



Living like kings?

Migrants identity as parts of and in between two nations.



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Introduction 1

Motivation and interest 1.1

Before I planned my fieldwork I already knew those who became my subjects. Alar, Edgar and Agu were my friends through several years. They are all from Estonia and I got to know them through visits in Tromsø and Estonia. During my friendship with them I had always wondered what motivates them to continue for years having a home in one country and working in another. Knowing them more and more made the question even harder to answer, because I saw their plans being postponed in Estonia. Why did they not work as planned at their house? My interest for their existence and their thoughts during these living conditions made me think of the fieldwork as an opportunity to answer my questions.

My main problem was to find if they are parts of both Norway and Estonia or neither part of Estonia nor Norway? What contains their identity? The hypothesis that I tried to investigate if was false, truth or partly truth was:

"Their identities will contain both parts of Norway and Estonia and at the same time they will feel in between the two."

The study is mainly based on three subjects during the three months of May, June and July in both Hamnvik and in Estonia. Some parts of the study will be based on material from earlier meetings and also experiences with others both in Norway and in Estonia.

A second motivation of mine was to make a balanced and nuanced picture of the foreign workers in Norway by describing them and their living situations as complex. Having them as friends and having an Estonian partner have let me to know that there are a lot of prejudices about these people. From the news I have heard of bad conditions for these foreign workers, such as small apartments with many people and low salary. There have been told few stories of well succeeded foreign workers or how their life are, therefore the thoughts, the prejudices will mostly be untouched and made on false thoughts or the negative picture that the media creates. My film and text can be one response to these negative pictures that has been created so that there can be a dialog and a discussion in order to create a more nuanced picture of the foreign workers.

My third motivation was to establish knowledge in Estonia of workers having a home and work in two different countries. By this I mean that I want to describe the daily life of my

subjects both in Norway and in Estonia, in order to show the complexity of this type of existence. The people back home, those who live like this and those who does not, will have the opportunity to understand this way of life and what might happen if they choose to live like this. Is this something that they want for them self and how have they done it or how will I do it?

Context 1.2

Maps; Ibestad, Hamnvik 1.2.1



The general situation in Norway 1.2.2

Immigration of foreign to Norway has increased the latest years; the increase has mainly been because of labour immigration, as is written in the international migration outlook 2008: “According to national statistics, immigration of foreign nationals in 2006 was 37400, an

increase of more than 6000 compared to 2005. This is the highest level ever recorded. The significant increase was mainly the result of the high level of labour immigration, especially from Poland.”(OECD 2008: 1). Some years ago it was a lot of building work in Tromsø, one could almost everywhere see carpenters building. Because they built lot of, it was easy to get work for a foreign person; even foreign companies, came to Tromsø to work for Norwegian companies.

Some of the foreign workers did earlier, probably still; only get the salary, which was normal or very good in their home country. For example if the person was from Poland and the normal salary per hour was 16 NOK they would maybe get 20- 30 NOK per hour. The supervision of workers opened a tip telephone for polish workers in 2007 and they got calls where they said that they did not have a contract, they did not understand what was written in their contract, and some got 14 NOK, as Nordlys wrote:”– We have discovered many rough situations where the law has been broken, which applies to living conditions, lack of contract, payments of 14 kroner per hour, Per Olav Hernes tells from the supervision of workers.”(Nordlys 2007:1) These workers might have said yes because this was considered as a very good salary in their home country, they would live like kings, but just not in Norway. Recently these problems have been avoided because the UDI (alien office) check the salary and tell the chief to raise the salary if it is too low at the beginning. I still think there is a problem with their salary and other conditions but different problems and maybe not that visible and clear as before. After my fieldwork UDI does not check how much they have in salary because of the new law of free movements over the borders. After the finance crisis it is less work and some companies has therefore moved out of Tromsø. Lot of carpenters has lost their work. For example, I received an email, before I left for fieldwork, from one of the company saying that their foreign workers are going home. Some do not know Norwegian, have little education, and therefore limited choices of work, they have no other choice but to go home.

The general situation in Estonia 1.2.3

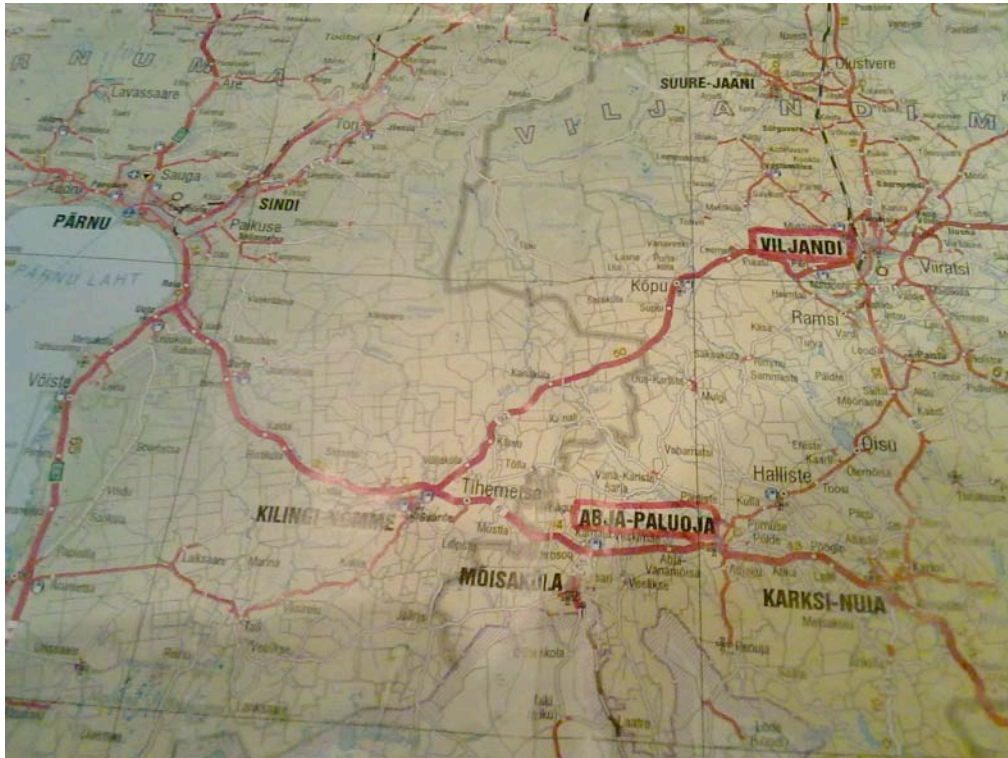
Estonia became an independent state in 1992 and two years later the soviet army left Estonia. During the Soviet time the education taught in Estonia learned the students necessary practices such as building, how to behave and they were thought to study hard. Estonia became a member of European Union in 2004 and because of this the laws of migration changed. It became easier to go abroad to work. One could stay in Norway for three months at

the time without applying. The economic situation can be very hard in Estonia; Low salary, increase of house rent and other expenses. It has also been a problem in Estonia to get ones' earned salary and the finance crisis has worsened the situation. After the Soviet Union the economic in Estonia has increased rapidly but according to Kiaupa and as I have seen the living standard of the people and especially young families and pensioners have worsened: "At the beginning, the reforms brought a drop in the standard of living and even though it has been continuously growing in all the Baltic states since 1993, it has not yet reached the pre-reform level. (...). In equality in wealth has briskly increased, which is most clearly evident in Estonia."(Kiaupa, Mäesalu, Pajur & Straube 2008: 213).

Estonians mostly nowadays goes to Finland and Sweden but also other countries such as Russia, Germany Ireland, England and Norway. A long time Sweden has been the destination preferred by Estonians, according to Kiaupa, Mäesalu, Pajur and Straube: "(...) Estonians preferred Sweden as their new homeland, but a great number of Estonians and most Latvians went to Germany."(Kiaupa, Mäesalu, Pajur & Straube 2008: 194). It is hard to say how many Estonians are living and either working or studying abroad since many might not registries themselves as living in another country or they might work illegal abroad. According to Kiaupa and the others there are about 150 000 Estonians that live abroad: "Today over 500 000 Lithuanians, more than 175 000 Latvians and approximately 150 000 Estonians live outside the Baltic States." (Kiaupa, Mäesalu, Pajur & Straube 2008: 195). For example most of the people that I met in the little village named Abja-Paluoja worked in Finland but some also worked in Sweden or had been in Norway. Very few worked at the village, they had either work in another place where they also had to stay for a period or they did not have work at all. All these factors that I have described above are taken into account while choosing to go abroad but also when choosing to continue being abroad.

Map: Estonia; Hapssalu, Viljandi and Abja-Paluoja 1.2.4





The three subjects situation from Tromsø to Hamnvik to Estonia 1.2.5

I studied three Estonians who live and work in Hamnvik. Hamnvik is a little village at an Island named Ibestad in North of Norway just outside Harstad and about four hours driving from Tromsø. The three main characters Alar, Edgar and Agu work as carpenters at a local building and ship service company but in a different company named Ednar Nordhaug A/S. They started at the company in Tromsø and worked there for one year before the company had to move to Hamnvik because of few assignments.

During the stay in Tromsø I got to know them well. In Tromsø they went shopping, to bar/restaurant, fishing, visiting, swimming, concerts, Kino and so on. They got to know other people in the same situation as themselves, working abroad, and also others. Edgar was at the time single and was very open to get friends and learn Norwegian language. Alar went looking for a Norwegian taught course but at the time it was too expensive. I had got to know Agu in Estonia, therefore I saw that by living in Tromsø and with younger people he got interested in computers, clothes and in general things.

Moving to Hamnvik was a drastical change in their everyday life. The closes town to Hamnvik is Harstad and to get there they would have to drive 20 minutes or take a bus and then take a ferry for about 45 minutes. If Edgar, Alar or Agu wants to go to Harstad it becomes expensive, it cost 89 kroner each way with bus and ferry. This is the place of where

Edgar, Alar and Agu live and work. To them it means that they are isolated and have much less choice of what to do, what to buy and in general of other things. The company is placed at the cost close to the Centrum of Hamnvik and they live in Hamnvik Centrum. In Hamnvik they do not have the possibility to learn Norwegian and their other wishes are either limited as shopping and choice of bar/ restaurant.

Already at the airport one can see that their warm laughter are released and comes from the bottom of their stomach. My three subjects changes drastically from who they are in Norway and who they are in Estonia, such as their smile and sense of humour. In Norway they have a type of ironic humour, which changes to lighter jokes and anecdotes in Estonia. In Norway their tempo is much lower than in Estonia, by this I mean that if they decide to do something it happens right there and then while in Norway they either plan to do something or happens later. This tempo has something to do with their change in the state of mind and their change of life style such as from a regularly life to a spontaneous one. My thesis will contain comparative analysis mostly between their life in Estonia and their life in Norway but also between Hamnvik and Tromsø.

Migration 1.2.6

Trends, categorization, push and pull factors and approaches

The movements of migration are usually from east to west and from south to north but also new directions are being made. Different types of migration are daily commuters, seasonal migration, permanent migration, and local, regional, rural to urban, urban to rural and international migration. My subjects are under the category of international migration but also of contemporary migration, they come from Estonia to work in Norway and have not the intention of a permanent stay in Norway. The typical movements are also followed by them as they come from east and goes to west. Aure writes that the trends of labour migration are contracts of short periods, unskilled and unprofessional are employed and they usually move back and forth. (Aure 2008:15). The subjects are well aware that Norway is “a oil country” which means a rich country. Their choice of direction have been taken because of the wish to travel, adventure and a job but the richness of the country have been one of the factors which decided the destination. By this I simply mean that they would not have gone to a country where they would have earned less. As Alar said, he wanted higher salary than he had in his old job in Estonia. Money and also the fact that Norway is a western country did that they chose to go from east to west. By this I mean that Estonia has since the break up with Soviet

Union moved towards western values, ideas and culture, according to Kiaupa: “Western cultural tendencies, that were in disgrace in the Soviet Union, found a stable place in the cultural life of the Baltic States. Jazz festivals, as well as avant-garde art exhibitions, took place. Later on, rock music began to spread.”(Kiaupa, Mäesalu, Pajur & Straube 2008: 191). As you will read later on, the western cultural tendencies are a goal in itself but will be in opposition to the goal of money and plans, especially for Alar. Being an Estonian means a lot to my subjects because of the break up with Soviet Union and they want to maintain most of the values and culture that is Estonian. Working in Norway means that a lot of their culture are every day contested by the meeting with Norway as being at work, not knowing the language and being isolated.

The reasons why a person migrates are often based upon push and pull factors. Some are forcefully threatened to go, there are not enough jobs, few opportunities, bad conditions, political fear, poor medical care, loss of wealth, natural disasters, and many others might be factors that push one to migrate. Other factors that pull one to migrate can be job opportunities, better living conditions, political and religious freedom, enjoyment, education, better medical care, security, family, industry and many others. The factors which was at play when my subjects migrated are among these, Alar had not a future career opportunity and wanted a higher salary and Norway offered this to him, Edgar did not have a job and with the opportunity of work in Norway he was also pulled by the travelling and enjoyment. Continuing travelling to Estonia and back to Norway they are reminded about these factors but also by new push and pull factors.

The studies can be interpreted in different ways. Migration studies has surround or come up with certain concepts such as `both and`, `betwixt`, `Glocal` and `neither nor`, `in between`. `Both and` and `betwixt` means that one's identity might contain something from `both` this nation, culture `and` that nation, culture, religion and tradition. `Glocal` means that at the same time one might have parts such as actions, behaviour and thoughts of oneself, which one can find both locally and globally. `Neither or` and `in between` means that one might belong to one country live in another but want to live in another, one fall between the concepts made for one or constructed by one. Ones identity is not strongly connected to one area, nation and a tradition but is rather creating rationally or unconsciously a mixture by being maintained. Through studying the Estonians at different settings I got to know that there is a close relation between being `glocal` and `neither nor`, they are at the both locally and

globally but by having such a close relation to two different nations, cultures they do feel in between, neither pure Estonians nor having pure parts from Norway.

