the homeland. In this case, the approach to citizenship as a prime expression of loyalty is altered by the concern with the moral and performative dimensions of membership beyond the domain of legal rights (cf. Glick Schiller & Caglar 2008: 207). In this case cultural citizenship that refers to the "right to be different" (Rosaldo & Flores 1997; Brettell 2008 [2003]) in terms of ethnicity, native language, religion, and other resources (cf. Nick Craith 2004) can be altered by the 'social culture' of the shared moral economy as social remittances brought from the homeland.

Both waves of Lithuanian immigrants, the political and the economic one, have been influenced by enculturation at home, i.e., models of knowledge and behavior rooted in their homeland(s) (in the same country but under very different regimes) and this process could be interleaved by features of the livelihoods and lifestyles of the host country and the locality of their residence (in this case Chicago). Such a cultural identity 'transplanted' or transmitted from abroad could reflect the limited integration, even enclave the type of life of immigrants who uphold cultural models created elsewhere (in our case, in the pre-Soviet Lithuanian nation state or in the country occupied by the Soviets). So here come questions: What are commitments to the country of origin and the country of residence? How do the local and trans-local socioeconomic contexts help to form and change relationships of these Chicago immigrants and how do they express their belonging, loyalties, and dependencies?

In order to have a closer look at these and similar issues, I examined the trajectories of Lithuanian immigrants' ties and strategies of their belonging shaped as homeland nationalism and cultural citizenship. The socio-cultural belonging of transnational migrants is almost never certain and stable and is often challenged by the receiving state's institutions and dominant discourses, as it was the case with the 'melting pot' politics used in the United States until

the 1960s–70s. At the time, it was some sort of political subjectivity applied to any immigrant group including exiles from Eastern Europe, who resisted any assimilation and were keen to build an alternative to 'Sovietized Lithuania' by creating homeland nationalism-focused ethnic communities. Much later, in the early 1990s, the post-socialist labor immigrants had to challenge the questioning of their legal status. Many of these 'new migrants' have transgressed the regulations of the previously existing visa regime and even up to now continue to live in the United States without papers. According to Kripienė's study of Lithuanian immigration in New York, based on an analysis of the US Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, around 25,000 Lithuanians who had the status of illegal migrants, became legal in 2001–2010, while around 1,300 were deported or returned (Kripienė 2012: 26). These immigrants also faced considerable uncertainty by mingling in precarious jobs, having a limited command of the state language, professional skills, etc. One of the ways they coped with that was by applying personalized networks of acquaintances and a moral economy of exchange of favors (cf. Ledeneva 2018), which they had acquired in communist Europe as a culture of 'spinning' – the extensive use of social networks of friends of friends and co-workers (Lankauskas 2014: 53).

So my aim in this paper is to address homeland nationalism and cultural citizenship as strategies for coping with uncertainties of the transnational positioning of migrants along with their countervailing practices of ethnification and inter-ethnic networking within in-groups. Hence, the dimension of transnational belonging becomes especially important for revealing not only how diasporic bonds work as ethnic networks, but also how social habits that overstep the bounds of one country are constructed.

To provide answers to these questions I used, among other sources, some historical researches published on Lithuanian migration to the United States (Kučas 1975; Budreckis 1982; Senn 2005), and anthropological fieldwork-based studies: Liucija Baškauskas' research done in Los Angeles in the late 1960s (cf. Baškauskas 1981, 1985 [1971]) and Daiva Kuzmickaitė's more recent research in Chicago, in which attention has been drawn to migrants' practices. Kuzmickaitė claims she was among the first to understand "what it means to be a new Lithuanian immigrant in Chicago" (2003: 13). These were followed by Ieva Kripienė's research on post-socialist immigrants in New York (Kripienė 2012), which demonstrated how the issues of ethnicity, identity, and practices of tight networking bonded the immigrants.

My own ethnographic materials were obtained in the course of fieldwork (participant observations *in situ* along with in-depth interviews, focus-group interviews and life histories) conducted among immigrants from Lithuania and Lithuanian Americans in Chicago in 2002–2003 (seven months) and in 2007,

as well as two-month fieldwork in 2013. Even though before undertaking field research I expected that these immigrants lead a closed life in the local Chicago ethnic communities or, perhaps the opposite, are freely surfing the waters of the multicultural megalopolis or even completely disappear in the melting pot of the larger American society, my research revealed a different reality. It appeared that immigrants create and recreate relations among co-ethnics in in-groups but also cross ethnic boundaries (post-socialist immigrants in particular) by establishing trans-ethnic sociocultural ties as well as by joining the local and trans-Atlantic social networks. In addition to (participant) observations, in-depth interviews were also conducted with 30 individuals in various areas of Chicago, the majority of whom resided in Gage Park in the inner city, as well as in Chicago's suburbs, primarily Darien and Lemont. The research encompassed a total of 14 sites: two Lithuanian Saturday schools, a business club, two Lithuanian community centers, three companies founded by Lithuanian immigrants (transportation and delivery services), and five restaurants (two of which specialized in Lithuanian food). Participant observation involved taking part in and observing events – including their preparation, intermissions, and aftermaths – such as concerts, basketball tournaments, business club meetings, celebration of Lithuanian national holidays, Lithuanian restaurants and groceries as well as daily routines at transportation companies, the Lithuanian community centers and Saturday schools. Numerous informal conversations helped to identify the most popular narratives and discourses. Two focus group studies were conducted – with workers and with students.

EXILES' AMBITION OF HOMELAND NATIONALISM

Robin Cohen insists on understanding diaspora through cultural traits and collective representations inherent to diasporic phenomena (Cohen 1997: 26). According to Christian Giordano, diasporas are often understood as just "shared culture", but it is more precise to approach these as "a culture-based corporate group that often takes on actual institutional forms in the shape of associations, brotherhoods, clubs, committees, etc." (Giordano 2011: 66). Thus diasporas as cultural units share (at least to a degree) common sets of cultural knowledge, including interpretations of history, concepts of identity, value systems, and moral imperatives. So, diasporas could be addressed as ethnic communities and social networks based on trust, codes of moral duty, and engaged in homeland nationalisms (Benovska-Sabkova 2013; Čiubrinskas 2013).

There are clear historical reasons for homeland nationalism to be traced in the Lithuanian diaspora in the United States. During the period from the 1940s,

when Lithuanian independence was lost due to the Soviet occupation, until the reestablishment of the Republic of Lithuania in 1990, the trope of 'retaining the Lithuanian nation', which became stateless for fifty years, was crucial for most of the Lithuanian Americans as descendants of political emigration of the late 1940s. This trope urged the return and rebuilding of homeland, and became enacted just before, during, and especially after the reestablishment of the independent Lithuanian republic, in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The DP wave of political immigrants included many middle-class professionals who founded the Lithuanian-American Community (LAC) in 1951 as a branch of the World Lithuanian Community (WLC) established by the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania in Hanau, Germany, in 1949 (Kučas 1975). The WLC became an umbrella organization for diasporic Lithuanians. The fact that the United States never recognized the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States was at the core of the nationalist imperative "to stay Lithuanian everywhere and forever", enforced as a "moral duty" for those who "were lucky in a situation where others were not" (Budreckis 1982: 198), as most of these Lithuanian immigrants had lost relatives and friends in the Soviet deportations to Siberia of the 1940s and early 1950s.

The LAC and related organizations vigorously opposed the communist rule in their homeland and demanded that émigrés avoid Soviet institutions; "relations with Lithuania should be limited to private contacts because contacts with officials of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic might compromise the U.S. government's policy of non-recognition of Lithuanian incorporation into the USSR" (Senn 2005). The DPs' image of the home country and its people was pervaded by nation-state nationalism, from which springs a stereotype of Lithuanianness as an inborn and inscribed phenomenon. Their image of the home country was constructed from the typical political refugee experience. The occupied and suffering country, left behind at the end of World War II, encouraged them to take on a mission of regaining the nation and retaining its culture. The image of the 'homeland under siege' altered victimization (Kelly 2000) and brought together many Lithuanian Americans for political campaigns of emancipation, irredentism and liberation of the home country.

Localization of migrants in Chicago, i.e., a city which is historically known for its unique ethnic diversity, has developed by coping with marginalization and discrimination based on race or ethnicity even when they were not a visual minority as in the case of Lithuanians in Chicago. Therefore, the sociocultural ties of immigrants can be created as strategic ties which are directed against marginalization and even against integration, and may well become anti-integrational as it was the case with the DPs. In this sense diasporas can be understood not as closed (cultural) groups (communities), but as formations

rising from specific strategic networks. In our case, the global umbrella organization – the WLC – serves as an eloquent example of such a strategic network that strengthens ethnic identity and cohesion while, simultaneously, creating various new models of social interaction and differentiation.

THE *LITHUANIAN CHARTER* AS A MORAL CONSTITUTION OF THE HOMELAND

The *Lithuanian Charter* was adopted in 1949 by the Lithuanian refugees in DP camps in Germany for maintaining and retaining their loyalty to Lithuania. In this document, the nation was described as a "natural community of individuals ... [where] a Lithuanian remains a Lithuanian everywhere and always" (LAC 2018). Here the nation was reified and its people (nationals) and culture (national) were treated in rather ethnic terms. Thus the mobilization of the nation became crucial for diasporic activities and could not be separated from retaining it in terms of culture, language, traditions, and heritage. Along with this, such tropes as 'Lithuanian family', 'Lithuanian homeland', and 'Lithuanian heritage' became emphasized in particular. So the *Lithuanian Charter* served as moral encouragement for taking a mission for those in exile (Čiubrinskas 2006), urging every Lithuanian to preserve the existence of the Lithuanian nation and to promulgate its cultural heritage, language, and traditions for future generations (LAC 2018).

In Jonathan Friedman's terms such a 'constitution' could serve as 'generic' identity (Friedman 1994: 72–73) based on and fueled by transmittable living heritage – language and traditions – and where each person becomes included as a 'link in the chain' in which culture must be learned, retained, and transmitted to the next generation, as one interlocutor stated:

> *I am a conduit of culture. I am a link in the chain. It was important for me to explain Lithuanian myths to my daughter, … but not to teach American democracy*. (Regina, personal communication, 2013)

With emphasis on intangible/living heritage, homeland nationalism is relatively free from territorial and legal boundedness (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004: 1021), and diasporas may employ ideas about heritages for the essentialization of homeland being categorized as culture-as-nation. Such a category applies mainly to political migrants/refugees, in this case the DPs, for whom homeland becomes elevated as an idealized place and a resource for nostalgic feelings. Thus a sense of belonging to the culture, associated with the homeland, has been constructed and has become an important resource for essentialist and reified culture to be retained.

RETAINING OF THE CULTURE-AS-NATION

The moral imperative implied by the *Lithuanian Charter* developed into a strong sense of duty and mission, both moral and civic, to do what is possible to 'retain the Lithuanianness' assumed as culture-as-nation*:*

> *We were escaping from the* [Soviet] *occupation and it was such a sacred thing to retain the Lithuanianness* (lietuvybe). *Strictly speaking, only Lithuanian in families, and avoid integration … it was like a protest against occupation*. (Lithuanian-American woman, 75, personal communication, 2007)

> *Our parents … were nurtured in the interwar spirit. It helped to keep Lithuanian culture; nurture the young generation, which could more or less speak Lithuanian. That nationalism helped to keep the Lithuanian spirit*. (Lithuanian-American man, 55, personal communication, 2007)

It was an obvious task for diasporic people to take responsibility for instructing the younger generation and to reproduce the culture in ethnic schools, cultural organizations, and churches. The model of enculturation, used at home, in the DPs' families, implied, if not imposed, Lithuanianness for the second and even third generation of Americans born as Lithuanian Americans:

> *In my family parents didn't allow us to watch TV. While at home, we had to speak Lithuanian only. Each word pronounced in English was fined with a ten-cents fine. There were always some talks about Lithuania, as it needs to be helped to be liberated and that we will obviously return to it right after it is free*. (American-born man, 51, personal communication, 2007)

The Lithuanian diasporic intelligentsia faced a problem of recreation, recodification, and new standardization of culture – of putting a displaced Lithuanian culture into a fixed framework. It was their ambition to create an alternative to Soviet Lithuanian culture by imposing a ready-made essentialist codification of *the* Lithuanian culture by, for example, producing textbooks for diasporic children to be used in ethnic classes with ethnic programs and literature.

However, most of the moral economy of second-generation American Lithuanians follows along the lines of helping the homeland as part of their 'learned' identity. This comes along with socialization into the American middle-class lifestyle with its norm of giving back to others when you are (more) successful. This was mentioned by some of my informants, including Arunas:

> *If you're successful in your career and have graduated from Harvard, as I have, you have an obligation to give back, to help, to support others… It is popular in America… alumni give a lot to their universities; for example,*

> *Harvard, my university, is a good example of this... State officials, even Obama, used to work in the public kitchen during Thanksgiving Day*. (personal communication, 2013)

So the 'learned' identity of diaspora nationalism, sustained through the decades by politics of heritage, language, culture identity, and by narratives of the traumatic history of the nation that had suffered Soviet occupation, was ready to give back to the homeland. Idealism and a mission to help the country that had gotten rid of the Soviet rule in the early 1990s encouraged diasporic people to return and bring in their expertise – mainly, though not necessarily, in terms of professional specialization, and to provide professional, social, and material support.

Beginning in the late 1980s, the need for 'retained' and 'learned' identity obtained a new function. This time it was used to make a difference by gatekeeping to confront a massive influx of the new post-Soviet immigrants – fellow citizens, but with very different experiences and marked by the communist regime. The principal imperatives of the *Lithuanian Charter* started to be applied again, this time at the end of the twentieth century, to meet labor immigrants newly arriving in the United States from former communist countries.

DE-CULTURED NEW LITHUANIANS IN CHICAGO

From the very beginning of the post-Soviet Lithuanian immigration to Chicago, in the late 1980s, its impact on the Lithuanian diaspora life in the city was quite visible. In addition to the existent ethnic institutions established earlier, they formed a new Saturday school in Naperville, western Chicago, founded a newspaper *Čikagos Aidas* (Echo of Chicago), established a prestigious business club – the Chicagoland Lithuanian Rotary Club – and created the Chicago Lithuanian Basketball League which in 2013 had 15 teams. Also some companies managed by Lithuanians were founded, the most well-known of which is the overseas packaging and shipping company Atlantic Express Corp.

However, all those initiatives and organizations did not fit well with the expectations of diaspora Lithuanian Americans expecting newcomers to join diasporic organizations with predominantly ethnic activities. New immigrant ties with the wider Lithuanian immigrant community and activities were frequent, very superficial, and full of uncertainty and disappointment. They often felt not acknowledged and supported by the former DPs, Lithuanian Americans, controlling most of the ethnic organizations (cf. Kuzmickaitė 2003). As earlier research on recent Lithuanian immigrants in the United Kingdom has shown,

their identity could be situational (Kuznecovienė 2009), which interferes with their ambition to retain Lithuanian culture and heritage and leads them to undertaking strategies that help manage the risk of marginalization, 'undocumented' status (Liubinienė 2009: 19), suspicion that they are to evade taxes (Kripienė 2012), and labeling as 'de-cultured'.

The conservative wing of Lithuanian Americans with the DP background invented a label for the recent immigrants, categorizing them as 'Little Soviets', marked by a lack of Lithuanian culture, having been 'contaminated' through exposure to communist culture, being de-cultured and de-nationalized by the Soviet regime. In this way diasporic Lithuanians (or at least part of them) pretended to the role of 'culture experts', providing guidance on approaching American society generally as well as on getting into the ethnic community (Čiubrinskas 2018).

Field research in the United States revealed that contemporary Lithuanian immigrants are unified through specific experiences and social interactions brought over from post-socialist Lithuania, and/or experiences of the post-Soviet past that are passed down through the older generation, which play an important role in distancing them from the remaining Lithuanian diaspora. These social networks of in-groups are especially used by undocumented immigrants (those who overstayed their tourist visas, before the visa requirement was abolished in 2009) as well as those who feel rejected because of their low job qualification and poor English skills. Instead of participating in ethnic communities or ethnic networks which bring old and new immigrants together, they tend to create in-groups or circles of their own people, which are very often inter-ethnic and transnational, acting across the state borders and transferring old models of Soviet moral economy to new places of migration as social remittances.

Such circles of one's own people and networks could be understood, using Alena Ledeneva's conceptualization of the moral economy of the Soviet era, which she defines as the *economy of favors* – maintaining of trust and mutual exchange of services and favors (Ledeneva 1998). It is one of the strongest links that connects the circles of 'one's own' people. Such a human relationship system based on the exchange of services and favors can also be seen as a form of social capital. In both cases it is simply a social resource which can be transferred as social remittances in the case of migration to another environment (Levitt 1998; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves 2011). At the same time, it is a transnationalism-based phenomenon because it enables a social networking model which is international as it cuts across the state boundaries. Moreover, it is also inter-ethnic.

ETHNIC AND INTER-ETHNIC TIES, AND ONE'S OWN PEOPLE'S CIRCLES AS COMFORT ZONES

One of the most popular forms of establishing and keeping up ethnic ties among the recent immigrants is through kids. Children actively attend ethnic (Saturday) schools, ethnic leisure clubs, and other similar activities. Many adults associate their free time with attending ethnic clubs and concerts that take place in schools, church halls, cultural centers or in Lithuanian restaurants where artists from the homeland perform. When informants were asked what bound them to other Lithuanians in Chicago, they usually mentioned four things: school, because they meet each other through their kids; the community center (so-called cultural house) (in Gage Park neighborhood once inhabited by the former waves of Lithuanian immigrants); basketball tournaments, and also private parties. Such ethnic institutions as Saturday schools or community centers function as umbrella organizations that provide a foundation for networking, which expands into the work sphere within Lithuanian companies (for example, Atlantic Express Corp., Unlimited Carriers, and others) and thus play a role in the way ethnicity is used as one of the primary means for sociocultural ties.

Nevertheless, as it was mentioned, the participation of post-socialist immigrants in 'Lithuanian activities' is full of uncertainty and oftentimes also disappointment. Even if they participate in the activities of Lithuanian institutions by attending Lithuanian Mass in Catholic Church, take their children to Saturday school (in some cases this involves a commute of several hours to Chicago from neighboring states such as Indiana), or partake in cultural events, they have a hard time receiving recognition and support from co-ethnics of the DP generations (Kuzmickaitė 2003).

So, they give priority to social strategies that help to develop social networks within their own circles instead. These in-groups of one's own are based on the common experience and the socioeconomic status acquired in the country of departure even before emigration, and maintained through the ties kept up with friends and former co-workers in the home country. Such one's own people's circles are very popular in Chicago among post-socialist immigrants from the whole Central and Eastern European region and can be assumed as an alternative not only to the dominant public organizations but also to the long-established ethnic institutions that had been founded by the earlier waves of immigrants. If ethnic institutions are led by a common goal to maintain diasporic identity and ethnification, one's own people's circles are created more transnationally by maintaining kinship-neighborhood-friendship ties across the Atlantic. Also individual ties are constructed through a personal invitation by an acquaintance to join some club or fellowship relationship which,

in turn, makes one committed and creates social pressure to become one of one's own people with all the obligations of the reciprocity of favors.

So it is clear that the bonding of new immigrants is not sufficient to be understood within the framework of ethnic (Lithuanian) activities or those of relatives and families; it transcends national borders and ethnic lines and appears in a way as a construction of cultural citizenship done by those from the Eastern European region in the shape of a comfort zone. New Lithuanian Chicagoans do transcend ethnic boundaries and easily enter social networks with immigrants from other post-socialist Eastern European countries, especially Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians. They do this by entering the same one's own people's circles, using a mixture of Russian, English, and Polish as a *lingua franca*, sharing workplaces and neighborhoods in the southeastern part of the city.

So, they share social spaces and a certain common culture, leisure time activities (e.g. sharing Russian movies on rent in most Lithuanian shops), patterns of consumption (shopping in the same Polish and Lithuanian or Russian shops), festive cultures, and even a sense of humor. They are also accustomed to advertisements, other information and discourses from the local Eastern European-centered media (newspapers, radio channels) in all the three languages, namely Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian.

These mutual social spaces and activities could be defined as comfort zones; for example, workplaces, especially those where many or most employees are of immigrant Eastern-European background, become important arenas for the creation of a new social space. These social spaces are fueled by the experience and knowledge of practices of informal economy and bonds of trust transplanted from homelands. The fieldwork carried out in Chicago proves that such 'bonds of trust' appear to be enacted in the form of social remittances from overseas. This enacts friendships and acquaintances among post-socialist immigrants in order to achieve the public good by prioritizing and privileging one's own people, i.e., relatives, neighbors, co-workers, friends, etc. Thus, it is not so much a matter of economic need but of socially important cultural habits (Kopnina 2005: 138). Here bonds of trust and reciprocity of favors serve as a model of Eastern-European friendship and loyalty, which becomes a communalizing force for immigrants in the region.

LIFESTYLE IDENTITY AND CONSTRUCTION OF HOME AS A COMFORT ZONE

As it was discussed above, immigrant ethnification could be seen as one of the countervailing strategies to cope with uncertainties and marginalization of immigrant life, which usually leads to essentialism and exclusiveness of cultural resources, and eventually to ethno-cultural embeddedness of immigrants. Such cultural embeddedness could work as a model of cultural citizenship, but in our case the culture of the recent Lithuanian immigrants in Chicago cannot be explained merely as ethnic or ethnically embedded, but it is rather shaped as a lifestyle. This was highlighted also by one of the interlocutors who said that "learning to live" is what ties them to America:

> *Learning to live in a material well-being perhaps … it keeps us all here. If somebody told us that everything would turn upside down in Lithuania and you would be able to make the same money as here, that you could live the same life, I think, no one would ever have left* [the country]. (Daiva, 26, personal communication, 2013)

In the articulation of loyalties to the home and host countries, the category of citizenship is neither an *a priori* indicator of loyalty nor an important part of belonging to a particular place. Cultural citizenship is used instead, and the connotation of a home as a place where a person belongs is a good example of how transnational loyalty and lifestyle are created. In their studies of the issue of belonging among the post-socialist Lithuanian immigrants in the United Kingdom, Neringa Liubinienė (2009) and Violetta Parutis (2006, 2013) note that when constructing *home*, immigrants presuppose their spectrum of obligation regarding both their country of origin and the country of residence. Migration (whether forced or voluntary) implies a diasporic or dual loyalty to both the origin and host countries.

In the case of Lithuanian diaspora formed by the refugees, the idealism related to the idea of home was created as an alternative and compensatory mechanism to the socially imparted trauma that the native home was destroyed by the communist regime. They give significance to Lithuania, their country of origin, not only as a state, but also as a birthplace or homeland, and relations of faithfulness, obligations, and loyalty secured through the networks of family and friends. Therefore, the real homes of the Lithuanian diaspora in Chicago (e.g. in the suburbs of Cicero and Lemont) were built as cultural collections (Clifford 1988) or as museums (Kockel 2002). Such 'homes' became an alternative to the true homes that were left overseas. It was like a museum for the inherited family relics as well as the newly created and collected national objects as the symbols of homeland.

The construction of home among post-socialist Central and Eastern European labor migrants is directed to the recreation of home, which is based on social memory as well as on personal experiences of everyday life at home – in the country of origin. It is the construction of home as one's own space (Liubinienė 2009) that is based on tight relations with one's own people. Such a space is supported by intimate ties among one's own people, and is transferred to the diaspora and created *in situ* as a familiar space that acquires the meaning of the culturally produced 'home', i.e., home as a network composed of family, relatives, and friends. In other words, home becomes synonymous with a familiar space of one's own, and this also incorporates the in-group circle.

Such a production of home provides culturally anchored constructions of one's own space or one's own circle, or one's network of family, relatives, and friends (Liubinienė 2009). It is important to highlight the moments that help create ties with the country of residence as being the most important: a conspiracy of one's own group, aspiration for material well-being and "learning how to make a living" (ibid.). In these ties, there are no ethnic, national, or state identities present but just a livelihood and lifestyle.

In this way the understanding of cultural citizenship implies the understanding of not only cultural embeddedness but also rules of conduct transferred from overseas, and the challenging of dominant social rules of conduct and thus definitely enacting the Eastern European immigrants' right to be different. Also such cultural habits of one's own circles of in-group networking create own spaces as comfort zones with particular lifestyles that serve against categorization and marginalization, and also as some sort of substitute for the homeland.

CONCLUSIONS

The main pattern of the Lithuanian diasporic life in the United States from the late 1940s to the early 1990s is revealed in the Lithuanian Americans' commitment to retaining the homeland's culture and nationness through their standardization in textbooks for ethnic schools, models of enculturation in the families, and individuals acting as homeland culture experts or culture-as-nation gatekeepers, especially for the newly arriving immigrant wave marked by the communist regime. Governed by a formula of 'how to be a Lithuanian in the free world', inscribed in the *Lithuanian Charter* of 1949, as well as being enculturated into the explicit ethnification and homeland nationalism of the diasporic life, descendants of the forced emigration wave were charged with the moral imperative to cherish the home country. It worked as firm countervailing strategy against the assimilationist melting-pot America, and was also used to

guide post-Soviet immigrants to cope with the uncertainties of their belonging to post-melting-pot American multiculturalism.

Another pattern of the transnationally lived immigrant world, which applies to the contemporary wave of Lithuanians in Chicago, is marked by a continuous quest for the recognition of a particular distinctiveness and difference of collectivity, which is usually met by the normative legal institutionalization required to obtain citizenship status. Cultural citizenship appears here as a form of transnational belonging without formal citizenship agendas and also, as this paper shows, without culture in the sense of heritage or ethnic culture. It consists rather of social habits, rules of conduct, moral norms and loyalties, as well as social capital and social remittances brought from the homeland.

Post-socialist Eastern European labor migrants' ways of constructing their togetherness by creating social spaces is a good example of transnational belonging where new immigrants used to create compartmentalized lifestyle arenas that differed from ethnic enclaves and diasporas created by the former immigration waves, and were open to inter-ethnic networking with other immigrants from the Eastern European region. They used to create social spaces by sharing workplaces, being involved in inter-ethnic networking and making their own spaces as homes, as comfort zones of security to cope with uncertainty and precarity of lives and jobs, and especially of the legal status of those who are still 'without papers'.

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EMOTIONAL STATE AND INEQUALITY AMONG LITHUANIAN EMIGRANTS

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Abstract: Recent public polls have revealed that 56.7 percent of Lithuanian emigrants (N=1500) feel superfluous in their homeland. Many of them are not only disappointed with the country and therefore decide to leave, but also can find neither adequate emotional relations with their homeland afterwards nor maintain healthy emotional ties with fellow Lithuanians. With this in mind, the article aims to describe the contexts that determine the emotional state of Lithuanian emigrants and the distribution of emotional inequality among the most prominent social groups. The survey was conducted in order to test the emotional state of Lithuanian emigrants and gather empirical evidence regarding the specific reasons for that. Accordingly, three tasks are formulated for this empirical research: to perform a cluster analysis and distinguish the main social groups based on socioeconomic differences in society; to identify and describe contexts that lead to a poor emotional state (contexts of interactions) and a subjective reflexivity of the public; to explore the differences of emotional inequality among the researched groups. The article concludes with three intertwined factors that foster the poor emotional state of emigrating Lithuanians. The survey was conducted from January to February 2018 (number of respondents – N=1500).

Keywords: cluster analysis, emigration, emotions, inequality, Lithuania

INTRODUCTION

Despite the improving macroeconomic indicators of the country, the proportion of emigration from Lithuania remains high. In comparison to countries with similar economic development, emigration rates from Lithuania are the highest in the region (Emigration issues 2006; Statistical data 2018; Statistical data 2019). It is not surprising that contemporary migration receives appropriate attention in Lithuania (Servetkienė 2012; Woolfson & Juska & Genelyte 2012; Laurinavičius & Laurinavičius 2017; Genys & Krikštolaitis 2018; Genelytė 2019). It seems that emigration is determined not only by economic factors but also by deeper, more complex causes related to more general socio-political and socio-cultural microclimate within society, especially its emotional capital.

Recent public polls have revealed that 56.7 percent of Lithuanian emigrants (N=1500) feel superfluous in their homeland. Many of them are not only disappointed with the country and therefore decide to leave, but also can find neither adequate emotional relations with their homeland afterwards nor maintain healthy emotional ties with fellow Lithuanians. As we know from the previous studies, a poor emotional state and inability to experience positive emotions have social consequences (Bourdieu et al. 1999: 421). The groups that feel emotionally excluded from society assume that their hopes and expectations are unrealistic, leading them to hopelessness. Ignoring the emotional dimension carries the risk of not realizing the experience of being on the margins of social life and the pain people experience. With this in mind, the article aims to describe the contexts that determine the emotional state of Lithuanian emigrants and the distribution of emotional inequality among the most prominent social groups.

To research emotions and their distribution in society, especially in societies that have undergone major transformations over a short period (as in Lithuania), is important for several reasons. For several post-communist decades, the country's progress was associated with reforming and modernizing its political and social system (mostly institutions) in the hope that a new type of person would emerge as a result of the newly redesigned order. The accomplishments and the progress achieved over the short period is indeed impressive, but the emotional climate in society has not changed significantly. In contemporary Lithuania it is believed that political order can solve all personal problems, as well as the emotional state of society. Meanwhile, public emotions, especially when uncontrolled, can develop in several directions. The natural development of emotions through creating a controlled and attentive environment for the public to speak out can contribute to a greater civic engagement in the development of public well-being, or a kind of 'reconciliation' therapy (Lively 2017). Social change activists and professional therapists use people's emotions

to change their self-perceptions beyond existing stereotypes and to improve their well-being. For example, overcoming low self-esteem or even inferiority complexes lets people escape from the socio-cultural and economic deprivation circle. Thus, emotions can become a powerful engine of social change, or at least their expression can serve as a kind of therapy for society. Emigrants, by speaking more boldly and systematically about their experiences and emotions, can broaden the field of discussion and encourage the public to express their emotions and their formation contexts. In other words, by raising emotional values and embedding them into the public discourse as key aspects of public life, one can expect a tangible breakthrough in shifting public attitude towards emigration, as well as a deeper public reflexivity in articulating emotional states.

The article consists of four chapters. The first one specifies various contextual preconditions for the emotional peculiarities concerning the transitional period of the country. It also reviews a few studies and draws a hypothesis on this basis. The second one is dedicated to methodology, explaining the principles of cluster formation, and identifying their main characteristics. The third one provides empirical evidence on the relationship between the attitude towards trust, expectations for the government, and civic activity among clusters. The fourth chapter demonstrates the distribution of emotional inequality among clusters.

CONTEXTUAL PRECONDITIONS FOR THE PECULIARITIES OF EMOTIONS

Four decades of research tradition in the sociology of emotions have clearly shown that emotions, from their origin to their consequences, influence and, in turn, are influenced by the social contexts in which they circulate. Sociologists agree that emotional experience depends on the meanings that individuals attribute to interaction (Thoits 1989; Stets & Turner 2006). The nature of emotions depends on the extent to which our expectations are (or are not) justified and met during each interaction. These expectations typically relate to how we expect to be identified and accepted by others and how they behave towards us. Emotions are formed during social interactions that are influenced by certain social circumstances.

Emotions occupy an important place in everyone's life; thus, the growing attention given to this branch of sociology is not surprising (Bericat 2016). Sociological analysis of emotions can be characterized by the sociologization of emotions, i.e., they are not treated as sensory or psychological aspects of an individual, but rather as social facts. It is worth mentioning that the sociology

of emotions in Lithuania is just beginning to take shape and there are only a few works dedicated to this field (Tereškinas & Žilys 2013; Tereškinas 2014; Bleizgienė 2015; Noreika 2016).

Scientists discuss how many emotions there are and what are the main ones. The most common ones are anger, fear, sadness, and joy, but often surprise, disgust, and hope are also added (Turner 2000). These basic emotions are universally recognizable, but very rarely we feel emotions alone and never as disconnected from the social context, so when intertwined, they begin to reinforce and interact with each other, and this has culturally defined social implications. It is opined that confidence and joy often lead to optimism, but sadness, mistrust, and anger lead to revenge (Turner 2009: 342). Sociologists, when reading certain sets of emotions, try to find out the causes and social consequences of those emotions. By analyzing the sentiments expressed by emigrants and their emotions, we can gain a deeper understanding of certain social contexts in which certain emotions are born or formed.

Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu et al. 1999: 242) has warned that ignoring the emotional dimension carries the risk of not realizing the experience of being on the margins of social life and the pain people feel. When the public does not trust the authorities and personally feels their hostility (whether experienced or imagined), not only negative emotions are formed, but also hostile behavior is born, which in this case is the decision to emigrate.

Sociological research shows that emotions, as if a form of screens, depict emotional dynamics – successes and failures, ups and downs during interactions, and allow the subjects to learn about interaction partners before any actual conscious exchange of information is made (Thoits 1989: 317–318; Turner 2009: 350). For example, a government that fails to provide reasons of rejoicing for the public risks to redraw the society from itself. After analyzing the relationship between emotions and social hierarchy, researchers conclude that people's emotions, such as dissatisfaction or frustration with their country, are related to their social status. Given that differences of the position in the social hierarchy of people and the corresponding accumulation of emotional pressures are increasing, the likelihood of miscommunication rises (Kraus 2017), so it is important to analyze to what extent this is specific to Lithuania and whether and what emotional inequality exists among different social groups.

Speaking of the rather poor emotional state of Lithuanian society, sociologist Artūras Tereškinas (2014) has noted the negative emotional capital of his compatriots, which hinders the enjoyment of life. Instead, anger, rage, sadness, and frustration dominate society. No less problematic, says historian Egidijus Aleksandravičius (2019), is that we are too sympathetic to the role of victim, as if everyone around owes us something, but we do not. The reduced

auto-reflection allows to grieve regarding others' insensitivity to our pain and misery, but does not allow to raise the question about what I do myself, and for what I am responsible.

Teodora Gaidytė speaks about the ambivalent relationship between the post-communist government and societies. On the one hand, after the collapse of the communist system, the establishment of neoliberal democracies here is not the result of a natural political system evolvement; on the other hand, as a consequence of the communist legacy, institutionalized expectations towards the government still exist in a part of society. Paradoxically enough, neither of these notions encourage active participation in political or civic activity or governmental control processes (Gaidytė 2013: 5). The relationship between the government and society in the post-Soviet space is indeed complicated (Howard 2003; Müller 2006; Spurga 2008). Even though the study on civic power in Lithuania reveals the stabilization of the citizens' power, the overall index remains relatively low, indicating an increase in the power of other sectors of society with the government in the lead (Civic Power 2016). As recent research shows, the spread of power, its penetration into the private sphere, manifests itself in its dominance in the rules and restrictions on civil liberties and choices (Gregg 2018; Genys 2018). The reduced perception of individuals' role in the country – perceiving themselves only as an object of the government, but not as a subject – also leads to the deprivation of positive emotions, which opens the way to negative ones.

In a democratic society, to criticize, disapprove or disagree with the government on its concrete decisions is a usual thing (Bermeo 2000; Howard 2003). Lithuania has achieved a certain living standard, has established a democratic system with a clear division of roles, and implemented a social welfare model allowing seemingly normal lives; some people may be doing better, others less well, but as this study demonstrates, some respondents feel constant anxiety. Previous research indicates that many emigrants, in addition to economic reasons, referred to hopelessness and desperation as the reasons for their decision to emigrate (Genys 2019). Their experiences reveal that the prevailing social system fosters anxiety. Attention is drawn to the articulation of emotions: abstract speaking, extreme examples, generalization by merging different authorities and responsibilities, but most importantly, complete despair and disability to notice good deeds. If the emotions lack critical reflexivity and rational contemplation, it may result in anger, which eventually will seek certain addressees as if they were to be blamed (despite the actual role of the addressee). In such cases, sparkling emotions can dominate rational considerations and may cloud both adequate judgment and personal responsibilities.

Before going into details in exploring the peculiarities of the emotional state among different groups of Lithuanian emigrants, a few tendencies could be drawn from the general results. It is worth mentioning that the initial idea of the research was to investigate the noneconomic reasons of emigrations; thus, an additional block of the questionnaire was dedicated to targeting the state and the role of emotions in people's choices. Here are some of the results:

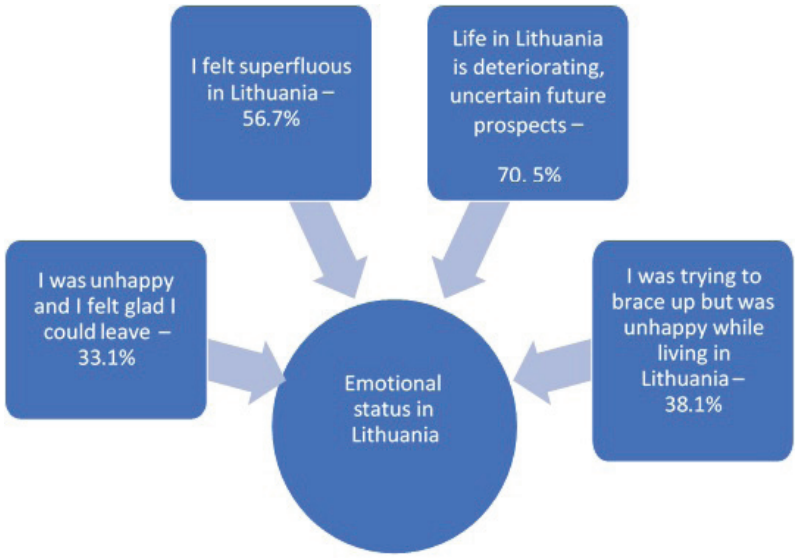

Figure 1. *Emotional status in Lithuania in 2018 (N=1500).*

The overall picture illustrates the poor emotional climate: almost one-third of those who departed felt unhappy and were glad to leave; slightly more than a half did not feel needed in Lithuania; 38.1 percent just failed to be happy, and perhaps the most shocking is the fact that as many as 70.5 percent were unable to see any future perspectives in their homeland.

Feeling unhappy, and superfluous, reinforces a poor emotional state, contributes to the decision to emigrate, and leads to a further disconnection of emigrants with their homeland. The experiences of the respondents testify to people's unhappiness, but also reflect the unwell feeling. These people may have become (or at least feel that way) what they were unwilling to be (or at least do not want to be), which affects public attitudes towards them and puts a burden of society's expectations on them. It contributes to the reasons to leave the country and to move elsewhere in the hope of better emotional comfort, or perhaps the opportunity to rebuild one's life.

A high percentage of respondents chose the answers "unhappy" or "not needed", which makes one wonder what factors in political, social, and economic life determine such a feeling and how it influences a person's decision to leave Lithuania. Negative emotions felt by those who depart are not only a sign of growing alienation in society, mistrust, and hostility towards the government but, most importantly, a reflection of grieving. The negative emotional state expressed by emigrating people stops the process of knitting society as a unified social fabric and encourages a deeper investigation of both the contexts that lead to the poor emotional state and the distribution of emotional inequality among different social groups. Based on the previous researches, three tasks are formulated for this empirical study:

- To perform a cluster analysis and distinguish the main social groups, based on socioeconomic differences in society (empirical description of the most specific socio-demographic characteristics of clusters);
- To identify and describe contexts that lead to a poor emotional state (contexts of interactions) and subjective reflexivity of the public (empirical verification of the relationship between attitudes to the government, civic engagement, and emotional state);
- To explore the differences of emotional inequality among groups (empirical description of the distribution of emotions among clusters).

METHODOLOGY AND DESCRIPTION OF CLUSTERS

The survey was conducted from January to February 2018 (N=1500). The respondents were migrants from Lithuania, starting from the age of 18, who had lived more than six months in one of these three regions in Europe – Scandinavia (500), Great Britain (500), and Southern Europe (500). Data were collected by personal public space intercept survey and via e-mail. In search of respondents, foreign Lithuanian communities and authoritative community leaders, as well as various communities' Facebook pages, were approached by the interviewers from the public opinion and market research company Vilmorus to find migrant contacts. Also, some interviews were carried out at Vilnius and Kaunas airports. The questionnaire consisted of 96 questions. It is likely that due to a large number of questions, some of the survey participants did not answer all the questions, so for some questions, the answers available are not 1500 but 1493. It is assumed that the sample has a probabilistic statistical error of 2.6 percent and a reliability of 95 percent.

After the evaluation of the general results of the study, it was decided to perform a cluster analysis for a better understanding of the existing differences in attitudes between different social groups. The formation of the clusters was based on the notion of socioeconomic status, derived from the American tradition of social stratification research (Ganzeboom & De Graaf & Treiman 1992). The concept of socioeconomic status is based on three variables: education, income, and employment. Three empirical questions were formulated accordingly: What is your education? What are your main activities? What is your income?

These questions (as independent variables) became the basis for distinguishing the three clusters. It is worth mentioning that usually objective data are used in most cases, whereas the present study did not ask about the objective income of the participants. To better understand the significance of the income received by the participants, they were asked to provide a subjective assessment of their income. This choice is motivated by the desire to better understand how a person estimates his or her well-being.

The following cluster groups were identified after performing the cluster analysis:

- Cluster 1 (N=661). The base of the group consists of those who study (schoolchildren, students) or those who have not yet started working careers (unemployed), whose income is fairly distributed among the three lower and middle-income groups. The relative name of this cluster – *learning youth* – is associated with the socio-demographic characteristics of the dominant group.
- Cluster 2 (N=403). The base of the group consists of low- or middle-educated, low-income, skilled, and unskilled workers, with low labor-market adaptability, uncompetitive wages, and a lack of prospects, most of them young and middle-aged. The relative name of this cluster – *precariat* – is associated with conceptually the most specific name to the group.
- Cluster 3 (N=429). The base of the group consists of highly-educated, middle- and upper-income, adaptable, working-age citizens. The relative name of this cluster – *potential* – is associated with the significant discursive notion that the departure of this group interprets as a drain on the nation's potential.

The survey reaffirmed that the majority of Lithuanian emigrants are youngsters under 35 years old. The detailed distribution of the respondents among clusters by age is shown in Figure 2.

The notable differences among clusters are that in the case of the *learning youth* (cluster 1) the first two dominating age categories are 18–25 (24.5 percent) and 26–35 (45.5 percent), while in the case of the *potential* (cluster 3) the

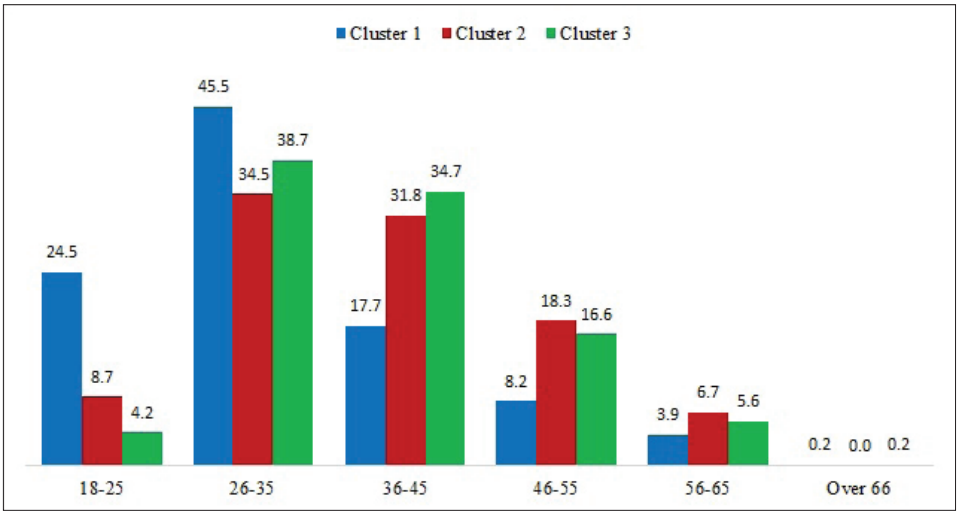

Figure 2. *Distribution of respondents by age by clusters (N=1493).*

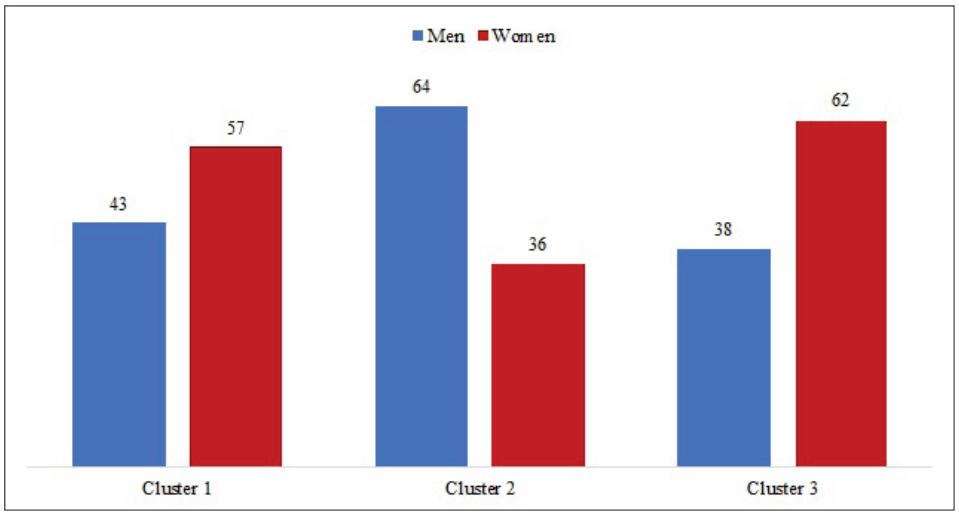

Figure 3. *Distribution of respondents by gender by clusters (N=1493).*

dominating age categories are the second – 26–35 (38.7 percent) and the third (34.7 percent). In the case of the *precariat* (cluster 2), the distribution is more or less consistent, with a decrease of the group as the age increases.

The distribution of respondents by gender (Fig. 3) revealed that females dominate in both the *learning youth* and the *potential* group, but in the case of the *precariat*, the dominating group is male.

SOURCES OF EMOTIONAL STATE: GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES VS. PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

This section addresses the second objective of the empirical research, by analyzing whether, to what extent, and how the respondents' emotional state depends on their personal involvement and active participation in the creation of the well-being of public life, and to what extent it derives from the expectations delegated to the government and the latter's inability to fulfill them.

The general tendencies of the research revealed that the number of those delegating responsibility for the well-being of public life to the government was significantly higher (48.1 percent) than of those who think that it is the responsibility of the society itself (30.4 percent).

The cluster analysis revealed quite significant differences between the attitudes of the *learning youth*, *precariat*, and *potential* respondents (Fig. 4). The percentage of those who associated the creation of the well-being of public life with the government was the highest (58.3 percent) among the *precariat* (cluster 2), and the lowest (35.4 percent) among the *potential* (cluster 3). The position of the *learning youth* on this issue is similar to that of the *precariat*: 50.4 percent of the *learning youth* chose the answer that the government should ensure the well-being of public life. The differences allow us to consider the contribution of the Lithuanian education system, especially the differences between higher education and vocational training, in shaping the civic responsibility of the younger generation. The percentage of those who perceived the importance of the society in generating the well-being of public life was the highest among the *potential* respondents (42 percent), whereas in the case of the *learning youth* it was 27.5 percent and in the case of the *precariat* 22.1 percent. Thus, only the *potential* respondents were aware of their civic responsibilities, whereas the representatives of the other two clusters tended to delegate it to the government.

Trust and willingness to cooperate are some of the indicators of social capital in society. The cluster analysis revealed (Fig. 5) that the percentage of people who chose the answer 'I trust people and I think that people who collaborate could do more' was the highest among the *potential* respondents – 50.8 percent, and the lowest in the case of the *precariat* – 37.7 percent. The percentage of those who chose the answer 'I do not trust people, and I think that if you want something to be done right you've got to do it yourself' was the highest (39 percent) among the *precariat* (cluster 2). A significantly lower percentage (27.3 percent) is seen in the case of the *potential* respondents. More than 20 percent of the respondents of all the clusters did not have a clear opinion on this issue.

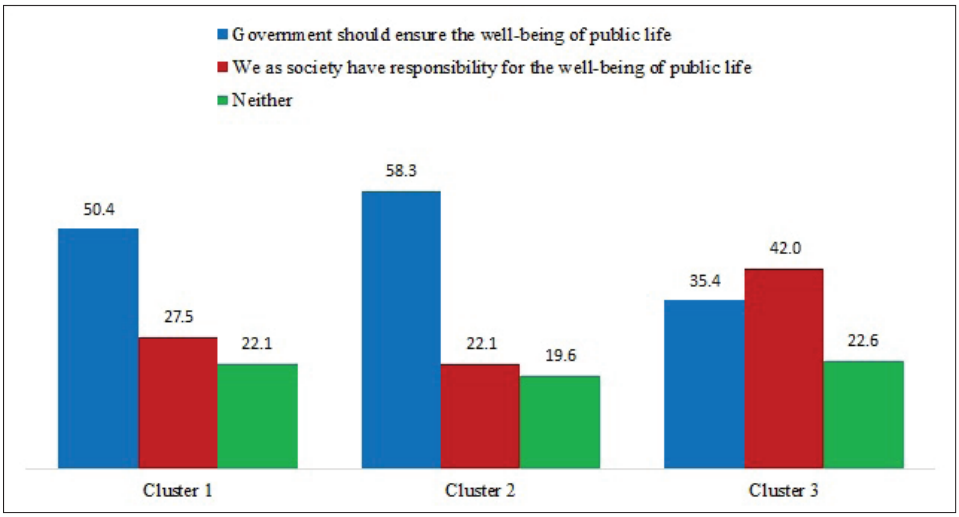

Figure 4. *Distribution of respondents by priorities towards responsibilities for the well-being of public life (the role of government vs. society) by clusters (N=1493).*

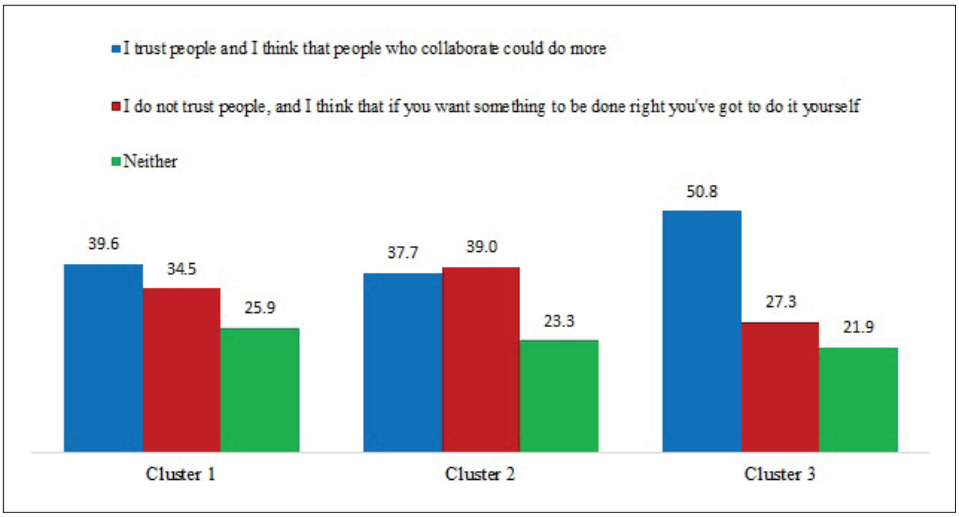

Figure 5. *Distribution of respondents by trust by clusters (N=1493).*

An interesting tendency has emerged: a large proportion of research participants (especially of the *learning youth* and the *precariat*) do not perceive themselves as creators of the well-being of public life, and delegate this function to the government. Accordingly, this fosters a dilemma for the government – to position itself as a service provider or to create better opportunities for public involvement. The first is easily achieved but leads to populism or bureaucratization, while the second requires strategic thinking and flexibility but leads to the consistency of the emotional state of the public. Having in mind that more than one-third of the respondents (in the case of all clusters) are reluctant to collaborate on public goals pushes the government for the first avenue. Such attitudes lead to the formation of a binary relationship between the individual and the government, while the third party (various civic associations) is programmed to play the role of an underdog, being able to perform neither decent communication nor representation of the interests of the society.

To find out the distribution of civic engagement among clusters, the survey included questions about participation in civic associations/organizations and initiatives, elections as well as professional and leisure associations (Fig. 6).

The general tendency of the survey showed that 49.7 percent of the respondents participated in the elections (presidential, parliamentary, European parliamentary, municipal, etc.) very often or often. The cluster data analysis revealed differences between groups. Respondents from cluster 3 (*potential*) were the most active in the elections (69.5 percent), while the representatives of cluster 1 (*learning youth*) were the least active (40.4 percent). Cluster 2 was not much different from the latter – 43.7 percent of its representatives participated very often or often. The number of non-voters was the lowest among the *potential* (7.5 percent), and the highest among the *learning youth* – 32.8 percent (cluster 1).[1]

Respondents' participation in various civic activities (environmental actions, community activities, public organizations, donations) (Fig. 7) showed a tendency that quite a large proportion (from 42.7 percent to 47.1 percent) of the representatives of all clusters participate in civic activities rarely, that is, non-systematically. 34.7 percent of the overall number of respondents never participated in civic activities.

This option was the least likely to be chosen by the *potential* (23.5 percent); the tendency of non-participation in the case of the *learning youth* and the *precariat* was similar: in the case of cluster 1 (*learning youth*) – 39.1 percent of the respondents, and slightly more (39.4 percent) in the case of cluster 2 (*precariat*).

The cluster analysis revealed differences among clusters. In the case of civic activity, representatives of cluster 3 (*potential*) were the most active (29.4 percent). The representatives of the *learning youth* and the *precariat* were significantly less active – 18.2 percent and 16.9 percent, respectively.

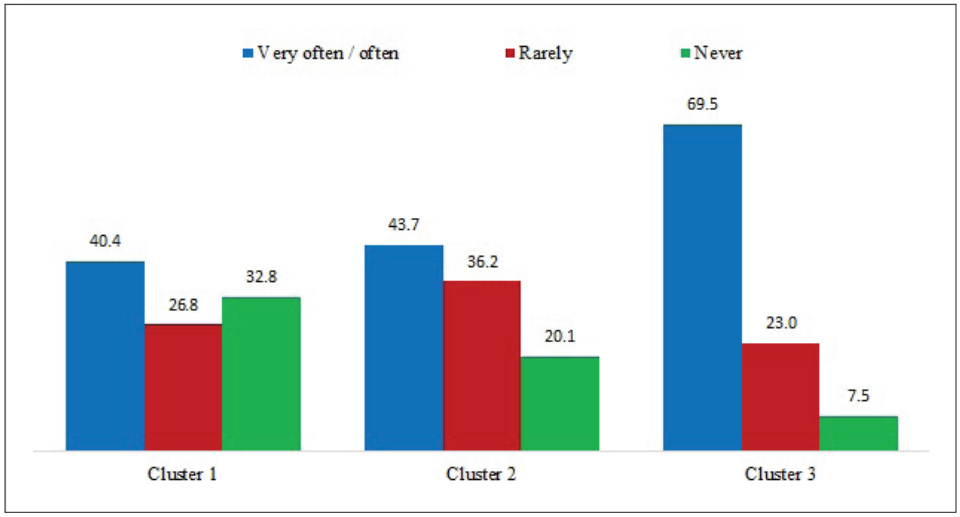

Figure 6. *Distribution of respondents by elections turnout by clusters (N=1493).*

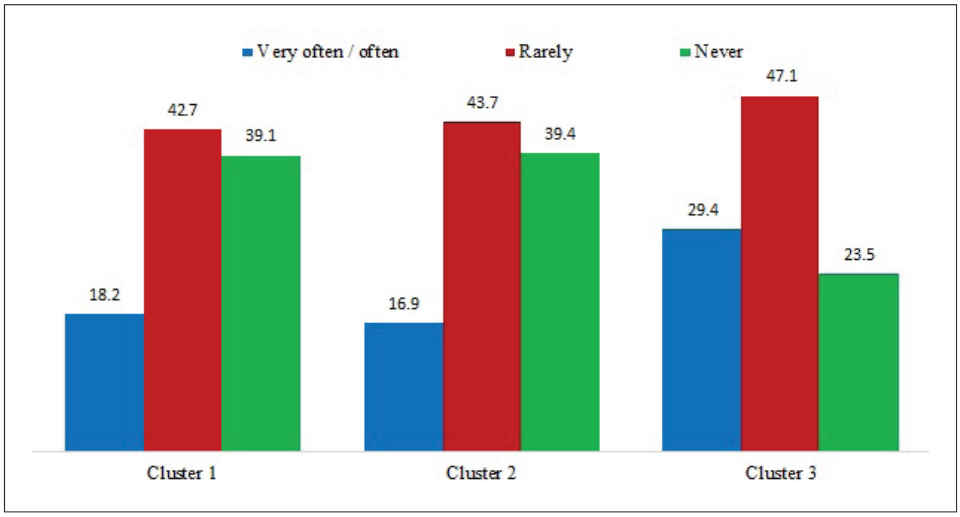

Figure 7. *Distribution of respondents by participation in civic activities by clusters (N=1493).*

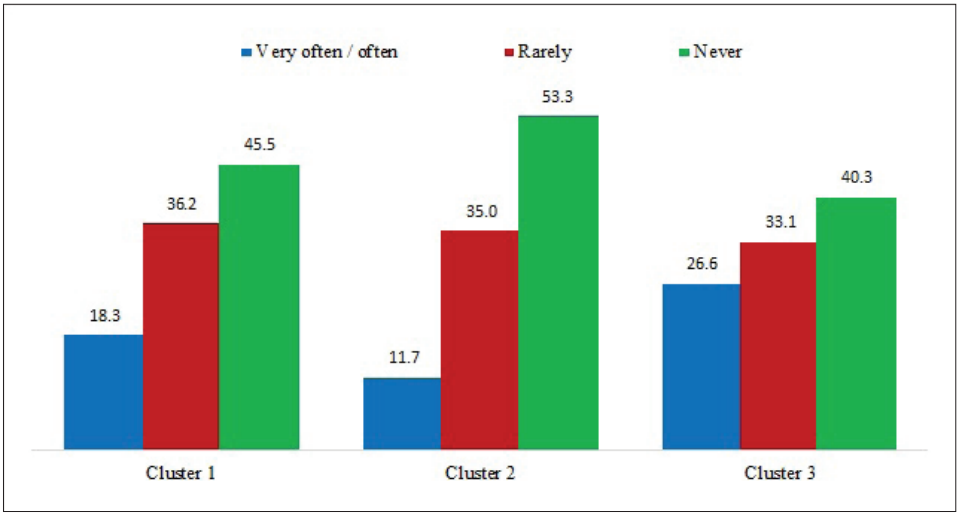

Figure 8. *Distribution of respondents by activity in professional and leisure organizations by clusters (N=1493).*

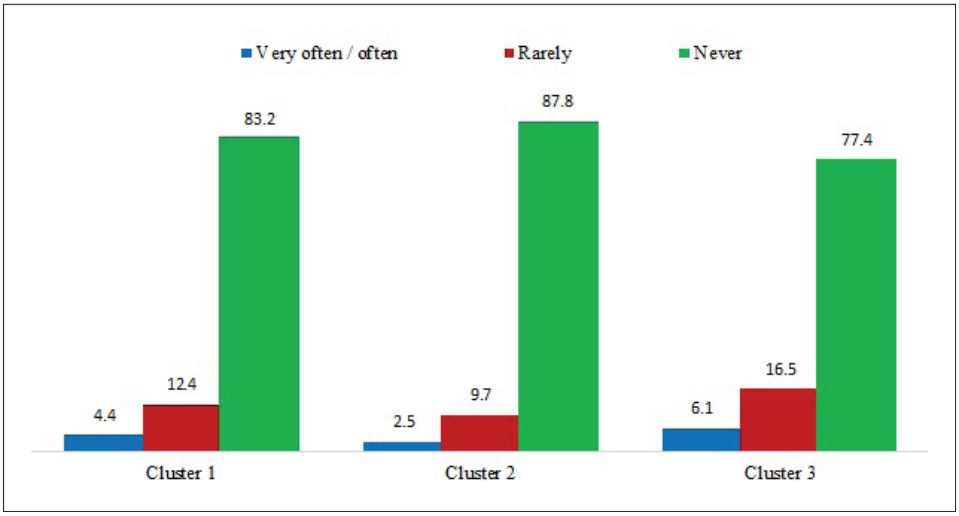

Figure 9. *Distribution of respondents by organizing civic activities by clusters (N=1493).*

The survey measured the involvement and distribution of respondents in various professional and leisure organizations (Fig. 8). Here, too, the representatives of the *potential* (cluster 3) showed the greatest activity (26.6 percent – very often / often). The *learning youth* were more passive (18.3 percent), and the least likely to join a professional or leisure organization were the representatives of the *precariat* (cluster 2) – only 11.7 percent.

It should be noted that a large proportion of all cluster representatives have never participated in this type of social activity. In the context of clusters, the percentage of those who have never participated in professional and hobby organizations is the highest (53.3 percent) among the respondents of cluster 2 (*precariat*), and the lowest (40.3%) among the respondents of cluster 3 (*potential*).

The study covered not only the frequency but also the depth of civic participation practices (Fig. 9).

The respondents were asked whether they had organized various civic activities themselves (initiated petitions or public projects, appealed to the authorities, organized protests, etc.); the majority of respondents replied they had done none of these. The majority of respondents who chose this answer were among the *precariat* (cluster 2 – 87.8 percent). This percentage was the lowest among the *potential* respondents (cluster 3 – 77.4 percent), whereas in cluster 1 it was 83.2 percent). Very few respondents answered this question positively. Here, too, the most active were the representatives of cluster 3 (*potential*). 6.1 percent of them organized various civic activities themselves very often or often, and 16.5 percent did it sometimes. The respondents in cluster 2 (*precariat*) showed the poorest results – only 2.5 percent did it very often or often, and 9.7 percent of them did it sometimes.

To summarize the distribution of respondents according to generalized trust by attitudes and expectations for the government and subjective experiences, individual participation in civic activities can be distinguished by the following characteristics of each cluster:

- **Cluster 1 (*learning youth*).** A greater proportion (50.4 percent) of this cluster was inclined to delegate responsibility for the creation of the well-being of public life to the government; this group was more likely (39.6 percent) to trust other people and cooperate for the common interest. In the context of all clusters, it has the lowest rate (40.4 percent) of participation in elections, as well as passive involvement (18.2 percent) in other civic activities. At the time of departure, they had the least contact with the Lithuanian government and indicated the lowest rate (38.1 percent) of having experienced personal disrespect from the

Lithuanian authorities. As compared to other clusters, the Lithuanian government was criticized the least by this cluster. A significant number of people did not rule out the possibility of returning to Lithuania in the future, but the majority (42.4 percent) saw the real changes in Lithuanian economy and governance as a prerogative of the government. Only less than one-fifth (19.7 percent) of the representatives of this cluster expressed a personal desire to contribute to the creation of a better Lithuania.

- **Cluster 2 (*precariat*).** In the context of all clusters, this group delegated the well-being of public life to the government the most (58.3 percent), and was the most mistrustful (39 percent) of other people and unwilling to cooperate in pursuit of common goals. The rate of participation in elections (43.7 percent) was higher than that in cluster 1 but significantly lower than that in cluster 3. Other civic activities were characterized by non-systematic participation (16.9 percent) or non-participation (39.5 percent). Naturally, having the highest expectations for the government, the representatives of this group were also the most dissatisfied with it. The group frequently (48.9 percent) experienced personal disrespect from the authorities. It had the highest percentage (56.8 percent) of those who would consider return to Lithuania if economic and governance problems in Lithuania were solved, but the lowest percentage (17.9 percent) of those who wanted to contribute to the future of a better Lithuania personally.
- **Cluster 3 (*potential*).** It is the most civic-conscious (42 percent), most trusting (50.8 percent), and most active (69.5 percent) group. More than the representatives of other clusters, they identified and articulated the main problems related to the Lithuanian government and public services, but were less critical towards the government, even though a large proportion (47.1 percent) of the representatives indicated they had personally experienced disrespect from the authorities or officials. As compared to other clusters, this group had the largest proportion of those who would like to contribute to the welfare of Lithuania upon return, and the smallest proportion of those who considered it to be a matter of the government.