They are contemporary migrants but at the same time they have a full time job and a residence in Norway and goes to Estonia only at vacations. My subjects are here based on their contract of work and they do not have the intention to live here. They have all been here more than a half year, which categorizes them as immigrants, labour immigrants. They come from Estonia which is a member of EU and which also means that they now are part of the free movements between countries in Europe. This new law is based on discussions between different people and they came to that migration is a necessary need it has a positive effect. The employers around Norway need more skilled workers but cannot find them in Norway. The new law is supposed to make the process short and effective. Being a labour immigrant and at the same time being a temporarily migrant seems to me as a paradox. They need to live day-by-day having a residence and a home in Norway but on the other side looking at their long-term plan, five years, they can not put their foot down because they are not going to live in Norway forever. I think that they will by maintaining their Estonian identity in Norway be having a slow change or reforming of their own identity. Understanding will always happen in a time, a space and by ones past, historicity, therefore one can never fully now what happens, as Gadamer says: *“To be historical means, never fully having knowledge about oneself.”* (Gadamer 2004: 287). While the Estonians are in Norway, they will try to understand every different situation and by doing that they will understand themselves in these. They cannot clearly understand what happens to their own identity at the time. They will always be in a process of change that constantly reforms their own understanding of self. Understanding themselves in one situation does not mean that they have several identities, as one for each situation, but it is a understanding of oneself as a bigger whole, as Giddens says: *“The maintaining of constants of demeanour across varying settings of interaction is one of the prime means whereby coherence of self-identity is ordinarily preserved. (...) is kept in check because demeanour sustains a link between ‘feeling at home in one’s body’ and the personalised narrative.”*(Giddens 1996: 100). When travelling from Norway to Estonia they will not understand themselves as to different persons but rather understanding themselves in a situation in Estonia from the past, the historicity. By this I mean that the understanding of self will always be a mixture, parts of self that has been reformed through time and space. According to Giddens this understanding of self is a person being aware of self, who am I and who am I and you: *“It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his*

biography. Identity here still presumes continuity across time and space: but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted reflexively by the agent.” (Giddens 1996: 53). Understanding one self is being an agent according to ones pre understanding of self, one will choose according to ones self-identity. But as written above one cannot always be fully aware that this decision are made upon and are like one thinks. The Estonians says in situations in Norway that they are spontaneous and therefore they takes quickly decisions and wants to do something, but as I will write below, the spontaneous personality is different in the different contexts. The decision of being spontaneous is done as an agent but at the same time they are not fully aware that the consequences are different in the different contexts. The differences occur because of different settings, different knowledge and so on. Sometimes being and agent of choices are constrained; one cannot always take the choice that one wants because of other reasons, according to Barth: “(...) an aggregate of people exercising *choice* while influenced by certain constraints and incentives. (...) the connection depends on human dispositions to evaluate and anticipate.” (Barth 1981: 34). In some settings one cannot choice by ones own wishes because of limitations by the context. Such as the Estonians has one way of working in Estonia but cannot work in the same speed and so on in Norway. Working quickly in Estonia secures their salary but in Norway they have to adjust the speed according to the work amount in order to have something to do. Their choice of working quickly is sometimes constrained by the little work amount. Parts of their Estonian identity are constrained within settings in Norway, therefore through time and space their identity will change and be reformed. By being a labour migrant their identity will constantly change and reform to a mixture of Norwegian, Estonian, travellers, carpenters identity and so on. Each situation that they are part of will consists of many factors from a lot of levels of social organisation at the same time, as Grønhaug says: “The real scope of a social study of this type cannot end absolutely at, say the Turkish borders, (...). Concrete events display themselves as part of social life at the local level and at the same time as elements of identifiable structures of larger dimensions.”(Grønhaug 1975: 4). One will not only be pure Estonian, having a pure Norwegian part or behave and act purely upon being a carpenter. Many factors of ones past and at the moment will at the same time be at play, as you will read below.

It is found that there are differences in how people are maintaining their culture or mixing. Harris found that some are mixing without creating the meaning: ”(...)that it `presupposes fixed points of origin for the cultures which then mix` rather than regarding the creation of meaning,(...).(Eriksen 2001: 252). Harris also says that some people might borrow

another culture, religion, and so on or be pushed into the other culture and denied one's own. Sometimes one accept the difference and chose one of them in different situation because they are basically different and cannot be mixed, as Harris means: "(...)they could not be mixed, but actors could draw situationally on either." (Eriksen 2001: 253). Eriksen also writes that one can also reject one's own and take another because it is better: "(...) self-consciously reject their own past and adopt a self-identity and knowledge system they perceive as better or more beneficial to themselves." (Eriksen 2001: 253). Harris present a sixth way of what happens when two cultures meet, there are no contrasting but a generated knowledge by agency: "(...) that of 'innovation and creativity', where 'attention is firmly removed from contrasted knowledge systems and priority is given to autonomy and independent agency'." (Eriksen 2001: 253). As you read above, I found that they are not denying their own culture and accepting the Norwegian or the other way around, the process of their mixed identity happens through time and space by reforming, changing and maintaining their identity. As an example it might look like the Estonians just accepted to adjust the work speed according to the work amount but they always have in mind that they want to work hard and fast and at the same time they work as required in Norway. They thoughts of themselves are reshaped rather than accepting.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen writes that migration has been approached differently: "One approach is to focus on the relationship between majority and minority in the host country; another is to compare the situation, culture and social organisation of migrants in the home country and in the country of destination. A third approach might be to compare different perspectives on migration." (Eriksen 2001: 302). Some tries to investigate the experiences from their fieldwork by comparing the people of the host country with those who comes or the situations and culture in the host country with that in the country of origin. The migrants has also been studied by the different perspectives of them as what view has the people of their home country or the country which they come to. My thesis will be based on the approach of actor oriented, which is to study the actors' situation, behaviour and thoughts. The study is not only made upon their perspective but also on the dialogue with me as a researcher and a friend. I studied them in their everyday life, analysed and compared the situations in both Norway and Estonia, by specifically looking at their identity.

Theory 1.2.7

The theory which mainly will be used are Barth's theory. As I found recently the theory might make me fall in the trap of forgetting indirectly affects and the outside world so I would have to use other theories such as Grønhaug. My approach is to use these theories to help me analysing the social situations in the different fields of the actor. By using Goffman I will try to understand and analyse why my subjects behave as they do, why they present themselves in certain ways in the different fields. Using these theories in this way, by analysing, I will be able to understand if my subjects are both parts of two nations and at the same time in between them. In the chapters below, the analysed empirical material will be used both as evidence and as an argumentation in order to falsify or clarify my ideas and hypothesis. During the analyses I would have to analyse my relation to them as a friend in certain situation where my friendship is relevant. My main question through this paper is:

“How do their stays of long duration in Norway outside their home country affect their lives and their identity?”

During my fieldwork and writing this paper I also have some other questions in order to help me understand the answer to my main question but also to understand the complexity of their life. Below you can read some of my questions:

How is their everyday life in Norway, at the work place and at home, organised?

How do they think about Norway and their Norwegian experience when in Norway?

How do they think about Norway and their Norwegian experience when in Estonia?

How does the migrant experience affect their behaviour and their social relations when in Estonia?

How do they talk about and relate to Estonia when in Norway?

There are different statuses in the working place that affect my subjects. The concepts describe which rights and obligations they have. The terms are made so that the necessary transactions can be made, according to Barth: “The three types of statuses described make up a set in terms of divisions of labour and authority. The various rights are distributed in such a way as to make possible a series of transactions over complementary prestations.”(Barth 1981: 41). The chief, Ednar has the rights to have the final word and he must take the major decisions and relay that Bernt can give the correct order and that it will be done. The foreman, Bernt has office work and has to look after that everything is done correctly and finished to

correct time. He also has the rights to correct workers if they do something wrong but while he is not there he must simply relay that they follow his order. Agu, Edgar and Alar are carpenters at the shipyard but they also take other assignments as painting and ship work and have to follow the orders given from mainly the chief and the foreman. During ship work they also might follow the instructions which the 'shipyard company' gives, which means that the orders has already been interpret but the captain might come directly to present his ideas and wishes to them and he can only hope that they follow his direct wishes. Agu, Edgar and Alar follow mostly their own carpenter rules or the chiefs suggestions while they do carpenter work but when it comes to ship work they have to rely on all the suggestions and sometimes they must make a choice between some of them. The rights and duties in the working place are constantly changing through a long process. As the finance crisis has and are affecting the work place they are under even a bigger and faster change of duties and rights than before.

Some of my findings, hypotheses are:

“Their objective to use time and energy in Norway in order to build an home in Estonia are within some settings that makes it almost impossible to build an home in Estonia. They are locked by the situation that should have made it possible and easier to create a home.”

“My three subjects are like on stand-by in Norway waiting for their real life in Estonia and their stay in Estonia is as an vacation. In Norway they live for the future and in Estonia they live day by day. Which means that in Norway they are thinking about what they want and plan according to this but coming back to Estonia they live right there and then and does not live exactly according to any goal.”

“Their work permit in Norway and the fact they have a hundred percent position in Norway creates some dynamics which makes it difficult for them to reach their originally goal and plans. “

“Living according to the future means that their social life almost disappears and working becomes the most important.”

“Living day-by-day means that their social life and other activities becomes highly valid and work becomes something that almost only happens if nothing else to do.”

“Their use of money follows their way of living, from saving in Norway and spending in Estonia.”

During the day other statuses than the status as a carpenter might be at play during interactions and thoughts, such as a migrant, Estonian, Norwegian, other nations, Village

man, City man, language differences and so on. Some of Alar's repertoires of statuses and roles both taken and given are:

"35 years, Estonian, Viljandi (City), man, Estonian language, Russian language, some Norwegian, perfectionist, short, single, friend, short haircut, border guard, educated, a joker."(April 2009)

Some of Edgar's repertoires of statuses and roles both given and taken are:

"34 years, Estonian, Abja-Paluoja (village), Tallinn (Capital), Happsalu (City), other countries, man, husband, son, brother, grandson, friend, different languages, tall, balled, a joker but decided."(April 2009).

Agu's repertoires would be something of the same as the others but here are what specify him:

"41 years, Vanamoisa (small place), son, brother, father, uncle, friend, Russian army, a joker but serious."(April 2009).

Some of these things that I have mentioned are at play often, some hidden and some almost never. In this sense, I will see which values they try to maximize, which goals they follow. One of my findings is that they value 'hard work and few pauses' but as they have been in Norway for some years and now during the finance crisis they have been affected by the idea of taking it easy during a low period. They continue to follow the tacit codes of working slowly during low period or on Fridays and Mondays as it is soon weekend or as it has been a weekend. By following this value of having something to do while having nothing to do they have difficulties within themselves by hiding their value of hard work. As Goffman writes that one are not convinced in one's own character of that person that one are presenting: "I have suggested two extremes: an individual may be taken in by his own act or be cynical about it."(Goffman 1992: 25) By cynical Goffman means that one is not interested and does not believe in one's own presentation of self during a situation.

As mentioned above, ones identity will always contain parts that are global but made ones own. The Estonians as I studied will also have in the same way parts from both of their home countries, therefore my hypothesis is:

"These migrants have parts from Estonia, Norway and the global world which is mixed in such a way that one cannot clearly define what is Estonian and so on. They are both at the same time."

One has both parts, which is local and global at the same time. Separating ones own ideas and actions in order to find what is local and what is global is very difficult, there are no clear lines. One are for example making global ideas ones own and therefore it will also be local, according to Grønhaug: “The little community has a structure of its own, viz. a structure with a proper dynamic that has its own effects upon the human lives involved. This is the case even if elements of values and constraints in a local life are derived from more large scale systems.”(Grønhaug 1975: 14). Edgar sitting in Norway using Skype is both local and global. Skype is known in many countries but Edgar uses it in his own way. For him Skype means a tool to maintain the relationship to his wife in a specific way in different to the use of telephone. The finance crisis came to many countries but to Edgar it meant moving to a smaller place and a drastic change in his every day life.

The identity of my subjects is in a rough change because of the close relation to two different nations, cultures. Coming from Estonia to Norway or from Norway to Estonia puts them into some situations where parts of themselves are in such an opposition to their previous identity so that the expectations of them and their wishes are clashing. Sometimes they act according to their identity but sometimes they would have to hide it. They are given a status that is not part of their repertoire. This can become a problem but also give them advantages. Below you can read other hypothesis:

“Working in Norway gives my subject higher status when they come back to Estonia. Norway are thought of as a rich country and coming back from there makes them thought of as rich and are therefore expected to buy things to friends. This expectation also comes from their culture, where the household pays for everything when having visitors.”

“In some situations they become aware of their changed identity by being provoked by the opposite.”

Each person has its own identity that has parts or elements that are made relevant, being touched by the event, the context. By being made relevant in a certain way one can define oneself as a part of that event, according to Grønhaug: “His possible advantages and handicaps are made relevant from event to event. (...). Within such a context, a person is defined in terms of the relations between himself and his relevant others.”(Grønhaug 1975: 11). One has possible advantages and handicaps, which are made more or less relevant according to the event. In Norway their identity are being questioned by settings where there are differences between the cultures. As some of the Estonians come home they are in certain

situations made different from the others by being a labour migrant but also by themselves feeling different from the others. By being defined as the other as different at events both in Norway and in Estonia they do neither feel part of Norway nor Estonian.

Progress of chapters

The paper below will be organized with chapters according to my film but some of the material will be used only in the text. First the settings such as actors, place, time, migration and identity will be presented. Then the methodology will be discussed as to how I did my field work by using the ethnographic tool Participant observation both with the camera and with out, field notes and also how I as a friend, researcher and the woman to their friend related and created knowledge together with my subjects. Then the discussion of my theoretical approach will follow; how I will use mainly Barth, Grønhaug and Goffman in my analyses. The first chapter will mainly contain the surroundings that decide the rights and the obligations to the migrants which I follow. Second chapter will discuss how the main subjects perceive and present themselves in different settings in Norway. Third chapter discusses how mainly Alar perceive and present himself in Estonia but also Edgar and Agu, because I have mainly filmed Alar and a bit of Edgar but not at all Agu but I have followed all three of them. The fourth chapter compares the fields of Estonia and Norway and the changes of their identity consciously and unconsciously created and maintained.

Definition of concepts

‘Culture’ will be used in the sense like Stuart Hall describes: “(...) ‘social science’ context, the word ‘culture’ is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the ‘way of life’ of a people, community, nation or social group. (...). Alternatively, the word can be used to describe the ‘shared values’ of a group or of society –(...)” (Hall 1997: 2). ‘A migrant’ is a person who have moved from the originally country to live in another country but here it will mainly refer to temporarily migrants. ‘Temporarily migrants’ do not have the intention to live. ‘Identity’ will here mean belonging and who one is, both subjective and objective, what one’s got and what one is creating and constructing both rationally and as tendencies. ‘Value’ will here mean something that someone value, not necessarily money or economic values. ‘Status’ will here mean the rights and duties, which are combined to a concept. ‘Prejudice’ will here mean the same as Gadamer means, a judgment that one takes before the case. (Gadamer 2005).

Methodology 2

The ethnographic tool 2.1

The relation between the researcher and the informants 2.1.1

As mentioned above I already knew my informants before I started the fieldwork. I knew Agu and Edgar the most and little about Alar. I went to my fieldwork mainly as a researcher but also as a friend but I might have been mainly invited as a friend. Another point of view of my position in the field is as the partner to their friend and at last a woman. Being a researcher and a friend was difficult at times, especially in Estonia when they had vacation and thought that I came as a friend. I had to do a bit of bought, which gave me important information as being an insider. I think sometimes when I did not get an answer or sometimes the laugh of my question is made because I am a woman, but I cannot be sure. My relationship to their friend might have affected the situations when I wanted to film and they wanted to be with him but besides that I have not found something other than mentioned above.

Access, difficulties and ethical problems 2.1.2

Through my partner I have off course learned of the three months, one year and five year permits from UDI and the company and the boss. As a friend of them I have had access to a lot and the research is made by participant observation and conversations about my theme. Some of the jokes are made to me as a friend but at the same time it reflects their way of thinking. The things surrounding a registration and talking to UDI I did not get to experience during my fieldwork but I have experienced this before because I have helped them. This process I tried to cover by having an interview but it is not the same because they are not under any impression like this time when I helped them before.

I think that the relation between me and my subjects have made it easier for me to get access to their meanings and what was important for them. I remembered things from when I met them before the fieldwork and also I got some of these things confirmed by being there. I looked for things that they had mentioned like; they had to wait for material, equipment, people and assignments. They mentioned some things to me as a friend that they might not say to any stranger and it helped me by having those things in mind. The difficulties what I get by being a friend is to distinguish clearly between what they said to me as a friend and to me as a researcher but by having the dialogues it makes it easier.

When I first met these people I thought that they were difficult to get to know. I knew my main actors from before and therefore I thought it would be easy to gain access. With the camera however I got difficulties, Edgar who I knew the most did not feel comfortable in front of the camera, I sometimes used a lot of time starting to film and he started to move so that I couldn't catch him with the camera. I thought that he would get comfortable as the time went by and that he got more to work with. He got comfortable and let me film and follow him; he talked freely around the camera.

I filmed Agu during the period when I tried to get Edgar used to me being there with the film camera. Agu is one of my main subjects, but he also worked close to Edgar so I thought that by filming Agu I also let Edgar get to know me with the camera. The second problem I got then was that Agu did not say very much, he was totally silent during filming. He said that I could film everything and follow him around and he explained what he did and was going to do. I followed Agu around and thought that he would start to talk while I filmed but that only happened if I asked questions and the answers were very short. I so remembered that Agu is a silent person but shares a lot of information with me, so I decided to follow him anyway. He gave me access to information and meanings but not so much on film.

Before I started to film Alar I thought that I had to spend more time with him to get to know him and him me, since he was that person who I did not know so good.

At first following them around the working place and watching what they did, I had difficulties to relate what they did, to my hypothesis of them living in two countries and struggling with their Identity. During the process, especially after being there a week I asked myself why I filmed them working when they did not talk. According to Spradley it is wise to get an overview of one's fieldwork during the process in order to be on track: "Every now and then, during a field project, you need to climb a very tall tree and gain a broad perspective on how far you have come, what tasks lie ahead, and which direction you should take." (Spradley 1980: 35). I thought of changing my project into something concerning what they did, how it is for a carpenter to work at a shipyard, or foreign workers at work. I thought of the change because I had the opportunity to observe and ask of everything at the shipyard but not to find what I was looking for. The second reason was that it was difficult to have a conversation at their working place, because of the equipment that they used. Sometimes they had masks covering their face and other times they used very noisy equipment. I told myself to

stick to my project so that I at least found something and that by the end of the fieldwork everything had come together. I really liked my project and I thought that I would find something during my period in Ibestad and in Estonia and that this was just the beginning chaos. Just in case, I asked questions about their work. During the day at work I continued to ask my self what is the relevance of this related to my hypothesis? In home I talked about my problem to friends and family so that I might find something.

Technical difficulties were few but since they worked mostly outside I had sometimes difficulties of adjusting the iris. The weather changed quickly from wind to quiet, from sun to rain, but I think I managed that after some practise.

In the beginning of my fieldwork I felt that the camera was heavy to carry around all the day. By the end of the day I had to take short clips and rest but I started to use the tripod at the end of the day so it went easier. In the middle of the fieldwork I found new positions to hold the camera so that it was easier and I was much more flexible while I was filming. At the end I could even do long interviews without the tripod.

In Estonia I found some parts difficult as when I came to them they wanted to do different things together with me as a friend but I think I managed to find a balance. When I came to Agu, I already new that it would be difficult to be allowed filming inside his house so I did not take with the camera and only talked and observed, and when possible I wrote notes. After a few visits Agu told me to take the camera with and that I could film him outside and I took it with. But what I did not expect was that I also had gotten so close to him and his family so that I wanted to be careful. I took one shot and then it happened different things what made me think that I would film another day. Well his dog bit my sister the day before I was to film him and I just pushed the date of filming further and further on and continued to film Alar. This was probably the most uncomfortable and saddest situation I met in my fieldwork, because I really wanted to film Agu and tell his story. I think that with more than one week I would have been able to get a film from his place, because he told me lot of things that I can write about.

Creating a relation of trust 2.1.3

The first I tried to do and also had to do was to create a relation of trust. I visited them some evenings before I went to their working place. At this time I did not bring the camera, I went there as a friend and explained them more about what I was going to do. At the same time I

talked to them about their lives and they continued to give me information what was of interest for them. Among these was the problem of getting a Norwegian thought course and missing wife. When I came to the work place they told me to start film with once and after a half day of watching I took up the camera. I had to make one of them used to the camera by filming another but he did not talk that much to me. But after a while they got used to it. I think that they thought of their boss watching the film and he would see that they had little to do. So when they got more work and they got used to see me with a camera the filming went easier.

Participant observation 2.1.4

Being a friend as mentioned above, gave me a unique chance to be an insider. According to Spradley one as a participant observer both an insider and an outsider at the same time: “The Participant observer, on the other hand, will experience being both insider and outsider simultaneously.”(Spradley 1980: 57). When I came to Edgar in Estonia I struggled, by being expected to be only an insider it became very hard to see the situation from outside. Especially finding the relevance of the situation but by participating for about an hour or two I realised that the talking to friends and relaxing was a huge part of their daily life in Estonia. When I came back home to Norway I thought of my findings and then I tried again to think of the struggle in Estonia. As Spradley says one should be introspective and try to ask one self what did I feel: “Then, after work, often during debriefing conversations, she would try to find out what these experiences felt like, how she did things, what it felt like to work as a cocktail waitress.”(Spradley 1980: 57). Trying to ask different question of why I felt the situation like a struggle I also remembered more and more of the other feelings that I had. At the same time as I felt it like a struggle I remembered that actually the whole situation felt like a friendly meeting, good humour, jokes, kindness, a feeling of home and freedom. These feelings led to one of my main findings as to how hard it is to think of work when you actually have the possibility to be with friends again.

During my fieldwork I went into small details about work, for example how they moved their non-power grin; up down, sideways, corner of the grin, then a bit cost, grin. I lost my track at times. I had a hard time getting out of this and into questions. I had tried the first weeks to be explicitly aware as Spradley says: “The participant observer, in Contrast, seeks to become explicitly aware of things usually blocked out to avoid overload. Increasing your awareness does not come easily, for you must overcome years of *selective inattention*, tuning

out, not seeing, and not hearing.”(Spradley 1980: 55). By doing that I lost my focus but then I realised that I could get to know what they experienced. Some of the small details that I had become aware of helped me understand, the differences in their motivation, their knowledge of work, their irritations and so on.

During my field work I had field diaries and note books, according to Spradley, Frake says that it is by doing this that one can write an ethnography: “(…)”A description of a culture, an *ethnography*, is produced from an *ethnographic record* of the ‘events of a society’ including, of course, informants’ responses to the ethnographer, his queries, tests, and apparatus”(1964b: 111).”(Spradley 1980: 63). I used notebooks while I was studying them, sometimes I used it while they were talking and sometimes I wrote shortly after. The reason to write it later could be as it was a long dialogue between them and me, writing might have ruined the moment or simple that I hold the camera. When I went home with the ferry or at home I wrote in the diary. The diary contained all things that came to my mind as ideas of what to film, what to ask, feelings during and after a meeting. I also had a log of the tapes that made me think of what I had on film, what missed and see links between the situations. Back from fieldwork it was these notes that made it possible to start analysing the fields.

Creation of knowledge and checking 2.1.5

I noticed that on the way home writing my notes I came up with a clear meaning about something and the next day when I asked the informants they seemed to not care so much about it and had another point of view. Some of these differences between them and me came because of our cultural differences. Even though they are my friends it was at times easy to see their tacit cultural rules and according to Spradley the cultural differences makes it easier to see this: “The *less* familiar you are with a social situation, the *more* you are able to see the tacit cultural rules at work.”(Spradley 1980: 62). An example can be when I started to notice that they did work, as the other company should do, as something bad. The strange thing is that they told me that they did the other companies work but when I asked weeks later they were happy they could change their work. They thought of the Norwegians as people who did one thing and they could do several things. This constant dialogue between them and me has been important because I have had the chance to not only make up my opinion but also check it with them and understand the situations as more complex.

Back from fieldwork I started to read and rewrite some of my notes. I went looking through my film material and trying to analyse the experiences that I had. According to

Spradley one has to look for patterns in ones data in order to describe the behaviour, artifacts and the knowledge: “But, in order to move on and describe the *cultural* behaviour, the *cultural* artifacts, and the *cultural* knowledge, you must discover the patterns that exists in your data.”(Spradley 1980: 85). Talking about my project and looking through the notes and films over and over again made me come up with some patterns of my informants’ daily life. I found that they all looked at the clock often, they were joking a lot but in different ways in Norway and Estonia, their body movements in Norway and Estonia were different, they had routines in Norway and not in Estonia. Finding these and other patterns made me able to analyse them in the different contexts, come up with findings and describing their every day life. As you will see below, by doing this I can argument for my hypothesis or show what I found instead.

The creation of knowledge is a continuous process which is created between the researcher and the informants, according to Altern and Holtedahl: “Altern and Holtedahl says that science based knowledge are representations of the world like they are presented by A) researchers, B) those who are studied by the researchers and C) receivers of the representations made by the researchers (1995:5).”(Aure 2008: 33). The dialogue with the informants and me are not only for example to check if I misunderstood, but it is mainly how the knowledge is created. The reader of this paper will receive the knowledge that is created between them and me differently.

The use of camera 2.2

The film that I made can complement the thesis in such a way as to show the actual places, the sounds, the people and how they express themselves in different settings. According to MacDougall, the thesis are placed in a context, the words that I use are shown in a different way: “What visual anthropology allows us to do is to see how words fit into the contexts of specific events, along with the postures, gestures, tones of voice, facial expression, and silences that accompany them.”(MacDougall 2003: 7). The audience is given the chance to see for example Alar standing besides the both saying: “This is like stone age”, at the film it is very clear that he is joking but at the same time he is not so happy to do the work. At the film one becomes aware of this very quickly simple by watching Alar and his movements. The words just confirm what the audience thinks. The film and the words are complementing each other by being different.

I filmed by following the daily life of Alar, Edgar and Agu. According to Henley one must by using the camera observe and follow the informants actions, not direct them: “The film-making based on this process of observation lays particular emphasis on following the subjects` actions and recording them in their entirety rather than directing them according to some preconceived intellectual or aesthetic agenda.”(Henley 2004: 109). When filming with the purpose of doing fieldwork and making an ethnographic film one cannot direct ones informant. I followed their daily life and recorded it as I experienced it. Going to fieldwork I had an idea of which themes would be in the film and what I needed in order to tell their story but at the same time I did not know what I would be filming. I filmed the actions, which came up in front of the camera, and I followed them almost in every event.

I did not simply follow the informants and use the camera as a tool to record in order to analyze the events later. According to MacDougall in visual anthropology one should use the camera in another way than to record data: “Emphasizing the established procedures of data-collection, hypothesis, and proof provided the safest way of demonstrating that visual anthropology could still be rigorous social science, even if, in hindsight, we can see that it actually called for new concepts.”(MacDougall 2003: 5). The filmmaking is not only a tool to record the events as the anthropology does. When filming one do not need to have a wide shot at all times in order to show the context. A close up of a Edgar having a distance glance out the window and at the same time there is silence can show the complexity of the context. Having a wide shot of Edgar and the other two at the lunchroom might have missed the point that Edgar was distanced. The next shot in the film of the other company having lunch at another place would not get the same meaning as when it is with the close up of Edgar.

By being a participant observer one can see these details and understand the relevance of them through the informants. Through my relation to the informants and partly participating we created knowledge both with and without the camera, which made me understand how I could film. The filmmaking should be made by participant observation, according to Henley: “(...) on observation, it also aims to be participatory in the sense that it should ideally take place from within a relationship of understanding and respect of the kind that can only arise when the film-maker has actively participated in the subjects` world for an extended period.”(Henley 2004: 109). Participant observation both with and without the camera is a process of creating knowledge, it is not only recording the events imposing in front of the camera. Within this creation of knowledge one are selective according to what is

of importance. To take close ups, medium shots and wide shots of a person, a thing, a place and an event will be of relevance within this relationship of understanding.