EMOTIONAL INEQUALITY AMONG THE CLUSTERS

After investigating the relations between the emotional state and its formation contexts (the contexts of interactions), this section will address the third task of empirical research – to empirically describe the distribution of emotional inequality among clusters.

Table 1. *Emotional state while living in Lithuania: distribution of happiness vs. unhappiness among clusters.*

How would you describe your emotional state while living in Lithuania?	Cluster number		
	1	2	3
I was happy and felt sad I had to leave	28.3%	32.5%	33.6%
I was unhappy and I felt glad I could leave	34.2%	40.2%	24.9%
Neither of those	37.5%	27.3%	41.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The general results of the survey demonstrate a rather poor emotional state of society. Only about one-third of society was happy in their homeland and, unfortunately, far more were unhappy, and emigration was associated with joy. The distribution of emotional inequality among groups is also quite notable. Even in the best (*potential*) case, only 33.6 percent were able to feel happy. Meanwhile, in the case of the *precariat*, the unhappiness rate was higher – 40.2 percent. It is worth mentioning that among all the clusters there was a relatively high proportion of those who were undecided.

Table 2. *Emotional state while living in Lithuania: distribution of work vs. income satisfaction among clusters.*

How would you describe your emotional state while living in Lithuania?	Cluster number		
	1	2	3
I was satisfied with my work in Lithuania, except for my income	26.6%	56.8%	47.8%
Not the income, but the attitude of the employers towards the employee annoyed me the most	14.8%	16.4%	20.5%
Neither of those	58.5%	26.8%	31.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The *precariat* associates emotional (dis)satisfaction with work and income (56.8 percent). This is quite logical, given the constant challenge this group faces to adapt to the labor market. Thus emotional dissatisfaction is associated with the most actual (employment) problem. The indecisiveness of cluster 1 (58.5 percent) is understandable, as most of them had no work experience before departure. Interestingly, the emotional well-being of the *potential* is also strongly related to the work context (47.8 percent); although, as predicted, a higher proportion (20.5 percent) attributes dissatisfaction not to income but relationships between employers and employees.

Table 3. *Emotional state while living in Lithuania: distribution of society vs. governance satisfaction among clusters.*

How would you describe your emotional state while living in Lithuania?	Cluster number		
	1	2	3
I was satisfied with the Lithuanian way of life and our society in general, but I did not like the country's governance	45.4%	59.3%	50.3%
I was satisfied with the governance of the country but not with society and its habits	7.9%	4.5%	9.1%
Neither of those	46.7%	36.2%	40.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The data once again confirm the assumption that the poor emotional state of society results not so much from interactions among different social groups (though this aspect remains relevant and needs to be further explored in future research) but from country's governance (institutions vs. the public). The high percentage of those who were undecided leaves quite a few interpretations, especially given the relatively low civic activism among all groups and the high level of mistrust. In both the *precariat* and the *potential* cases, emotional satisfaction with society exceeds the threshold of 50 percent.

Table 4. *Emotional state while living in Lithuania: distribution of satisfaction of personal belonging among clusters.*

How would you describe your emotional state while living in Lithuania?	Cluster number		
	1	2	3
I felt needed in Lithuania	13.2%	12.4%	25.4%
I felt superfluous in Lithuania	59.5%	63.0%	47.3%
Neither of those	27.4%	24.6%	27.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The final question measures the respondents' subjective satisfaction with their personal belonging to society. The answers reveal the respondents' attitudes towards the country, the society, and their perception of themselves (their position) in the country. As can be seen above, the distribution of responses among the clusters and the general tendency of all the clusters is shocking. Even in the best case (*potential*), only a quarter (25.4 percent) felt needed in their homeland.

Meanwhile, in both other cases – 13.2 percent of the *learning youth* and 12.4 percent of the *precariat* – the situation is alarming. On the other hand, this partly explains the general trends in the popularity of emigration and the rather negative attitude of emigrants to their homeland even after emigration. Further research should elaborate on the issue and delve into the specific contexts of these experiences, and concretize the definition as well as interpretation of the feeling itself. Be that as it may, even the abstract question (or rather the answers of the respondents) eloquently reveals a highly critical self-reflection of personal belonging to society.

When summarizing these results in the context of the main distinguishing features of each cluster, few insights can be offered. A deep internalization of low self-esteem or even an inferiority complex is seen among all clusters (but mostly in the *precariat*) as if the individual (and especially the less fortunate in life) has little meaning in the country. It seems that those who need love and tenderness the most experience it the least. People who cannot express themselves positively lack the means to become socially acceptable. This is how a closed circle is formed when communication leads to the avoidance of social contact because of the personal shortcomings and failures in interactions with others (Charlesworth 2000). People who perceive themselves negatively push themselves into a lower social position where their opportunities become limited. Thus, people feel lost in the symbolic struggle for recognition (Bourdieu 2000: 242), which in this case becomes an important reason to leave their homeland.

Emotional inequality among clusters seems to correlate with the previous results: the distribution of civic passivity, tendencies for shallow involvement in the creation of the well-being of public life, and the creation of constant expectations for the government. The data show that the *precariat* is experiencing the greatest emotional deprivation. Meanwhile, we see a much different tendency in the case of the *potential* cluster – being more active, more critical of themselves, and the government (in terms of expectations) but more confident, they live in a better (albeit slightly) emotional context. The situation of the *learning youth* is yet somehow different, and their emotional state is not good either, and in many cases (for example, happiness, satisfaction with society, or even a sense of belonging to society) it is worse, but in many respects the cluster expressed strong undecidedness. This fosters the assumption that perhaps, by associating

their future with another country, the members of this cluster do not identify the emotional state with the circumstances and interactions in Lithuania.

CONCLUSIONS

Weak civic engagement, mainly focusing on participating in elections, is seen among all clusters. Meanwhile, the forms of activity representing deeper involvement in the creation of the public good received respondents' significantly lower involvement. The results suggest that a vast majority of respondents perceive themselves neither as creators of the public good nor as contributors of the country's well-being, and can be described as users of social products created by other initiators (including state institutions). Only representatives of the *potential* (cluster 3) tried to contribute in somewhat larger proportions, which indicates their better self-perception as the creators of the public good and contributors to the country's well-being. Accordingly, their emotional state is slightly better and more consistent. The representatives of the other two clusters (*learning youth* and *precariat*) are not only inclined to delegate their civic responsibilities to the government and distance themselves from more active involvement in the creation of the public well-being, but to blame others for their poor emotional climate. For example, the representatives of cluster 2 (*precariat*) and cluster 1 (*learning youth*) expect much from the government, but at the same time do not engage in civic activities, do not ensure proper representation of their interests nor communicate their needs, thus getting themselves into the limited experience with poor emotional climate. Unfulfilled expectations result in associating their poor emotional experience with the 'bad' government.

The poor emotional state of emigrating Lithuanians is formed by several intertwined factors: 1) personal experience while living in Lithuania and in the emigration country allows to compare both the relations of the government and the public, and the efficiency as well as empathy of public services for ordinary citizens; 2) the poor baggage of emotional experiences (pre-departure) and the tendency to generalize negative attitudes both in relation to the government and citizens as well as between different social groups; 3) the existence of inertial attitudes in society, such as delegating responsibility for the well-being of public life to the government and being in a state of *a priori* constant dissatisfaction, as well as detachment from individual contribution for public well-being (activities that potentially might change the situation), allow the prevalence of the hermetic states of individual satisfaction with their powerlessness.

NOTES

[1] For comparison, in 2014, in the second round of the presidential election, 47.37 percent of the overall number of Lithuanians participated; in municipal elections in 2015 – 38.73 percent, and in the parliamentary elections in 2016 – 50.61 percent. Thus, it becomes clear that the activity of the representatives of cluster 1 and cluster 2 corresponds to the general voting tendencies in Lithuania, while the representatives of cluster 3 outperform them (see https://www.vrk.lt/statiniai/puslapiai/2014_prezidento_rinkimai/output_lt/rinkimu_diena/rezultatai_isankstiniai2.html; https://www.vrk.lt/2016-seimo/rezultatai?srcUrl=/rinkimai/102/1/1304/rezultatai/lt/rezultataiSuvestine1.html, both last accessed on 14 January 2020).

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ESTONIAN DIASPORA IN SWEDEN: AN ANALYSIS OF THE COLLECTION "LIFE DESTINIES" AT THE SWEDISH NORDIC MUSEUM

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Abstract: History is of importance to society and for the individual, yet from different angles as is shown in the article. History matters, but whose history is told by the public archives and history museums? This article presents an analysis of the collection "Life Destinies – Estonian diaspora in Sweden", which is preserved at the Swedish Nordic Museum. The interviews with Estonians in Sweden were conducted at the beginning of the 1980s. The Swedish self-perception of an inclusive multicultural society is dominating the interview project, and, before interviewing, Estonians were categorised as a well-integrated and well-educated group of migrants. However, the investigation of the transcribed interviews shows that Estonians tried to negotiate their own identity by telling about Estonian history as a way of anchoring their identity within an Estonian context, but the interviewers were not interested in this kind of storytelling because it was not "personal". In this case the history of Estonia was not a part of "our" history, and, contrary to the aim of the project, it was unconsciously set apart from the latter by the interviewers. According to the guidelines of the project, Estonian refugees should be included within the museum's collection as a part of "our" Swedish history. The interviewers defined the Estonian homes as typically Swedish ones. Negotiating their identity, Estonians tried to distance themselves from other groups of immigrants for different purposes. The Estonian self-image was marked by independence and good behaviour. A general opinion among the Balts was that migrants from the countries outside Europe received more caring support and benefits from the Swedish welfare state than the Baltic refugees.

Keywords: integration, multicultural society, national self-perception, reconstructing of history

How we understand, use, and reproduce history is an important issue for society at large. Historian Jörn Rüsen claims that "our" history knowledge is embodied in what professional historians and historical institutions such as archives and museums tell us. What they say represents "our" knowledge of the past, even though we do not participate in their research ourselves (Rüsen 2005). The "making of history" contributes to the shaping of identities and belonging. Therefore, it is important to explore how archives and memory institutions collect and preserve "our" past experience, "our" common cultural heritage and identity. In the ongoing project "Narratives as cultural heritage" Swedish researchers Jesper Johansson and Malin Thor Tureby study the Nordic Museum's collections and selections of immigrant narratives. They conclude that the Swedish self-image has been "transformed from the self-image of a homogeneous country to a self-perception of a multicultural society" (Johansson & Thor Tureby 2016: 321). By not asking questions about racism and discrimination in the questionnaires, the Nordic Museum confirms the including perspective and Swedish self-perception as a multicultural nation. Johansson & Thor Tureby (ibid.) claim that the museum has an outspoken objective to incorporate the immigrants' stories about migration to "our" (the majority's) Swedish history and "our" cultural heritage. Scholars in ethnology have emphasized that the folklore collections and questionnaires at the museum, dating from the first half of the twentieth century, reaffirmed Sweden as a monoethnic nation. They conclude that the archived collections tell us more about the culture of the time than life stories and interviews without archival context (Lilja 1996; Johansson et al. 2017). Drawing on this, the article investigates how the collection "Life Destinies" at the Swedish Nordic Museum creates narratives about Estonians in Sweden and their adaptation to the Swedish society. The aim is twofold: firstly, I explore how and by whom the collection is compiled. I also investigate if the collection (questionnaires and compilations) contains a tacit narrative about Sweden and Swedes and Estonians in Sweden. Secondly, I focus on the interviews, on how Estonians in Sweden reproduce, manage, and negotiate their lived experiences of forced migration, and the meaning of identity being negotiated and reflected in interviews. The material used in my research is comprised of the preserved written documents and transcribed interviews from the collection "Life Destinies" (interviews with Estonians in Sweden), conducted in 1983–1986 by the ethnologists working at the Swedish Nordic Museum.

ESTONIAN LIFE STORIES: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

In the early 1970s through to early 1980s research about migration and oral history was quite uncommon in Sweden, and this also reflected in the interviews carried out by ethnologists during the period. In the three Baltic countries oral history has been a growing research field since 1991, when the Baltic states regained their independence. Important contributions to the oral history research on Baltic refugees in Sweden have been made, among others, by Aili Aarelaid-Tart (2002, 2012), Anu Mai Kõll (2015) and Triinu Ojamaa (Ojamaa & Labi & Kronberg 2012; Ojamaa 2019). By studying the differences between the lives lived and the lives remembered, Aili Aarelaid-Tart (2002) has identified two types of factual imperfections in the narratives of Estonians. The first type involves the overestimation of the hardships Estonians faced when they arrived in Sweden and the mystifying of the reasons why they left their homeland. The second one relates to various white lies to show that their lives had been worse in the new country of residence than they really were. With this example Aili Aarelaid-Tart wanted to emphasise the hermeneutic interplay between the subjective perception of reality by the informants and the existing objective social structure. Triinu Ojamaa has shown in several articles that the Estonian refugees preferred integration, choosing both the preservation of their culture of origin, and adaptation to the Swedish society. In her article in 2019 she also explained the concepts of *integration* (immigrants are interested in both maintaining their culture of origin and engaging in interactions with other groups) and *marginalization* (immigrants have little interest in cultural maintenance as well as in having relations with other groups). Kõll (2015) in her research focuses on the Swedish state and on how the state acted when receiving refugees from its neighbouring countries, including the Baltic states, during World War II. There is a common assumption among scholars that the Balts are one of the most integrated migrant groups in Sweden, which succeeded in integrating successfully into Swedish society as well as maintaining their own cultural identity (Kõll 2015; Ojamaa 2019). This statement is still unquestioned. So, do we really need more research, life stories, and narratives on how Estonians experienced Swedish society? I am not sure, but my aim in this article is to reflect on this topic from the Swedish perspective and explore, on the basis of the collected interviews, how the Swedes perceived Estonians. A quote from one of the interview reports illustrates the somewhat ambivalent relationship between the perceptions of Swedishness and Estonianness. It is the interviewer who reflects on the typical Swedish home:

> *It was important for him* [Lembit] *to anchor his own narratives in a historical context, which he saw as an explanation for everything that had happened. Lembit spoke very good Swedish and he had no problems to understand the implication in question. … It was a typical Swedish home and when I indicated it to Lembit he laughed and said: "It is not such a big difference. We have Christmas trees in Estonia, too."* (NM D 382: 36)

The comment on the typical Swedish home can be perceived as somewhat trivial but it was an important part of the interviewers' assignment to report back to the project, which also underlines the scholarly discourse about the well-integrated Baltic refugees. The Estonians were Europeans similar in appearance to the Swedes, and their homes looked like typical Swedish homes, so why shouldn't Estonians be well-integrated? The question is rhetorical, but it can still be asked.

THE COLLECTION "LIFE DESTINIES" AT THE NORDIC MUSEUM

The study has used two basic sets of data. The first set consists of project descriptions, data of the collecting processes, and interview materials such as questionnaires and reports. The second set consists of transcribed interviews. By studying the creation of what has been considered national traits, such as profession, home, and cooking in relation to Swedishness and the assumed inclusion in or exclusion from the Swedish society, I strive to provide meanings of social practices and explain how imagined national notions were formulated in language and agency. How has the Estonian diaspora been understood and mediated through collections and in life stories?

Different agents both consciously and unconsciously produce and reproduce discourses when positioning themselves in particular fields and in societal contexts through their rhetorical statements (Metzger 2005: 47). In the project "Life Destinies" the positioning was expressed already in the aims of the project and its outlines. The researchers wanted to "distinguish different patterns and lifestyles through interviews; show how individual experiences, events, and values have contributed to the interpretation of contemporary history".[1] The project coordinator was a professor of history, who also initiated the scientific oral history research on migrants. The aim was to study the development of the relationship between Estonians in Sweden and the Swedish society during the postwar period until 1984. The guidelines explained: "Regarding immigrant memories, our method has a special task: the attitudes and the daily behaviour

of immigrants cannot be understood without in-depth knowledge of their background where their life course constitutes a central concept."[2] The phrase "in-depth knowledge of their background" is of special interest, because it can be interpreted on two different levels: first, on the personal or individual level of the interviewee and second, on the official, historical level. One can see that these two levels are reflected in the interviewer's reports.

As a part of the prevailing discourse on Baltic diaspora as a well-integrated group in Swedish society the project pointed to the "changes and attitudes of Estonian minority culture (counter-culture) to today's integration into Swedish society".[3] A special focus was put on "the Estonian educational community – the high ideals of education for three generations and their importance to Estonians' adaptation and success as an individual and ethnic group".[4] Special key persons, such as artists, writers, and journalists had to be interviewed. They were supposed to be chosen to show "if possible, what information an interview with an extraordinary sensitive respondent/interviewee can provide".[5] The guidelines for the researchers within the project were very strict and the project management had made a list of Estonians to be interviewed. The Estonian informants had received a letter from the management where the purpose of the project was defined before the researchers visited them. The subjects for the interview concerned childhood, leisure, education, marriage, escape, family and relatives in Estonia and contacts with Estonia, work, and financial situation. The guidelines for the researchers also contained instructions on how to reflect on the informant, for example: "How is it to be an Estonian; expectations about Estonians by other Estonians; the awareness and growth of the Estonian identity; positive and negative differences towards Swedishness; do you have double loyalties".[6] The interviewed Estonians were also asked to reflect on their self-perception, as for example: "What constitutes a typical Estonian; Estonian characteristics; rigidity; power/authoritativeness; diligence; frugality".[7] This framework of pre-understanding of the Baltic diaspora reinforces the discourse about them as one of the most integrated immigrant groups in Sweden, especially within the context of the 1970s social migrants to Sweden from different parts of Africa. It also includes, as Johansson and Thor Tureby (2016) have stressed in their research, a Swedish self-image of inclusiveness and Swedish welfare of a high standard, where it is easy for well-educated people to fit in and be included in the Swedish community. To conclude, the researchers within the project reproduced – consciously or unconsciously – the discourse of integration, inclusion, and welfare in Sweden for the Estonian refugees *before* interviewing them.

Cultural similarities, education, and good social conditions were the concepts used by the Swedish newspapers as reasons for the acceptance and inclusion of

immigrants. In his dissertation, Mikael Byström has studied the perceptions and ideas about foreigners, refugees, and refugee politics in the Swedish public debate in 1942–1947. He argues that the Estonian Swedes were embraced as unproblematic,[8] whereas the Baltic refugees were discussed in other terms, especially among the left-wing parties (Byström 2006: 105). As an example, the Swedish communists considered the Balts as fascists or Nazi-sympathizers and made campaigns against them in newspapers and elsewhere. The parties in the government generally adhered to the Nordic prerogative, but used different interpretations of the concept of Nordicness, which included Finns who had a similar experience and history as the Balts. However, the Balts were excluded from this brotherhood concept of Nordicness (Byström 2006: 79–80).

It is clear that there existed a tacit narrative on the Baltic refugees as fascists or Nazi-sympathizers, but the project "Life Destinies" from the 1980s did not mentioned it at all, even if the Estonian informants talked about it. This was a stigmatizing remark that many Estonian and Latvian refugees experienced in Sweden (Runcis 2012: 61). In one of the interviews from the collection "Life Destinies" an elderly Estonian told about his arrival to Örnsköldsvik in Sweden in 1944:

> *Some of the refugees were moved to Ulricehamn, because it was said that in the northern part there were too many who were "red", communists in different industries, … We were, for some reasons, I do not know, branded as Nazi-sympathizers.* (NM D 382: 43)

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SWEDISH INTERVIEWERS AND THE ESTONIAN INTERVIEWEES

To sum up, my main sources in this study are the revised reports and transcripts from the interviews. All the interviews used in my research were conducted in 1983 and at the beginning of 1984. I have chosen the first ten records from the collection of interviews. The records mainly contain interviews with men but in some cases other family members also participated. The main impression from these ten interviews is that the Estonian informants were very proud of having been chosen for the interview and having contributed to a scientific project. Some of the informants reported to the project management that they did not fit in as "well-educated" informants, because they were uneducated, just workers, and they thought they were not of interest for the project. All interviews were made at the informants' homes, except for one, which was conducted at

the informant's office. Meeting the informants at their home included also the whole family, mostly husband or wife and in some cases even the children. In the following I present some glimpses from the interviews and of how the Estonians were positioned by the Swedish researchers. In the first case it was a middle-aged Estonian man with a Swedish-sounding first name – Gunnar. He was born in Harju County, and left Estonia in 1944, when he was 19 years old. Gunnar had no higher education but he was trained at his workplace as an "oil inspector" in Sweden. The interview was conducted at Gunnar's home, in a residential district outside Stockholm. The interview lasted 13 hours and finished after midnight. It is obvious from the transcript that Gunnar liked to tell about his life in Estonia and in Sweden. But in the preserved report, the interviewer positioned Gunnar in a slightly contemptuous way:

> *Gunnar wanted to meet me at the parking lot that was on the edge of the district. It was totally unnecessary as I could have managed to find the way myself. Later on, I understood that from his position it was a very polite gesture. It was mannerly to do so. He bid me welcome and the white shirt and the dark tie shone as a signal under the muffler… We walked slowly through the residential area where the houses were surrounded by high fences. … To live like this was important for Gunnar and he told me with anger in his voice how it had been to live in Brandbergen on the outskirts. It was not fit for human beings and finally he had sold his summer cottage to move. In this residential area "real people" lived and the children were not as the children in Brandbergen. … Gunnar seemed to be proud to have been chosen for the interview and he made his best to present himself in the most appropriate way. A conservative party badge was inserted in his jacket collar and even if it was there only for the moment, it gave me a symbolic hint, which was completely conscious. After about 20 minutes, when this getting to know each other, and the silent recognition of our personal statuses was completed, the interview could start.* (NM D 382: 45)

The interviewer noted that the home looked very Swedish and he could not detect anything that could tell him about a different cultural origin. Gunnar's wife served them coffee and buns, but the interviewer did not reflect on the buns – whether they were Swedish or Estonian. The wife did not take part in the interview. However, the report contains plenty of remarks of division between the Swedish-design life style of modernity and inclusiveness, opposite to the old-fashioned style (politeness) of the Estonian worker, who strives for a higher living standard, away from the poor area on the outskirts; and of course – the

right-wing button signals exclusiveness opposing the Swedish mainstream equality discourse. The report clearly reveals that Gunnar distances himself from the poor outskirts and its inhabitants.

According to the questionnaire and the remark on self-perception, Gunnar had difficulties to describe himself as a person: "I absolutely do not want to be better than I am, at the same time not worse either. I think I'm pretty meticulous but not pedantic. Things should be in order" (NM D 384: 45). In his life story Gunnar tells about how he came to Sweden, alone, 19 years old, without any relatives or close relations. He talks about his loneliness in Sweden and his memory of Estonia "as a picture frame without an image" (ibid.) and this is the reason why he collects historical articles about Estonia to fill the frame. He has no trust in Swedish newspapers or in politics. After his arrival in Sweden he did not have any contact with his mother, who did not know if he was still alive. In 1950, after five years in Sweden, he wrote a letter to his mother, but he was scared to address it directly to her home address. He sent the letter to a fake person who did not exist, but to the same district where his mother lived, and he hoped that someone would recognise his handwriting and give the letter to his mother. He was scared to hurt his mother or to put her in danger, and he was afraid because he did not really know what would happen next. After a year he got an answer from his mother who wrote in a coded style, and Gunnar shows one example, reading: "Your uncle has gone on a long-distance journey," (ibid.) which, according to Gunnar, meant that the uncle was deported to Siberia. The mass deportation of kulaks was executed in 1949, on 25 March, the same day in all the three Soviet Baltic republics, but no one outside the Soviet republics knew about it. Sometimes Gunnar had difficulties in decoding the letters and he discussed them with his Estonian friends in Sweden. Gunnar still emphasises in his life story that he was not bitter at all, and his life in Sweden has been very good, although sometimes poor and hard, but he has managed. Finally, he confirmed his position as a successful well-integrated Swedish Estonian, but throughout the whole narrative he expressed great aversion to and fear of the Soviet communist regime. This experience was hard for him to share within the Swedish community during the 1980s. However, the right-wing badge on his jacket marked his new Estonian-Swedish identity.

HISTORY MATTERS

As Gunnar's life story has shown, he wanted to fill an empty frame with Estonian history, not only to learn more about Estonia, but also to position himself in a cultural context. The importance for Estonian refugees to tell about Estonian

history and make their voices heard can partly be seen within the Swedish context from the late 1970s and through the 1980s, when knowledge of history was not at the forefront. The Baltic refugees were annoyed and frustrated by the fact that there was hardly any knowledge of history of the Baltic states among the inhabitants of Sweden. Many Latvian and Estonian life stories narrated in Sweden testify to the fact that they "educated" their interviewers in the history of their overseas neighbouring countries (Runcis 2012: 64). This became obvious in the interview with an Estonian man called Harald (NM D 382: 44). The Swedish interviewer wrote in his report that he himself was a bit anxious, he thought it would be difficult with personal things, because he did not know, or he lacked the conception of what was off limits (taboo). In his report he gave one example from Harald's wife: "The wife reacted when I called them immigrants. She argued that they should be called refugees" (ibid.) But according to the report, the interview went well and Harald was very proud to be interviewed and he wanted a photograph of him and the interviewer in his family album. During the interview they had coffee, cognac, and *piroshky* (pies) and they continued with homemade apple wine. Harald talked about his activities in the Estonian community in Sweden and that he had been a member of the Estonian choir for more than thirty years. According to the interview report, Harald gave the interviewer plenty of printed information to read about Estonia, because the interviewer did not have enough knowledge of the country. However, the interviewer found that he was "not very interested in this kind of information because it was not a personal life story" (NM D 382: 44). Yet for Harald, Estonian history was part of his identity and it belonged to him, it was personal. This narrative remarks the ambivalence between the two levels of the background story which were stressed in the guidelines – the private and the official history as identity markers. An interpretation according to Jörn Rüsen (2005) could be that Estonian history was not a part of "our" history, and it was unconsciously set apart from "ours" by the interviewer, contrary to the project aims. But a simpler reflection is that the interviewer was not interested in history in general; he wanted to know more about personal things. When the interview was finished, the Swedish interviewer was still unsatisfied; he felt that the interview had gone well, but he also felt as if he had stolen something. But Harald welcomed him back another time. "He is worth it," the interviewer finished his report (NM D 382: 44).

When Harald talked about his life in Sweden, he described it as completely devoid of Swedishness. He had worked as a bookkeeper in different Estonian and Swedish companies. His children worked with Estonians at the Estonian school in Stockholm. The whole family, children and grandchildren, spoke Estonian, they were all active within the Swedish Estonian community, in education,

and leisure. Harald acquired Swedish citizenship in the middle of the 1950s, but this was something he needed only for practical reasons, such as to buy a house and to travel. It was not a turning point in his life, he remarked in the interview. His professional life, family life, culture, and leisure time were shaped by the Estonian community, and according to the interview, without any connection to the Swedish community. His life story seems to be an isolated Estonian island in Sweden. In Harald's case the concept of marginalization seems useful – little interest in Swedish cultural maintenance and few relations with the Swedish community.

It is obvious from this interview that Estonians worked hard to keep their Estonian identity and culture. By negotiating their identity, they tried to distance themselves from the other groups of immigrants for different purposes. The interview showed that Harald and his wife wanted to stress that they did not leave their home country on their own free will; they were forced to leave; secondly, in the 1970s and 1980s the concept of immigrant was related to the social and political migrants, who came from different parts of Africa as well as Latin America. Harald's narrative remarks diversity in relation to migrants from other parts of the world, from outside of Europe, who were considered as receiving more caring support and benefits from the Swedish welfare state than the Baltic refugees.

The last example in this article is from the interview with Ulo, who was described as an "uncomplicated human of companionable kind" (NM D 382: 33). Ulo lived in a big house and the living room were the interview took place was also described in the interviewer's report: "It had a bookshelf with books in Estonian, Russian, and Swedish; a national doll and some photographs of relatives; somewhat sparsely furnished but cosy. Above all, Estonian art on the walls" (ibid.).

As a 19-year-old youth, Ulo was an inductee in Wehrmacht, and when Germans surrendered in 1944, he stayed in Latvia. He did not want to go back to Estonia and therefore he fled to Sweden. In 1958 Ulo became a Swedish citizen, and he considered it an important step in his life. "I was happy that I chose this way," Ulo witnessed in his life-story (ibid.). He knew that he could not return to Estonia. "You have to make your decisions. You can't sit ten or fifteen years on our bags and wait," he said (ibid.). Ulo worked at a big Swiss healthcare company, where he met a number of multicultural employees. He summed up his own identity, saying, "I am Swedish at work, but Estonian at home", as a "typical well-integrated Estonian" (NM D 382: 33). To conclude, Ulo both maintained his culture of origin and interacted within the Swedish community at work.

A common feature in the ten analysed interviews is that Estonian men left Estonia when they were young adults. Some of them served both in the German and the Finnish army before they left for Sweden. Estonians talked about Germans and Russians as bad guys with bad behaviour. They stressed that Estonians did not enjoy their company. All the ten interviewees were educated in Sweden, either at their working place or at high school. Only one of them confirmed in the interview the state of being well-integrated, which does not mean that the others were not. From the above examples we can conclude that, if possible, Estonians would have preferred their community of origin both at work and in leisure activities.

CONCLUSION

The Estonians' life stories show a high level of similarity regarding the content of their life experiences and the accounts of their escape to Sweden. The collection of interviews is well structured, with standardized questions and descriptions of the interview situation. The reports and transcripts show Estonian characteristics as almost invisible because they are described as immigrants who blend well into the Swedish context. The phrase "Estonians are like us", and the expressions of Estonianness and Estonian culture became indistinct in the narratives. The interviewees tried to negotiate their identity as Estonians by using official history as an identity marker, but the negotiations became slightly limited as a result of the expectations set by the research project and the pre-understanding of the well-integrated and well-educated Baltic diaspora. The informants' responses to these notions made them to some extent invisible as migrants, with their own language and culture. They did their best to demonstrate politeness and good manners, which could be interpreted as a part of their Estonianness.

Within the framework of the project the researchers did not ask questions about discrimination, exclusion, and difficulties in managing in the Swedish language on the labour market, salary discrimination, or other kinds of inequality due to their background. The Baltic experiences with Nazi Germans during World War II and the Swedish prejudices against the Baltic refugees sometimes considered as fascists were not explicit in the interview reports. By not asking inconvenient questions, the Swedish self-perception as a multicultural nation could be strengthened. And finally, it is important to emphasize that the collection "Life Destinies" can be interpreted as telling more about the cultural notions of the time than separate life stories or interviews.

NOTES

[1] The Nordic Museum, research project "Life Destinies". NM document draft paper "The scientific aim of the project" (undated).

[2] The Nordic Museum, research project "Life Destinies". NM document draft paper "The scientific aim of the project" (undated).

[3] Ibid.

[4] The Nordic Museum, research project "Life Destinies". NM document draft paper 1983-08-23.

[5] Ibid.

[6] The Nordic Museum, research project "Life Destinies". NM document draft paper "Frågelista basintervju 1" (question-list basic interview 1).

[7] The Nordic Museum, research project "Life Destinies". NM document, frågelista etapp II (question-list stage II).

[8] The Estonian Swedes were considered as a Swedish responsibility and repatriated to Sweden in 1938.

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TRACES OF TRAUMA IN ESTONIAN WOMEN'S LIFE NARRATIVES OF WORLD WAR II

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Abstract: The article focuses on the autobiographical life narratives of two Estonian women, Maire Polashek and Aire Kolbre Salmre, who fled from Estonia to Germany in 1944, during the Great Escape to the West, and thence to third states later on, as well as Elin Toona Gottschalk's memoir, all of which include descriptions of traumatic experiences or allusions to such experiences. Thematically, the stories and memories involve recollections of events that occurred during World War II, before the narrators and their families escaped from their homeland, their journey to Germany, and local life as displaced persons in one or several refugee camps or at a local German's household. Several of the women use excerpts from their parents' memories or diaries in their narratives, thereby seeking support for their own reminiscences. The purpose of the article is to explore the traces of war trauma that can be found in the autobiographical life narratives of Estonian women who as children reached Germany among the confusion of World War II, as well as the ways in which the traumatic experiences are mediated in the narratives.