Chapter 1. The settings which decides the informants status 3

The history and background of the informants 3.1

Alar 3.1.1



Alar was born and grew up in Viljandi a small town in south of Estonia, with about twenty four thousand people. His friends call Alar Allu. Alar is thirty-five years old and has worked as a border guard for more than ten years. He came to Norway because he had problems with money. He has only five aunts left who he visits while he is in Estonia and talks to on the phone from Norway but not so often. He grew up with his mother and brother but when he was 13 years old he was sent to live with his father outside Viljandi because he had some difficulties with school. At his father he had to work at the farm with pigs and some of the income went to the biggest farm, this was in the soviet time. Alar did not like the work at the farm. As Alar talks of growing up: “I was finished at school twenty three, everything is coming later for me in this life. I grow up alone all time, nobody teach so much parents, doing if you want something, do that (Agu) I was sixteen when I got my first work, farm work,

animals and like this stuff, soviet time was (... , everybody work together,) Everybody work together ,you have nothing, my father had five pigs. I was seventeen I went to army and after that I start to work in border and I do that seventeen years. Before I come to Norway I knew this, in soviet time you learn that in school.”(Alar 21.07.2009)-

Being secretary was what Alar thought that he wanted to be and he studied two years and found that it was not for him. To be a secretary was also considered to be a woman's work and the salary was not so good. Alar had only left to take the practice in a company but quiet the education. Alar started to work as a border guard within Estonia and he wanted to work his way up and get better salary. After ten years of working at the same place he could not get a higher position and make a carrier as he wanted. He had many times asked Armin, my partner, if he knew of work to him and finally he got the chance to quit his job and go to work in Norway, Tromsø. Alar had a girlfriend at the moment but thought the distance between them would be too long so he asked her if they should break up and so they did. Alar did not expect much from Norway because he had never been abroad and did not know what to expect. When he came to Norway he was surprised of the mountains and thought that it was beautiful. After a half year of hard work Alar thought that this was not his kind of work. Some months later his mother died. His father and brother had died earlier and all what was left of his relatives was his five aunts. A few months later in June Alar and the rest of the company got a paper saying that due to few assignments and other problems they had to move the company to Ibestad and if they wanted they could come with and if not they would lose their work after the summer. Alar thought that this was his chance to leave but he stayed in order to get something out of his stay in Norway, learn the language.

The town, Viljandi is especially known for its focus on traditional culture. They have a college, which have a focus on Culture and a festival each year named Viljandi folk festival. Alar goes to this festival each year and he is much more interested in culture in this kind of way than the other two subjects. According to Kiaupa many of the Estonians became very interested in the western culture during the end of the Soviet time: “Western cultural tendencies, that were in disgrace in the Soviet Union, found a stable place in the cultural life of the Baltic States. Jazz festivals, as well as avant-garde art exhibitions, took place. Later on, rock music began to spread.”(Kiaupa, Mäesalu, Pajur & Straube 2008: 191). Since Alar has and lives in Viljandi he has lived with the folk culture being popular and therefore also concerts and enjoyment in this way. When he lived in Tromsø he often went to concerts but as he came to Hamnvik he have not found any concerts or other cultural happenings, which he

want to go to. He has not found a Norwegian thought course either. He is in a constant look for happenings, which I think is based from the ending of Soviet Union. He dislikes some of the Russians behaviour and he continues to maintain the Estonian part of himself as while he every year goes to the folk festival. By the Estonian part of him I mean a specific part of him, as he wants to be open to a kind of freedom where he can be allowed to enjoy himself and not only work. At the same time he is open for changes as to learn Norwegian language and culture.

Edgar 3.1.2



Edgar grew up in Abja-Paluoja a little place with about 1000 people and with few working places. Edgar is now thirty-three and his friends call him Pørr. Edgar has also lived for several years in Estonia's Capital, Tallinn, and worked as a bartender. He has an education as a bartender but has also learned to be a carpenter. Edgar has most of his family in Abja where he grew up. He got married the summer of 2008 and he therefore moved to her place in a town named Happsalu two and a half hours driving from where he grew up. This means that he can only meet his family and friends a few times at his stay in Estonia. He lived few years with his mother and father and as they got divorced he moved to his grandmother so most of his childhood he lived there with one of his brothers. In total Edgar has seven siblings, both half and whole. Edgar went early to Tallinn to try to get a job and after some years and also

some experience as a bartender he took an education as a bartender. He continued as a bartender after that. Edgar has also worked some years in Germany as a carpenter and before he came to Tromsø he had been other place in Norway to work such as Trondheim and Molde. Asking him why he went to work in another country and why Norway he answered that: “At the time when my friend called me and asked if I wanted to go to Norway I had just ended my old work and was looking for work. I had worked in a bar and fixed some apartments to some of those I worked with at the bar. I thought why not, let go and check. And that was two weeks before I went to Norway.”(Edgar 2009).

Edgar likes the town life and especially to go to a good bar or restaurant and enjoy good food and drinks and talk to friends. His main home became Abja-Paluoja as he travelled for work in a foreign country; he wanted to get away from the life in Tallinn. He lived mostly with his brother when he came home to Estonia. From there he could visit his family and friends. As he got married he moved to Happsalu and had this as his main home and future. Edgar uses most of his money to build a home with his wife.

Agu 3.1.3



Agu is the oldest of the three and comes from a little place outside Abja-Paluoja, the same place as Edgar comes from. Agu has all his life stayed in Estonia except when he went to Russia for the military. Agu describes his childhood as a free boy, living close to the forest

made him walk every day in the forest and he become connected to the forest and the nature. Agu has three older sisters and they all live at different places in Estonia. Agu is fourthly one. Agu is the youngest child of his parents and still lives with them and helps them. Agu is the only one who lives with his mother and father but he has not only lived there. He was married in his twenties and got a daughter, which he has not seen since she was three years old but he wants to meet her. Agu has also got a woman in Estonia who he talks to on the phone from Norway and visits in Estonia.

In the military Agu had to go to Russia and he explains it as a hard and cold experience. His father is originally from Siberia. Agu has worked with different things also as a carpenter and a bartender in Abja-Paluoja. Five years before Armin asked Agu to come to Norway he lived in the garden of his mother and father. From his working place he got a little cabin which was about 8 square meter which he placed in their garden about 30 meters away from the house. Here he spent his time reading and sometimes having friends for visit. He left that and moved to Norway and now spends most of his money on things to the old apartment where his parents and he lives when he comes back. Agu has asked their neighbour for help with his parents since they cannot walk so much and do not want to go to a home for old people. He therefore pays him to take care of his parents. Agu also plans to pay a carpenter to renew some parts of the apartment while he is in Norway. When I was there this summer the neighbour who must take care of his parents had made a new sink.

Alar, Edgar and Agu are labour immigrants, they live and work in Norway and goes to Estonia for their vacations. I have noticed that they all are thinking in certain ways when it comes to food. An example is that it must be good and they do not through away uneaten food. Another point is that they do not say very much most of the time it is things that they have to say. In Estonia they use a lot of anecdotes and talk on top of each other. If one asks them personal questions it is not certain one gets an answer and if one get an answer one must not be sure that it is exactly in this way. For example I asked if Agu still had his woman in Estonia and he answered: "We are together when we are together."(Agu 11.06:09). They use a lot of jokes instead of answering personal.

Migration law and taxation 3.2

Agu, Edgar and Alar are paying taxation to Norway which also gives them the same rights to official help same as the Norwegians`. The Norwegian taxation-office laws say that foreign employees can choose to apply for ten percent standard deduction." The standard deduction

for foreign employees is a deduction you can choose instead of certain other deductions to which you are entitled. The standard deduction is 10 per cent of your gross income from employment, but maximum NOK 40,000.”(Skatteetaten- The Standard Deduction). If they ask standard deduction it means that they cannot also ask commuter deduction and if they ask both at the same time they will be given standard deduction and not commuter deduction. To get fully ten percent they would also have to have been staying and working for the whole twelve months of the year and if they have stayed here less the deduction will be reduced. In addition to this if they are considered having a resident in Norway they can ask a deduction as others with resident in Norway, as child-care and payment to individual pension agreements and so on. The ten percent standard deduction can only be claimed for the two first years if one is considered having resident in Norway. Agu, Edgar and Alar have been considered as having a resident in Norway since they have stayed here for more than hundred and eighty three days in a twelve months period, as is written at skatteetaten`s pages: “If you stay in Norway for more than 183 days in a 12-month period or for more than 270 days in a 36-month period, you will be liable to tax as a resident. You can then claim the standard deduction for the first two income years you are taxed as resident in Norway.”(Skatteetaten- Liable to tax as resident in Norway). After the two first years having resident in Norway they can only ask the ordinary deductions and if considered a commuter they can ask commuter deduction. Replay on my question of their status in Norway, registries and living in Norway, Edgar says:

“Off course it is good if you are registries somewhere, you go to hospital, you cannot say your name and nothing. If I don`t have ID number or I don`t have bank number, I need to do that, but after that your government think I live in here, I use a lot of money, I use the money in Norway, travel, no point to work in here anymore, food, clothes, I don`t have money to fix the house. I just come, one friend say that, I was working in a bar, why do you still stay here, money, off course, I need to stay minimum 5 years. Now this finance crisis, what I do in Estonia, but I want to go, but to stay in home with no money, I want to go home, house, wife. In here I feel only in home in this house, but that is all.”(Edgar: 05.07.2009).

Being considered as having a residence in Norway gets consequences for the subjects. As Edgar has a wife in Estonia and wants to build a home there he is spending a lot of money. Having living expenses in two countries limits his way of life especially in Norway. He does not use that much money on himself, he does not go to shopping as before, he buys cheaper food and so on. Having a hundred percent job also limits his visits to home and the meeting of

his wife. The limited time in Estonia will affect the effort done at their house as is a part of their goal of being in Norway, as you will read below. Agu is in the same situation, as he has to take care of his parents and their house in home. Agu uses limited amount of money on food in Norway and also has to get help from people in Estonia to do work at his house and take care of his parents. Edgar and Agu are living in Norway according to a future goal and they are explicitly aware of this goal on a daily bases because as an example they would have to go to shop every day, pay bills and so on. Agu are thinking of his parents and organising for example how they would get food. Alar at the other hand does not at the time, being single, think of this frame as a problem.

As Edgar got married he asked the commuter deduction for the first time, after having talked to a man at work. During my fieldwork talking about his situation he considered himself as being considered by the taxation office as having a resident in Norway because he did not believe he would get it. Agu also asked the commuter deduction based on having old and sick parents to take care of in home. According to the Norwegian tax administration a commuter:” If, because of your work, you have to stay somewhere other than your real home and you visit this home regularly, we refer to you as a ‘commuter’.”(Skatteetaten – Commuting). By regularly it is meant every three weeks but there are also several other rules within the consideration to determine if one is a commuter. Countries that are not a state within EEA cannot be considered as commuters but Estonia is one of the EEA state. If one take care of children in the home-country or/and have a spouse in the home-country one can ask commuter deduction. Edgar had been a single person before and therefore he had not asked the commuter deduction. But as you will read below he and the other could have asked the commuter deduction based on not having an independent housing, he lived in a house with less than thirty square meters in Tromsø. One can ask a special deduction for taking care of people of old age and disability or/and medical expenses. If one has no responsibilities as a single person one can ask deduction if one do not have an independent housing in Norway, have your own home in your home country, is twenty-one years old or younger and live with your parents, and visit your home every three weeks and if less the reasons have to be poor finances or illness, according to the tax administration:

“You can claim a deduction for commuting expenses if you commute to a home in an EEA state and the following requirements are met: (...) you do not have independent housing in Norway. (...) you have your own home in your home country, or are 21 years old or younger and commute to your parents’ home (...) you commute every three weeks. Less frequent home visits can be accepted if there are special reasons for this, for example in the case of illness or poor finances.”(Skatteetaten – Commuting).

As you read from this Edgar, Alar and Agu could not have asked the commuter deduction earlier since they did not visit home as frequent as every three weeks since they had a full time job. Alar does not want to ask commuter deduction for the first because he is not sure if he can ask it and second he does not want to be the same as Russians in Estonia. He might get a commuter deduction based on having an own home in Estonia. As Alar replayed, in Estonia, to my question if he saw Estonia with different eyes after the stay in Norway: “Now I see migrants different, before I thought that the Russians here don` t want to learn our language and some places almost everyone speak Russian, in shop too, like their community. But now I see it is much more difficult. But anyway if you live in a country you need to want to learn their language, you live there.”(Alar 2009). Alar see the difficulties of being a Russian in Estonia but he still thinks that since they live, and as he does in Norway, one must not take advantages of that country.

Media 3.3

The Media has at both TV and Newspaper told stories of east Europeans` as thief, criminals, bad conditions as to how they live and their little salary. The Estonians that I have met has faced little problem according to the medias representation of them. They have though had problems at the bars but as they say themselves they cannot know if it is because they are from Estonia.

Edgar, Alar and Agu does not have a TV and do not read the newspaper on a daily basis, therefore they do not feel the negative picture that I think is created by the Media. The local newspaper had an interview with their chief in order to know how it has gone with the almost bankrupt company. He tells that they have more assignments, which means that Edgar, Alar and Agu have more to do at work. At work I saw the change by the increase of boats, people, speed, joy and dialogues but also by less breaks and watching the clock fewer times. As it is written in the local newspaper, Harstad Tidende interviewed the chief at their working place:

“-Filled up at the garage Ibestad: The order book is filled; It has reached the top now before the vacation at `Ibestad Bygg- og skipsservice AS.

Daily leader Ednar Nordhaug robs his hands and is happy. Increase in assignments means money in the cashier, which is good right now. To Harstad Tidende Nordhaug says that it is hard work now at the garage in Hamnvik.

-It loosened for full the time after seventeenth of May and almost daily new assignments popped up. The order book looks quiet full right now, the garage-leader tells.

Both of the docks in use yesterday it was one bottom boat in each dock, and the waiting line of boats is quiet big. According to Ednar Nordhaug it is firstly about a foringslekter and a little boat, which is in a hurry. But also other boats are waiting.

-The assignments mean that we would have to have one shift through all the vacation. In practice it means fourteen to fifteen men in work. The problem is actually to get people. We had to get work craft from Poland, says Nordhaug.

Three years drift Three years is gone since Nordhaug took over the bankrupt garage and employed the old mayor Arne Ekman as daily leader. Ekman have other assignments now in connection with the company and has become senior consultant.

Against all odds the garage has managed to keep the wheels rolling, and because this company is a cornerstone in Ibestad community it has a large importance. Not at least to keep people in work. It is talk about fifteen to twenty working places in a small island community.

What Harstad Tidende knows, Ednar Nordhaug and Co are working on plans which «to stand on more legs» but what these plans are about he do not want to talk about yet.”(Harstad Tidende 02.07.2009: 17).

The local newspaper did not created any negative picture of them but the interview had created some reactions. I asked Edgar, Alar and Agu if they had read or heard something about what was written in the newspaper but they did not know anything. They felt that it was difficult to work while others had to be on leave. At the same time they explained it, as there were work that they did that nobody else could or wanted to do. Even though they had not read the newspaper, they new these problems from before hand. Which shows that it is not only the newspaper that creates the picture but also the people that it is about. At the same time one can say that it is not always correct. Two days later than the interview, an anonymous respond came into the local newspaper, Harstad Tidende which was printed at `say your meaning, Byrunden`: **“Provoked by filled up** –Why is it still employed on leave at Ibestad Bygg- og Slipservice if the order books are filled up, a Person from Ibestad asks. This person reacted strongly on the newspaper report on Thursday where it is told about the company that goes very well. –I was simply provoked when I read that there was problems to get people since I know that many are on leave all the month of July. But it might be only

Polish people that is needed, asks the person from Ibestad.”(Harstad Tidende 04.07.2009: 2). The anonymous person lays the problem on the polish, which also might be the Estonians. As Edgar, Alar, Agu told me as the chief Ednar told the newspaper later that this was not the case. They needed people but with another profession than those on leave. In this case most of the situation is described but many times this is not the case. At the same time reading the provocation shows that it was a very easy solution to blame the polish people.

Alar says that he feels that this is not so good because it might make it difficult to them to get friends. Asking them about the people on leave in October of 2009 they answered that it was not their business. But they did not like that they were on leave because some might think that they did their work. I once got a question at Hamnvik if the foreign workers had anything to do and if the company in general had work. It is obvious that the local community reads the newspaper and special about what is going on at their community. Alar, Edgar and Agu did not notice any negative affect and they also while I was there was able to establish acquaintances and said that it was easier to that here because they were working together with Norwegians and in Tromsø they did not.

Perspectives of immigrants from others in Norway 3.4

Foreigners are often criticized by Norwegians to take advantage of the wealthy Norwegian system but looking at the statistics done by statistisk sentralbyrå in July 2009 one can find that the attitude towards labour immigrants is more tolerant than towards other immigrants:

”This years research of attitudes towards immigrants and immigrations done by the statistic central organization show that there has been a decrease of 4 percent points in the part that agree or almost agrees that immigrants are doing a useful effort in the Norwegian work society. The part, which means that it should be more difficult to refugees and asylum seekers to get a permit to stay in Norway, also goes increases with eleven percent points. Both the changes are statistically powerful as statements. On a question if labour immigration from other countries than the Nordic countries positively contributes to the Norwegian economic, two of three answers confirmative. This question has never been asked earlier. Both this year and last years research was done in the month of July.” (Statistisk Sentralbyrå 2009: 3).

Most of the people in Norway think according the statistic central organization, that refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants should have it difficult to get into Norway. They do not think that these people are doing a useful effort as to work in Norway. Many have thought that people come to Norway as to think that they would get money from the state and do as little as possible. Mostly when I have spoken to people there tends to

be a negative attitude as this but at the same time they think that there is a difference between those who come to work and those who are asylum seekers. Looking at this attitude, my informants would be met with a more positive attitude. At the same time, they can only be met with a better attitude when people know that they are working. So the first impression that people might have of them are that they are here as immigrants, perhaps immigrants that wants to take advantage of the Norwegian system. I therefore think that the provocation in the newspaper above could have been caused by the fact that the "Polish" are taken advantages of the local company in that way as to take work places away from the local community. According to the statistic central organization people from other places than Oslo are less tolerant towards immigrants:

"Variation in peoples attitude are mostly following the same patterns as earlier. In some contexts the women are more tolerant than men. This year as earlier, the oldest and the lowest educated are most skeptical to immigrants and immigration. Those with resident in the largest towns and in Akershus-/Oslo-area are in average more tolerant than those with resident other places in the country. People under education are more positive towards immigrants and immigration than pensioners and receivers of benefit, while those working are in a average between those to two outer points. People with much contact with immigrants also has a more positive attitude than people with little or no contact." (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2009: 3).

Hamnvik is a little place so it would according to this statistic be very normal if they was not that tolerant towards my informants but on the other hand those in contact with immigrants are more tolerant than those who don't. Hamnvik as a community might be skeptical but knowing those who work at the company and by them knowing the immigrants they could by time be much more tolerant. This means that it might be harder or takes longer time to get friends in Hamnvik than in Tromsø. As I knew them in Tromsø this is partly correct but most of the friends in Tromsø was also immigrants and at the same time the opportunity to get friends was larger than in Hamnvik. Alar, Agu and Edgar said to me that the people at the company was very kind so they are under no impression that negative attitude is the reason but rather the little knowledge of Norwegian language and the time. Therefore one cannot see clearly the negative attitudes that are described by statistic central organization.

Chapter 2. Self-Identity within different settings in Norway 4

The everyday life to Alar, Edgar and Agu 4.1

The window 4.1.1

Experience of Norway in difference to own identity?

While Alar and Agu were cleaning the new dock Edgar was trying to fix the window at a boat named “Storøya”. He had gotten two windows which were ordered three weeks earlier and he was happy it came one week earlier than expected. When I came Edgar had already taken out the old window and he was in the carpenter garage putting screws into the new window. He went out of the garage and up the stairs into the boat and up to the front of the boat where the window should be put to place. I stood outside the boat filming, when I heard “Fan”, it was too little. Edgar took up the phone and called to Bernt to tell him about the window. Bernt asked how little it was and Edgar said that it was so little that he could put it through the hole. Bernt told Edgar to stop what he did and start with the other window. Edgar had to put the old window in again because it might start to rain. Edgar said after the phone call: “This was good the window come but now must wait again, I hope it comes in July. No it can come earlier because it is easy to put this window.”(Edgar 2009). The experience of the window coming after three weeks and then being too little gave Edgar the impression that things are never on time and that the hard work is not valid in Norway. I say never on time because this is not the only experience that Edgar has had. In Tromsø he had several experiences, which he told me about of waiting for other workers with different professions. At the same time Edgar indirectly says that he likes this work because it is easy. Edgar has already started to change his way of thinking of how to work, as you will see below. These words and thoughts are in difference to Agu who says that nothing is a problem. A value can only be true if one are acting according to it, according to Barth: “This can only be true if they usually act strategically with respect to it, that is, make it the object of transactions between themselves and others.”(Barth 1981: 39). Some of these differences are based on their self-identity but at the same time Agu has stayed in Norway for a much shorter period than Edgar and talks as an Estonian of easy as connected to lazy. All three of them talk in this way but their behaviour is different. One can say that Edgar had no choice in this case than to stop the work but what I mean is that he is not maximizing the idea of hard work by saying that he hopes the window comes back before he goes to holiday because then he has something easy to do.

Edgar walked towards the main building where Bernt was and on the way he told what had happened to a man working there, he also a foreign worker. The response from this man was: “It is usual, usual in Norway.” (Worker 2009). Edgar used a lot of time at his work to talk about this to different people. He kept repeating that he had made a correct drawing so that it could not be him. He was obviously scared that his chief thought that it was him who had done something wrong. I know that at some companies in Estonia, especially building companies does not give salary before the work is done and if it is not finish to the date they would not get salary and that this is one of the reasons why hard work and being precisely is so highly valued. Edgar might not think in this situation that he would not get his salary but he felt that his value of ‘precise and hard work’ was put to question. Edgar has been working in Norway before and knows that working slowly is usual at times in Norway and sometimes necessary in order to keep the company going, to have something to do, as he said: “In Trondheim we was sometimes almost finished with our work and the chief came and told us that we couldn’t work overtime and did not need to work so hard because we had to have something to do until next assignment.”(Edgar 2009). Therefore Edgar does not struggle with doing little so much as Alar and Agu who are not yet aware of this, as Alar says: “We do not have normal work, two weeks doing nothing. Normal work is to have everyday something to do.”(Alar 2009: 14.09). But as we have seen the value that makes him still feel a part of and belonging to Estonia is a struggle to him. According to Cohen one becomes aware of ones own culture when the norms of that culture are being put at play by an opposition in another culture: “But, again, we become aware of culture – more specifically, of *a* culture – when we are brought up against its boundaries: that is, when we become aware of *another* culture, of behaviour which deviates from the norms of our own.”(Cohen 1982: 4). The behaviour of the Norwegians culture within the work makes Edgar understand and also struggle for his culture. He does not want anyone to think that he has done something wrong not only because he has not done something wrong but also because it is also part of his culture to be precise and work hard and put all their effort into reach the honour which lies within this. Edgar are trying to maximise the value of being precise and correct much more than the hard work. As nobody notices this value in this sense and thinks what is at play is if he has done something wrong or not, he would not get the confirmation that he needs. Edgar is trying to Maximise his value as according to Barth he chooses this instead of others: “(...), prefer it to something of less value, in other words maximize value.”(Barth 1981: 39). He therefore continued to feel that his preciseness was not at value and struggled that day to communicate his point in different settings. One of my prejudices before going for my fieldwork was that the experiences as this

kind would make them wanting to go back to Estonia. As a part of Edgar's culture has become stronger but also as we have read recreated but as you will read later this is not what counts the most making the decision of going back to Estonia or making him feel more Estonian than Norwegian.

Cleaning the new garage 4.1.2

Different self –identities within one new situation

The work assignments challenge their own qualities as an Estonian carpenter but also make them build a picture of the Norwegian society, some of these experiences makes them feel useless but also make them create new statuses by communicating with the definition of the situation.

By the cleaning of the new garage I mean that Agu and Alar got the job to clean the garage so that an eight-meter wide boat could come into the dock/garage. By watching them I noticed several things. My first thought was why do they need to clean this dock? I think that the answer lies in that they had nothing else to do. The second thing what I thought about was the enormous difference of my subject meaning as you will read below. And then there was the accident or what could have been a much bigger accident. At the same time as I can see this I could get the waiting of equipment into the film as is a big part of their work.

Agu and Alar got the job to clean up the new dock and they must move a very big steel bench. Agu means that he can use the lift to move it and Alar thinks that "that is impossible."(Alar 2009). Agu means that he even can do that alone and he did. Alar told me to move and seconds later two of the feet of the bench felled down just in front of where I had stayed. Alar said directly to me and Agu: "Agu is stupid, what did I say." Agu did not respond because he had done his job, only some feet had felled off.

According to Barth one sector of a person is made relevant when defining a situation: "These component capacities of a person can be distinguished as separate statuses only if they can be shown to belong in different status sets. This requires that actors have ways of defining a social situation so that only one sector of a person is made relevant, that this sector articulates with a limited sector/status in an alter."(Barth 1981: 127). I asked Alar when he was in Estonia of the difference between him and the other two and he said that the main reason for the difference is that they come from different places. Agu and Edgar come from a small place and Alar comes from a town. They have a lot of similarities as Alar and Agu

remembers the most of the soviet time. Agu comes from Abja and Alar from Viljandi and I think that these different statuses was at play when they defined the situation differently. The interpretation of a situation is not same just because one comes from the same country. An actor creates within a context and the choice, according to Barth:

“Human acts are predominately shaped by cognition and purpose, asserted through awareness and voluntary behaviour, i.e. through decision and choice. Regularities in multiple cases of choice are not satisfactorily explained by the demonstration of the presence of some objective circumstances alone, but require an account of how these circumstances are perceived and evaluated by actors.”(Barth 1981: 122).

As we read earlier, it is a difference between the Norwegian way of working and the Estonian way of working. Edgar has changed a lot of his Estonian Identity but there are also differences coming from your thought of self. As we see with Agu and Alar, they have two outer meanings of the situation. They did not agree at the situation and they continued work separately. Alar put the value of security first and Agu put the value of getting the job done first. Alar wants to present himself as a thoughtful person and while Agu wants to be rough in the sense of being strong and not scared. They are in this sense evaluating the circumstances differently; therefore they are behaving and talking in such a different way.

Alar walks back to start on the wheel and on the way he hang up a cable, which lies on the floor. Clock is 14.30; Bernt comes in and says that Alar have to work on the wheel. Alar answers: “Yes I was on my way to start, Agu was alone and needed help.”(Alar 11.06.09). Bernt says that he might have to move the boat that evening and Alars immediate respond is: “Shit”(Alar 11.06.09) Alar starts with the wheel. After a while he looks at me and says: “the radio is much shit”. Alar uses a strop to hold the shift key and screws at the other side. I can see that he struggles he stops and screws again. Then he stops and goes around looking, he finds a kind of a little belt that he can use to strap the shift key onto the wheel. Earlier that day Alar had been holding the shift key while Agu screwed. Alar tries to screw and he gets the rusty screw around a bit. After a while he tries to screw with his foot and when his foot slides down the screwdriver, he says: “I am not a mechanic.”(Alar 2009: 11.06.). Alar has no equipment to get the screws out of the wheel in an easy way and he does not really know how to do this either. The belt Alar just finds and think that this might help, a mechanic has a air driver and this Alar knows so he is not `fumbling in the dark` but a mechanic might know that what Alar later on finds that he can use a spray for rust or another spray to make it easier. According to Goffman when one steps into a new position, without clear instructions, one has

to use thought in order to understand the definition of the situation: “When the individual does move into a new position in society and obtains a new part to perform, he is not likely to be told in full detail how to conduct himself, nor will the facts of his new situation press sufficiently on him from the start to determine his conduct without further thought to it.”(Goffman 1992: 66). Alar and also Agu are in this new position of cleaning up the garage trying to find out how to act. They are carpenters but in this situation their status communicated to in the same way. By their definition of the situation “Cleaning up the garage”(Agu 2009: 11.06), I think that their new status is caretaker or a kind of handyman is. As Alar confirms, by saying that he is not a mechanic that his status as carpenter has no value at this situation and then doing the things as a handy man does, he is creating a new status. As Alar says: “That it is very warm.”(Alar 2009: 11.06). He has a lot of problem to get the screws to open. Alar is looking around and finds a spray for rust and another spray, which he ends up using and the screws loosen quickly. Alar stops and says: “one left” and then he tries to get it open but cannot make it. Alar says shit and watches towards Agu who drives the lift at the other side of the room. Alar walks and takes up an angel grind but it is not working, it is broken. Walking around and trying different methods to get the grind to work but he cannot get it. Alar says that he has to go and get the other grind and then he swears in Norwegian language hell: “helvete”.