Keywords: autobiographical life narratives, Estonian refugees, war trauma, World War II

WORLD WAR II AND TRAUMA

Trauma has been defined as the psychological impact sufferings have on individuals who are either temporarily or permanently unable to attribute meaning to their traumatic experience. Owing to its retroactive nature, trauma can be seen as a temporal disruption: the traumatic event cannot be acknowledged, comprehended or recognized immediately after it occurred, while at the same time, the memories of that event cannot be retrieved as something that belongs to the past; trauma can manifest itself in various symptoms, such as intrusive thoughts, recurring, involuntary flashbacks, hallucinations or dreams. This is

why sufferers of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) are "trapped in a state of ongoing temporal disruption and fixed traumatic identity" (Jensen 2019: 78). The purpose of the article is to explore the traces of war trauma in the autobiographical life narratives and memories of three Estonian women who as children fled from Estonia to Germany in the autumn of 1944 and wrote down their stories more than half a century after the events described in the texts occurred.

Peter Leese and Jason Crouthamel note that in the history of studying trauma, more attention has been paid to men's stories, primarily because there is a wealth of sources on men's immediate war experiences (Leese & Crouthamel 2016: 3). In the context of historical trauma studies, World War I and the Holocaust have been studied the most, but Leese and Crouthamel consider that World War II was a formative moment in the social, cultural, and political history of trauma, since World War II offers researchers more historical sources of various types as well as opportunities of comparing the military, medical, and social aspects of the event (ibid.: 7). Although the concept of trauma and the related theoretical framework have been increasingly used in studying wars and catastrophes in the last two decades of the twentieth century, the concept has received modest attention in researching World War II in Estonia. For example, trauma is mentioned only in two articles in *Soldiers of Memory: World War II and Its Aftermath in Estonian Post-Soviet Life Stories* (2011), a collection of life stories of eight Estonian men who participated in World War II and the treatments thereof: in Aili Aarelaid-Tart's article "The Estonian-Minded Person in Soviet Reality: Double Mental Standards in Ailo Ehamaa's Life History"[1] (Aarelaid-Tart 2011) and in Tiina Kirss' article "When is the War Over? Ylo-Vesse Velvelt's Life Story and Surviving the 'Czech Hell'" (Kirss 2011).

However, the concept of trauma has been employed in studies that focus on autobiographical writing, including diaries, of Estonian women, which cover the topic of Soviet repressions (Kurvet-Käosaar 2013, 2014). For example, in her article on the deportation stories of Estonian and Latvian women, Leena Kurvet-Käosaar states that although the stories are about experiences that are traumatic in nature, they are rarely treated in a manner that would allow to clearly outline the signs of trauma contained in the stories, which is why it would be problematic to employ a corresponding theoretical approach (Kurvet-Käosaar 2012, 2013). Kurvet-Käosaar considers that the authors made a conscious choice of avoiding narrating their sufferings so as not to conflict with the national narrative, presenting themselves "as successful survivors" (Kurvet-Käosaar 2013: 131), while Eneken Laanes brings out another reason why the language of trauma as a certain memorial form[2] has not become widespread in remembering repressions in Estonian memory culture – the domination of

a different memorial form shaped by Estonian history and culture and characterised by a way of depiction underlining unwavering bravery and resilience, which originates from the fact that the life narratives of individuals and the collection thereof are related to the context of restoring national history starting from the 1990s (Laanes 2017: 248).

What, however, is characteristic of this memorial form that we can trace on the basis of the autobiographical life narratives and life stories of refugees who fled to Germany from Estonia in 1944? Undoubtedly, most of them contain experiences that can be identified as traumatic, yet are the experiences communicated with the language of trauma? Tiina Kirss, who has studied the life stories and biographical interviews of Estonian refugees, has been rather cautious in engaging with the concept of trauma and even distanced herself from it. In the collection *Rändlindude pesad: Eestlaste elulood võõrsil* (The Nests of Migrating Birds: Life Stories of Estonians Abroad) (2006) which contains the life stories of Estonians who fled to Germany or Sweden during World War II and travelled on to third countries from there, Kirss claims that in the case of Estonians' displacement stories, applying trauma as a template of interpretation by a researcher is not as important as understanding the formation of the "social memory" of the escape stories, i.e., the timeline when the escape stories began to be published, how and when the stories were told and how the escape experience was psychologically processed (Kirss 2006: 617). As it is not the intention of this article to answer the question how escape stories become a part of the refugees' memory culture and politics of memory, but to identify the ways and means of communicating experiences that can be interpreted as traumatic, I shall focus on the stories where the narrator either seems to allude to or directly talks of her psychological suffering and pain caused by the events of World War II.

The psychological responses of people who were forced to leave their homeland due to war, political unrest, persecution or natural disaster, i.e. refugees, to events they have survived have been characterized with the concept of double crisis (Rumbaut 2005), existential trauma (Bennich-Björkman 2016), and trauma of displacement (Hron 2018). To be exact, I use the term of war trauma in this article, as the traumatic experiences communicated in the autobiographical life narratives and memories to be discussed here are not solely connected to displacement and adjustment issues in a new country of residence but also to war events that happened before the narrators escaped their homeland.

In the throes of World War II, approximately 75,000–80,000 Estonians fled their homes and journeyed mainly to Finland, Sweden, and Germany. About 40,000 Estonians reached Germany, approximately 1,000 of them as *Reichsarbeitsdienst* (the Reich Labour Service) recruits. The service lasted for a year

and was a prerequisite for furthering one's education (Hinrikus 2009: 113). The greatest wave of escape occurred in the autumn of 1944. The last refugees arrived in Germany via the sea route or through Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland in mid-October. The Third Reich offered refugees "hard work, tiring drives, poor food and bare wooden bunk beds in dirty barracks. … In the critical hours of leaving their homeland and on the road, each individual Estonian and family suffered shocking dramas, the depth of which is completely understood only by those who were among the refugees themselves back then" (Kool 1999: 8). Thus, underlining the psychological impact of escaping, Ferdinand Kool describes the situation of Estonian refugees who arrived in Germany in his book titled *DP kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal 1944–1951* (DP Chronicles: Estonian Refugees in Germany 1944–1951), which is among the most important sources of the daily life of Estonian refugees in local camps.

Some refugees found a place of residence and a job independently when they reached Germany, but most Estonian refugees preferred to convene at camps – a trend that took more massive proportions starting from the summer of 1945. After World War II Germany was divided into four zones: American, British, French, and Soviet zone of occupation. The greatest number of Estonian refugees was located at the camps of the American zone. Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians mostly lived together at the camps, some also housed members of other nations. The residents quickly started organizing their cultural and educational life: kindergartens and schools began to operate, and the Baltic University was opened in 1946. At first, it was not difficult to find a place in the camps: one just needed to register with a committee or at a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) institution (ibid.: 422). However, in late 1945 the selection process became more rigorous and, instead of committees and UNRRA officials, displaced persons' (DP) centres started deciding over who would get a place in the camps (ibid.). The camps were first administered by the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) and then by international refugee organisations: Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR) and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, as well as military authorities (Kumer-Haukanõmm 2009: 20). Camp life began to die out in the summer of 1947, when a new authority called the International Refugee Organization (IRO) was established to solve the refugee issue and started to send refugees to third countries (ibid.: 20).

Maire Polashek, Aire Kolbre Salmre, and Elin Toona Gottschalk also reached Germany with their families in the autumn of 1944, all of them being children at the time when the described events took place. In their autobiographical life narratives about pre-war Estonia, escaping from Estonia, and daily life in war-torn Germany, they also recollect events that had a traumatic impact on

them as children. In the following section, I explore how each of them communicates their traumatic experiences in their narratives, paying special attention to episodes where the narrators describe, explain, and attribute meaning to such experiences.

MAIRE POLASHEK'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LIFE NARRATIVES

Maire Polashek was born in 1933 in Tallinn, Estonia. In September 1944, she fled to Germany with her father, mother, and younger sister. Three of Maire's autobiographical life narratives, which have been published in a collection of expatriate Estonians' memories titled *Mälutunglad* (Torches of Memory),[3] are undoubtedly exceptional in the context of Estonian women's World War II memories, primarily because of the detailed description of events, figurative language use, and the nuanced communication of the narrator's emotions. In her narratives, Maire recollects war events, the escape from Estonia and refugee life from the vantage point of a child, who was six years old when World War II started. As a child, war was an unexpected, scary and traumatic experience for her, leaving a deep mark on the rest of her life as a refugee.

Rutt Hinrikus has noted the following about Estonians' memories of World War II:

> *The memories of all authors born in the period from 1905 to 1940 are dominated by war events or life changes caused by the war. All the autobiographical writings about this period have the common aspect of personally experienced or witnessed violence.* (Hinrikus 2009: 112)

It is, of course, different how a child experiences violence as opposed to an adult, which, in turn, influences the ways in which people recollect such experiences as grown-ups. For the generations born before World War II, who fled Estonia in 1944, war meant traumas that they started to recollect in detail and work through decades after the events occurred.

Maire Polashek wrote down her autobiographical life narratives more than 50 years after World War II broke out. Her first story titled "Kirju liblikas ja saatuslikud suvekuud: Põgenemine läbi Saksa-Vene rindeliini 1941. aasta juulis" (A Motley Butterfly and Fateful Summer Months: Escape through the German-Russian Line in July 1941) was published in 2002 and, according to Maire, was instigated by the wish to "communicate the truth as I remember and experienced it" (Polashek 2002: 423). Maire's narrative is framed by Estonians' belief that the first butterfly one sees in spring predicts what the summer will be like. In the spring of 1941, the first butterfly Maire saw was a multi-coloured

one and she says that the summer of that war year turned out motley both for her and for all Estonians. The historical context of Maire's narrative is Russians' retreat and Germans' arrival in Estonia. The Republic of Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union on 17 June 1940, when the latter took over all Estonian institutions and bodies of power. The people who were considered dangerous by the new authorities were arrested, imprisoned or executed. It is estimated that Estonia lost approximately 94,000 people during the first Soviet occupation. The situation changed in the summer of 1941: the front shifted to Soviet Russia and the German army arrived in Estonia. Maire begins her first autobiographical life narrative about these times as follows:

> *In the last days of June in 1941, our carefree games in the yard of our home at Nõmme suddenly came to an end. On this fateful day, a youngish man stepped inside the gate, whispered something in my mother's ear in a low voice and hurried off. The beautiful northern summer days were reaching their apex when we three together with our dog Ginni said goodbye to our home in the afternoon sun a little while later. … The messenger had insisted that we leave home immediately so as not to fall victim to those who were using violence against our people. This dark fear was, indeed, justified, because witnesses said they came to take us away that very same night as well as the following one.* (Polashek 2002: 424)

Maire, her mother and sister fled to the countryside, to the farm of Maire's maternal grandmother. The four brothers of Maire's mother were hiding away from the war in the forest; the youngest of them, whom Maire remembers with great affection in her narratives, was seven years older than her and still a young boy herding the family's cattle.

Maire's grandmother had a big farm with enough work for the entire family. The children were tasked with keeping watch and warning the adults about approaching Russian soldiers. This was also Maire's responsibility. However, as the Germans approached, the Russians grew more violent. In her narrative, Maire extremely dramatically describes how the Russians unexpectedly surrounded her grandmother's farm one day:

> *My father, who was usually in hiding in the forest, had come home to eat and was sitting at the table. When he saw they had surrounded the house and he had no escape route, he climbed into the large bread oven that was still emanating heat after baking. Grandmother closed the mouth of the oven from the outside. The feared guests were not in a joking mood. They started to question poor grandmother and tried to coerce her to provide information about her sons by threats. … Straw and haystacks*

> *were pierced with bayonets. They only failed to search the oven where father was sweating and barely gasping for air in danger of suffocating*. (Polashek 2002: 425)

In describing what happened to her father, Maire bases her narrative on the memories of either her father or her grandmother, as she herself as a child could not have been the direct witness of these events, yet the level of detail with which Maire communicates other family members' memories is remarkable.

As the front drew closer, Maire with her mother and younger sister needed to escape to the forest in fear of violence. People from other nearby farms also found shelter in the forest: Maire says that in the end, the group of refugees consisted of thirty-two people, four of whom were children. As the summer was warm, they slept in barns. The children were tired of fleeing, pestered by gnats and troubled by hunger. As the sense of threat increased, adult refugees decided to cross the Russian-German line. The situation grew tenser because they were far away from home in unfamiliar surroundings. Maire recollects:

> *I have a clear memory picture of crossing this formidable section, how every one of us needed to cross it alone. Only mother and I ran across it together, holding hands tight. … A dangerous journey lay ahead. We wandered around like lost children. The pits of bog pools shimmered in the moonlight and yarn from my knee-highs got stuck in the thicket of marsh bushes, scratching my shins until they were bloody. Only rags were left of my dress.* (Polashek 2002: 427)

Soon, the refugees reached the location of a large camp where a number of other refugees and forest brethren (partisans) had been killed a few days ago. It is noteworthy that Maire describes the scene only in a couple of sentences:

> *The monster of destruction was staring at us from all sides. On a higher hilltop, there was a large cauldron with discarded dishes, overturned tables, benches, boots, items of clothing here and there. And on the hillside lay those who had paid the ultimate price for freedom.* (ibid.)

For Maire as a child, seeing such a large number of people killed must have been her first-time encounter with death during the war. It seems that it was easier for her to mediate this extremely traumatic memory which she very clearly remembers but does not go into via a scene which can be interpreted as an image of ultimate horror. Gadi Benezer, who studied trauma signals in the biographical interviews of the Jews who escaped from Ethiopia in the years 1977–1985, has identified the narrator reporting an 'image of ultimate horror' as one of these signals. This image is "an event or a scene which serves

as a symbol of a series of traumata experienced or witnessed" (Benezer 2004: 34). The function of the image of ultimate horror in Maire's narrative is to help moving on with the narrative without creating a longer disruption in the process of recollection.

Maire's next narrative, "Muudatuste tuultes" (In the Winds of Change) was published in 2003. In that narrative, Maire recollects how she and her family fled from Estonia in the autumn of 1944, and what their refugee life was like in Germany during World War II. As in Maire's first narrative about the war years in Estonia, her second autobiographical life narrative also contains detailed descriptions of the escape journey and life as a refugee among strangers. This narrative contains images which yet again seem to signify the narrator's wish to abstain from delving into some of the traumatic episodes she has had in her life and recollecting them in detail. Thus, it can be said that the images in her stories function as signs of silence or symbols that allow remembering the unbearable and writing about it.

A characteristic example is an episode that focuses on the events that occurred immediately before Maire's family left Estonia. On the day of the escape, her father drove his family on a motorcycle to the port where German vessels were moored. As all the family members could not ride the motorcycle all at once, father decided to take Maire to the port first. They were supposed to sail away on board of one of the three German warships there. When Maire reached the ship and her father had left, it was announced that the ship would leave the port already in twenty minutes' time. Maire understood that she could not stay on the ship, as otherwise she would never have seen her father, mother or sister again. She decisively grabbed her bundles, left the ship, and worriedly waited for the rest of her family at the port: "Thousands of lives were torn apart. We were suffocating under the burden of loss. We were as if short of breath. I breathed deeply and swallowed the lump in my throat. But where were my parents?" (Polashek 2003: 190) Suddenly, she hears the roar of her father's motorcycle, which fills her with inexplicable happiness. Maire ends this episode with the sentence: "A candle had been lit on the windowsill of our pains" (Polashek 2003: 190), where the candle as the symbol of hope also signifies her fear of losing her family as a child.

After Maire's mother negotiated in vain for their passage in another vessel, an unknown man offered their family the opportunity to board the ship RO-24. As in all her stories, Maire interprets this unexpected turn of events as a miracle: "A miracle of a kind had been born. Although we had no idea about the journey awaiting us in Germany, we were grateful for the kind offer" (Polashek 2003: 191). Although relieved, Maire is also tremendously sad to have to leave her homeland, which she expresses only more than half a century later, when

recalling the event: "I wanted to cry. I wanted to wash out all the anxiety, pain, and despair accumulated in me – to wail helplessly with despair. But I could not" (ibid.: 191).

The motif of a miracle is repeated in Maire's narrative even when she describes the bombing of German ships by Russian military aircraft and the multitude of human casualties:

> *The catastrophe was, indeed, horrible. Thrice more lives were lost on the Moero compared to the Titanic. As the number of victims was so great, all of them were transported to a single field where those who survived could identify them. Row upon row, they were laid to rest in simple wooden boxes – both big and small, identified and unidentified – side by side in foreign soil; their fate forever unknown to their near and dear. … For those who stood by the graves, the sky only showed its dark side, the stars had grown dim there as well. Countless lives were also lost in storms on the way to Finland and Sweden due to the motors of small fishing vessels breaking down and the boats being overloaded. Some refugees were caught by the Russian navy and were lost in air raids. Over us, however, hovered invisible wings, and the sincere prayers of our dear ones who were left behind accompanied all of us on the way. It was truly a miracle to be alive*. (Polashek 2003: 192)

Maire's narration does not reveal whether she herself was at the burial of the dead, yet she considers it important to incorporate knowledge of the tragic fate of refugees who were not so lucky as to reach a new country alive into her narration of her family's escape abroad. By commemorating others, Maire underlines the miraculous escape of herself and her family, which she as a religious person associates with the power of prayer.

Maire's narrative continues with a description of refugee life in Germany. Life in wartime Germany is draining for refugees, especially children, as there is little food, nowhere to wash, and one is in constant danger of falling victim to an air raid. Yet again, the motif of miracle is repeated in Maire's narrative:

> *We had barely gone to sleep when the air raid sirens began howling and we had to trudge to the bunkers through the blacked-out city. Some nights were entirely sleepless when we nodded off in the shelter. … Now, every day of survival seemed like a miracle. In my mature age of eleven, quickly growing old, I was quite aware of the worth of life. Only one wish remained – to get one more day of life, no matter how troublesome it would be*. (Polashek 2003: 193)

To avoid constant travelling that was exhausting both for the children and parents, Maire's parents decided to take the family to the small town of Murnau in the south of Germany. War refugees were not welcome anywhere, but Maire recollects how the locals treated them with sympathy and were helpful.

Maire continues with her memories of refugee life in Germany in her next story titled "Põgenikena Murnaus Lõuna-Baieris Saksamaal" (Refugees at Murnau, South Bavaria, Germany), which was published in 2004. Maire explains that for refugees, acquiring food was still the most important problem, but they also constantly feared allied air raids. In addition to Maire's personal memories, this narrative contains those of her father, mother, and sister, which Maire as a skilled narrator smoothly incorporates into her story. After the war ended, DPs began to be gathered in camps starting from July 1945. Maire's family also had to leave Murnau. Maire and her family travelled to Hamburg, which was in the British zone. Maire recollects:

> *As the Hamburg airfield was a long way out of the city, we had to take the train into town. I still remember this drive since we had arrived at a land of ruins. We saw no intact building during this journey. Amidst this terrible destruction, a few little lights shone only from cellar windows. These city districts were like endless burial mounds of ruins*. (Polashek 2004: 283)

Maire uses the images of the land of ruins and endless graves to summarize the tragic of war and its scope that she had to witness as a child but which seems to be difficult for her to recall even many years later.

To receive help and support from the UNRRA, a refugee needed to have DP status. Maire notes that the Germans "were forced to cope on their own, which is why many starved, especially in the large destroyed cities" (ibid.). Since Maire's father managed to get a Swedish visa in the autumn of 1945, the family travelled from Hamburg to Malmö in December that year. Maire's family remained in Sweden until November 1950 when they relocated to Toronto, Canada.

THE LIFE STORY OF AIRE KOLBRE SALMRE

Like Maire Polashek, Aire Kolbre Salmre was born in Tallinn, into the family of a military official, an officer of the Republic of Estonia. When the war broke out in 1939, Aire was three, while her sister Kaare was a year old. Aire's 15-page life story[4] that she sent as an entry to the collection campaign *Eesti Vabariik 100: Minu elu ja armastus* (The Republic of Estonia 100: My Life and Love), was published in the first volume of the collection *Minu elu ja armastus: Eesti rahva elulood* (My Life and Love: The Life Stories of Estonian People) and starts

with a memory picture of how her mother was packing suitcases to escape from Estonia, hoping to fit a couple of photo albums in the bag. Aire's father did not approve of the plan and said: "There is no point in taking these heavy albums with us, we will be back soon, as the world will not let this injustice stand" (Kolbre Salmre 2018: 272). This sense of the temporary deeply characteristic of refugee life, and the underlying hope to return to one's homeland soon contained in Aire's memory picture would accompany Aire's family for a long time. This sense of the temporary was felt the most keenly in Germany, where Aire's family escaped in 1944.

In Aire's life story, there are two clearly distinctive temporalities that the narrator juxtaposes: times before the war that are associated with beautiful childhood memories of "Estonian Christmases, our christenings, Kadriorg and the swans, the elementary school of the Tallinn Teachers' Seminar, Tallinn Drama Theatre, Tallinn Zoo, the central hospital where mother worked and my sister and I were born, the snowy Estonian winters, etc." (Kolbre Salmre 2018: 273), and World War II, which "brought pain and created disorder in the household of peace-loving Estonians" (ibid.). With great nostalgia, Aire describes desserts – jellies, cakes, and pies – the taste of which is especially etched in her mind, and childhood Christmases that are associated with the light of real candles in her memories. Aire places her memory pictures of Christmases, as well as other memories described in her life story into the context of the times when she wrote the memories down, adding:

> *We have not experienced the wondrous gleam of my childhood's Christmas candles here, abroad. They do not use real candles in America, since the spruces sold here are often brought from afar, where they are cut down in the autumn, and the threat of fire forces one to use electric lights. My childhood Christmases have remained in my heart*. (ibid.: 273)

In relation to the war, Aire's life story clearly outlines a child's viewpoint of the events: although the bomb raids and escape engender enormous fear in Aire, so that both she and her sister learn to pray from their mother, Aire admits that the war events sometimes even seemed fascinating for children and brought excitement to their lives. Out of the events preceding the escape, Aire recollects the 9 March bomb raid on Tallinn in detail in her story:

> *In between the bombing, we went outside. It was night-time and it was winter, but it was light and warm outside. People came out of their houses and started extinguishing burning buildings with pails of sand and water. Five-year-old Kaare and seven-year-old Aire brought their toy buckets, filled them with sand and went to put out flames. No one said that the children should get out of the way! The interlude did not last long as*

> *the Russian planes returned and continued to destroy Tallinn*. (Kolbre Salmre 2018: 275)

This memory picture can be interpreted as a traumatic memory for two reasons. Firstly, it is conspicuous how Aire's narrative shifts from first-person plural to third person when she describes her and her sister fearlessly taking action amidst the chaos of war. The manner of talking about oneself in the third person has also been used by Elin Toona in her autobiography *Ella* (2008) in recollecting her childhood, not unlike other authors, e.g., Jenny Diski in her autobiography *Skating to Antarctica* (1997), where she looks back to traumatic childhood events (see Douglas 2010: 125). Secondly, it is important in the case of this memory picture how Aire associates it with the present, i.e., the time of writing, assuring how the things she lived through in the past still affect her current life: "Even now, when there is a lightning storm and thunder rumbles outside, it reminds me of the bombing. The war left its marks even on children who had to live through it" (ibid.: 275).

After Tallinn is bombed, Aire's mother decides to leave the capital with the children and move to Viljandi County, where Aire's godmother lives with her family. There, Aire meets Ingrian children, who had the same affiliations as their parents, Ingrian people brought to Estonia by the Germans – they were waiting for Russian victory. The Ingrian children scare Aire and other local children with stories of revenge, and their fear for the Russians grows even more: "The Ingrian children said that the Russians would soon arrive at Karksi-Nuia, take our toys and cut our heads off!" (ibid.: 276) The children are also scared by the fighter aircraft that constantly fly over the fields, their main playground.

As the war progressed, Aire's family decided to flee to Sweden from Estonia. First, they planned to go by boat, but as the Germans requisitioned locals' vessels to stop them from fleeing to Finland and Sweden, Aire's family could not get to Sweden. Thanks to her father's military connections, the family managed to board the German ship *Peter Wessel* that left the island of Saaremaa on 28 September 1944 and reached Gotenhafen the next day. Aire recollects that a huge crowd was left behind on the coast of Saaremaa, who descended into panic when their ship left, shouting: "They are escaping, what will happen to us, the Russians are coming?" (Kolbre Salmre 2017 [2015]: 192). Aire adds that this painful memory picture of the people left behind is "etched" into her memory.

In Germany, refugees had to live in barracks where the living conditions were extremely poor, "unnatural", as Aire writes (ibid.: 277), which is why many children and adults fell ill. Aire and her sister Kaare were infected with chickenpox and then measles, but Aire recollects that, despite all these hardships, barrack life seemed novel and interesting for the children. In Germany,

Aire had to attend a German school, which seemed scary and alienating. Aire remembers that on the first day at the strange school, Estonian children had to stand in front of the class after she peed her pants:

> *The German children started to laugh. … A German boy said something, which made the rest of the class laugh again. The female teacher then proceeded to slap the boy. The Germans were accustomed to slapping, which I experienced first-hand, when we lived in the Blomberg refugee camp after the war. One time, I was roller skating on the street right by where we lived, … when a German passed me and gave me a slap in the face*. (Kolbre Salmre 2018: 278)

Being subjected to physical violence as a child is explained by Aire in retrospect by the Germans' widespread anger towards war refugees, who were a burden to Germany.

In the spring of 1945, allied bomb raids on Germany grew more frequent. Another sign of war trauma in Aire's life story is the memory of how she got a deep scar on her left leg when a bomb raid began:

> *I have a permanent souvenir of that time: A deep scar sustained when I collided with a sharp stair edge during one such urgent transit. I lost a lot of blood but fortunately the wound healed to only leave its permanent mark of those times.* (Kolbre Salmre 2017 [2015]: 195)

The memory of this wound testifies, above all, to the child's fear of bombing and death; however, in hindsight, it symbolizes for Aire the entire war-time, which left a permanent mark on her. In the same spring, Aire contracted pneumonia, but as there were no doctors, mother treated her "to the best of her knowledge" and Aire recovered from the illness. Aire has incorporated her mother's memories of fleeing the Russians in her narrative, as she recollects widespread panic among the Estonians of falling in the clutches of the Russians. Aire's family succeeded in reaching the Americans and her mother gave an American soldier a silver spoon as a sign of gratitude. After a month of travelling in Germany, in early June 1945, Aire's family reached Blomberg, which was in the British zone. "The small town of Blomberg together with the good and bad memories it created became our home for the following four years," says Aire in her narrative, without explaining what were the bad memories associated with camp life (Kolbre Salmre 2018: 281). In the autumn of 1949, Aire's family succeeded in relocating to America, where they settled near New York.

ELIN TOONA GOTTSCHALK'S *INTO EXILE: A LIFE STORY OF WAR AND PEACE*

The ways in which traumatic experiences are mediated in Maire Polashek's autobiographical life narratives and Aire Kolbre Salmre's life story are notably different from how Elin Toona shares her experiences with readers in her book of memories *Into Exile: A Life Story of War and Peace* (published in 2013, Estonian translation in 2017). Elin Toona is an author who writes both in Estonian and English. She has published four novels and four autobiographical works, including autobiography *Ella,* dedicated to her grandmother Ella Enno (published in 2008), and the biography of her grandfather, poet Ernst Enno, *Rõõm teeb taeva taga tuld* (Joy Sparks Fires Behind the Sky, 2000).

Like Polashek and Kolbre Salmre, Toona recollects her childhood in pre-war Estonia, years of World War II, fleeing Estonia in 1944, and life as a war refugee in Germany in her book of memories, with the addition of the description of her youth and early adulthood in England. Rutt Hinrikus calls Toona a writer who "tells her story throughout her creative works, each time in greater detail, more precisely, finding increasingly more opportunities to do so" (Hinrikus 2016: 191). Among other autobiographical life stories of Estonian women, which communicate war traumas, Toona's book primarily stands out because of its richness of details, scope, and the author's direct manner of speaking about deep suffering, the traumatic dimension of which is underlined by the author's estimations and explanations. For example, in the epilogue of the book, the author admits: "There are incidents that I cannot frame with words and frames that I cannot fill adequately with facts but the scenes are as vivid now as they were at the time they happened" (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 355). Thus, there are often no words to describe events that have a traumatic impact, but similarly to events that can be written about, their influence does not diminish in time, still affecting the author and directing how she shares one or another memory with the reader. This is confirmed by the memories of the same events in Toona's life story (published in the collection *Eesti rahva elulood II: Sajandi sada elulugu kahes osas* (The Life Stories of Estonian People: One Hundred Life Stories of the Century. Vol. II) in 2000), in the autobiography *Ella* (2008), and in the book titled *Into Exile: A Life Story of War and Peace* (2013), which differ by the manner of communication.

It is claimed that the process of coping with trauma is closely related to the reconstruction of collective and individual identity as well as the compensation of loss (Bartov 1999: 25). Toona's memoir, where the author binds her individual identity with collective, national identity, when she places certain episodes of

her narrative in the context of so-called history at large, quoting the works of various historians and politicians, as well as newspapers and other contemporary sources, can be seen as such a reconstruction. Upon reading Toona's book, one can sense her wish of making peace with her father, whom she got to know only as an adult and via letters, her mother, with whom she had difficult relations since childhood, as well as her past, the brightest moments of which were connected to memories about her grandmother, who was there for her in all situations – loving, kind, and supportive.

Toona recollects her childhood, the years of World War II, fleeing her homeland, life in Germany and later in England in her life story as well as in the autobiography *Ella* (2008). Compared to the life story and the memories narrated in *Ella,* the retrospect presented in the book titled *Into Exile: A Life Story of War and Peace* is more detailed and, when comparing the two texts, it seems that with this volume the author is trying to achieve something that might be labelled as emotional precision. In her memoir, Toona writes about the events that are regarded as so-called great history, placing "small battles" that occurred at the same time in the family, between her and parents, in the background, although they were more traumatic for the child than the ongoing great war. She had no mental or physical connection with her mother, whom she calls the Snow Queen in the book, and who left Toona with her grandmother when she was still a small child; Toona's father abandoned the family already before the Great Escape in the autumn of 1944. In this situation, Toona's mother did not find it feasible to stay in Estonia and decided to flee to Sweden with her daughter and mother. The Toona family reached Saaremaa by ferry and her mother succeeded in securing a boat there. The moments before the escape were marked by uncertainty and were therefore extremely tense, but Toona, being a child, did not understand her mother's despair; it simply engendered frantic fear in her: "Mother's crying upset me. Every time I had seen her cry, something terrible had been about to happen. I was getting ready to jump or hide as she had instructed" (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 38). It was no less terrifying to float, soaking wet, on the stormy Baltic Sea, in a boat full of refugees and about to overturn any minute. The refugee boat was discovered by a Polish cargo ship whose captain promised to take everyone aboard. Toona's mother started to climb the rope ladder to the ship, asking for her mother and child to be rescued as well. However, Toona as a child did not understand that and thought her mother intended to leave her again: "I squeezed my eyes shut again. … When I opened my eyes, Mother was climbing up the side of the ship. She was leaving us, going back to Tallinn, to return to a "life of her own." I could not blame her" (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 40). Toona descended into even greater panic when

she saw her grandmother also disappear on the deck of the ship: "I had been prepared for anything but for Grandmother to abandon me. I became hysterical" (ibid.: 40). Toona describes the same episode in her life story, emphasizing the persistence of this memory: "Grandmother went away alone, and left me in the boat at first. I thought both of them were leaving me and I screamed for dear life. … I did not understand a thing, yet memories of this have stayed with me for my entire life" (Toona 2000: 248).

Finally, Toona got on the ship as well, but her sufferings did not come to an end with this, since Russian planes were constantly bombing vessels on the Baltic Sea. As it was the child's greatest fear to lose her family and remain alone, she decided not to close her eyes for the entire time on the ship. In the following days, the Polish cargo ship rescued many other war refugees, two of whom are fleetingly recollected by Toona in the book. These were two women, one of whom had lost her palms, while the other was carrying a dead child on her back.