Brushing and painting the garage door 4.1.3

Learning process?

My main point of showing this is to show that they does not do carpenter work and at the same time I thought that they learned how to brush and paint a boat without knowing that they later would do that. This is my point of view that it is a learning process but they do not think that.

When I came Agu used a polishing brush on the big garage door at the right side of the main building. He was polishing and painting after each other. At the same time, Alar was polishing the other garage door at the left. He expressed that he did not like this work; “This is not work, we work a little bit here and little bit there.” “I have thought about how Ednar get money to pay us for this work.” (Alar: 06.05.2009). Alar took much more breaks between the brushing than Agu. Agu had also used a knife on the door and even painted in between. Alar brushed and the painted because he did not want the dust to stick on the paint. Alar said that he had to ask Ednar almost all the time how he should do things. Being a carpenter trying to

learn to work with boats. Agu and Alar are trying to create a new repertoire by being a carpenter trying to learn to work with boats, even if they do not admit themselves: “The fact that people are capable of entering into limited interaction in a single status set, on the other hand, leaves a way open for persons to try to construct alternative repertoires, and through them to achieve cumulative results for themselves while at the same time creating new patterns in Society.”(Barth 1981: 128). By learning how to scrape and paint the garage door which is made by the same material as a boat they learn and also associate their work as the other companies does to the boats. And by action, by actually working they have to think and consider the best ways of doing this work, which means that they are learning.

Separately breaks

While Alar was working Edgar came up from the break room and started to beside him and they talked together. It looks to me that Agu and Edgar takes breaks together and eats together. Agu and Edgar had break together while Alar was working. I told them that I most likely would film some of the people from the other company while they spoke to them or were close to them. They answered: “We almost never speak to them, only if we need material or ja sometimes we get help.”(Edgar: 06.05.2009). They explained me that Ednar has an office in the last floor in the main building where the garage is. In that floor is also the main lunchroom but there is a second lunchroom too in that floor where Ednar eat. Edgar, Alar and Agu have a break room where the carpenter garage is. They call it “carpenter garage”. Alar has not seen any other carpenters so usually they are alone in this room. They also used the other lunchroom when they were working up-stairs with the offices. Alar was brushing the big garage door with a steel brush, he then were looking for were to brush next, he brushed, then looking, brushing, looking and the he stopped and watched me and said:”It is kaffepause(coffeebreak) now, listen.”(Alar 06.05.2009). then he continued to brush and stopped again and said:”Do you hear, that’s what I said, kaffepause(coffee break), everyone stop working.”(Alar: 06.05.2209). Right before he said that I heard only one machine in use and then it became totally quiet. Alar worked a bit more and went outside the door and looked at it and then he said: “If I finish that door today I can start paint tomorrow. I must grin up there too, because it does not look good. I think I go to drink coffee.”(Alar: 06.05.2009). Alar had got the same patterns as to breaks like the other company. We went down to the break room in the carpenters` garage. Edgar said:”In Estonia they do not say kaffepause but suitsutund it means smoking break.”(Edgar: 06.05.2009).

Boat brushing and painting 4.1.4

Duties and rights within the company

Christian said: "Where do you come from."(Christian 2009). Sverre says to Christian: "Have you not heard? Estonia."(Sverre: 04.06.2009). Alar says to Christian: "Estonia. Not Iceland. Estonia. Do you know where Finland is, almost same place."(Alar: 04.06.2009). Alar says to Agu and me: "We need to find mamut"(Alar: 04.06.2009). Agu is at the dock, Sverre is under and there is a boy in back. Alar finds a whole under the boat and says it to Sverre who watches it. Bernt comes and Sverre says in Norwegian language that there is a whole under the boat. Alar watches them speaking Norwegian and watches the boat. Bernt says to Alar: "Alar think painting when you watch this, if there is a sharp line, we lose paint quickly. If it is smooth and round it is ok."(Bernt: 04.06.2009). Alar hammers with a little scrub and says: "helvete." The captain had wanted that the brushing and scrubbing should go fast while the boss and the daily leader wanted it done as it must be done. On the other hand as Alar did not know how to do the work he also was advised by a man on the other company, which wanted it quickly done, and the quality was in between the daily leader and the captain. Alar tried to do it as the daily leader told but at the same time he wanted to be quickly done, as it was a sunny day so he had to ask for advice. Sverre came and said that Alar had to go for a break. Late at the day, Alar sprays the front of the boat. A man comes to say that the silver paint on all boat must be finish by the day is over, 15.00. This is half hour before they leave their work. The speed was of importance but as Alar had never done the job before he could not work faster at the time. Alar has to choose and consider the different duties but at the same time he has the rights for a break and learn how to do it. He also knows that if he works slowly he might have to work over time. The balance between the different duties and the different the rights are very difficult and it is at the end up to him but it might get consequences. The common goal is to get it done it quickly but in Alar`s situation he is limited by the knowledge of how to do it.

Longing for home 4.1.5

Even if they are here by themselves they are not totally alone. What I mean by this they have both two other friends who they live with and they are also talking to their family and friends by using Skype and telephone. They are not alone but they feel lonely because of the distance to those close to them and their home country what they have known for their whole life. I think that this longing for home makes them find techniques to handle it, laughing, joking,

being by themselves and with others. And maybe the most important making plans for the future and dreaming of it because this future is why they are here. I have described a situation below which I think represent my starting ideas.

Edgar

Edgar is very clear on that he want to go home in the future after finishing his house in Estonia because he has a wife there which he want to share his life with. Edgar watches the computer and the picture of his wife stays at the table. Then Edgar says: No, my wife is not in here now. Edgar tells me that usually he sits in his room at evenings and watches news and talk with his wife. Usually she is on at eight o'clock. In weekend it depends on what she does. Edgar watches the computer and I ask him what he has done in the summer and if he has done what he wanted to do. Edgar looks at me and says: "In summer I take sauna, beer, relax, and little bit working."(Edgar: 14.09.09) Edgar continues to talk about the problems that he faced by coming to Estonia with his plan of building the house: "I want to buy more land and this takes time. I do not want to start make that before all paper is finished. With this land comes problems and so we thought that we sell it but I do not want to do that. Because this takes a lot of money, wait exactly and see if I get that land. Then I can make sauna and little water place but if not it changes all, problems. Maybe if I wait the neighbour have less money and I can get it cheaper. This neighbour is a cousin to my wife."(Edgar14.09.09). Edgar's future plan is both constrained by him and others. He might not get allowed to build that what he wanted and at the same time he does not have the time to do what he wants, as you will read below.

I asked Edgar if something had changed since he was home last time, if he had missed something so that he felt outside during some conversations and he struggled to find an answer: "I do not know, I am a little bit to new person in this family, this marriage came so fast, so I can't say if something is changed but I know what happens, because I speak, every evening I am in home. Yes off course I miss them, every evening I am in home."(Edgar: 14.09.09). The social situation that is right there and then are at the same time in to totally different places. This situation is both affecting and helping Edgar in how to construct his way of living at the two places. According to Grønhaug one might be part of something that is not at ones place which might structure one in an event: "Thinking along such lines, we can see a peasant's action as an element in social interconnections that go far beyond his own immediate surroundings. Conversely, we may discover how events in one structure deliver pre-requisities for events in other structures (...)."(Grønhaug 1975: 4). Edgar's thoughts of

the future are basically created through Skype and therefore some of his daily thoughts. At the same time coming back to Estonia he has been a part of their life and is not Edgar talks about how it is to come home and how it is to come back: "I feel in home with once. I feel everyone waiting for me, nothing need to change. Only when I come, then it is very good food. This feeling everyone knows how it is to go home and someone waiting you. It is same feeling almost, I have two homes, and I have here and in Estonia. I am so much time in here but this is little bit empty, I have computer and bed but no wife, friends. This is the empty part what I don't have."(Edgar 2009: 14.09). Edgar feels that his home is in Estonia and because of this he struggles with being in Norway. His thoughts, dreams and plans are almost all about Estonia but he is excluded of his wife's, friends and relatives everyday life. He is not there to actually make reality of what he thinks and speak about. Edgar has because of almost only working in Hamnvik and living in his minds at Estonia by thought everyday being little integrated into the Norwegian society. He has given up learning Norwegian even if he tried very hard before he got married and has some understanding of the language as he said: "I give up because I move so much, different dialects here and there, like different languages. And anyway I will not stay here forever, why I need that language."(Edgar 2009).

Agu

Agu explains how his relation with mother, father and woman is from Norway: "I can speak with my mother and father, not every day but usually, but when I start to think how they live. I have not big problem, we are not so young anymore, we don't speak every day, if we have problem we talk. In Internet is everything what you want. I did not have computer when I start to work I buy computer. Now life is easy, not problem with money anymore."(Agu: 08.07.2009). I asked Agu if he had friends in Hamnvik and if something had changed from before he came to Norway. Agu replayed: "Friends I don't think so, we talk, I like to be alone anyway. In home I live in place like this, there are not many people and I go awfully if it is many people, city is awful. I have Edgar and Alar in here, we don't see each other, we sit in each room, we are very different, not so but anyway, we don't have problem. I am not drinking anymore so much, in here alcohol is very expensive, I am what I am, what I have before, tree years working in Norway, everything changing, I am not so young to, every moment is change."(Agu 2009: 08.07). Even if Agu has a woman and relatives in Estonia his expressions say that he has less problems of being in Norway. I think as he says that it is based on his different personal background, he is used to be alone and likes it. The five years before he left to Norway he lived alone and read a lot. Still I do not feel that he has it easier

being in Norway than Edgar and Alar. He is the oldest as he says and with the same interest as the others making a home in Estonia. He has lived almost all his life in Estonia and has little interest of living like a tourist or a visitor in Norway, which means that his stay here has more value in wealth. Agus feelings would be little changed as he integrates little but this is constrained by little interest in people and limitations in language. He has nothing against getting to know people or learning the language but because it has not happened, it constraints him. Therefore his feelings for home and his longing for home will be strong, regardless of what he says. On the question where his home is: "I feel Estonian. My home is in Estonia."(Agu 2009) but as you will see later the experience of Norway and experience of being an migrant, has affected him in away so that he feels in between.

Alar

Alar is longing for the things he does when he is in Estonia, such as concerts and being able to speak his meanings freely. These are the things that he mentions and in Norway he said: Right now my first home is in Norway and my second home is in Estonia."(Alar 2009: 23.06). Alar wants to move back to Estonia in the future and grow old there but he can see himself live in Norway too. As he also lives at the moment he says he lives in Norway but his home is in Estonia. Alar has five aunts in Estonia and that is about all the relatives that he has in Estonia and which makes him less connected to Estonia than before as he says. Still his home feeling is in Estonia. Alar is the only one of the three that has apartment in Estonia and which makes him connected in a different way. Alar thoughts of Estonia are usually connected to practical things but also of longing for his friends the good relations, which he does not have in Norway. Alar thinks of his friends at work, he was wondering what he would do this summer and said; "Maybe I ask a friend to come to Norway and then we drive together to Estonia. But it is just one problem, he have never been outside of Estonia before. Only in Latvia."(Alar: 06.05.2009). Alar therefore wonders if he would find the way to Norway if he drives alone. Alar thinks that it would be a nice trip for his friend since he sits at home, and if he comes here he would be able to see something else. His friend rents his apartment for free and pays the electrical bill and so on. With almost no connection to Estonia and his living residence in Norway, Alar feels that he partly belongs to Norway. The connection with people as family and friends seems to be much stronger when thinking of home.

Language 4.1.6

Alar and Agu stay and discuss where to lift the steel plates. Agu tries to lift one of the plates but he starts the lift and drives it so that they can lift the steel plates. Alar helps to take off the rope which they must take around the steel plates and put up again. Sverre comes and wants to borrow the lift and they say yes. Alar tries to joke with Sverre but Sverre does not respond that much. Sverre is at the time busy working but at the same time the language of Alar did not come so clearly out.

Alar told me that he wish for his future to learn Norwegian language. The money means little. But the reason why Alar came to Norway was to earn money to be able to buy an apartment or a house. When Alar`s mother died he inherited hers and his brother apartments. His mother died of cancer in 2008. Alar`s brother was drinking a lot and he thinks this is the reason why he died. After his mother died and he inherited the apartments, Alars reason of being in Norway changed. He did not need to buy an apartment anymore and therefore he wanted to use more effort into learning Norwegian. He thought that if he went back to Estonia he would have nothing left from Norway; the stay in Norway would have been in vain. If he learned Norwegian he thought that; “It would be good, because maybe only 100 people in Estonia knows Norwegian and Estonian. Ednar, his chief, gave everyone the message that they had to choose if they wanted to come with the company to Ibestad or quite, then Alar thought that this was his chance to quite. But in Estonia he had nothing to do and since he still have friends in his old job he knows that nothing had changed there, as he said: “Nothing has changed; it is the same, same problems, same chief.” He therefore does not want to go back to his old job. Because their neighbor is ”Ibestad kommune” he went there and asked if they knew of a Norwegian course. They said that they did not know of any course and that they should call back. A month went by and he had not heard from them so he went back. He asked them why they had not called him and they answered that they knew of one person who was going to start a Norwegian course. But this man was not starting a course before September because he was in Poland. Alar therefore started to think if there was other possibilities and he thought that he might call to Harstad`s ”folkeuniversitetet” and start to take the ferry back and forward to be able to take their course.

Agu Talks of how the others in working place wants him to learn Norwegian and how his life has changed after coming to Norway: “Off course they want me to speak Norwegian, one friend in here want to learn, but in here it is impossible.”(Agu 2009: 08.07). In their every

day life, they speak Estonian, which makes it harder to learn Norwegian. Since they work and live together it is much harder to break out of their patterns of talking Estonian.

Chapter 3. The reality of the dreams and future plans of Estonia 5

The trip to home with Agu 5.1

Agu phoned me the eight of July to tell me that he had found a car to get us to Abja. Friday the tenth of July I met Agu and Edgar at the airport, Edgar had already booked in and stayed at the self-service box to help Agu. I booked in and then I went with Edgar to send our luggage. Agu waited for us by the door since he did not have any luggage to send. Meeting at the door both Agu and Edgar said that we had to go out for a smoke. We went out, I asked what they had done the day before since they had slept at the hotel in Harstad in order to reach the plain. Edgar said that they had ordered a pizza at the restaurant and had been sitting there and talked and went to bed. Agu then continued: "I did not get sleep so I took a beer, then after two hours more I did not get sleep so I took one more."(Agu 2009: 15.07.). I understood this as being excited for the trip. Edgar said that it was warm in Estonia and said: "Not like here."(Edgar 2009: 10.07.). Edgar and Agu and me laughed, happy that we soon could get some warmer weather and real summer. I asked Edgar how he got home and he answered: "My wife will come."(Edgar 2009: 10.07.).

At the plain to Oslo we had sat at different places. At the plain to Tallinn from Oslo there was a free seat next to me so Agu called for the stewardess and asked in English even if she knew Estonian: "Can I sit with that lady?"(Agu 10.07.). She Asked him to repeat his question and he did, she nodded answering: "Yes"(Stewardess). Agu smiled to me and took his sack, beers and moved to the seat next to me. Agu had talked on the phone as we came into the plane and sitting down Agu said to me: "I have a car but not a driver."(Agu 2009: 10.09.). I replied a bit worried: "I can drive to Abja but then we must find someone to drive it back."(Anne 2009: 10.07.).

Almost at the airport Agu said that he needed a smoke. The plain landed and I went together with Agu out of the plain trying to find Edgar further back but I could not see him. The mood had changed from a calm and relaxed conversation to a tense mood, a rush and a change of few words between me and Agu. Finally out of the plain Agu said: "I will go out to smoke and look for the car and we meet outside the airport. No, do you need help with all

your baggage?”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). He looked at me waiting an answer and I replied: “No, I think it goes ok.”(Anne 2009: 10.07.). I saw and felt that he really wanted to smoke and get out of the airport. Agu said: “Then I go out, anyway Edgar must take his baggage.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Agu went in a hurry out of the luggage room. I saw at the band trying to find my luggage but the luggage from our plain had not come yet, so I looked for Edgar but could not see him. After getting my first bag I saw Edgar staying with his only bag in the telephone and he saw me and came towards me. I asked when he was finished with his call: “Can you wait until I have got my next bag?”(Anne 2009: 10.07.). Edgar smiled and joked: “Noo. I want to see my wife. Ok.”(Edgar 2009: 10.07.). At that point my bag came and we went out of the room. The black glas doors opened and when we came about five steps on Virre- Mai came walking with opened arms and hugged Edgar and then her father shake his hands and smiled. Then Edgar took some steps sideways and introduced me as Anne and the one who would be coming to film them. Then Agu came and told me that he had found the car and that we had to hurry because it was parked at a fifteen minutes parking place. We went out saying goodbye to Edgar, his wife and her father. Agu was in a hurry because he was not at home yet while Edgar had got to see his wife and was much more relaxed.

At the trip to Abja from Tallinn Martin accompanied us. Agu and Martin talked a lot to each other at the start and I and Agu got to see some pictures of his child and his woman. Since Martin could not Speak English I could not follow the whole conversation but Agu translated some of it. Martin had just got a child and his woman was home with the child. Martin had a good paid job in Estonia but because of the finance crisis he had got much less job at the firm and their family economy was not that good at the time. Further on Agu asked Martin in English language: “Can I smoke in the car?”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Martin laughed and answered in Estonian: “No, we must stop.”(Martin 2009: 10.07.). Agu turned towards me laughing and said: “I am in Estonia but I still speak in English, it is difficult.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Agu paused looking forward searching for a place to stop and said: “We must stop I must have a smoke and go to toilet, here, just stop here.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). I replied: “Here outside this house, is it some kind of a hotel?”(Anne 2009: 10.07.). Agu answered, “Yes” and I stopped the car and we all went out. Their lighters did not work and Martin looked into the car for a lighter and he found one. Martin lighted the smokes and went to a shop around the corner. Agu turned to me and said: “He only talk like that because he wants money, I borrowed him some money before but I never got anything back. And now he wants more because he has less work and he has a baby. Off course I want to borrow him money he has

bad situation. But I can't I do not have so much money. Money goes fast in Norway, to food and, it is expensive in Norway. I need to fix my house too and I have family too, a lot of money goes. Money goes.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Agu got finished with his smoke and said: “Lets go into the car.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.).

Half way to Abja Agu took up his phone and called. I heard the ringing ending, Agu said: “Huff, my woman do not take the telephone and she said I had to come to her first. I want to see her but she must take telephone so I know where she is. You stupid woman.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Martin in the back laughed then I laughed too because it was the first time that I heard Agu talking like this and hearing that Martin laughed I knew that Agu was stressed about the home trip and excited to get to finally meet his woman. I asked if he was sure she was not in home waiting for her and Agu replied: “No, she is in work and her parents was with and they must drive home. I want to know when they are home, where they are.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Agu watched me and asked if I felt that we were almost home and continued: “I am almost home, I feel it. It is almost like your home too, yes it is your home too, and do you feel it?”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). I said: “Yes” but looking at Agu I did not have that same feeling and at the moment I felt more the feeling of finally getting there and being at a kind of holiday. At the same time I got happy thinking of Agu considering me to have a home in Estonia and I felt some kind of home feeling after all. Agu continued to call and she did not take the telephone and Agu said: “I have not seen her on six months and she does not take the telephone. She is probably driving, then she does not take the telephone.”(Agu 2009: 10.07.). Martin at the back did not say so much at the trip, he watched the road and listen to what Agu told me in English.

In Abja-Paluoja Agu told me to stop outside of the shop so that he could go to the bank and take cash. I did and waited in the car with Martin. I tried to speak with him in English and he answered all my questions but he struggled to find the correct words. Agu came back having the money in his hands and as he got into the car he putted them in his shirt pocket while he said: “A man is not a man with out money in his pocket.”(Agu 2009:10.07.). Agu smiled, laughed a bit and it was followed by laughter. The next day, my partner and me went to visit Agu. I have found that the first day or the first week Agu usually get the most visits, including by my partner. When we came to Agu who lives out of Abja-Paluoja, his sister sat at the bench outside and when she saw us she shouted towards the window in the second floor: “Agu, come out.”(Sister 2009: 11.07.). I could see Agu looking out the window and his sister shouted once more his name. Agu came out of the door and I could see that he

had been sleeping. Few minutes later a friend of Agu and my partner came out of the house and sat down at the bench. Few minutes later they had found that we had to drive to shop and buy food and drink. I sat in the car to drive, as I was the only one with driving licence. We went to the shop and bought different types of šašlōkk, some beer and Vodka. When we came back another friend had come and Agu and him had put the grill working. We put on the chicken šašlōkk and pig šašlōkk and they opened the Vodka and they took a mouth full of the bottle.

šašlōkk is meat cut into pieces about four centimetres all way, it can be different types of meat but usually from pig. The meat has been put in a marinade, which also varies from eddik marinade with garlic and onion, Curry marinade, sour milk with garlic and other herbs, and a grill marinade which looks like the once we use in Norway but taste different, more onion and garlic. When you buy šašlōkk it usually lies in a plastic box in the marinade so that you can use some of it when you fry it but as we grilled the meat we took only the pieces on the grill. And as there was onion rings in the box one of Agus friend was eating some of them. Taking a mouth full from the Vodka bottle I have found to be a pattern in among these friends. They say `terviseks` right before they drink, which means good for your health, which I think represents the point of this shot, a wish for everyone to get a good future. I have found if the context is right they take a little bottle of Vodka with, when visiting a friend. The context can be like this day; Agu has just got home, friends wants to go visit and hear how he is, like a welcome back, several friends comes to visit. In Norway I would call it a gathering of good friends or a kind of party. Not a party with a lot of people unknown and known and high music but the mood is relaxed, good mood and conversations.

Agu and me putted the benches around the grill and we changed the seats. Agu told me that all of the money that he had taken from the bank was stolen. He knew that he had putted them in his room at a safe place but at the morning they were gone. Agu said that he thought he knew who had taken them but he did not want to say it to anyone. Then Agu laughed and said: “Again this, you see? I can’t do anything.”(Agu 2009: 11.07). Agu had visit all the day when he came and by this he meant that for the second day and as earlier visits in home he gets visits by people. One try to maintain control of ones expression in order to not show ones change in mood and conduct, according to Goffman: “Under our published principles and plighted language we must assiduously hide all the inequalities of our moods and conduct, and this without hypocrisy, since our deliberate character is more truly ourself than is the flux of our involuntary dreams.”(Goffman 1992: 54). Agu tries to control his mood

because he really wants to have visit but at the same time he also wants to build but the two fronts cannot be at the same time. He do not want to say that they have to leave. When Agu comes home, his established social role at home oblige him to have visit which he wants at times but it also oblige him to maintain getting friends. It is difficult for him to break the expectations to the social role he established earlier in his life before he went to Norway. As Goffman writes even if one act an established role by the motivation to reach a task one will find that one also have to maintain the front: “When an actor takes on an established social role, usually he finds that a particular front has already been established for it. Whether his acquisition of the role was primarily motivated by a desire to maintain the corresponding front, the actor will find that he must do both.”(Goffman 1992: 31-32). His actions is not only to control his mood but also to respond to their expectations. I saw a tent at their garden and I asked why they had put a tent there and Agu replayed: “My sister put it there. If I have had enough inside I can go to sleep there.”(Agu 2009: 11.07). Agu struggles between his interests and the expectations of his façade. His self-identity is changed but by the other he is expected and has to maintain his old.

Agu`s sister came out of the apartment and told Agu that their mother wanted to come out and that he had to go and help her. A friend of Agu said that they had to go and help her but at first Agu thought that it would be a problem because she could not walk that good since she had pain in her feet and no wheel chair. At last Agu and his friend went inside and Agu came down the stairs holding her arm while she used her two stocks. Walking the thirty meters across the garden was very painful to her but she was so happy to get to be outside. She sat down at the bench besides me with tears in her eyes talking in Estonian and asked the others to translate: “I have pain in my back, my feet and my hands. I am old.”(Mother 2009: 11.07.). She took around me and kissed me on my cheek, looked at me and smiled. She turned towards the others and moved her hands up and down her legs to limit the pain. She turned to my partner and asked him to go and get her a bough with leaf. When he came back she put those in her wool socks. I asked a friend of Agu: “Why does she put that in her socks? Does it help?”(Anne 2009: 11:07.). The leaf would massage her legs. Agu is not only expected by his friends to be together with them. He has parents to take care of on a daily bases. Time to himself and his woman could be difficult but he is at times taking the choice of going to his woman. By this I mean that he maximise the value of being with his woman, therefore he goes to her where they can be a bit alone. At the same time he knows that both neighbours and friends are taking care of his parents.

Edgar having visit in Home 5.2

I was supposed to visit Edgar and Virre-Mai in their new home alone for one week but I asked my partner Armin to come with to show me the way, since it was a four-hour driving trip in an unknown part of Estonia. What then happened was that Alar got to know about the trip from both Edgar and Armin and wanted to come with and as it was ok to Edgar both Alar, Ain and Armin came with. Ain is Alar`s friend and also lives in his apartment in Estonia. All three of them and me had never been at their house before since it was a cabin they got from Virre-mai`s parents after their marriage. The house had been Virre-Mai`s family cabin and is placed about ten minutes driving outside of Happsalu. Armin, Alar, Ain and me had been in Happsalu earlier. I had been in Happsalu in the summer of two thousand and eight in the marriage of Edgar and Virre-Mai. Here you can see the new married couple on the way out of the church in:



Nine o'clock the morning of the fifteenth my partner, Armin, and me drove to Viljandi to get Alar and Ain. The trip to Viljandi from where I was, Abja-Paluoja takes about a half hour with car. At that time I had been in Viljandi only once before at the Viljandi folk festival in two thousand and seven and had never visited Alar before. The morning was foggy but warm, about twenty five. Just before we came to Viljandi, Armin took up the phone and called to Alar and he asked in Estonian language where he lived and how we could get there the easiest. Alar replied that we had to take the fourth road in to Viljandi from the main road then

we had to go straight on until we saw a shop named Maxima and take the first road to the left after the shop and they would meet us outside his apartment. I drove and followed the instruction that Armin gave me. Driving into the parking lot I could see Alar and Ain standing outside of his apartment. Then Alar asked me if I wanted Ain to drive since I always was the one to drive and we found that Ain could drive first and then I could drive later if I wanted. We started to drive and we stopped at the gas station to buy something for the trip. The clock was about ten when we took off from Viljandi.

After a half hour of driving the thermometer in the car said that it was thirty degrees outside and with black skin seats it was very hot in the car. I noticed, as I also have done before, that almost all the cars on the road were new, new Audi, new BMW, Toyota, Honda, Opel, Saab. I asked them why there were so many new cars on the road and they told me that the prices on cars were not so high and that the prices might be one-third of the price in Norway on the same car. I have also heard that some take leasing on the car, which means that they pay every month, back on the car. In small places one can find old Ladas but that is almost the only old car that one can find. This made me think that the difference between those with money and those with little is huge because either one has a car or one does not have. Those who I know in Estonia that are working abroad plan to start or have already taken the driving licence that indicates that it was not possible before to take the driving license. Alar and Edgar want to take it.

A bit more than a half hour on, we came to Pärnu and we stopped at Statoil to buy something to eat, smoke and to fill fuel. Driving through Pärnu I saw shops like Rimi, Lindex, Jysk and Spar shops that we also have in Norway. At this point I had only been on a short trip in Pärnu to find shoes to the wedding one-year earlier, so I had actually not been in the town.

Driving on, Alar started to speak with Ain, Armin and me about what one had to do to get the driving license, which both Alar and Armin wanted to do: "To take driving license one must take theory exam and then driving exam before it has gone four months. The country wants more money, money, money." (Alar 2009: 15.07.) They went on talking about how they wanted to go to swim at the beach and that they might rent a room at a hotel which they could stay at for some nights. This would give me some time alone with Edgar and Virre-Mai.