> *Another woman, crawling on her hands and knees, was dripping wet and confused about which way to go. She had a baby tied to the back of her neck with a belt crossed over her chest. The baby's head was lolling back and forth with her every movement. When she tried to stand I stepped forward to tell her that her baby was dead, but Grandmother noticed my intention and grabbed me by my coat. She forced me back down the stairs*. (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 43)

The traumatic nature of this episode is revealed in the dialogue that follows between Toona and her grandmother, which provides an emotional frame for the entire episode. Toona as a child was traumatized not so much by the fact that she had to witness the tragic situation of the woman who had lost her child but was unaware of it, but by the fact that she wished to notify the mother of the death of her child.[5] Toona's grandmother, however, quickly noticed this and forbade her to do it – in other words, Toona could not do what she considered best in this situation, which is why this episode is associated with a persistent sense of injustice for her.

Toona, her mother and grandmother arrived at Danzig on 25 September 1944. From there, they travelled by train to Berlin, which had been destroyed by bombing, and where they could not stay for long, as the air raids grew increasingly frequent. Toona only passingly mentions their Berlin days in her life story, but provides a longer description of their painful experiences in the autobiography:

> *Air raids were always scary, but at least there was a roof over one's head in the shelters, cellars and subway tunnels, there were just walls in the ruins. Being in open air during an air raid turned out to be a terrifying experience. … Bombs fell from the sky and the earth shook from explosions. The air was full of smoke and white chalk that blew hot, like from the mouth of a furnace. They lay on top of each other and waited for death to come*. (Toona 2008: 48)

This memory picture brings forth the attitude to death during war-time: death becomes a natural part of people's everyday lives, something that each one of them has to consider at any moment.

On 4 October of the same year, Toona, her mother and grandmother reached Hausberge, where at the railway station they learnt by chance that the wife of the local pastor was offering accommodation for war refugees in her house. Although the allied air raids continued, Toona, her mother and grandmother now had a relatively safe place to stay. The bombing had a devastating effect on the child's psyche: she begun to suffer from nightmares, which she learnt to control by blinking fast, shaking her head and shouting: "Wake up!" (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 70). Toona recollects she could not sleep without her grandmother, yet even her presence did not save Toona from the ever-repeating nightmares, one of which she describes in the book as follows:

> *But the worst dream of all was of flying like an angel, then suddenly losing altitude over a city of smouldering ruins and landing on the pavement, where people in grey shrouds were crawling on their hands and knees in mud. The mud became thicker, slimier, and deeper until it rose above my head and I drowned*. (ibid.: 70)

Daily challenges were added to the nightly sufferings, as Toona started to attend a local school with Nazi sympathies, where she had to bear humiliation and bullying from both the teacher and the students. She was saved from this daily torture by an allied plane that bombed the schoolhouse one day. "My worst memories are connected to Hausberge," says Toona in her life story, leaving her statement unexplained (Toona 2000: 248).

In the spring of 1945, allied forces, first the Americans, then the British, reached Hausberge, which was in the British zone. Toona evaluated this turn of events by her mother's reaction that she followed closely as a child. When she saw joy and relief in her mother's eyes, Toona understood that the entire situation had suddenly changed. Yet, her mother's joy that also infected Toona, soon turned to sadness by irony of fate due to the inexplicable behaviour of her mother, over the causes of which Toona pondered until she became an adult.

An incident that occurred with Toona became the impulse behind her mother's anger and desire to punish: the then 7-year-old Toona was raped by a British soldier who was observing Toona, her friend Ursula, and other children's game of hide-and-seek. The soldier asked for permission to join the children's play, but it quickly became clear that he was only interested in satisfying his desire when he interfered in the game. In light of the knowledge she had gathered up till then, Toona interpreted the soldier's attack as him wanting to pee, since she had seen many times how men "urinated anywhere they wanted to" (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 93).[6] After the rape, Toona fled to her grandmother without understanding much of what had happened. Toona describes the rape scene from the point of view of a child who has not yet discovered sexuality and is not aware of the role it has in adults' lives. A few days after the rape, mother came to Toona, but not to comfort the child, but to punish her with a savage beating until Toona's grandmother stopped her. Upon reading Toona's narrative closely, one may conclude that for her, it was not that much the rape that was traumatizing for her, but her mother's behaviour after the incident. Toona recollects that she did not understand why her mother was punishing her but it convinced her conclusively that "she would never, never love" her (ibid.: 95).

It became clear by early May that Germany had lost the war. The refugees began to be gathered to camps advertised in UNRRA publications. Toona, her mother and grandmother went to live at the Meerbeck camp established near Hannover. Ferdinand Kool says it was "an ordinary German village consisting of five farms and a few craftsmen's buildings. The British accused the residents of the village of being accomplices in murdering a British airman. The village was emptied of Germans and a repatriation camp was founded there. Later on, the village buildings were handed over to a DP camp. The first group of Estonians, 27 people, arrived there on 28 June 1945 from the regions of Salzwedel and Ackern, which were in the east zone" (Kool 1999: 351). Toona also writes of the murder in her book:

> *Untilled fields on either side of the road supported the story that Mother had translated about the villagers having been evicted for killing the English pilot. People like us were now living in their houses. I bet they were not happy about it.* (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 101)

Thus, awareness of their undesired presence intrinsically accompanies the refugee status, be the refugee an adult or a child.

When they arrived at the camp, it turned out that the room that was allocated to Toona, her mother and grandmother was even smaller than the one where they had lived in Hausberge because a single person was allowed a maximum

of 3–5 m² at the camp (Kool 1999: 426). Food was still a problem, as the rations were too small to dispel the constant hunger. Later on, uncle Paul, the younger brother of Toona's grandfather, who had arrived in Germany before the end of the war from the French Foreign Legion, helped them to acquire food. To alleviate the lack of food, people grew pigs at the camp against local laws and went to steal potatoes from the Germans' fields at night. "The Germans were angry but could do nothing," reminisces Toona in her autobiography *Ella* (Toona 2008: 63). Poor washing facilities resulted in fleas and bedbugs that pestered children and adults alike, as well as the constant feeling of cold since firewood was difficult to come by in camp life.

In the summer of 1946, the British government announced the intention of recruiting 1,000 single women from the camps of the British zone to come and work at English hospitals, sanatoriums, and treatment facilities as nurses, cleaners, and laundry workers. The campaign was called *Baltic Swans*, and 700 Estonian women reached England as a result (Kool 1999: 687). It was popular among the Estonians of the British zone, as people wanted to get away from the camps no matter how and wished to earn money to travel elsewhere later on (ibid.: 694). Kool notes that England suited "all who wanted to leave Germany but remain in Europe and wait for the liberation of their homeland" (ibid.). Toona says people preferred England owing to its cultural reputation:

> *Many believed they were going to "Hardy country." This vision included thatched cottages, village greens, duck ponds, and, of course, London. What they got instead was William Blake's "Satanic Mills," the filth and squalor of the Industrial North*. (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 131)

Toona's mother Liki arrived in England in 1947, having signed a five-year employment contract. She started work in a women's hospital in Leeds, where she was assigned manual labour: scrubbing and polishing the floors, dusting, emptying chamber pots and washing laundry (Toona 2008: 58). Since the 'swans' could not take their families to their new country of residence, Toona and her grandmother remained at the Meerbeck camp for another year. Toona describes arriving at Leeds as an experience that did not shock only her and her grandmother but all foreign workers:

> *What we were seeing for the first time and what shocked every foreign worker who had signed up to work in Great Britain was the reality of this other England – no demi-paradise, but a mucky, money-making machine of the Industrial Revolution*. (Toona Gottschalk 2013: 137)

CONCLUSION

Studying traumatic experiences is complicated, on the one hand, due to the fact that such experiences "can damage episodic memory processes, fragmenting recall of detail and removing the event from semantic context and therefore meaning" (Jensen 2019: 97), which hinders the creation of a coherent narrative or prevents the person who suffers trauma from speaking about his/her experiences at all.[7] On the other hand, articulating traumatic experiences may be prevented by circumstances independent of the survivor of trauma: by the memorial form dominating the culture at a certain point in time, as claimed by Eneken Laanes in her article on camp and deportation memories (Laanes 2017), cultural norms[8] that do not favour revealing aspects of one's personal life (Jaago 2018) or the lack of suitable cultural models as examples via which one could communicate one's experiences.

Historical trauma is rooted in historical experience, which is why both have been associated with the term of recollection as opposed to historical consciousness or memory related to historical taboos (Van den Braembussche 1999: 171–172). Philosopher of history Antoon Van den Braembussche, who has studied the issue of silencing the past and the ways in which communities try to cope with the past that is difficult to handle, claims that silencing the past is not a question of simple ideological or psychological embarrassment but is closely related to the ways in which we perceive time as such, in which we "conceptualize and try to manage it in our historical narratives" (ibid.: 172). Since Van den Braembussche considers that today, historical consciousness is governed by the politics of time, which transforms the past so that it resembles a fiction of the present, the result is "extreme reversibility" (ibid.: 191). In such a situation, it is recollection that offers a way out. It can reattribute to events their irreversibility and reinstate their divergent times, which cannot be communicated by a linear or cyclical model of time. Through recollection, the temporality of trauma, the events of which are always unexpected and undesired, can counter the silencing of the past, which the politics of time is continually legitimizing.

The autobiographical life narratives and the book of memories discussed in this article are valuable historical source materials on the impact of World War II since they allow the reader to "re-experience the affective and cognitive inside of a historical moment" (Jensen Wallach 2006: 228). The authors, three women who fled to Germany from Estonia as children during the Great Escape of 1944, communicate in their narratives what they saw and experienced during World War II, each in her own way. The shared *topoi* of the narratives are

recollections of events that occurred before World War II and during the escape from Estonia, the journey to Germany and local life as a displaced person in one or several refugee camps or at a local German's household. All the narratives bear traces of war trauma that is present in the texts either explicitly, with the addition of the narrator's comments and explanations, or implicitly, if the narrator prefers to use figurative language in mediating the traumatic experiences. This way of relating traumatic experiences is characteristic of Maire Polashek's autobiographical life narratives, where one can sense that the narrator does not want to describe the traumatic events in detail so as to avoid reliving them. In her narratives, Polashek commemorates Estonian refugees who died during World War II, with the purpose of recognizing collective suffering. Although Elin Toona Gottschalk articulates her traumatic experiences with neutral language in her book titled *Into Exile: A Life Story of War and Peace*, she strives for detail and emotional precision, relating the experiences from the point of view of a child who does not fully understand what is happening to her. Traumatic episodes that are primarily related to difficult relations with Toona's parents, mainly her mother, but also the shocks of the war in her memories, are placed in the context of historians' writings as well as several other contemporary sources, thereby tying her, her mother's and grandmother's story to the stories of other people who left their homeland as refugees because of World War II. One of the dedications of the book also directly refers to the intention of telling the story of "us, the refugees of World War II": "I dedicate this book to my mother and grandmother, Liki Toona and Ella Enno, and to all the World War II refugees who were unable to return home after the war and became lifelong exiles". Aire Kolbre Salmre places the events she recollected in her life story in the context of the time when she wrote them down, evaluating the past from the vantage point of the present. She employs this strategy also in describing traumatic episodes of the past, thereby emphasizing the traumatic nature of the experiences she narrated. The connections of trauma and nostalgia are also prominent in Kolbre Salmre's life story: the loss of one's homeland primarily manifests in the narrator's yearning for certain familial events and small pleasures important for a child, such as childhood sweets and the glow of Christmas lights.

When studying autobiographical life narratives that mediate traumatic experiences, one can gain a better understanding of and therefore acknowledge the psychological suffering of the people whose voice has not been heard in society for various reasons, often independent of themselves. However, for those who go through trauma, the voicing of their suffering publicly has another function. Meg Jensen claims that "autobiographical narratives that draw upon traumatic

experience can enact a search for recognition, justice, and meaning, that may, through exposure and detachment, lead finally to acceptance and even healing" (Jensen 2019: 19). The Estonian women's autobiographical life narratives of their childhood that coincided with World War II, discussed in this article, show that the traces of certain experiences persist in memory and are retraced through narration to clarify one's past and thereby alleviate suffering, which, in turn, substantially affects how the person perceives and interprets his/her life at the time of writing.

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NOTES

[1] In this article Aarelaid-Tart uses the term 'cultural trauma', which she defines as a "violent value invasion; sudden, repressive application of 'alien' axiological scales that rapidly oppose age-old traditions" (Aarelaid-Tart 2011: 288).

[2] The language of trauma has been defined as transnational memorial form which enables the psychological effects of traumatic experiences to come forth (see Laanes 2017).

[3] In 2000, an autobiographical writing group started meeting under the lead of Tiina Kirss at Tartu College in Toronto. Both Maire Polashek and her younger sister Virge took part in it. Altogether six collections of autobiographical life writings have been compiled of the works authored by the members of the group (2002, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2011, and 2013), the latest of which is in English.

[4] Aire Kolbre Salmre has also written her life story in English, titled "And So It Happened" (Kolbre Salmre 2017), which was published in the collection titled *From Here Began the Journey to Far Off Lands: Hats off to Estonian War Parents*, compiled by Mai Maddisson.

[5] It is interesting that in her autobiography *Ella* Toona avoids recounting this memory: "They climbed the stairs together and reached the deck just when the crew had pulled a netful of people out of the water. They were laid on the deck like fish. Elin saw something terrible there and Ella steered her down the stairs again" (Toona 2008: 45).

[6] Toona also depicts the rape in her autobiography *Ella*, but in relatively few words: "Ursula and Elin had intended to hide together, but the soldier dragged Elin into the bushes. Ursula was afraid to go with them but had remained close (like mother had told her to) and watched how the solider and Elin struggled under the bush" (Toona 2008: 56).

[7] For example, the compiler of the collection *When the Noise Had Ended: Geislingen's DP Children Remember* (2009), Mai Maddisson discusses in the afterword why so few of the Geislingen children sent memories of their escape from Estonia and the time they lived at the camp: "Whatever has become of the nine-hundred-plus of the Geislingen youngsters we did not hear from? Some would have died. Where those deaths very premature? How many found their journey too onerous, burdened by both memories and the difficulties of integration into new lands? Are the ones who made contact those who dared touch the past? Maybe they had better resources to do so; maybe they have never had to bury their past" (Maddisson 2009: 211).

[8] In her article "Trauma ja elulood" (Trauma and Life Stories), Tiiu Jaago states the following: "The two analysed life stories were narrated in the late 1990s, early 2000s. They do not represent the idiomatic language of trauma in general, yet present certain characteristics that could be searched for in the idiomatic language of trauma employed during the decades at the turn of the century. One of them is restrained narration. The narrator mentions but will not discuss things she has suffered in personal life. This is substantiated with two arguments. Firstly, narration does not spare the narrator of reliving the emotions she had in the past. The narrator does not want to experience it. Secondly, the choice to remain silent is based on cultural norms – you do not reveal all that has happened to you to a stranger" (Jaago 2018: 133–134).

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THE TASK OF A CULTURAL RESEARCHER: TELLING THE STORY OF SIBERIAN ESTONIANS

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Abstract: This article analyses the roles of a folklore researcher and the media in introducing the Siberian Estonian communities to the Estonian public after Estonia regained independence. With the restoration of the Republic of Estonia in 1991, the Estonians in Siberia, who had previously lived in the Soviet Union as Estonian Estonians, suddenly became so-called "foreign Estonians".

Since 1991, the Estonian communities in Siberia have been in the focus of collecting and research at the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA), and 16 field trips were carried out in the period of 1991–2013. When we began our fieldwork, I realised that for Estonians Siberia was primarily associated with cold and wilderness, the deportations of the 1940s and prison camps. In the 1990s, the Republic of Estonia did not do much to support its compatriots in Siberia.

For the EFA, the inevitable side task to collecting and researching the folk culture of Estonians in Siberia was to inform and educate the general public in Estonia. Through the media we had a possibility to introduce and in some ways rehabilitate the Estonians in Siberia.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Estonians in Siberia became the focus of the general public in Estonia, prompting further increase in media coverage.

Keywords: collective memory, fieldwork, media, Siberian Estonians

THE EARLIEST REPORTS OF ESTONIANS IN SIBERIA

In the summer of 1991, the expedition group of the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA) started fieldwork in various Estonian communities in Siberia. I vaguely sensed the colossal amount of work – an opportunity to explore an old-fashioned tradition.

When I arrived in Estonia after the first fieldwork trip and shared my travel impressions, I realised that for Estonians Siberia was primarily associated with cold and wilderness, the deportations of the 1940s and prison camps. There was a lack of awareness about the Estonians who had emigrated there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and about the ones who were deported there during the tsarist rule.

However, folklorists were not the first ones who brought information about Siberian Estonians to the motherland. Already a century earlier – in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several articles on Estonian settlements were published in the Estonian and Russian press. By the early twentieth century, the first descriptive overviews had been published by Jüri Meomuttel (1900) and August Nigol (1918). During the period when Estonia was annexed to the Soviet Union, the first scientific trips to the Siberian Estonians took place. In the summer of 1965, Igor Tõnurist travelled to Verkhniy (Upper) Suetuk and Verkhnyaya (Upper) Bulanka villages in Krasnoyarsk kray as an ethnography student at the University of Moscow (Tõnurist 1966). In the summer of 1975, an expedition of young scientists of the Estonian Academy of Sciences[1] was undertaken, but little is known to the public about the collected data and research results. In the 1980s, linguists Jüri Viikberg and Lembit Vaba brought more information about the fellow countrymen by making trips to Estonian communities in Siberia (see, e.g., Viikberg & Vaba 1984; Viikberg 1988, 1997) and Mare Piho and her colleagues by making trips to Siberian Setos (Piho 2002).

To some extent, there are materials about Siberian Estonians in Estonian archives and museums, for example, at the Estonian National Museum, the National Archives of Estonia, the Estonian History Museum,[2] the archives of the Estonian Academy of Sciences,[3] etc.

Knowledge of Estonians and the Estonian villages in Siberia can also be obtained from people whose ancestors once migrated to Siberia, but, for various reasons, they or their descendants have returned to Estonia. The first major wave of Estonians returning from Siberia is related to the formation of the Republic of Estonia in 1918 and the subsequent choice of nationality (Valitsusasutised 1934: 210). More Estonians from Siberia came back to Estonia during the Second World War and during the post-war period when Estonia was annexed to the Soviet Union.

Siberian Estonians were also transferred to Estonia by the Soviet and party functionaries, which resulted in tensions with homeland Estonians and damaged the reputation of Estonians in Russia for decades to come (Kulu 1997: 132; Jürgenson 2015: 43).

In general terms, the return of Siberian Estonians can be compared to the tentative waves of immigration to Estonia. The immigration inflow became the most intense immediately after the Second World War; the reasons for expatriation were often political and ideological in these days. Due to the industrialization of the country in the period from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, it was done largely on the initiative of enterprises as indirectly guided migration. Later, migration for personal reasons began to prevail. Immigration decreased concurrently with Estonia's becoming an independent country (Tammaru 1999: 17–18).

BEFORE THE RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

After the restoration of the Republic of Estonia in 1991, Estonians living in Estonia started to express active interest towards their compatriots in the Western countries, since the communication had been seriously hindered during the period of the Soviet rule. But the Estonians in Siberia and elsewhere in Russia, who had previously lived in the Soviet Union as Estonian Estonians, suddenly became so-called "foreign Estonians".

Back in the homeland, the repatriated Siberian Estonians, like Estonians born in Russia in general, experienced ostracizing due to differences in the cultural background, customs and traditions, but also because of prejudices. The negative image of Estonians returning from Siberia was largely due to the fact that the Soviet state directed the Estonians born and raised in Siberia to build Soviet order in Estonia, which contradicted to the good old Estonian order (Jürgenson 2015: 43). Thus, for decades they tried to disclose their origin from the general public.

After the restoration of the Republic of Estonia, Siberian Estonians felt that their collective history deserved rehabilitation as well. They acknowledged the need to make these memories publicly known.

In the 1980s, memory politics in Estonia was based on the idea of legal and historical continuity: there was an aspiration to restore everything that the Soviet period had destroyed or destined for oblivion (Pettai 2007: 2010). Memory is essential in raising awareness and recognition of identity; how and what we remember is of key importance (Kõresaar 2005: 10). In connection with the so-called second national awakening, interest in biographies and biographical experiences had arisen in Estonia (Kõresaar 2003: 63). Memoirs that have been published in large numbers in Estonia over the past few decades serve as if to balance the silent era in-between.

In the years 1980–1990, the Estonian public had no greater interest in Estonians living in Siberia and elsewhere in Russia. At the same time, ties between Siberian Estonians and the Estonians in the motherland were not completely broken. On the initiative of the Society of Soviet Union Estonians (Liidu Eestlaste Selts)[4], operating in Estonia at that time, a delegation including members of the folklore group Leegajus participated in the 140th anniversary of the Verkhniy Suetuk village (Krasnoyarsk kray) in the summer of 1990. Based on the visit to Siberia, the Estonian Radio produced broadcasts that gave an overview to interested parties about the life of Siberian Estonians.[5] Around Midsummer Day in 1991 (midsummer is celebrated in the area according to the Old Style or Julian calendar), a month before the fieldwork organized by the Estonian Folklore Archives, a delegation from Estonia, led by Edgar Savisaar[6], and also a Lutheran pastor from Estonia, visited the same village.

ESTONIAN COMMUNITIES IN SIBERIA IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the period between 1991 and 2013, I visited the Siberian Estonians' communities, intending to find all the existing ones and to work there as a folklore collector. As a folklorist, I became more interested in the Estonians who lived compactly in villages, and whose fascinating cultural heritage captivated me.

According to the 1989 census in Russia, there were 17,000 Estonians living in Siberia. This figure includes the ones who lived in large cities, in Russian villages, and elsewhere. In the course of our fieldwork in Siberian rural areas (from Omsk oblast to Krasnoyarsk kray) we found about 40 Estonian communities with a population ranging between 25 and 300, with the majority of population having reached a respectable age. Relatively few villages were left where Estonian was spoken, with Estonians generally constituting just one ethnic segment of a multi-ethnic village.

There were Siberian Estonians' villages where little was known about life in Estonia and contacts with the relatives living in Estonia were sparse or broken (e.g. Ryzhkovo, Nikolayevka, Khaydak), yet many Siberian villages had had close ties with Estonia during the Soviet era (e.g. Verkhniy Suetuk, Berezovka, Zolotaya Niva).

After the introduction of the visa regime (in 1993) between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian Federation, Siberian Estonians, who used to keep in touch with their relatives and visit one another, felt cut off from their relatives in the homeland, owing to the economic recession and the complicated visa

process. Remaining in the sphere of influence of the Russian media, Estonians in Siberia were nearly completely disconnected from information about Estonia.

In the 1990s, Estonians in Siberia fell also into cultural isolation. It became impossible to subscribe to Estonian newspapers, magazines, and books. In the Soviet period anyone who wished so, among others the village libraries in Siberia, could freely subscribe to newspapers and magazines published in Soviet Estonia.

Soviet national policy and practices related to it have changed over time. Initially, after the establishment of Soviet power, national-language administration was favoured. In areas where the ethnic minority accounted for two-thirds of the total population, national village soviets were formed. People in these areas received the necessary information in their mother tongue. A great deal of attention was paid to fighting against religion, but at the same time native-language education, club activities, and the like were developed. For the first 20 years, cultural rights for the diaspora were also guaranteed (Slezkine 2012: 120, 126–128). Between 1937 and 1938, native-language education was banned and national schools were closed (Roemmich 1978: 42). Siberian Estonians consider terminating their Estonian schooling as an important loss of identity. Transition to school education in Russian also led to an increase in mixed marriages.

The policy of assimilation is pursued where the majority seeks to reduce the minority's group solidarity and identification with their group by reducing laws of society and cultural infrastructure. As noted by Finnish researcher Karmela Liebkind (1988: 32–33), minorities were left with only the possibility of leaving behind a museological imprint. In the Soviet period, fostering ethnic culture was in a way facilitated by district-wide or even province-wide folklore festivals and events celebrating the friendship of nations, etc., regardless of their political colouring, as at these events singing songs of different peoples in their ethnic language was obligatory (see Olson 2004). Occasionally, also meetings of Estonians from the region's villages were held; for example, in 1989 the Estonians of Tsvetnopolye, Orlovka, Zolotaya Niva and Ryzhkovo villages in the Omsk oblast celebrated Midsummer Day in Tsvetnopolye. In the 1990s, folk ensembles were still active in seven villages: Zolotaya Niva, Estonka and Tsvetnopolye (Omsk oblast), Oravka (Novosibirsk oblast), Berezovka (Tomsk oblast), Yuryevka (Kemerovo oblast), and Khaydak (Krasnoyarsk kray). The majority of the members in these folk groups, however, were already of advanced age. Due to the economic crisis, the performance possibilities of the folklore groups were reduced.

In these years, the village of Verkhniy Suetuk (founded in 1850), which is known as the largest Estonian settlement in Siberia, certainly received more

attention from Estonians in the homeland as compared to other villages in Siberia. There is a brass band, established in 1901 and thus the oldest in the area, and the oldest existing Lutheran church building in the village. In the 1990s, the church of Suetuk, which had been used as a grain storage and a club house in the meantime, was re-established as an ecclesiastical building. Since 1990, once or twice a year, a pastor from Estonia has been visiting the congregation.[7]

It is typical of Estonian village communities in Siberia that there are very few people who have written down their own village or family history, not to mention recording oral tradition (such as songs, narratives, ritual accounts, etc.). Thus, all hope in this matter is on outsiders – folklore collectors and researchers. A surge in the national self-consciousness of the small ethnic groups in Russia has strengthened the interest of Estonians living there in their roots and ancestral traditions, both on the individual and community level. More active people have searched the archives for information about the village history, their repressed relatives, and marked the locations of the former village sites; for example, people from the former Estono-Semenovka village in Novosibirsk oblast erected a monument at the site of the destroyed village to commemorate the founders of the village, the people repressed in the 1930s, and the villagers who were killed in the Second World War. Some village museums have been founded, for example in Berezovka (Tomsk oblast), Zolotaya Niva (Omsk oblast), and Khaydak (Krasnoyarsk kray)[8]. Many Siberian Estonian villages asked us to return copies of our recordings to the community so that the younger generation could learn more about the lives and traditions of their ancestors.

There are new opportunities in Krasnoyarsk to participate in Estonian culture as an Estonian society was founded there in 1992 (until today, the only Estonian society in Siberia).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, emigration to Finland and especially to Germany became acutely topical in Russia. Lutherans living in Siberia (e.g., Estonians, Latvians, Germans, and Finns) had lived close to each other ever since the founding of the settlements, partly in villages of mixed ethnicity. In the 1990s, Germany offered effective assistance to expatriates wishing to return to Germany. In Siberia, people saw us, folklorists, as representatives of the Estonian state and inquired from us why Estonia, unlike Germany, did not invite its former citizens to return. The situations are not entirely comparable because Estonians who wished to return to homeland from Siberia during the Soviet period, generally did so,[9] whereas Germans in Siberia did not have free access to their historical homeland at that time.

In the 1990s, many Estonian villages in Siberia celebrated the centenary of their foundation and the celebrations usually helped to capture the attention of the local administration and receive financial support to organize these

events. The events were broadcast on the Russian media. Unfortunately, no representatives of Estonia were usually present. Only in 2000 representatives of the Estonian Embassy in Moscow arrived at the centenary celebrations of the village of Khaydak in Krasnoyarsk kray.

PRESS COVERAGE OF SIBERIAN ESTONIANS IN 1991–2000

The press is primarily associated with the event and the news. Through the event, the press reconstructs reality. Background information accompanies the text that becomes public (Treufeldt 2012: 27, 44). The statements made in the text are based on certain assumptions or prejudices which make it possible to present facts. It can be said that journalistic text works with the effective help of the public, and both the press and the public are involved in the interpretation. The press cannot present texts that do not contain the knowledge to understand it. When journalists describe the present, they often describe the past as well (Zelizer 2008: 81). Michael Schudson (1997: 3–7), who studies the history of journalism, emphasizes that current events and beliefs lead us to explore the past, as understanding the past shapes our understanding of the present. The perceived role of journalism has been to influence the public perception of time and mediate historical memory. Journalists mediate reality from their subjective perspective, but they are never completely free to publicize their personal views and always depend on the institutional background (Treufeldt 2012: 48). Next to journalists, the stories with historical context are influenced by biographical sources, i.e., immediate witnesses of the event; the official source, i.e., politicians and administrative officials; academic sources, i.e., researchers; and cultural sources, i.e., artists, writers, etc. (Zandberg 2010: 18).

In the 1990s, the Republic of Estonia did not do much to support its compatriots in Siberia. Madis Hint published a critical article in the newspaper *Eesti Päevaleht* (Estonian Daily) (Hint 1998: 5), titled "Siberi eestlased on maetud unustusse" (Siberian Estonians have fallen into oblivion), in which Estonian officials were reproached for neglecting their fellow countrymen in Siberia.

Although the media coverage of the fieldwork in Siberia reached the public through the Estonian Folklore Archives, Siberian Estonians did not receive much interest in the newly restored Republic of Estonia. It is also worth mentioning that when we had returned from our first Siberian fieldwork trip, a journalist from the magazine *Liivimaa Kroonika* (Livonian Chronicles) approached me and was interested to know what Siberian Estonians thought of Edgar Savisaar (Haug 1991). Thus, the media was not interested in the life of the Siberian Estonians at that time, but rather in what they thought about an Estonian prominent.

In Estonia in the 1990s, mainly editors of cultural periodicals and media programmes evinced interest in Siberian Estonians' communities as representatives of a preserved archaic culture. We had a chance to present the Estonians' communities in Siberia and their folklore (beliefs, folktales, songs, etc.) in Estonian Radio cultural programme "Esivanemate vaimuvara" (The spiritual treasures of our ancestors, 1989–1994). Through the digital archives of the Estonian Radio, 76 broadcasts of this series can be listened to, five of which introduce the Siberian Estonian communities and their traditions.[10] The video footages about the village of Berezovka in Tomsk oblast (1993) and Tsvetnopolye and Tara area in Omsk oblast (1996), which were shown on Estonian television news bulletin "Teateid tegelikkusest" (Messages from the reality) deserved more attention. Furthermore, history minutes in the analytical-commenting weekend show on Estonian Television, called "Brauser" (Browser) (1999), were also well received. In this series, we introduced emigration to Siberia based on our fieldwork.[11] In the folk culture programme "Paar palvid: Siberi eestlased" (A couple of prayers: Siberian Estonians) (1993), I invited people who had returned from Siberia to Estonia to share their knowledge about life in Siberia.[12]

In Russia the regional newspapers started to publish an increasing number of articles on the life and situation of compactly living ethnic minorities. Siberian Estonian communities also captured journalists' attention. For example, on 19 November 1998, in the newspaper *Omski Vestnik* (Omsk Gazette), in the section about multinational Siberia, there was an article about Lileika and Estonka Estonians (Gonoshilov 1998: 8). The reader was given an overview of the establishment of the villages.

Some of the texts in the Siberian regional newspapers were inspired by the fieldwork of the Estonian Folklore Archives in Siberia. On 19 May 1997, Azovo newspaper *Ihre Zeitung* in the German national district of Omsk oblast published Arthur Jordan's writing "Взгляд из Цветнополье" (A glimpse of Tsvetnopolye) (1997: 4). The same newspaper's culture column wrote about the Estonian Folklore Archive's fieldwork in the region in 1996 and in 1997 as well as about the presentation of the book *Taaru-tagused ja stepiasukad: Eesti asundused IV* (Behind Tara and in the steppes: Estonian settlements IV), compiled by Anu Korb, in Tsvetnopolye village community centre (Kistner 2001: 5).

In 1999, *Peterburi Teataja* (St. Petersburg Gazette, founded in 1908), the only newspaper published by Estonians in Russia, started to be issued again. The Estonian-language newspaper founded in St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire, played an important role in the cultural life and struggle of Estonians both at home and among Estonians in Russia. It was published in the period of 1908–1918 as a weekly newspaper and later as a daily newspaper.[13] Jüri Trei, who started working as a consul in St. Petersburg in 1999

and launched a project about Estonians in St. Petersburg, played an important role in establishing the newspaper. The St. Petersburg Gazette is published quarterly, with a circulation of 700–900 copies. The newspaper covers the activities of Estonians in St. Petersburg and elsewhere in Russia.[14] Articles about events in the Estonian communities in Siberia are also published there.

In Estonia, the media interest towards Siberian Estonians increased after the interdisciplinary conference under the heading "Eesti kultuur võõrsil: Asundused" (Estonian Culture Abroad: Settlements) was held at the Estonian Literary Museum in September 1997, during which we also opened an exhibition about Estonian villages in Siberia (compiled by Mari-Ann Remmel). The conference, organized by the Estonian Folklore Archives, concluded with a roundtable discussion, where scholars who were engaged in the research related to Estonians in Siberia addressed issues concerned with assisting Estonians living in Russia and problems related to return migration (Korb 1997). The idea of applying for money from the European Union to call back the Estonians living in Russia and to establish a Russian Estonians' village in Pajusi near Jõgeva, Estonia, was also on the agenda. The initiator of the idea was Ants Paju, an adviser to the then Ministry of Transport and Communications. Newspapers *Postimees* (The Courier), *Eesti Päevaleht* (Estonian Daily), *Õhtuleht* (Evening Paper), *Kodumaa* (Homeland), and others highlighted the issue and the problems related to the planned establishment of the village. The researchers who had conducted fieldwork in Siberia believed that it would be wise to scatter the returning persons instead of placing them in one village, which could likely be prone to isolation. It was suggested that comprehensive cultural exchanges with settlements should be encouraged, visa procedures should be simplified, and those wishing to settle in Estonia should be assisted. To ensure the preservation of Estonian culture in Siberia, the participants of the conference addressed an appeal to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia.

Later the exhibition about Estonian villages in Siberia was displayed at the Väike-Maarja Museum, Kilpkonna Gallery in Viljandi, and the National Library in Tallinn, and the opening of the exhibition also attracted some media attention.

Thus, in addition to collecting folklore, and the research and popularization activities that emerged from it, the Estonian Folklore Archives' fieldwork group became a kind of a link between homeland Estonians and Siberian Estonians in the last decade of the twentieth century.

SHARING THE INFORMATION COLLECTED DURING FIELD TRIPS

We wanted to share the information that we had gathered about the life of Estonians in Siberia with the general public and at the same time value the heritage of Siberian Estonian communities.

A folklore collector and researcher has the power to make the voice of an individual heard to the public in the form of published books, documentaries, exhibitions, websites, etc. However, the truths of cultural descriptions are always incomplete, imperfect, and related to a point of view (Clifford 1986: 7). Relying on the experience of many researchers, including myself, I argue that informants are usually interested in making the material they contributed reach the general public and also back to the community.

Since 1995, I have compiled a series of anthologies titled *Eesti asundused* (Estonian settlements). The first four volumes published in 1995–1999 focused on folklore, each book introducing the traditions (folktales, songs, games, customs, rituals, charms, etc.) that have survived in a specific region. I have maintained contacts with my informants also outside fieldwork and sent the published materials to the Estonian communities in Siberia. My informant network has greatly helped to improve and specify data about Siberian Estonians, and they also give feedback to my work.

Later on I compiled a CD anthology *Siberi eestlaste laulud* (Songs of Siberian Estonians) (2005) and, in cooperation with my colleague Andreas Kalkun, a multimedia publication *Siberi setode laulud* (Songs of Siberian Seto) (2012). The Siberian Estonians' songs were introduced, for example, in an Estonian Radio broadcast "Pärimuster" (Heritage pattern), and also elsewhere, and presented by many folklore groups (e.g., Untsakad, Trad Attack, etc.).

Since 2005 I have also been a contributing author to the Estonka website[15], curated by Astrid Tuisk, and in cooperation with Kadri Viires and the Estonian Art Academy, I co-authored an exhibition under the heading "Siberi eestlased" (Estonians in Siberia) (2008), which was displayed in several places in Estonia, Russia, Canada, and the United States. The documentaries based on the material recorded during the field expeditions in Estonian communities in Siberia (Korjus 2005; Laiapea 2013) have been shown at film festivals and on national television.

From 2003 to 2017, we organized six popular family events under the heading "Venemaale veerenud" (Rolled to Russia) at the Estonian Literary Museum, where we presented to the interested parties Estonian villages, their life, and culture from the past to the present in different places of the Russian Empire.

We focused on the visualization of the collected information by making the archives as visible as possible.

I also continued the series of anthologies about Estonian settlements. In 2004, I launched, in Estonia, a campaign for collecting village and life histories of Estonians in Russia, but the contributions included only a small number of tales by Siberia-born Estonians. Still, they were more than willing to tell me their stories. They found in me a confidante, a listener, and someone to record and thus perpetuate their tales. From the viewpoint of oral narrative history, personal contact with the informants and their living environment is considered one of the major advantages of interviewing (Pöysä 2009: 43).

Most of the material published in the book *Siberi eestlaste elud ja lood: Eesti asundused V* (The lives and stories of Siberian Estonians: Estonian settlements V) (2010) was collected in the form of interviews carried out during 2003–2009. Of course, by far not all the interviews that I conducted found a place between the covers of the book, but all of them are stored at the Estonian Folklore Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum. The fact that my interviewees previously knew of my research into Siberian Estonians made the interviewing process somewhat smoother. The time of collecting the material – the first decade of the twenty-first century – was highly opportune for the work: there were still enough people left who could tell me about the past, there was an increased public interest in the Estonians in Siberia, and the topics that used to be viewed as taboo are nowadays being discussed more openly.

What does remembering depend on? Which are the factors that may cause the disruption of narrative lore? The knowledge and stories about ancestors, whom one has not seen with one's own eyes or who are no longer remembered because of the informants' youth, rely on the memory of previous generations. In terms of Estonians in Siberia, a decisive factor in the interruption of the oral narrative was the destruction of the traditional village life by the Soviet authorities: dekulakization, mandatory collectivization, and forcing people to move from farms into villages. In the 1930s, nearly all families suffered from repressions which were often accompanied by the confiscation of Estonian books and letters and photographs sent from the homeland. Between 1936 and 1938 followed the closing of Estonian schools and a ban on any social group activities. The injustice that nobody ever talked about in the Soviet period has become an important conversation topic in today's more liberal situation. Speaking about traumatic events may sometimes have a therapeutic effect. Each family has their own story of sorrow that, combined with others, will make up the shared traumatic experience of Estonians in Siberia.

An informant always makes a choice of what to tell and how to do it. Narratives also reflect people's moral disposition towards the world. A memoir

can be viewed as a process, in the course of which a group's history is being reconstructed (Peltonen 1996: 27). During narration, the temporal distance from actual and/or experienced events generally contributes to the story's informative value (Kirss 2006: 633).

My aim was to assemble a collection of stories that would be an interesting read also for the people who have had no direct contact with Siberia. I employed the memories of Siberian Estonians to present as versatile picture of several generations of Siberians as possible, illustrating the text with ethnographic descriptions, popular healing methods, etc., and did my best to avoid overusing statistics and names. Next to oral interviews, I also made use of a few recollections written down by Siberian Estonians – these were texts that I had asked them to put down, not previously existing ones. Finnish researcher Satu Apo (1993) has introduced the concept of thematic writing. Thematicity indicates that the theme of a writing is always limited to a certain extent (Pöysä 2009: 41). But then interviews also concentrate on a particular topic. It seems to me that the meaning of a conveyed message is not dependent on whether the narrative is presented in oral or written form. Oral performance likewise relies on collective communal memory, often drawing on personal documents, photographs of family members and village life.

Portelli argues that oral narrative tradition itself is a way of expression that has developed under the influence of other oral and written genres; here the narrators and the researcher employ the topics and forms offered by personal experience narratives, folklore, and the media (Portelli 2000 [1998]).

Estonians in Siberia were sincerely happy about the publication of the book about the lives and stories of Siberian Estonians, and regarded it as the history of their community. The book also attracted the interest of an outgroup audience, offering them a chance to look in retrospect at the politically and economically difficult times from the perspective of Estonians in Siberia, and perhaps to better understand those Siberian Estonians who had decided to return to Estonia.

The book was also promoted by the media. For instance, Estonian historian Hillar Palamets introduced the life of Estonians in Siberia in a Radio 2 series "Ajalootund" (History class). Palamets used a selection of my texts to illustrate the key historical events (resettlement in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bolshevik rule, the Russian Civil War, repressions, the Second World War), and although he informed me of his plans in advance, the final choice of texts for the radio programme remained his. This way, fragments of the stories from the book were broadcast in a very enjoyable, folk-like manner.

The book series *Eesti asundused* (Estonian settlements) was also used as background material for the documentary play "Jaanipäev" (Midsummer Day)

(directed by Tõnn Lamp), which premiered at the Estonian Drama Theatre in the spring of 2018. The play is based on Mari-Liis Lill and Paavo Piik's trip to Verkhniy Suetuk village in Siberia in 2016 and the information gathered through interviews. Folklorists' work was used in the play primarily in the text of the introductory character Pärandi-Jüri (Heritage John), which provided viewers with first-hand information about Siberian Estonians: how their ancestors came to Siberia and what their customs and traditions were like. The play received a lively response from the audience, with a series of praising reviews in the media. It was described as a staging of "our biographies", telling about how Siberian Estonians remained Estonians, about their adaptation, attitudes, and traditions. Bringing the topic of Siberian Estonians before the audience was praised, as well as the work of the actors in depicting diverse characters. At the same time, there were some critical reviews (Herkül 2018), which criticized the play for its shallowness and superficiality.

Throughout the play, the audience had the opportunity to enter the Siberian Estonians' world, to get an idea of their opportunities to stay Estonians abroad, of their integration, attitudes, and traditions. For Siberian Estonians a story, either perpetuated in print or staged as a live performance (see, e.g., Carpenter 2011: 35), may represent the history of their family, their village, or more generally, the past of Estonians in Siberia. For the outsiders it is more of an opportunity to peek into an unknown world. Also, in published form the narrative texts are not final but are open to new interpretations.

INCREASING ATTENTION ON SIBERIAN ESTONIANS

At the turn of the century and after that, Estonians in Siberia became the focus of the general public in Estonia, prompting further increase in media coverage. Educational and cultural exchange intensified as well. With the financial support of the Ministry of Science and Education in Estonia and the Integration Foundation, organizing language and culture camps in Estonia for children of Estonian descent living in Russia was started in 2000.

Since 1992, young people from Finno-Ugric minorities have had the chance to study in Estonian higher education institutions with the support from the government of Estonia, whereas the state-financed study programmes targeted at Estonians living in Russia were initiated ten years later.

When the Estonian Ministry of Education sent Piret Toomet as the first Estonian teacher to Verkhniy Suetuk village for the school year 2000/2001, the event received wide coverage in the Estonian media. Along with numerous newspaper articles (see, e.g., Heinla 2000), Heini Drui made a film titled

Siberi õpetaja (Teacher in Siberia) (2001), which captured the school year of Piret Toomet, who taught the mother tongue in this Estonian village in Siberia. The film was shown repeatedly on Estonian television (ETV). One movie review stated that *Siberi õpetaja* is a documentary triumph. Dozens of interviews and descriptions cannot replace the camera eye that monitors events over a long period (Laasik 2001). The film also brought to the audience the everyday life of an Estonian village in Siberia.

The next teacher selected for the job was Airi Lauri, but her work in Siberia received far less recognition – the topic was no longer novel. Airi Lauri got married there and still lives in the village of Verkhniy Suetuk. Airi received media attention much later and for quite a tragic reason – a fire in her family house in the winter of 2018. The incident was reported as news as well as a request for help in several Estonian newspapers (*Postimees*, *Õhtuleht*, etc.).

The media also reported accidents in other Estonian villages in Siberia. Concerning a flood, Siberian Estonian village Narva (Krasnoyarsk kray) on the Mana River was mentioned (Käänik 2008). A fire accident in Estonka village in the Omsk oblast caused more controversy because it started as a result of negligent hay burning (see, e.g., Venemaal 2011). When a journalist has to write about an unfamiliar topic, he or she can use memoirs and the historical past as tools for story-telling. When communicating to the general public, one must always presume that the reality presented in the texts is shaped by a large number of factors. The commentators of the article had a lively discussion about who should help the Estonians, how Estonians had ended up in Siberia, and even if they could still be called Estonians.

Articles about the life of Estonian communities in Siberia began to appear in the press more frequently when Estonian journalist Jaanus Piirsalu started work as a correspondent of the newspaper *Eesti Päevaleht* in Moscow in 2007. Piirsalu started writing a column in the newspaper about Estonian and Seto villages in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The readers were asked to send him information about Siberian villages. Piirsalu himself repeatedly contacted me and other folklore collectors who had worked in Siberia to clarify some details related to the villages, to inquire about driving routes, and so on. In 2014 Piirsalu started work as a reporter for the newspaper *Postimees* and has published articles related to the living conditions in Siberian villages and the most prominent Estonians in Siberia.

After the Bronze Night[16] in the spring of 2007, cultural cooperation was one of the few fields that was still encouraged. The first cultural cooperation projects that brought Estonians from the motherland to Siberia were based on personal relationships. For example, in the spring of 2002, the Estonian Drama Theatre's trip to a festival in Krasnoyarsk kray took place thanks to the personal relations

of Director Tiit Lauri; the festival was organized by the Krasnoyarsk Pushkin Theatre. In addition to festival performances, the representatives of the Drama Theatre visited the Estonian school in Verkhniy Suetuk in the southern part of the kray and organized a collection of books for the village library and the Krasnoyarsk Estonian Society with the help of Estonian publishers. The trip was covered by a special broadcast by TV 3 (Eesti 2002).

In the spring of 2008, a framework agreement on cultural cooperation between the two countries was signed in Moscow and the tradition of organizing Estonian cultural days was restored. Andra Veidemann, the cultural attaché of the Estonian Embassy in Moscow at the time, provided information about Estonian communities in Siberia in the newspaper (Piirsalu 2008); she received most of the information from me.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the employees of the Estonian Embassy in Moscow have increasingly asked me questions about various Estonian communities in Siberia. Information on the size, location, contacts, etc. of the communities has been requested. The embassy staff began to visit Siberian Estonian communities periodically. The visits were often related to some event important for the Siberian Estonians. In March 2010, I participated in the opening of the exhibition "Siberi eestlased" (Siberian Estonians) at the National Science Library of Krasnoyarsk. When the Estonian Society in Krasnoyarsk celebrated its 20th anniversary in April 2012, I and my colleague Andreas Kalkun had an opportunity to introduce during the festivities our anthology *Siberi setode laulud* (Songs of Siberian Seto). In May 2016, I participated in the embassy's visit to the Estonian villages of Berezovka and Liliengofka in Tomsk oblast (about the visit see: Suursaadik 2016).

The anniversaries of the Republic of Estonia have also given reason to travel to Siberia. In December 2008, days of culture dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the Republic of Estonia, with conferences, exhibitions, and concerts, took place in Tomsk (Heinla 2008: 28–29). The 100th anniversary of the Republic of Estonia was celebrated in May 2018 in Krasnoyarsk kray. The choice was logical, since the only Estonian Cultural Society in Siberia, chaired by Vera Oinets, operates in Krasnoyarsk. The society is comprised of people who were born in the Estonian villages in Minusinsk region and who speak the North-Estonian dialect, as well as those who live 100–200 km from Krasnoyarsk, speak Seto and Võro dialects and do not understand the written language that evolved on the basis of the North-Estonian dialect. Thus, members of the Krasnoyarsk Estonian Society find it difficult to use their mother tongue. However, linguists have noted that language is one of the most important symbols of group identity (Ryan 1979: 147, 149).

Over time, Siberia began to be seen as an exotic travel destination. Many groups from Estonia have visited some Estonian villages during their travels. I have been receiving more and more inquiries about Estonian villages in Siberia. The most well-known are the "4x4 group" of off-road travellers, who between 2011–2013 briefly visited Vambola and Berezovka in Tomsk oblast and Verkhniy Suetuk in Krasnoyarsk kray. The television screened a ten-episode series under the heading "4x4. Magadan", and a travel guide was published based on the notes taken during the trip (Laisaar 2016).

Perhaps the best-known Estonian village in Siberia, Verkhniy Suetuk, has been widely documented on film in recent years, and the documentaries have been shown on national television (Drui 2001; Korjus 2005; Niglas 2011). A filmmaker's view of the village life is certainly quite different from that of the folklorist's or ethnologist's. Researchers of culture seek and find authentic old tradition in the villages, and observe the exiting changes brought about by the influence of the multicultural surroundings. Documentaries, of course, mostly focus on everyday life. Naturally, any representation remains partial and somewhat biased, so there is no objectivity in it.

CONCLUSION

After the restoration of the Republic of Estonia in 1991, when the Estonian Folklore Archives started fieldwork in the Estonian villages in Siberia, Estonians in Estonia had little knowledge of and not much interest in Estonians who lived in Siberia. Meanwhile, those interested had the opportunity to get acquainted with the overviews that had been published almost a century earlier and the information received from Estonian museums and archives in different time periods. Many Siberian Estonians who returned to Estonia tried to hide their Siberian origins during the Soviet era.

In the 1990s the Republic of Estonia did not do much to support its compatriots in Siberia. The ties between Siberian Estonians and those in the motherland were not completely broken, but for economic and political reasons, mutual communication was largely stalled.

It seems to me that the trips to collect folklore among Estonians in Siberia were particularly important following the restoration of independence in Estonia, the final decades of the twentieth century. We managed to record unique material, but perhaps even more important were the long-lasting relations that we established between Estonians in the homeland and in Siberia. I have personally tried to contribute by sending to the Estonian villages in Siberia publications and copies of the material collected from them. For the Estonian

Folklore Archives, the inevitable side task to collecting and researching the folk culture of Estonians in Siberia was to inform and educate the general public in Estonia. We organized information days and exhibitions, created a website, and published popular-science publications. Many Estonians who were born and raised in Siberia and now live in Estonia, began to cooperate with me and share their family and village stories with the public. Through publications, articles, and events we tried to make Estonians realize that the majority of Siberian Estonians were ordinary rural people who had to suffer badly due to a totalitarian regime.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Siberian Estonians were much better known than they had been over a decade earlier. Changes also took place on the national level. The Estonian Ministry of Education and Research sent a teacher of the Estonian language and culture to Verkhniy Suetuk, the largest Estonian village in Siberia. Siberian Estonians were given the opportunity to study at Estonian universities with the support of the Republic of Estonia, and cultural exchange intensified. The Estonian Embassy in Moscow began to organize visits to various Estonian communities in Siberia. Over time, Siberia started to be seen as an exotic travel destination.

In Estonia in the 1990s, mainly editors of cultural periodicals and media programmes evinced interest towards Siberian Estonians' communities as representatives of a preserved archaic culture. Estonians in Siberia became the focus of interest of the general public in Estonia, prompting further increase in media coverage. Due to the growing interest, the media started to write more and more about Siberian Estonians.

The support of Estonia would not reach all the Estonian communities in Siberia. The reality is that Estonian population in Siberia has decreased rapidly in the past 20 years. There are, however, new opportunities in Krasnoyarsk, as an Estonian society was founded there.

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NOTES

[1] Participants: Lembit Võime, Igor Tõnurist, Ülo Kaevats, Jaak Simm, and Arp Karm.

[2] Collection F 309: Eesti asundused Nõukogude Liidus (Estonian settlements in the Soviet Union).

[3] Collection F 29: Viktor Maamägi's collection.

[4] The society was established on 15 December 1988 and is today known by the name of East-Estonians' Society (Ida-Eestlaste Selts).

[5] See https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/ulem-suetuk-soojad-tukid-ulem-suetuk-soojad-tukid-01, last accessed on 16 January 2020.

[6] Estonian politician, Prime Minister in 1990–1992.

[7] In 2007, the congregation was transferred under the Ingrian Evangelical Lutheran Church, but Estonians in Suetuk still look forward to the visits of the Estonian pastor.

[8] All of the villages mentioned here have been established by migrants who were searching for better living conditions in Siberia. As the villages were mainly made up of people from one area, the language and customs persisted for a long time. Berezovka is dominated by Northern Estonians, Zolotaya Niva by people originating from Võru County, and Setos live in the village of Khaydak. Siberian Estonians generally identify themselves as Lutheran, while Siberian Setos are Orthodox, just like in their motherland.

[9] Estonia was part of the USSR at the time.

[10] See https://arhiiv.err.ee/seeria/esivanemate-vaimuvara/haridus/69/date-desc/koik, last accessed on 16 January 2020.

[11] See https://arhiiv.err.ee/otsi/brauser, last accessed on 16 January 2020.

[12] See https://arhiiv.err.ee/seeria/paar-palvid/kultuur/31/title-asc/2, last accessed on 16 January 2020.

[13] It has also been published under the names of *Petrogradi Teataja*, *Pealinna Teataja*, *Vabadus*, *Edasi*, *Eesti*.

[14] See https://kultuuriseltsid.ee/uudised/2017/peterburi-teataja-taassund/, last accessed on 16 January 2020.

[15] See www.folklore.ee/estonka, last accessed on 17 January 2020.

[16] Street riots that took place in Tallinn and elsewhere on 26–29 April 2007. The unrest was caused by the relocation of the Bronze Soldier monument, erected on Tõnismägi Hill in memory of the Red Army soldiers, to the Defence Forces cemetery in Tallinn.

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DISCUSSION

DEPORTATION AND THE CRISES OF [EARLY MODERN] EUROPE: A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

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1

Paradise is lost and golden ages are rare. Instead mankind, most of the time, seems to be stumbling from one crisis into another. Shortages of all kinds. Shortage in food, in housing, in commodities. And on the other end: affluence. Too much of everything and, accordingly, everything devalued. Thus, crisis at times emerges in slim and feeble features, at other times as fat and greasy.

The ultimate form of crisis is war. Battles *for* food, *for* houses, *for* commodities. Or, battles *against* the world itself, in praise of total extinction. Wars to end all wars. And then to start them all over again.

2

For years we have heard much about foreigners standing in front of "our" borders. And borders are coming ever closer. Soon each garden fence will be a border. And we hear about foreigners shipwrecked in an otherwise friendly Mediterranean Sea, which did not prove friendly to them.

Those who manage to cross are not welcomed. Not any more. After a summer of backslapping "welcoming culture" in 2015, an old hydra is raising her head again – deportation. The old conveyor belt. Deportation from A to B, from B to C, from C to Greece, from Greece to Turkey and from Turkey to the No-Man's-Land.

3

If historians think about deportation, they quickly end up in a cabinet of mirrors, in which pasts and presents most unpleasantly meet. Sometimes these pasts and presents are congruent, at other times they are distorted, but in any case they are entangled.

Politicians are giving a voice. Politicians are raising a voice. "A voice [that] comes to one in the dark. Imagine. / To one on his back in the dark" (Beckett 1989: 5). Politicians are preparing us for worst case scenarios. And we can be sure they mean them. Deportation in their conception of the world is not just a scenario, but a somnambulant dream. A dream of man transformed to human cargo.

4

Deportation is commonly perceived as a phenomenon that is supposedly deeply rooted in the twentieth century. National Socialist and Stalinist measures of such kind are seen as the embodiment of how masses of people can be shifted hither and yon, scattered all over the place or annihilated on the road. History memorizes these events, but sometimes memory plays tricks on us. And also in this case, as deportation has a history that reaches far beyond those roughly 100 years that are usually remembered. Deportation is in fact a crucial instrument of population policies that were shaped already in the late Middle Ages and had its first heyday in the early modern period (Steiner 2014, 2015a, 2015b).

5

It was a historical moment when in 1417 Portugal reached out to the African shores, to Ceuta on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. This is what true trajectories are about: Reconquista coming to an end and conquista setting in. In other words, colonialism got started and in its wake a modern type of deportation got shaped. It was totally revolutionary when Portugal came up with the idea of using its territorial expansion also for the export of segments of population that were unwanted. Banishing the so-called "scum" out of the dungeons and prisons of the metropolis into the overseas colonies was an avant-garde policy that soon found its imitators all over Europe. And here is the crisis that

backgrounds this drastic measure: a new approach towards criminality brought more and more people into jail; jails were overcrowded and not a pretty sight, so why not dump these people far away from the motherland? And even more: why not make them work? The penal colonies were thus evolving. Portugal in the centuries to come made abundant use of mass deportations of undesirable elements in the population – they were chiefly sent to Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil. The so-called *degredados* (people forced into exile) comprised highly different groups: convicts, Jews, New-Christians, Gypsies, and lepers were among the early victims of these coercive measures. Between 1550 and 1755, about 50,000 persons were shifted back and forth within the Portuguese sphere of influence. This practice was at long last abolished not in 1754, not in 1854, but in 1954. The mere fact that the *degredado* system was retained for more than 500 years makes the close connection between the epochs abundantly clear.

6

Whereas the question of religion in the Portuguese case played just a minor role, it was paramount in the following. In sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spain, the so-called Moriscos became the target of a far-reaching population transfer. After the unquestionable military triumph of the Reconquista, its protagonists tried to expand their victory to the ideological frontline. Everything Islamic had to be wiped out and thus the Moors had to become Moriscos, forcefully Christianised human relicts of a once flourishing civilization. These converts were further on under permanent – and in most cases quite rightful – suspicion of clandestinely still adhering to the Quran. Afraid of a major uprising, the Spaniards first, in 1570, dispersed the Moriscos all over Spain, and between 1609 and 1614 deported nearly all of them to North Africa or France. 275,000 people were forced to leave the country – a number almost unbelievably high, but all well documented in the sources. More than a quarter of a million people leaving a country over the course of only five years – not only in the pre-modern context a massive intervention into population structures and also economic developments.

Moreover, after the expulsion of Jews in 1492, this was already the second time for Spain to eliminate an entire, undesirable and/or recalcitrant segment of the population. What we see here is a crisis of faith amalgamating with a new form of extremism in demographic policies, a scaring reminder of a longue durée of the idea of "cleansing" a territory by relocating people.

7

Portugal and Spain were by far not the only early European countries that used deportation as an innovative and, in their eyes, promising approach towards solving the many demographic problems of pre-modernity. France, England, the Netherlands, and Russia – they all made use of this new instrument on a broader scale, and also the Ottoman Empire developed distinct methods of population transfers. Thus, from the seventeenth century on, large portions of Europe attuned to a kind of deportation frenzy that was finally echoed by phantasies about cleansing the nation states from unwanted elements at the turn of the nineteenth century and by so far unseen atrocities committed during the twentieth century.

8

One last example of an early modern deportation comes from a rather unexpected context of the Habsburg Monarchy, which as a state without colonies nevertheless found ways of population transfers on a larger scale. One of the Habsburg Empire's major actions goes under the strange name of *Temesvarer Wasserschub*, rudimentarily translatable as *Deportation to Timişoara on the Waterway*. This expression stands for a coercive measure that was carried out for almost 25 years, which makes it the most extended deportation *ever* executed on an institutionalised basis in Central Europe. Twice a year, deviants of all sorts were herded onto boats that took them down the Danube River until they were finally dumped in the very periphery of the Banat of Timişoara, today divided between Serbia and Romania. This region was the place designated for putting the deportees either into the local workhouse or else compelling them to work as domestic servants.

The *Deportation on the Waterway* started out in 1744 as an all-out attack on Viennese women of "bad reputation" and over time became an instrument for "cleaning up" the whole empire from beggars, poachers, drunkards, prostitutes, and losers of all sorts. For many of them their journey ended in an early death, mainly due to the bad living conditions in the workhouse. The lesson these delinquents learned was that if you were born in poverty and lived in distress, then you were also condemned to die a miserable death. Those who survived got harder in return, more relentless, cleverer in their attempts to trick the state authorities. Rumour had it amongst the authorities of the time that the delinquents were coming back to Vienna sooner than their wardens.

Howsoever, the pointless struggle of the state in order to find a drastic and draconic solution to the crisis of poverty failed dramatically – and all that right at the approach of the Enlightenment period of all things.

9

Considerably more could be said about early modern deportations and their specifics. In the context of major crises in society, as can be seen from the three examples presented, deportation was very often viewed by the state authorities as a viable instrument of banning the problem by making it disappear in the external or internal colonies of various empires. But far from being a solution, deportation almost always turned out to be part of a bureaucratic, logistic, but also moral problem, which emerged simultaneously with its execution.

Research into deportations in the early modern period confronts us with a unique memory of collapse, as a number of phenomena that surround us today are prefigured in these pasts: speaking in psychoanalytic terms, one might call it the repressed recurring (*das wiederkehrende Verdrängte*) that we have to face in order to understand how we came to where we are.

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THROUGH THE APULIAN STREETS: THE LIMINAL SPACE-TIME OF THE HOLY WEEK'S PROCESSIONS

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Abstract: My article, building on fieldwork carried out between 2013 and 2015, focuses on the importance, significance and specificity that the religious and devotional processions have in many Apulian sites. This is particularly clear for the Holy Week, whose rituality is generally characterized by a complex and manifold set of performances primarily taking place within and along the city/town streets. Referring to the Bakhtinian concept of chronotope, the street may be regarded as a liminal space-time where the inhabitants meet, confront each other and live day by day, giving rise to the everyday and common dimension of their existence. Yet, on given occasions (during the Holy Week, for instance), the streets can be turned into a sort of open stage, temporarily and exclusively dwelt with and managed by certain individuals and groups, first and foremost the laical confraternities. These people, through their performances, act as mediators between the common and the uncommon, the secular and the sacred, the worldly and the otherworldly; in so doing, they stage a ritual drama by which some sacred symbols (in particular the simulacra representing Christian figures and dogmas) leave their ordinary, static dimension (enclosed in the churches) to acquire an extraordinary, dynamic, and more engaging role. Nowadays, this is an essential means through which local communities seek both to preserve/strengthen their identity and to promote their cultural heritage.

Keywords: Apulia, chronotope, Holy Week, liminality, procession, religion, ritual year, space, street, time

INTRODUCTION

This paper takes the cue from the fieldwork I carried out in some Apulian cities and towns (southern Italy) between 2013 and 2015, as part of a research project named "Puglia in festa – Valorizzazione dei beni immateriali della Puglia" (Festive Apulia – Promotion of the Apulian Intangible Heritage), whose goal was to collect, catalogue, and archive the intangible cultural heritage of Apulia, with special regard to the ritual year and its festivals.[1] In particular, my focus here

is upon a specific form of ritual performance, the procession, which is arguably the most widespread and multifaceted among the ritual performances characterizing the lively and quite intense religious and devotional life of so many Apulian and, more generally, southern Italian communities (for a broad and in-depth historical and sociological overview see Pizzuti et al. 1998). A procession, after all, is one of the most complex and impressive means of expression, enactment and embodiment of traditional beliefs, myths, symbols, meanings, feelings, and values for the members of a local community.[2] From this perspective, the procession may be regarded as a set of more or less formalized practices through which certain individuals and groups, by occupying and employing some given places and locations within the city/town, temporarily re-shape and re-define the urban landscape commonly dwelt and lived by themselves and the other inhabitants (cf. Krom 2009: 34–35). Through a set of more or less organized performances, the procession-doers (and, to a lesser extent, their audiences) transform ordinary and everyday spaces into special settings bound to carry out an extraordinary task, in order to make possible the displaying and the sharing of paradigmatic worldviews, symbols, and values.[3] What follows is intended to be a brief contribution to the knowledge, analysis, and interpretation of such a subject in the specific context of the Apulian region.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The abovementioned notion of ordinary and everyday space appears to be particularly fitting to define the main setting of a ritual procession: the street. In a broader sense, this is a key element both in the structure of a city/town, and in the lives of its inhabitants.[4] Along the streets, day by day (or on certain days), people walk, run, move from one place to another, go to work, meet other people and talk to them, stop before a shop or a billboard, watch and evaluate the urban changes, and so on: in other words, the streets are a sort of public arena where individuals and groups can create and strengthen (but also release or undermine) the bonds connecting a local community or an urban society (see Lenzini 2017). The streets, so to speak, allow the juxtaposition and the interplay between the public and private domains of our lives.

Basically, a street may be seen as an open and (as a rule) free stage where a large and always changing variety of actors play, more or less consciously, a drama – the drama of everyday life of a city/town. As a place entailing a drama, a set of actions happening not only within a certain *space*, but also during a certain *time*, the street may also be conceived as a complex space-time entity, where the two fundamental axes shaping our perception of reality act and

influence each other. In this light, the well-known concept of chronotope seems to be still helpful and profitable (cf. Blommaert 2018). According to Mikhail Bakhtin (2002: 15), the chronotope identifies "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature".

Paraphrasing, we could state that the chronotope describes the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are ritually expressed in the dramas performed within and along the streets. In the following lines, the Russian scholar better explains what he means when speaking about the close relationship linking space and time:

> *What counts for us is the fact that it expresses the inseparability of space and time… . In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and story. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope.* (Bakhtin 2002:15)

In other words, time would be something intangible and purely theoretical without the concrete, tridimensional arena supplied by the space (by a street, for instance); likewise, the space would be lacking of meaning and measure if not integrated within the diachronic, historical framework provided by the time (and all human actions, whether ritual or not, take place in a well-defined time frame). However, what makes a 'chronotopic' understanding of the street extremely significant is the fact that Bakhtin envisions the street (the road, indeed) not as a solely spatial feature of a chronotope, but as a chronotope in itself:

> *On the road ("the high road"), the spatial and temporal paths of the most varied people … intersect in one spatial and temporal point. … On the road the spatial and temporal series defining human fates and lives combine with one another in distinctive ways… . The chronotope of the road is both a point of new departures and a place for events to find their denouement.* Time, as it were, fuses together with space and flows in it (forming the road) … *varied and multi-leveled are the ways in which road is turned into a metaphor,* but its fundamental pivot is the flow of time. (Bakhtin 2002: 17; emphasis mine)

According to Bakhtin, the road – and then the street[5] – reveals an inherent dramatic nature and vocation, as it supplies a spatial frame especially suitable for the unfolding of time, then of the human events, lives, fates, their combinations and intersections ("[t]ime … flows in it (forming the road)"). Consequently,

how not to consider the street as the ideal stage where to display, represent, celebrate – both physically and figuratively – myths, beliefs, and stories concerning the identity of a human community?

Interestingly, the Bakhtinian taxonomy of the literary chronotopes includes also that of threshold, which further stresses the ritual and dramatic features implied in a street.[6] If conceived as thresholds, the streets, indeed, may be regarded as liminal spaces, or better, as liminal space-times situated between those places (the buildings) which make up the urban landscape and are ordinarily dwelt, employed, and lived by its inhabitants. In other words, the streets provide the space-time through which the static components of the city/town can be connected, and what is contained in them can be made dynamic, put in motion, given life, so to speak. This is particularly important for those things that are considered sacred or highly significant by the community and, just for that reason, lie usually enclosed, fixed, hidden within the boundaries of their consecrated and official abodes. As a result, the inherent liminality of the street takes on a potential relevance as a ritual and performative framework. Victor Turner has pointed out (1988: 25):

> *The dominant genres of performance in societies at all levels of scale and complexity tend to be liminal phenomena. They are performed in privileged spaces and times, set off from the periods and the areas reserved for work, food and sleep.*

According to this view, a ritual event, given its *liminal* condition, needs to be performed in a neutral space-time – "betwixt and between", to use a renowned phrase (see Turner 1967: 93–111) – somehow separated from the common places of the everyday life (and from the common people), but, at the same time – due to its collective and shared significance – it must be set into the heart of a community, in a place that all its members may access. A ritual performance, in fact, functions as a kind of social metacomment, "a story a group tells to itself and about itself" (Turner 1982: 104). To this end, the ordinary, customary perception of reality is temporarily suspended,[7] the everyday ways and rhythms of human life are momentarily stopped or slowed down, in order to make room for a different space-time configuration. Turner (1988: 102) has resumed it brilliantly, saying:

> [The liminality] *is often the scene and time for the emergence of a society's deepest values in the form of sacred dramas and objects – sometimes the reenactment periodically of cosmogonic narratives, or deeds of saintly, godly, or heroic establishers of morality, basic institutions, or ways of approaching transcendent beings or powers.*

HOLY WEEK'S PROCESSIONS IN APULIA

This last excerpt seems deliberately thought to introduce and summarize the subject I am going to discuss. To be sure, the concept of liminality, combined with the chronotope of the road/street, has turned to be especially suitable for addressing and understanding the ritual procession, namely the form of traditional performance most frequently observed throughout the fieldwork I carried out across the Apulian region. Here as elsewhere, processions are typical of a number of festivals marking the ritual year, such as the patron saint's celebrations or the carnival's parades, yet the centrality and the variety they have in the broader context of the Holy Week's religious and civil calendar are incomparable, at least in the light of my personal experience, both as a scholar and as an Apulian native and inhabitant. Consequently, my analysis, building both on the data collected on the field and on archival materials (most of them published in Nigro 2002, and Altomare 2011), focuses on this particular subject.

To my knowledge, the use and practice of providing a dramatic form – and specifically a processional form – to the sacred events commemorated during the Holy Week is present, to a variable extent, everywhere in Apulia (see Di Palo 1992).[8] In fact, the Holy Week is generally felt and lived, both from a religious and popular perspective, as a crucial, emblematic period of the year, as a sort of temporal and paradigmatic threshold (Van Gennep 2004 [1960]: 3–4), marking both the natural succession of the seasons – from the bad to the good season (Bronzini 1974: II, 33–34, 61) – and the calendrical transition from Lent to Easter, then from a period of restraint and penance to a day of abundance and rejoice.

As a liminal time (Bernardi 1991: 49–52), the Holy Week needs a liminal space to express itself; this space, however, must be also wide and open enough to house the related ritual performances, while allowing a large audience to attend them. That is why the streets, during this period, become the main stages of a religious and devotional drama, then the center itself of the city/town; a mobile and not static center, around which the local community – along with an increasing number of foreigners and tourists – gathers. For the time being, some streets – namely the streets included in the processional itinerary, which tends to remain the same over the years, except for changes owing to the urban evolution or contingent reasons[9] – dismiss their mundane nature and common purpose to assume a symbolic function and transcendent value.

Actually, the streets are not the only setting of the Holy Week's ceremonies. Several of them are necessarily celebrated within the holy buildings (churches, chapels, sanctuaries), that is, where the religious items and the sacred images are housed and where the clergy, together with the common faithful, celebrate

the liturgical and devotional practices. Nonetheless, it is in the streets that the most dramatic rituals – the processions – take place; during these rituals, simulacra and other sacred symbols, embodying community's shared beliefs and values, are exceptionally taken out from their shrines and put in motion across the city/town. This double setting gives rise to an essential and functional dialectic between the enclosed and the open, the inside and the outside of the Christian (para)liturgy and rituality (churches vs. streets), then between their static (or relatively static) and dynamic (or relatively dynamic) dimensions (Masses and other liturgies vs. processions).

In most Apulian cities and towns, therefore, the main ceremonies of the Holy Week, in particular those celebrated on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, are based on and characterized by this dialectic. The processions, in a sense, may be seen as traditional and more popular extensions – into the open and common space of the city/town – of the respective liturgical rituals – embodying, in their turn, the official and dogmatic side of the religious beliefs and practices; better, the processions always originate and finish within the sacred space of a church but, in the meantime, make available, theoretically for everyone, what is usually available only if one enters the closed space of a holy building.

During Maundy Thursday (cf. Bernardi 1991: 65–87), a solemn liturgical commemoration of the Last Supper (including a feet washing performed by the priest on twelve men or, more frequently, boys/girls representing the apostles) is celebrated in the evening (approximately between 6 and 8 pm) within the churches. It is followed, in many cities and towns (first and foremost Taranto), by some informal or barely formalized processions (usually the vehicular traffic is not or is only partially interdicted) of pairs or small groups of hooded 'brothers', popularly known as *Perdoni* – i.e., those who beg forgiveness – or the like. Crossing by foot the city/town from late evening to the night (or, like in Taranto, to the early morning), they visit the churches in order to pray and do penance (usually standing on their knees) before the Holy Sacrament, which, in this day, is also visited by a great deal of common people and is emphasized by a striking symbolic decoration (popularly and incorrectly known as *Sepolcro*, i.e. 'grave') displaying the dogma of the Eucharist (see Fig. 1).

As for Good Friday (cf. Bernardi 1991: 89–121), following an afternoon's restrained liturgy (named *messa pazza*, literally "mad Mass", in Vico del Gargano) recalling the Passion and Death of Jesus Christ (including the dramatic reading of *Passio Christi* and pious sermons intended to inspire regret and contrition), a solemn and crowded procession, usually known as the procession of the *Misteri* (Mysteries), starts from the cathedral, the mother-church or a confraternal church, moves along the main roads of the older and central part of the city/town, between a great deal of people attending on the borders

(or from above, through windows or on balconies), and finally, after some hours (from a minimum of about 3 hours, like in Vico del Gargano, to a maximum of 16–17 hours, like in Taranto), comes back to its starting point, drawing a sort of circular itinerary. This procession generally consists of papier-mâché and/or wooden simulacra representing the figures and the moments of the Passion and Death of Jesus Christ, known as the *Misteri*, whose number varies from two in Vico del Gargano to over 40 in Valenzano (near Bari), with an average of 5–10 simulacra (see Fig. 2 & 3);[10] their carriers and escorts, first of all the confraternities (see Fig. 4 & 5), often joined by other people (sometimes in the form of *incappucciati*, that is, individuals covering their face by a hood) expressly recruited for the procession (see Fig. 6); men and women usually dressed in black to express their mourning – to this end, the women escorting Our Lady of Sorrows sing mournful songs (see Fig. 7); ecclesiastical, civil and military authorities; musical bands playing funeral marches; and, at the end of the parade, a gradually growing crowd of the common faithful who leave their place on the borders of the street as audience and join the procession.[11]

Figure 1. Sepolcro *set up for Maundy Thursday in the church of Misericordia (Mercy), Vico del Gargano. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2014.*

Figure 2. *Christ carrying the cross, one of the simulacra carried in procession in Castellaneta on Good Friday. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2015.*

Figure 3. *The dead Christ, carried in procession in Castellaneta on Good Friday. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2015.*

Figure 4. *Confraternity of San Pietro (Saint Peter) in procession in Vico del Gargano on Good Friday. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2014.*

Figure 5. *A group of Brothers of the Santissimo Sacramento (Holy Sacrament) in procession in Castellaneta on Holy Saturday. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2015.*

Figure 6. *A group of* incappucciati *(hooded men) in the Good Friday procession in Castellaneta. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2015.*

Figure 7. *Women dressed in mourning in the Holy Saturday procession in Castellaneta. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2015.*

In order to exemplify the variety observed on the field, and the local interpretations of the general structure sketched above, I propose three paradigmatic cases which may be considered as three different ways of conceiving and structuring the Holy Week's public rituality, in particular as regards the number, the distribution, the duration, and the mutual proximity of the processions:

1) Castellaneta (near Taranto) shows the most conventional and systematic structure, perfectly corresponding to the liturgical calendar. There are three processions, one for each day of the holy triduum, each well separated from the other. Penitential processions are informally and independently performed by individual confraternities, who visit the town's churches from the evening to the night of Maundy Thursday. A solemn procession of Mysteries, starting from and ending in the cathedral, is performed from the afternoon to the night of Good Friday (lasting about 7–8 hours). A solemn procession devoted to Dead Christ (and Our Lady of Sorrows), starting from and ending in the cathedral, is performed from the early morning to about noon of Holy Saturday (lasting about 6–7 hours).
2) Taranto, whose Holy Week's rituality is the most renowned outside the Apulian boundaries (see Caputo 1995 [1989], 2010 [1983]), is likewise characterized by three main processions, but they are distributed on two days, Thursday and Friday (even if the last procession stretches to the early morning of Saturday), and have a much longer duration; moreover, there is temporal proximity between the end of a procession and the start of the succeeding one. Single pairs of Brothers of the Mount Carmel, from the early afternoon to the night between Thursday and Friday, perform a penitential procession by visiting the city's churches. The confraternity of Our Lady of Sorrows, from the midnight of Thursday to the early afternoon of Friday, perform a solemn procession devoted to the Sorrows of Virgin Mary (lasting about 14–15 hours). Finally, from the early Friday afternoon to the early hours of Saturday, a solemn procession of Mysteries is performed by the confraternity of the Mount Carmel (lasting about 16–17 hours). Interestingly, there is a chronological inversion between the celebration of Passion (and Death) and that of the Sorrows of Virgin Mary. The latter, on the other hand, is more popular and touching for the locals than the former; according to my informant Enzo, "the procession devoted to the Sorrows of Virgin Mary, although less magnificent than that of Mysteries, is emotionally much more involving: you can feel a real sense of sorrow" (personal communication 2014).

3) Vico del Gargano, a little town located in Gargano community (north-eastern Apulia), concentrates its processional rituality, instead on only one day, Good Friday, which is lived as the very heart of the year. As said by my informant Leonardo: "For Vico the Holy Week is the climax of the year … if I speak as a brother, well, I can tell you that Good Friday is all for me" (Carrassi 2016: 111). Here the role of the confraternities is even more prominent than elsewhere, above all because of their singing, which impressively characterizes the two processions (not three) taking place during the day. From the early morning to about noon, the five confraternities, each with their own simulacra of the Dead Christ and Our Lady of Sorrows,[12] move from one church to another and, along the path, they never stop singing penitential songs. From about 7 to 10 pm, the same confraternities stage a procession of Mysteries – consisting of only two simulacra (the Dead Christ and Our Lady of Sorrows) – which goes from the mother-church to a symbolic place representing the Calvary; along the path each confraternity, one at a certain distance from another, never stops singing the *Miserere* (taken from Psalm 51), producing a suggestive polyvocal concert. Coming back from the Calvary to the mother-church, both the confraternities and the common faithful following the procession never stop singing, deliberately out of tune, a joyful and messy traditional song, *Evviva la Croce* (Hurrah the Cross), in order to celebrate in advance Easter and the Resurrection.

On the one hand, the open and dynamic enactment of these religious practices was originally devised to enhance, emphasize, make more concrete and appealing the articles of faith daily or weekly invoked and recalled during the Masses or any kind of prayers. In fact, there are still many people, both among the performers and the audience, who live the processions as highly compelling experiences, often identifying themselves with the characters and the events represented: I think especially of those women who deeply feel the maternal grief expressed by Our Lady of Sorrows, or those men who undergo the exhausting task of carrying a heavy cross in order to emulate the pain suffered by Jesus Christ. Yet, on the other hand, these performances must be understood as a wider and more complex phenomenon. Here, the official and orthodox forms of faith and devotion meet their traditional, unofficial, more or less secularized counterpart, sometimes giving rise to expressions of magic and superstition (see Rivera 1988, in particular 19–29); the religious, clerical motivations coexist and deal with several diverse and changing motivations arising from the lay or less religiously connoted shares of the community (cf. Bernardi 1991: 383–388). Though being ritual ceremonies conceptually meant to convey

a Christian message and inspire pious thinking, in more practical terms these sacred performances are also theatrical – as they were, in a more pronounced and deliberate way, for so many centuries (Bakhtin 1984: 196–277; Toschi 1955) – and as such need to be considered as well. Through their materiality, indeed, the processions are primarily designed to re-enact and try to make tangible a mythical space-time and a sacred subject; in a sense, they convert "ideas, products of the mind (mentifacts), into material objects 'out there'" (Leach 1976: 37). Nevertheless, as a public and well-structured event, their success depends on the role played by a number of members of the community, as well as on their competence, diligence, and motivation.

It is worth stressing, in this light, the ever growing importance the Holy Week's ritual performances have gained in the past years, not only as a means to preserve, retrieve, rebuild or (re)invent a local and traditional identity, but also – as a consequence, I would say – as a tourist attraction (see, e.g., Ringer 1998; McKercher & du Cros 2012 [2002]). This is proved by a general trend marked by practices of objectification, commercialization, and mediatization, designed to highlight and promote what is increasingly seen as an intangible heritage worth safeguarding (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Bravo & Tucci 2006; Hafstein 2018). More particularly, I have directly observed on the field a large-scale printing and circulation of billboards, leaflets, and booklets publicizing and even memorializing the processions,[13] the setting up of exhibitions displaying ritual objects and related historical documents (see Fig. 8), the organization of photographic contests aimed at selecting pictures to be used as promotional means, the retailing of gadgets and souvenirs representing actors and items of the Holy Week (see Fig. 9), and the live shooting of the processions by local or regional televisions and websites.[14] But I think that the most impressive and pervasive thing I have experienced is the myriad of smartphones and assorted devices by which a growing number of spectators – but also of performers – photograph and/or film the processions. Apparently, everyone wants to capture his/her own snapshots and store them in the virtual memory of his/her device. In this way, actors and moments of the procession are decontextualized and made freely available after the ritual event, so that they can be seen again, shared with (virtual) friends or even used as profile pictures or desktop wallpapers.

As a result, while the attendance and the involvement in such processions necessarily entail a certain degree of individual, family or collective faith and devotion (more or less religiously connoted), their organization and realization requires a relevant effort of coordination and collaboration by a number of committees, associations, and institutions, as well as the proper arrangement of cultural, social, political, and economic resources and purposes. Ignazio Buttitta (2002: 215) has argued:

Procession has fundamentally the effect of gathering a whole community by suspending, though for a limited space-time, the real or ideal split of the town and its inhabitants. The procession is a moment of cohesiveness and solidarity where … everybody is called to do their part, to be an actor of the rite.

Figure 8. *Pictures devoted to the Holy Week, displayed in a public exhibition in Castellaneta. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2017.*

Figure 9. *Gadgets representing figures of the Holy Week (those costing 2 euros) displayed in a little shop in Taranto. Photograph by Vito Carrassi 2017.*

"Everybody is called to do their part, to be an actor of the rite," but it is quite clear that the most important and significant part is usually played by a particular kind of formal associations, widespread and deeply rooted everywhere in the south of Italy – the laical confraternities.[15] These men and women, united by a common religious sentiment establishing a mutual solidarity (regardless of their different cultural, social or economic standing),[16] are gathered around

a specific devotion to a Christian dogma (such as the Holy Sacrament, the Crucifix or the Purgatory), to the Virgin Mary (especially as Our Lady of Sorrows and as Lady of the Mount Carmel) or to a saint.[17]

During the Holy Week (as well as other festivities of the ritual year) they temporarily leave their everyday, mundane role to take on a special, symbolic status; this is materially suggested by their unusual, clerical-like clothing, generally made up of a long white (or, less frequently, colored)[18] alb, a colored *mozzetta* (a sort of short cloak, whose color identifies a single confraternity), and a white or colored hood, which may or may not cover the face; in addition, as a sign of penitence, they often go barefoot, sometimes carrying on their head a kind of crown of thorns.[19] Thus they acquire a liminal condition, which allows them to appropriately dwell and manage the liminal space-time characterizing the Holy Week's ritual performances; in other words, the confraternities, in the name and on behalf of their fellow citizens, act as mediators between the natural and the supernatural, the human and the divine, the visible and the invisible (Carrassi 2016: 114; Toschi 1955: 79–103).

Once the streets are gradually covered by the processional route, one might say that the brothers take possession of them; for some hours, those streets, usually belonging to nobody (because they are commonly at the service of everybody), become a sacred stage separated from the ordinary, a sort of free zone reserved to the brothers and the other ritual performers. Accordingly, just for the duration of the procession (basically, once the procession has passed, everything gets back to normal), those same streets become forbidden to people and things, uses and purposes unrelated to the ritual performance. While in the rest of the city/town, that is, outside of the processional area, nothing changes – at least not directly, since the interdiction of some streets inevitably affects the daily routine, especially the traffic of the neighboring streets – along the streets destined to the procession new rules are temporarily applied. In particular, parked vehicles must be removed well in advance, in order not to hinder the passing of the procession (of course, the vehicular traffic, for the time being, is stopped), and the common people (i.e. those who are not involved in the ritual performance) should stay on the borders without crossing the street before the procession has passed; they may only attend as an audience, therefore they must remain at a distance (sometimes secured by metal barriers) both from the human and the inanimate (the simulacra) actors of the procession, so as not to interfere with their performance and, at a higher level, not to perturb the sacred liminality of the ritual space.

By following their path across the urban landscape, the confraternities "sketch a precise sacral geography" (Buttitta 2002: 210) and stage, along with the other actors, the advent of a different conception and perception of time.

This is a time primarily marked by the commemoration of Christian Mysteries and aimed (at least in theory) at inspiring repentance and moral conversion into the faithful / the audience, who for the most part attend in silence or comment quietly what they see, traditionally making the sign of the cross before each simulacrum; the predominant and distinctive sound of these moments is usually the deafening and monotonous sound generated by the so-called *troccola* (ratchet, noisemaker) and other traditional percussion instruments, played by the brothers but also by common people (Bronzini 1974: II, 63). Also by virtue of this unique atmosphere, these processions set up a temporal, and temporary, framework conducive to a collective suspension, meditation, and (self-)reflection, dramatically displayed and embodied by the slow or very slow, cadenced, more or less swinging movements[20] (so distant from those we are used to experience in daily life) performed by the brothers who switch between walking and stopping (Bronzini 1974: II, 62). What is more, they transmit these movements to the simulacra carried on their shoulders or in their arms; in so doing, they infuse a sort of life into those inanimate figures: a transitory yet vividly symbolic, theatrical, touching life.[21] As pointed out by Buttitta (2002: 206–207):

> *From a religious and spiritual point of view, they* [processions] *must prove that "the sacred is not geographically confined in a given place, but is able to occupy, for the time being, other places." … They are a means through which humans mythically display their own world, then the conception of time and space on which it is based* [in a word, a chronotope].

This mythical re-configuration of time and space, chiefly performed through the processions – symbolic fictions, indeed – and basically founded on the permutation and blending of sacred and secular elements of the urban landscape, may not be understood, at any rate, outside its religious, devotional paradigm. The analysis of fieldwork and archival materials shows that the structure and meanings of the processional rituality of the Holy Week fundamentally lie in a ritual tripartition depending on the Christian calendar. In fact, the Last Supper, the Passion (including the Death as one of its Mysteries) and the Death of Christ (associated to or replaced by the Sorrows of the Virgin Mary),[22] more or less linked, respectively, with Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, constitute the mythical stages of a sacred space-time frame within which the Apulian communities organize their ritual cosmos. However, this mythical, sacred triduum is arranged in different ways – as exemplified above – with regard to the overall structure as well as the features of the related dramatic performances. This is a significant variety, since it is illuminating both as to the different ways of conceiving and living a shared cultural heritage within a more or less homogeneous geographical area, and as to the dialectic between

religious, liturgical and/or ritual rules and their contextual, vernacular, historical adaptations and modifications. As told by my informant Leonardo, in response to a question about the decoration of a church's altar for Maundy Thursday: "If you follow the liturgical rules, you are free to do what you want. Year after year the altar's decoration is always different, every year it is reinvented" (Carrassi 2016: 116).

CONCLUSION

Generally speaking, within and through the liminal chronotope emerging from the Holy Week's ritual performances, most Apulian communities still express and (re)shape a significant part of themselves and, at the same time, try to find their own way to make their local identity globally more recognizable and valuable (cf. Bendix 2018). And the processions, in this time of heritagization (see, in particular, Inglis & Holmes 2003; Poria 2010) and cultural tourism, are certainly effective, striking means that cities and towns have to make known and promote, first of all, their religious and traditional beliefs and practices, which are part and parcel of their immaterial or intangible heritage. Nevertheless, just due to the itinerant mode of processions, cities and towns can make known and promote also their most valuable buildings, their main squares and streets, that is to say, their material or tangible heritage. In other words, the Holy Week's ritual performances, by their own nature and their more or less dynamic and spectacular forms, allow a quite complete display and enhancement of a cultural, local, peculiar heritage; they turn a place into a meaningful location and define its uniqueness as a destination for inhabitants and visitors alike (Hafstein 2018: 137; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). In this light, everywhere during my fieldwork a prominent need was noticeable to *preserve* the processions, then to preserve what is generally felt and regarded as their *traditional* identity, their *authenticity*, despite the several and increasingly fast *innovations* affecting the world around them (Carrassi 2018: 171–174). For many people, indeed, especially for the emigrants coming back to their native cities or towns for the Easter holidays, these processions become effective means to recover a (lost) sense of belonging. Accordingly, the bearers of the related traditions, chiefly the *active*, but partly also the *passive* ones (Sydow 1948: 12–15), are called to make a collective effort to contain changes and transformations as much as possible. Nicola, one of my informants, expressly talks about a danger of "folklorization" (cf. Hafstein 2018: 131–134) looming over the Holy Week's ritual performances; he wishes, and actually struggles (both as a brother and a local historian), for

the preservation and revitalization of their most "authentic" meaning, which is, in his view, the religious and spiritual one (personal communication 2015). Only in this way, after all, the processions are thought to keep their purpose as recognizable and convincing features of a (presumed) traditional, authentic identity, namely of a uniqueness worth to be heritagized, or even to be included in a UNESCO's list, nowadays almost an obsession for individuals, groups, and communities engaged in the identification and safeguarding of a cultural heritage (Jansen-Verbeke 2016; Hafstein 2018: 139–144). Heritagization, mediatization, objectification, and commercialization are all ongoing phenomena connected with a "reflexive modernization" (Beck & Giddens & Lash 1994) which, by its safeguarding policies and strategies, "reforms the relationship of subjects with their own practices … reforms the practices … and ultimately reforms the relationship of the practicing subjects with themselves" (Hafstein 2018: 128). Notwithstanding, while these phenomena have certainly affected and increasingly affect the contexts and the actors – some informants, for instance, stressed a growing interest and participation, especially of young people, in the confraternities and the Holy Week's rituals – the functions and the meanings, fluctuating between a re-enchanted sense of the world and a need to take a break from the daily and working routine, and the organization and the perception of the ritual practices here addressed, my fieldwork and my direct experience as an Apulian inhabitant evidence a substantial continuity of forms, patterns and rules characterizing the processions. In effect, despite the changing landscapes and the changing mankind attending them, the Holy Week's processions basically remain traditional performances that, for a few or a number of hours, for one or more days, stage a liminal experience by occupying the ordinary spaces of everyday life. In so doing, they temporarily suspend the ordinary flow of time to make room for another kind of time: today as yesterday, *mutatis mutandis*, a reflexive and self-reflexive kind of time.

NOTES

[1] The fieldwork consisted of participant observation, visual documentation, and interviews with informants and participants of the rituals and festivals addressed. Further materials presented in this article have been collected through an independent research carried out in 2017.

[2] The processions are conceivable as "multimedial performances", since they "create situations in which language, movements, spaces, and objects can all be coordinated in powerfully symbolic ways" (Frog 2017: 583).

[3] Cf. the concept of "performance arena" (Foley 1995: 47–49), about which Frog (2017: 600) writes: "Rather than a physical location, the performance arena is an experience-based framework that is internalized through exposure to, and participation in, a performance tradition. When the tradition is encountered, the performance arena is reciprocally activated as a framework for the reception and interpretation of relevant expressions."

[4] Drawing on a classic work of Michel de Certeau (1984: 29–41, 91–111), the streets can function both as "strategic" tools to organize the city/town from the above (at an institutional and official level), and as "tactical" resources to explore and (re)invent the urban spaces from the below (at an individual and unofficial level).

[5] Clearly, the Bakhtinian (high) road, which allows the inter-connection between towns or cities, is not the same as a street, which instead connects the places making up the urban setting. Nonetheless, both of them are, after all, ways of communications and relationships, so I think that the chronotope of the "road" may be profitably permuted as a tool to analyze the "street".

[6] "… the chronotope of threshold … can be combined with the motif of encounter, but its most fundamental instance is as the *chronotope of crisis and break in a life*. The word 'threshold' itself already has a metaphorical meaning in everyday usage (together with its literal meaning), and is connected with the breaking point of a life, the moment of crisis, the decision that changes a life (or the indecisiveness that fails to change a life, the fear to step over the threshold). … In this chronotope*, time is essentially instantaneous; it is as if it has no duration and falls out of the normal course of biographical time*" (Bakhtin 2002: 21, emphasis mine).

[7] Like in the second stage ("transition" or "liminal phase") of the tripartite frame theorized by Arnold Van Gennep (2004 [1960]: 10–12) for the rites of passage.

[8] For an up-to-date and quite complete overview of the main processions organized and performed in Apulia during the Holy Week I refer to an online resource: https://www.settimanasantainpuglia.it/content/index.asp, last accessed on 12 March 2020.

[9] Interestingly, my informant Enzo reported that the procession of Mysteries in Taranto, established in 1765 and performed for almost two centuries across the alleys of the old part of the city (*Taranto Vecchia*), approximately from 1964, following an extemporaneous initiative of a brother, started to be performed in the modern part of the city (*Borgo*), thus leaving the previous route (personal communication 2014).

[10] In my hometown, Castellaneta (as well as in Taranto), there are eight simulacra, which represent the following Mysteries: Christ in the Gethsemane, Christ mocked with a cane in hand, Christ tortured at a column, Christ carrying the Cross, Christ crucified, the Piety, the Dead Christ, and Our Lady of Sorrows.

[11] The processions of the Holy Saturday, albeit with some minor variations (they generally consist of a smaller number of simulacra and performers), fundamentally conform to the pattern described for Good Friday (cf. Bernardi 1991: 124–129).

[12] The confraternity of Saint Peter has only the simulacrum of Our Lady of Sorrows, while that of the Mount Carmel has four extra simulacra representing as many Mysteries.

[13] As a rule, among the participants in the processions, there are men appointed to collect offerings from the audience and deliver printed pictures representing subjects related to the procession.

[14] Cf. Hafstein 2018 (134): "… objectification of the practices and expressions makes them transferable and is the first step toward their alienation from the source community. … The paradox here is that the principal incentive for inscription on national or international heritage lists is precisely to promote these festivals … to attract more tourists, and to increase rather than limit their circulation; many of the tools used to safeguard intangible heritage are geared to these ends, including, notably, the festival."

[15] For a historical overview of this subject, limited to the Apulian context, I refer to Bertoldi Lenoci 1988–1990, and Gelao 1994.

[16] This kind of brotherhood may be regarded as a form of *communitas*, which Turner (1969: 96) describes as "an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders".

[17] In a little town such as Vico del Gargano (about 8,000 inhabitants), for instance, there are five confraternities: Holy Sacrament, Death and Oration, Saint Augustine and Saint Monica, Mount Carmel, and Saint Peter. There are also five confraternities in Castellaneta (about 17,000 inhabitants): Holy Sacrament, Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of the Rosary, Saint Francis of Paola, and the recently re-established Crucifix.

[18] For instance in Francavilla Fontana, Noicattaro, Molfetta, and Gallipoli.

[19] Buttitta (2002: 210) explains that the role played by the confraternities is "expressed by a complex language consisting of behaviors, images and ritual objects".

[20] The swinging movement, one of the most distinctive features of the brothers in procession, is vernacularly known in Taranto as *nazzecata* or *nazzicata*, and is explained by my informant Enzo with the fact that the procession, as such, must always "proceed" and never stop; therefore, by swinging, the brothers keep moving even when they have to stop their walking, especially before and within the churches met along the route (verbal communication 2014).

[21] Cf. Buttitta 2012: 698–699: "During the festival days, instead [i.e. differently from when it is within the church], the simulacrum transfigures, becomes animate; it is the Saint. It is the host turning into flesh, the wine turning into blood. The sacred, then, becomes describable, revealing itself entirely into space and time: it is the hierophany in its deepest sense."

[22] Curiously, the Resurrection – which should be the most important and celebrated of the Christian dogmas – except a few towns (such as Francavilla Fontana, Ruvo di Puglia, Troia, and San Marco in Lamis), is by and large neglected as a subject of specific processions. Apparently, it is seen and felt as an event, a Mystery too sacred and beyond the human understanding (and maybe not sufficiently touching and theatrical) to be suitable for a purely material dramatic performance.

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MYTHS, HASHISH, AND HINDU CULTURE

Interview with Michael Witzel

Interviewer Henri Zeigo

In June 2019, the Estonian Literary Museum in collaboration with the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies organized the 13th Annual Conference of the International Association for Comparative Mythology, under the heading "Mythology of Metamorphoses: Comparative & Theoretical Perspectives". During the conference, I had a chance to interview Michael Witzel, who is a mythologist working at Harvard University. He is well known mainly for his contribution to the Sanskrit studies. Michael Witzel has authored books on Indian sacred texts and Indian history.

Michael Witzel, how did you become a mythologist as a young man?

As a child I grew up in West Germany. At that time, I was interested in reading ancient stories from Greek or Latin mythology. In basic school I also started to read old Germanic myths. I was interested in all kinds of ancient stories. That is why I later took to Sanskrit studies at university. I moved more in the direction of ancient religious texts which were full of mythology.

Who have been your major influencers in mythology?

It is difficult to say. I have followed several people over the decades, like Georges Dumézil or Mircea Eliade. I have read Claude Levi Strauss, but I do not like him, because his scheme is too abstract, too "bloodless". From Indo-European mythology I like the work of Jaan Puhvel. He has written a very nice book for his American students, which covers all the Indo-European peoples – *Comparative Mythology*. Then, I read lots of Japanese mythology and Homer's *Iliad*, of course, but I really cannot say which of them have been the most influential for me.

During the conference I tried to understand what a myth is, but when I was listening to all these presentations, I was not able to distinguish one concrete definition. Could a myth be defined at all?

It is very hard to do it. Probably you heard the same message at the 13th annual conference of comparative mythology at Tartu. But I tried to define it in my 2012 book. It sounds something like this: "non-secular narrative connected usually with the origins of humans, world and society as we have it". The main point here is "non-secular". To compare it with secular myths, for instance, we have American beliefs, Soviet beliefs, Korean and Nazi beliefs – these are all secular myths. These are related to the state, but they do not say anything about religion as such. I have been living in America for 33 years. There is plenty of secular mythology which children learn at school. For instance, George Washington could never tell a lie: once he cut down a cherry tree and after that told his father that was him who had done it. They are told these kinds of stories. Also, American exceptionalism – it means that America is a very different nation in the world. You can often hear a phrase "only in America". Here in Europe you cannot imagine it, but in America it is very typical. It is a sort of brainwashing of children when they grow up. In this case myth can be a kind of lie. For example, telling your children that there are no classes in America and we are all equal is a lie. We have the famous saying that 1 percent of our population owns most of America. So, there are quite a number of secular myths. But of course, similar topics could be encountered in communism as well. All these stories have features of myth but without any relationship with the supernatural or non-secular.

But contrary to these stories, can myths yield knowledge?

Some people are of the opinion that myths collect traditional knowledge which cannot be transmitted in other ways. The experience of many generations is transmitted by the myth, be it about nature or humans, but it is not organized like a handbook. On the other hand, in my point of view, the collection of myths from the beginning of the world to its end can be organized. Take, for example, the Icelandic Edda or Judaeo-Christian Bible. Many nations organize their knowledge in a similar fashion in a linear way, from the beginning to the end. And in the middle of it you can organize everything else, adding local customs and lineages of kings. So what can we learn?

There is a nice painting by Paul Gauguin from the period he was in Tahiti. It is titled "Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?" It is typical for humans to ask such questions. It shows we try to learn from myth

Michael Witzel delivering his paper at the mythology conference. Photograph by Alar Madisson 2019.

whatever is inherited. It gives you a certain position in life, makes you sustainable and spiritually richer.

Do you think that sometimes people invoke a myth without knowing that they do so?

Sure, because they do it automatically. I can give you one example. I was a 15-year-old boy. My grandmother was born in the 1880s. She said that during Christmas holidays, at around midnight on the holy night, we should not wash our clothes and hang them out to dry. She did not say why. Later I was told that, when we do it at that time, the great god Odin comes riding with his troops and destroys everything. It was a typical inherited understanding of the 1880s. A similar case is also found in India, only the main character is Shiva with his 500 demons. So my grandmother did not know the background, she just told me what she had heard. She could not have known the reason because by then Germany had already been under Christianity for a thousand years.

And some of these stories have later on become fairy tales with a background in mythology. These are transmitted unconsciously and sometimes quite accurately. Recently I read an introduction to the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales, which says that they received lots of stories from an old widow. When she was telling a story, she often had to stop and move back to the beginning to tell it correctly. This shows that we tend to follow stories very accurately (as our children always demand of us).

It seems that people in America and in the rest of the world are more interested in Marvel comics heroes and movies like "The Game of Thrones" than classical fairy tales. Do myths play an important role in modern works as well?

It is a comeback, so to speak. I can mention Joseph Campbell, who taught at a New York college and made several TV episodes about myths. He talked very nicely, smoothly, and intelligently. He introduced myths in an American way, talking about the great hero, Lone Ranger, who rides into a town, fixes all evil, and leaves. I still heard about these things on the American Forces radio when I was a student in Germany. Every afternoon we could hear from that radio station: "The Lone Ranger rides again". Through his American "monomyth" Joseph Campbell has influenced film makers like George Lucas. Most of the "Star Wars" is based on this kind of mythology. These kinds of films are very popular. When a new version comes out, they earn millions.

A more recent movie is "Thor", which is based on Germanic mythology. And, as you mentioned, "The Game of Thrones". I have seen it only once, when I stayed at a hotel. I did not find it interesting. This was not straightforward mythology, but it is rather surreal history of medieval times. But more important is the film titled "The Lord of the Rings", based on the novel by J.R.R. Tolkien. This is mythology featuring an imaginary world, evil kingdom, demons, wizards – this is reinvented British mythology influenced by Germanic and Celtic myths. This is the most mythological film that we have had recently.

What are your current projects?

It is not mythology, because I have some older projects that I have taken up. These have been lying on my shelf for twenty years. For example, the history of Kashmir. To my horror, when I put the 14 chapters together last summer, it was some 2000 pages. So I am currently busy with that.

Also I organized a conference in Nepal this January, which focused on Hindu ritual culture. We have some texts which are 3000 years old and handbooks which are approximately 2500 years old, but which have survived in Nepal in a unique form. I would like to compile a book about that particular fire ritual, because it has some interesting local developments that you cannot find anywhere else, only in one region in Nepal. We have shot lots of films and made recordings since 1975, and later on also videos. This is an enormous amount of material. I would like to put it into a book and maybe it might become a new film. So there are many other projects going on.

This means lots of travelling to Nepal and India, does it not?

I have lived and worked in Nepal for five years and there is still need to meet with people and ask for more information. Unfortunately, many of them are dead by now. What they told me is just in my notebook. But there are many nice people who would like to help me with this task.

This is another project and it is partly related to mythology of course. Nepalese mythology is still alive. I will give you an example. The Chinese built a ring road around Kathmandu in 1975 just to ease the traffic. At that time, we were told a story about how some Chinese engineers came across a small temple and they just wanted to remove it. But the Nepalis were protesting against it. Finally, at a conference, the king of Nepal, Indira Gandhi, and Mao Zedong, decided to move the temple just a little bit.

There is another case of a recent invention of mythology in Nepal, also from 1973–1974. In short, Nepal then had free access to hashish; there were big boards in the streets, reading "Government-licensed hashish shop". Thousands of American hippies using drugs were the concern of the US government, so they secretly paid Nepal to ban hashish. At that time the 2000-room government building (Singha Durbar) was burnt down over a weekend by the opposition party of the congress. This was never acknowledged by the government. Instead, a few months later the fire was said to have been caused by the great God Shiva, who lives on a high mountain nearby: like many yogis, he likes to smoke his hashish pipe in the evening, and, angry about the banning of hashish, he dropped some ashes from his pipe, and – up went the Singha Durbar... It burned down within a week's time.

You have lived in many continents, but have you ever been to Estonia before?

No, I have not been here before. Once I visited a conference in Saint Petersburg and I have visited some countries in Eastern Europe but I have never been to the Baltic states. So I am happy to witness how well you have managed since Estonia regained its independence in 1990.

NEWS IN BRIEF

THE THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY: DISCUSSIONS AND THOUGHTS[1]

The thirteenth annual international conference on comparative mythology, "Mythology of Metamorphoses: Comparative & Theoretical Perspectives", was held in Tartu, Estonia, on 10–14 June 2019. It was organized by the Estonian Literary Museum, and supported by the International Association for Comparative Mythology (IACM), the Estonian Cultural Foundation, and the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies.

The conference hosted the largest number of participants within the whole history of such events of the IACM, that is, 48 papers (out of the 52 announced in the programme) were read by the scholars from 18 countries from all over the world.

The conference focused on: 1) metamorphoses and transitions in myth, including shapeshifting and transformation in ritual; thresholds, borders and boundaries in myths and worldviews, and 2) theoretical approaches to comparative mythology, i.e., theoretical and methodological approaches in the research, history of comparative mythology, digital mythology, and new mythologies.

It seems impossible to discuss all the interesting conference papers here, as only their abstracts consume about 55 pages (see: https://www.compmyth.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/IACM_Tartu_2019_program_abstracts.pdf). So I am forced to only mention the majority of the presentations – in order that the readers would just be aware of the themes discussed. In more detail, I would like to offer an insight into the most debatable issue raised in the presentation by Michael Witzel, the founder of the abovementioned association.

As usual, the work of the conference ran as one session, so everybody could listen to and take part in the discussion about each presentation – the fact which arouses a special feeling of community, belonging and collectivity in all conference participants. The papers were combined in sections on the thematic principle.

One of the important sections was held under the heading "Comparative and theoretical perspectives". Here the following presentations were made. **Juri Berezkin** (St. Petersburg, Russia) in his talk "The folktale: Categories of motifs, patterns of the outspread of the motifs and history of Eurasia" came up with new maps based on the investigated material. The presenter showed that the cross-cultural transfer of the motifs creates an extremely complex picture of the distribution of thousands of motifs in hundreds of traditions. **Paolo Barbaro**

(Paris, France) spoke on the topic "The brain, the social group and history: Preliminary results of texts and statistics devised to discuss chances of pareidolia, converging evolution and randomness in asterisms and (mythological) narrative", and presented his thoughts about the world mythology. **Marcin Lisiecki** (Toruń, Poland) tried to answer a philosophical question in his presentation under the heading "Does myth have to be old? Philosophical introduction to the theory of myth", arguing that up until now we have no definite conception of what a myth is, how to study it, and whether it is important for contemporary culture. **Antti Tamm** (Tartu Observatory, Estonia) gave a special talk about cosmic mythology, presenting a brief overview of some of the heavenly misconceptions and their origin. **Dmitri Panchenko** (St. Petersburg, Russia) spoke about the relevance of celestial phenomena to classical mythology and also to contemporary mythological studies. **Kazuo Matsumura** (Tokyo, Japan) contemplated the three types of structure, represented by Propp, Chiasmus, and Lévi-Strauss, and stood out for the usage of the inverted (chiastic) structure technique in the studies of modern mythology researchers. **Arjan Sterken** (Groningen, Netherlands) in his paper "In-between Dēmētēr and Persephonē: Cognitive theory and the binary principle" aimed at examining the binary principle as it functions in structuralism and cognitive theory, using the example of the well-known Greek myth.

Michael Witzel's (Cambridge, USA) paper "Is it racist to compare data?" was a reaction to the critique of his book, *The Origins of the World's Mythologies* (2012) by the known (ex-)Indo-European mythologist-comparativist Bruce Lincoln (2013, 2018) and folklorist Tok Thompson (2013), who accused the author of racism. The book itself studies the myth and religion, focusing on the oldest available texts, narratives, supplemented by the archaeological, linguistic, and human population genetics. It received a number of favourable reviews.

The first critical reviews by Lincoln and Thompson were initially left unanswered by Witzel, as the accusations were taken as groundless. Neither of the critics accepted the method of historical comparison (similar to that used in linguistics) applied to mythology, demonstrated their negative and sarcastic attitude to some existent linguistic theories ("less-than-scientifically-accepted hypotheses, such as a "Dené-Caucasian" language family linking Basque and Navajo, and "Nostratic", as Thompson wrote in 2013), as well as the very possibility of comparing "big data", etc. As Lincoln wrote, "in recent years, I have come to favour what I call 'weak comparisons', i.e., inquiries that are more modest in scope, but intensive in scrutiny, treating a small number of examples in depth, … with the result that one's conclusions prove more probative, reliable, and surprising". But this worthy methodology does not exclude another scale of the data comparison (big data comparison) by other scholars.

The intention of M. Witzel's paper was not only to defend the fair name of the book and its author (because some parts of mentioned reviews were tendentious, seeking to establish a connection of the author with Nazi-time mythologists, some were even calling him and his book racist, some were simply libellous) but to make everybody fall into a muse about: "is comparing data racist"; is it "allowed" to compare (and by whom); how can one study anything without making a comparison; and is it possible to use emic or etic approaches while studying myths that are many thousands of years old?

Nataliya Yanchevskaya (Princeton, USA) continued the theme raised in the previous paper in her presentation "Probing the boundaries of comparative mythology: On method and matter". Her paper was a response to that very book, *Apples and Oranges*, by Bruce Lincoln (2018), where he again criticised Witzel, and that seems to dismiss the whole discipline altogether by suggesting the impossibility of "grand comparisons". The speaker surveyed various critiques of the comparative method, explored when they applied to comparative mythology and when not, and discussed the theoretical background and new approaches to comparative mythology.

A heated **discussion**, involving participants such as B. Oguibenine, Y. Kleiner, E. Chalandon, J. Kozák, L. Millne, J. Vassilkov, and others, was held on the last two papers and in general on the methodology in comparative mythology. The main ideas expressed during the discussion were the following: it is useless to argue with those who already have a different opinion, it is impossible to change it; scholars engaged in comparative mythology have to stick to their own approach, excluding any politics, ideological clichés, but use a common methodology, a common metalanguage; it would be useful to publish a book on the theory of comparative mythology, its aims and methods; comparative mythology does not evaluate myths and their bearers as good or bad, but explores the development of myths, their completeness, directions of dispersion, etc.; everybody has to work and do their best in their scientific field for the common cause.

The second thematic section of the conference was held under the heading "Mythology of metamorphoses". **Keiko Tazawa** (Tokyo, Japan) in her paper "Transforming goddesses in ancient Egypt" presented the results of her study into the interrelation of metamorphoses of some Egyptian goddesses and 'motherhood' in the Egyptian myths. **Lucie Vinšová** (Brno, Czech Republic) skilfully presented her paper "Seeing through the eyes of others: Perceptual and language aspects of shapeshifting in shamanic ritual practices of the selected South American tribes", that is, the communities inhabiting the mountainous and west-Amazonian regions in Colombia and Peru – Paez, Kogi, Yaminahua, and Shipibo-Konib. **Attila Mátéffy** (Bonn, Germany) used interdisciplinary

approach, that is, theories and methods of comparative mythology, ritual analysis, embodied cognition, prototype theory and ontology to present an analysis into the "Transformation and passage in a North Eurasian mythological and ritual tradition: Animism, shamanism, embodiment, and indigenous ontology".

In the absence of the author, the paper titled "The call of the shaman's drum" by **Ondřej Pivoda** (Brno, Czech Republic) was presented by Václav Blažek.

Hitoshi Yamada (Sendai, Japan) discussed the human-canine interaction and transformation described in dog ancestor myths and focused on different worldviews found in the relevant narratives. **Štěpán Kuchlei** (Brno, Czech Republic) presented the paper "The dolphin and the dragon. Comparing Hindu and Buddhist aspects of a human/animal transformation: An example of metamorphosis in two Cambodian myths". **Lyubov Liski** (Helsinki, Finland) spoke about Komi beliefs and practices concerning the regular monthly purification of the female body. **Marina Valentsova** (Moscow, Russia) overviewed in general and structuralized the possible metamorphoses and transformations presented in Slavic demonology. **Louise Milne** (Edinburgh, United Kingdom) spoke on the topic "Metamorphosis, myth, dreams & desire: The case of the waterwoman". **Seán Martin** (Edinburgh, UK) went into ghostly

Participants of the mythology conference at the Estonian Literary Museum. Photograph by Alar Madisson 2019.

transformations – supernatural shapeshifting in mediaeval English histories, suggesting methods of classification of these stories, and noting similarities between some of the mediaeval material and later literature works and folkloric sources.

The section under the heading "Mythology of metamorphoses in the modern art" contained two papers: one by **Joel Dietz** (Palo Alto, California, USA), who spoke about the burning man and meta-mythological language, and the other by **Sachie Kiyokawa** (Kobe, Japan) with the theme "To call upon the ancestors: The meaning of becoming part of myth in Black Panther".

There were sections devoted to different geographical or ethnic areas of world mythologies.

In the section "Metamorphoses and transitions in the Indo-European mythology" **Signe Cohen** (Columbia, USA) presented the results of her study "Flesh to stone, stone to flesh: Lithic transformations in Indo-European myth", dealing with Norse, Greek, and Celtic myths and Hindu texts. **Jan A. Kozák** (Prague, Czech Republic & Bergen, Norway) studied Norse mythology in his presentation "Body and cosmos: The logic of mythical transformations in old Norse religion". **Joseph Harris** (Harvard, USA) & **Nataliya Yanchevskaya** (Princeton, USA) presented their paper "Sexual metamorphosis and 'the binary'", based on the Indo-European material, including Germanic and Scandinavian, Greek, Indic, and Slavic instances. **Yaroslav Vassilkov** (St. Petersburg, Russia) in his paper "Indian mythology of the cave in a comparative perspective" traced how the archaic myths connected with the cave, while developing in Vedic-Hindu tradition, were transformed into doctrinal and philosophical concepts. **Boris Oguibénine** (Strasbourg, France) in his presentation "Buddhist hell as sacrifice metamorphosed" examined and compared two mythographic accounts from a collection of Buddhist Sanskrit texts "Mahāvastu-Avadāna" (Mv.) and illustrated such doctrinal points as the fruit of actions.

Other interesting aspects of the Indo-European mythologies and in very attractive presentations were discussed in the papers of **Natālija Abrola** (Riga, Latvia) under the heading "Old Indian *aśvinī*, *Uṣas*, and Latvian *dieva dēli*: Potential parallels"; **Yuri Kleiner** (St. Petersburg, Russia) in "From the rage of gods to swearing (semantics of the old Germanic 'inner world')"; **Václav Blažek** (Brno, Czech Republic) in "Wolf or she-wolf as a foster in Indo-European mythological traditions and beyond"; and **Aldis Pūtelis** (Riga, Latvia) in "What if Grunau was right? An old-Prussian chronicle as a source for mythology research".

In the section "Mythology of the Americas and East Asia" **Petra Vogler** (Ludwigsburg, Germany) spoke on the topic "Pwatakis and divination systems predominantly practised in the two major Cuban cults Santería (Regla de

Ochá) and Palo Monte (Las Reglas de Congo); **Martín Cuitzeo Domínguez Nuñez** (Mexico City, Mexico) spoke about the "Flour in the sky: A northwest Mexico pa'ipai myth about the origin of Milky Way"; **Michal Schwarz (**Brno, Czech Republic) discussed the topic "Reptiles, amphibians and their emotional polarity in East-Asian folktales"; **Yoko Naono** (Tokyo, Japan), examined the "Distribution and characteristics of the motif 'the origin of people's death' in Japan"; **Koko Nango** (Kobe, Japan) spoke on the topic "San-Jin, hunter and Christianity: The overlapping image of the missionaries and imaginary people living in the mountain"; and **Jinghua Huang** (Kunming, China) discussed "Story and ritual: How to understand the Lahu's creation myth in four villages?"

The section "Mythology of the Middle East" was represented by the paper of **Leila Abdi** (Shiraz, Iran), "The influence of vegetal and martyr gods on the construction of "Hussein": A comparison of Tammuz and Syavash", and that by **Vladimir Sazonov** (Tartu, Estonia), "The role of beer in Sumero-Akkadian and Hittite mythologies: Some comparative notes".

Among the world mythologies a special section was devoted to Slavic and Finno-Ugric mythology. Here the paper by **Yulia A. Krasheninnikova** (Syktyvkar, Russia), "Mythological contexts in the ritual dialogues of the Russian wedding ceremony", a co-authored paper by **Elena Boganeva** (Minsk, Belarus), **Mare Kõiva**, and **Andres Kuperjanov** (Tartu, Estonia), "Myths related to trees", discussing Slavic (from Russian to South Slavic area) and Baltic-Finnic (from Finnish to Livonian area) traditions, and by **Reet Hiiemäe** (Tartu, Estonia), "Mapping the trajectories of the plague spirit: A case study of handling collective fear" were listened to.

The section "Mythology of Mongolia and Africa" was made up of the papers by **Maria Magdolna Tatár** (Oslo, Norway), "A holy mountain in the desert Gobi, Mongolia: Hunting ground and holy place", and by **John M. Saul** (Paris, France), "Eland and stork, and the origin of humanity's oldest beliefs", based on the mythology of the bushmen of southern Africa and the Hadza of northern Tanzania.

The section of transformation, mythology, and modernity consisted of the papers, conceiving the contemporary facts and events from the point of view of old mythological concepts and archetypes. **Anneli Mihkelev** (Tallinn, Estonia) examined the constantly topical biblical myths in contemporary culture; **Indrek Ojam** (Tartu, Estonia) discussed the topic "Using myth for the sake of literary realism: The case of Mati Unt"; **Alexandra Yatsyk** (Warsaw, Poland) addressed Polish identity-making as constructing a new national myth grounded in the martyrological narrative on the Polish suffering and messianism in her paper "Necropolitical mythmaking and nationalism: The case of Poland"; **Urmas Sutrop** (Tartu, Estonia) analysed the metamorphosis in Snow White fairy tales

(the less known tales with transformations of the heroine or other characters into a bird, a plant, ashes, a trickle of water, and back into a human). The presentation by **Siarhei Anoshka** (Warsaw, Poland), "Metamorphosis of the founding myth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (mormons): The prophet Joseph Smith and revelation", reminded more of the promotional materials of the Mormon Church.

The proceedings finished with a general discussion. On the last day of the conference a guided bus tour to northern Estonia was organized.

The conferences organized under the aegis of the IACM are very useful and mind-expanding. Though most of the scholars study their specific traditions or themes, and naturally tend to know more about that limited sphere, the scholarly activities have immanent quality to persistently widen the horizons of the spheres of interest. Moreover, sometimes it occurs that accidently, unexpectedly heard information could lead to new ideas, guesses, surmises, which would not emerge from the inside of the studied local theme. For example, when studying Slavic mythology, we know perfectly well a widely-spread belief about a stork that 'brings children' (the newborns) to the parents (it can also be a crow in Czech tradition, and some other birds). It was treated in the sense of getting souls by a stork from the *irey*, that is, 'another' world. Interesting parallels of these Slavic beliefs sounded in the paper of John M. Saul about the oldest beliefs of bushmen "on stars in the region of Scorpio, situated at the opposite 'end' of the Milky Way from the stars of Eland", from where "souls might be carried up the Milky Way by cranes, herons or storks and then returned as newborns". That could mean that the motif of 'bringing souls' on the Earth is very archaic. Many more things that we do not yet know (or sometimes did not know) could play a crucial role in our further investigations.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank the organizing committee of the thirteenth IACM conference in Tartu for the wonderful organization, as well as all the participant scholars for their highly useful and interesting presentations.

Marina Valentsova (Moscow)

Notes

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BOOK REVIEWS

ESTONIAN HEALING WORDS

Mare Kõiva. *Eesti loitsud I: Arstimissõnad.* Monumenta Estoniae Antiquae VI. Tartu: ELM Scholarly Press, 2019. 780 pp. In Estonian.

The book about the Estonian incantations, dedicated to healing words, was published in the series *Monumenta Estoniae Antiquae VI* in 2019. It is compiled and commented by folklorist Mare Kõiva. The book contains data on the incantations which were used for the treatment of various diseases, starting from infectious and ending with gastrointestinal and culture-specific diseases, and the texts are classified according to the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10). It is the first time that this technique has been used to classify folk medicine data and incantations.

Each disease and the respective incantations are preceded by the common names of the disease (it also affects the healing words, which may reflect the dialect), ways of explanation, an overview of the official medical attitudes and treatment today as well as the main features of traditional medicine. The explanations accompanying the incantation texts help determine folk healing methods. The author emphasizes that "incantations were used to address a disease or organ affected by the disease, and while charming away – to address directly to the animal or bird. It was very common to transmit disease and pain to a specific object of wild nature, to return the disease to those who sent it or back to the place of origin". Incantations were used to transmit diseases to natural objects or living creatures. The techniques associated with word magic are described in more detail: prohibition on speaking, taboos, ritual silence, abuse, laughter, and other modes.

The theory chapters provide characteristics of protective objects and amulets that share the tradition of other peoples in Europe, though, local developments (rock axes and lightning arrows as remedies) are also presented. Separate sections focus on multilingual incantations and language code exchange in texts. The author draws attention to translations from foreign languages made by folk healers and their assistants. The vernacular translation process is an interesting aspect on its own, so far specifically reviewed by semiotics. The Estonian archives hold a collection of written manuscripts since the mid-19th century,

which were handed over from one generation to the next and finally ended in the archives or were given for rewriting.

Incantations have a connection to the letters of heaven, which is one of the oldest phenomena in literary culture, belonging to Christian pseudographs. The medical purpose of the manuscripts was to protect the owner against gunshots and fires, to stop bleeding, and to facilitate delivery.

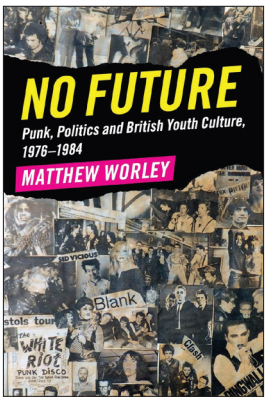
The author describes the structure, typology, and general characteristics of the healing words, the use of Bible passages and song book texts in the function of charms, historiolas, palindromes, nonsense formulas, incantations based on numerical code, short forms. Over the centuries different versions of the same motif have emerged (for example, words stopping bleeding, reminiscent of the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan River, whose oldest known inscription dates from the 10th century).

Ritual dialogues used to have many functions, and since they are familiar to every cultural space, this particular section has been of personal interest to me. This group of incantations has connections to the meaningful and critical times of the ritual year (spells and habits for apple harvest, pest control on St. Matthew's Day, scaring wolves away on St. George's Day or on Good Friday, cabbage disease control on Thursdays). In other words, ritual dialogue treatments for congenital (genetic) childhood diseases, carpal tunnel inflammation, colic, toothache, etc., played an important role. Texts accompanied by symbolic imitation activity, such as cutting, sowing, mowing, grinding, beating, and chopping open up an important aspect of folk medicine – changing the mentality of the person. The origin of the disease is sought, it is sent back to where it came from, and it is destroyed and damaged symbolically – healing is in the hands of the individual.

It only leaves to desire that this excellent research could also be published in the major languages, such as English or Russian.

Ekaterina Anastasova

HOW PUNK IS RELATED TO POLITICS



Matthew Worley. *No Future: Punk, Politics and British Youth Culture, 1976–1984.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. 414 pp.

This is a solid study of – as the subtitle says – punk and politics, and of how to place these two things in the more general landscape of British youth culture. Matthew Worley is a professor of modern history at the University of Reading, and the author or editor of several articles, edited volumes, and monographs on British punk. In his publications, he has very often explored how politics was present and was reflected through early British punk of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Youth cultures constitute a broad field of study, which started in its contemporary form at the University of Birmingham in the 1980s. To make a long story short, we currently have several existing theoretical positions that contest each other. The sociologists who started at the Birmingham school were Marxists and their theoretical approach included a claim that politics – especially class politics – is essential in the understanding of youth subcultures. That theoretical school is generally known as the subculture theory. The following wave of researchers, starting in the late 1980s and early 1990s, is known as the school for post-subculture theory, which criticised the stance of the previous generations severely – the post-subcultural school argued that youth subcultures should be seen as a lifestyle and a consumption practice in which politics and especially class play a minor role. Notwithstanding the fact that Worley is a historian, not a sociologist, he makes his position in that debate clear at the beginning of the book, where he states that "youth culture should not be understood simply as a model of consumption, or a product of media invention, but as a formative and contested experience through which young people discover, comprehend, affirm and express their desires, opinions and disaffections" (p. 2–3).

In his book, the author analyses the political stance in punk through song texts, interviews with bands, and participation in political events such as political music festivals. Important is also the historian's work with the alternative press, so-called fanzines (combination of 'fan' and magazine'), which – although started in the 1960s' counterculture, rose to being a punk phenomenon. In short, fanzines are cheaply made black and white non-professional and non-official culture magazines that were and are usually photocopied. The main role of the fanzines has always been giving a voice to the youth cultures that the mainstream press has neglected. Punk fanzines started gaining momentum

when the British mainstream music press failed to cover the rise of punk in the 1970s. Certain people began to publish their own photocopied amateur magazines, in which they were able to introduce new bands and follow the already established music groups. Fanzines usually contain interviews with bands as well as concert and record reviews.

Worley shows how punk culture engages with politics on different levels. From directly politically active anarcho-punk and nihilist political bands like Sex Pistols or The Clash, the author goes to the segments of punk that are more than often neglected in the academic literature. First of all, the street punk or Oi! is very rarely portrayed adequately in its multiplicity. Worley shows how the political statements of rather anti-political Oi! bands were expressed through certain wording of their song texts or illustrations of their record covers (e.g., p. 86, 102, 242). Worley also correctly relates the political views of "punk-informed" revival subcultures, such as rude boys, skinheads or mods, to their first wave appearance in the pre-punk period (e.g., p. 103).

One of the most important contributions to the social science studies on youth cultures in this book is how it establishes a link between the changes in the mainstream media coverage, music business, and political situation in Great Britain. While punk as a direct reaction to Thatcherism is not very new, here Worley brings in a broader approach, demonstrating how Thatcher's social consolidation process instigated a counter-reaction in punk, to preserve the right to be different. In the last but one chapter of the book Worley explores how the mainstream music business captured the political activism of alternative groups and watered it down. Here he focuses on Band Aid, a collective musical action of the practically most important mainstream pop stars, actors, and their likes (pp. 250–251). Punk's reaction to that campaign was militantly negative while groups like Chumbawamba depicted the whole affair as hypocritical. Here comes another eternal conflict within the punk: how to cope with the situation when the mainstream media, commercial music and music business adopt topics and strategies that are seen as an alternative culture's territory. On the other hand, the book also discusses how changes in the media interest have affected the status of the punk music and its political stance.

"No Future" is an easily readable book and understandable also to the readers who have very little knowledge of punk music or research on punk. The reader is given a detailed overview of the phenomenon in Great Britain during the first decade of its appearance. The author explains very clearly how a youth culture is related to social and political processes and how the transformation of the general social and political climate is reflected in the new styles. What is sympathetic is that this book contests the black-and-white history of (British) punk, showing that the bands who were lumped together under the label

of "punk" had a very loose stylistic and musical connection with each other. There is also a strong connotation of connecting punk music and subculture with previous musical styles and youth fashions, showing this way that punk is related to countercultural concepts and practices of previous generations. The only criticism could be that this book – as the academic literature on punk does in general – focuses too narrowly on music, on how the resistance of punk was expressed visually on record covers, flyers or posters, and literally in song texts. A big part of the punk-involved youth was not in bands and participated in politics in a different way. The book shows, however, that youth culture's politics is ambivalent and not clear-cut, as Worley says: "Punk's politics were messy. They could be contradictory and formative; implicit and explicit; liberatory and reactionary. Meanings were projected onto punk, but also cultivated from within" (p. 253). It is very important to understand that it is impossible to pin down the ideology of a youth culture that has spread across the country and different social layers. There are always inner conflicts, discussions and debates. Apart from being a historical record, the book also demonstrates how historians can contribute to the research usually associated with sociology and literature studies. Therefore, the book under review can be interesting to a wide readership with different proficiency in academic research on punk. The book also includes a bibliography of fanzines and different types of academic literature. Moreover, a reader truly interested in the history of punk music finds in the book multiple tips about interesting bands and their releases throughout the first decade of punk.

Aimar Ventsel

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