About two o'clock we came to Happsalu and Alar took up the phone and called to Edgar, he got the direction and we had already driven the wrong way. We turned around and

drove to the shop which they were supposed to meet us at. At the shop's parking lot Edgar and Virre- Mai stood by their car and waited until we had parked. Ain stopped the car and we all went out of the car smiling to Edgar and Virre-Mai. Ain met Virre-Mai for the first time and shake hands with her and so did Alar while Armin and me nodded our head and said hello. Armin said to Edgar that they wanted to go to the beach for a swim and that I could go with Edgar and Virre-mai. Edgar told us all that the cabin was just ten minutes away and that we all could go to the beach. A bit back and forward talking about the beach in Happsalu and going to the cabin and they decided to all go to the cabin. As I understand Edgar part of his identity or one of his fronts wants to idealise his life change after working in Norway. According to Goffman one tries to idealise ones front in order to become one self, Goffman use Cooley's view as an illustration of how a front is idealised: "If we never tried to seem a little better than we are, how could we improve or "train ourselves from the outside inward?" And the same impulse to show the world a better idealized aspect of ourselves finds an organized expression in the various professions and classes, each of which has to some extent a cant or pose, (...)."(Goffman 1992: 37). The front is idealised by having certain attitudes and characteristic language and is organised in the different situations. Edgar wants to show his friends his house that is to become his home therefore he tries to persuade them, using his idealised characteristic language and attitude. He says nothing bad about the place and uses their value of going to swim in order to get them to come visit him. According to Goffman it is amongst others that one takes the official value, as here swimming: "Thus, when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so in fact, than does his behaviour as a whole."(Goffman 1992: 32). The rest of his behaviour might not say the same as what he tends to say. In this situation, Edgar wanted them to come visit more than to come and swim. He also said that they had everything and that it was only ten minutes away, which almost has nothing to do with the swimming. When we came there it was not possible to swim next to the house we had to drive about three minutes. Edgar wants to present him self and his life as he has it now and he does so by idealising it in order to maintain and become this front.

The word cabin was used about Edgar and Virre-Mai's new house because, as said earlier, it has been used as the family cabin and at this point it is still used as a cabin both by the family and Edgar and Virre-Mai. The trip would also have the character as going to a cabin, by this I mean the meaning of being at a cabin is as this trip to be with friends out of

town and having a nice time together for some days, as Edgar said: “It is just ten minutes out of town and we can go there and just relax and the sea is close by so we can go to swim.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Alar, Ain, Armin and me decided to go into the shop and buy what was needed for the trip, something to eat and drink.

Out of shop we packed the bags in the back of the car and sat in. Edgar and Virre-Mai sat into the car and Ain drove after them through the town and then out of town towards the cabin. We took off the main road and into the forest then after two hundred meters we saw a tree house that had gone grey we took to the left into a little red painted house. The house was surrounded with a garden and around it a tree hedge. Virre Mai parked the car at the middle of the lawn and Ain was guided by Edgar to park the car by the house. We went out of the car to the terrace outside of the house and sat down by the table. Edgar and Virre-Mai went into the house. Alar opened the back door of the car and took something to drink. Edgar and Virre-Mai’s dog came out of their car and Edgar smiled and watched us and said: “This is Scully.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Ain asked: “Scully?”(Ain 2009: 15.07.). Alar, Armin and Edgar started at the same time talking, they all wanted to explain that the name came from a serial named X-files, were the main FBI agents were named Mulder and Scully. Edgar continued: “And if we get a boy we would name him Mulder.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Edgar laughed, watched the dog, smiled and said with a voice like when one speaks to a baby: “Ja Scully, Scully, ja Scully.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.).

Edgar came out of the house and asked Armin and me if we wanted to come into the house and have a look. Armin went first and when I came in they stood at the kitchen. Edgar noticed me and took a few steps backwards and looked into a room saying: “Here is our bedroom, we have put to beds together because it is so little but here is a lot of sleeping places and in the other room.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). He walked about five meters towards the front door where I had just come in and watched into the next room at his left, I followed him and Armin followed me. Edgar continued: “And here is sleeping places, the bed and on this sofa. And we usually sit here too. Like living room.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Edgar went a step backwards and turned around and opened a door and said: “And here is toilet, it is no water in here.”(Edgar 2009:15.07.). Edgar went out and sat down at the table and we followed, Ain and Alar were already at the table eating the food we bought. Virre-Mai was walking back and forward from the car, taking the rest of the things out of their car. She took some pans out and stopped outside the door of the house, looked at Edgar and said that she would put them at the grown so that we could make food in them. She put the dog carpet at the grown by the

table and told the dog, Scully to lie down and she did. Virre-Mai cuddled with Scully and talked to her with almost the same voice as Edgar used talking to the dog. She then went to the table, after a while standing there she said to Edgar that she had to go to town and fix a few things and she would be back later. She took the car and drove.

I asked what Edgar had done so far this summer. Edgar replied: “I have painted this terrace, but I bought too little paint because this wood takes so much in and needs much more than I thought.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Armin who sat next to us heard what we talked about and said: “This kind of wood do that.”(Edgar 2009:15.07.). Edgar confirmed that it had done that and he continued saying: “In future I will build terrace in the front of the house and I will maybe build a room here, bigger living room and maybe that room (He pointed in the window behind me and Armin) will be bedroom. And when I have fixed upstairs then one can sleep there to, it is possible to sleep there now but in the winter it is too cold because that window is broken. We have only plastic on it. But this is far into the future. Future, future.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Edgar looked at the others and tried to listen what they said. Ain showed pictures on his camera of his dog and told that it was used as a search dog. Ain told about the behaviour of the dog and Edgar said: “Scully walks after my wife all the time and when we go to bed, Scully wants to come too and we put the blanket around her.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07). Ain asked: “What type of dog is Scully?”(Ain 2009: 15.07.). Edgar replied: “It is a Ridgeback.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07). Edgar had at the time done little as planned and as I wrote in the last chapter, Edgar did not get to do much either. As you have read above, Edgar has an interest for friends and their comfort while coming to visit. His friends and family lives far away and would need a place to sleep if visiting. On the other hand Edgar wants to have vacation and sometimes visitors. This is what happened when I came together with his friends. I was expected to be there as a friend the first two days, as Edgar said to me: “I hope that we could just enjoy some of the days together and you can do your project later.”(Edgar: 2009). At the time I knew that in a few days time he would travel home, which were the place I stayed. So I fumbled a little bit trying to understand my self as both a researcher and a friend.

I asked Edgar how it was to live so far away from Abja-Paluoja and his friends and he replied: “This is one point why I want to start to live in here, here is peace, no friends, nobody know me. And if I want I can go there.”(Edgar 2009:15.07.). Edgar wants to have a more calm life now to have time to work at the house and the apartment which his wife and he live at until the cabin is ready. He can go to visit his family now when he wants. The summer of two thousand and nine he got visit of his brother and sister and their partner in Happsalu and

they lived then at the cabin. The second weekend he went to Abja-Paluoja to visit friends and family and at that same weekend he also went to the Abja-days. The third weekend he went to Abja-Paluoja and visited his grandmother. The fourth weekend he stayed in Happsalu because he knew that soon he had to leave Estonia. Edgar described that: “That last week is awful you know that you must leave all that but one must be rational and after that all is better.”(Edgar 2009).

Edgar whispered to all at the table because the neighbour could hear him: “I have asked the neighbour if I can buy a part of his land about fifteen meters times fifteen meters so I can make a road up there, (He pointed at the back of the house.) Then we do not need to drive into the neighbour’s garden to get here. I want to make a parking place there too and on this side, (He pointed at the other side of the house.) I want to make Sauna and maybe make a little water to have fish in.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.). Edgar rose up and went forward with the intention to show the land that he wanted to buy. Ain, Alar and Armin rose and followed him to the back of the house. Back at the table, Edgar said to me that he had asked the neighbour if he could buy a part of his land and the neighbour did not want to do that. Edgar had then told the neighbour that then he had to build the sauna in the corner of his own garden next to the neighbour’s garden but the neighbour did not like to have the sauna so close to his terrace so he had to consider selling the land to him. Edgar said: “ I do not want to start building before I know if I get that land.”(Edgar 2009: 15.07.).

Edgar’s wife came back and when she saw the pans at the grown, where she had put them, she asked why we had not made food. She took the pans into the house and put some chicken at the table to fry at the grill. Ain rose and went to the grill to fire up and Alar followed. Virre- Mai came out of the house with a pink hair rubber and said to Edgar smiling: “I had to buy something to myself, it is so good to have your card with to shop.”(Virre-Mai 2009: 15.07.). Edgar and Armin smiled and laughed and Edgar turned to me and asked if I understood what she said and he explained it and continued: “It is good if she can buy her self something to her self so I give her my card sometimes she can just use it. When I am in Norway I transfer money to family. I give them money and then I know what I can use.”(Edgar 15.07.).

Chapter 4. Creation and maintenance of the subjects Identity 6

Comparing fields of Norway and Estonia 6.1

Agu lives a very different life in Estonia from what he does in Norway. As we saw in chapter two Agu says that he does not have friends and that he does not like a lot of people like in a city but in Estonia he gets visits which he wants it but at the same time not but not for the same reason mentioned in Norway. Agu does not plan anything and his decisions are mostly taken spontaneous but his meaning of life is strong and clear, as we have seen. That Agu does not integrate into Norway is also based on that he does not have a plan of being integrated but if he would be asked or stumbled over a Norwegian thought course or if someone came to visit he would happily have done it. As his life situation in Estonia is different and an established home he clearly sees the differences in Norway as it is almost the opposite as his home in Estonia.

Edgar on the opposite side does talk to his wife everyday at Skype and knows what is going on in home and lives through the Skype the everyday life of his wife but is excluded from that actually everyday life. The life in Norway and in Estonia is different but not that drastically as with Agu. Edgar has much easier at work to get relations to those in Norway because it is of a interest to speak to people and because he have lived in Norway before and has learned Norwegian and English more than Agu he also has the possibilities to do that. As I have mentioned above Edgar came to Norway without a girlfriend and came more because of the experience and not the money and since he himself considered himself as a part of Norway at this time he wanted to learn Norwegian to be able to have a conversation and he also had to refresh his English. When I first met him in Tromsø I clearly understood that he read in his dictionary both to be able to talk to me with some Norwegian words and also to understand what Norwegians in the work and in the city were talking about.

According to Barth one cannot find pure types, as for example pure Estonians, or a clear scale, as only a local community: "On a wider scale, such activity ties essentially all local communities together in a kind of complex global plural society, and every basis for isolating and classifying a part of this network seems to have been lost."(Barth 132). One cannot analyse a person's identity as separately as an Estonian and separately as Norwegian, because both would be both Estonian and Norwegian at the same time. A person's identity would always be at the same time both local and global, one would always have to understand a person as a complex global plural society. As we have read above Edgar has already

recreated parts of his culture by being in Norway for a long time. He understands and behaves as the daily patterns of the other company. Agu and Alar are still struggling with the differences between being a carpenter and creating a new status but also creating a new status and a new repertoire. As we saw above the differences between Agu's action and Alar's actions is because of the personal different background and because they just do not accept and overtake the assignments they are under a change.

Societies might act in the same way but would have characteristic differences, as Barth writes: "(...) may interact in ways that are similarly constrained by the rules and agents of modern bureaucracy or international business, but the ideas and capacities that they themselves bring to their life situation, and that they have confirmed and maintained in it, are radically different and variously generate social systems with elementary, replicating, involute or other characteristics." (Barth 1981: 132). This change of a migrant would not make them similar because each is individual. Edgar, Agu and Alar are all from Estonia but they come all from a different background, as we have read, and they all understand themselves differently depending on the time and place of the experience and their interpretation. As Agu wanted to take the bench alone and Alar did not want to move it at all, they are at the same time and the same place but they interpret the situation, their definition of the situation is different. Therefore one cannot say that all people will become the same and talk the same language. I have found that being different, being both an emigrant and with 'immigration' at holidays to Estonians and also an immigrant and 'emigrant' in holidays to Norway they feel in between. They are excluded from the everyday life in Estonia and excluded from the Norwegian society from different reasons as written above. They rapidly have to switch between the situations in Norway to the situations in Estonia. According to Barth some people are switching between the definitions of the situations within one status set: "Such partners will find that they potentially articulate in terms of a number of different status sets, and they seem to create opportunities for active switching between situation definitions rather than distinct for a for each separate set." (Barth 1981: 129). We have seen that Agu had to switch his facade, his role as a friend while coming to Estonia. He is switching between defining the situation as a gathering of friends and defining disturbance of his useful time in Estonia. They are defining the situation as holiday that excludes his plans of working at his house. He ends up being trapped by being a migrant. These rapid changes of place in time make them have a constant struggle with the boundaries of their own identity. In Norway they are much more aware of their Estonian culture and it is at change and reconstruction at all time but coming to

Estonia they are much more aware of that part of themselves which is created in Norway. Their Identity are both part of Norway and Estonia at the same time but because they are both and they are in a struggle facing new situations in both countries and they feel excluded at both places. Their boundaries are therefore in a constant struggle in new situations by being part of so different cultures and still not having recreated their definitions before thrown into another.

They are neither westernised because the changes of Agu, Edgar and Alar that we have seen are not a change were they take the meanings and the values of the Norwegians at their company nor other places, the changes we have read above is a recreation of their own identity. Being an Estonian one cannot say that they are westernized because what happens is that it is a mixture of both, as Eriksen says: “The cultural diffusion associated with globalisation cannot simply be described as ‘Westernization’, but usually is better depicted as a form of cultural glocalization.”(Eriksen 2008: 150). Their backgrounds as Estonians affect their interpretation of Norwegian culture and behaviour. Therefore by the reconstruction maintenance of own culture in Norway and in Estonia their identity are always under change. They would always be parts of both Norway and Estonia. One cannot say that they are either pure Estonians or pure Norwegians, according to Eriksen: “Mixing at the cultural level does not preclude strengthened group identification. (...) Cultural mixing does not create homogeneity, but new configurations of diversity.”(Eriksen 2008: 150). They are part of Estonia and Norway at the same time because one cannot separate the two. One cannot say what is clearly Estonian and what is clearly Norwegian of their identity.

Conclusion 7

The Estonian immigrants are within some settings such as taxation, hundred percent employed, little knowledge of Norwegian language, village, which limits them in some ways to reach their goal. They are conceived as having a residence in Norway so that they have the same amount money that a normal Norwegian but at the same time they have a home in another country. They cannot use much money and the plans have to wait until they are back in Estonia. They can only go to Estonia at vacations so that the time to work at their house and plans is limited. At the time back in Estonia they want to have vacation such as others in Norway and in Estonia, which means that they are most of the time with family, friends and relaxing. When trying to work as with Agu he is expected to be with friends cheer things and time with them. The surroundings are constraining them in many ways which does that it

takes much longer than planned to maximize their goal and values such as going back to Estonia.

In mean time in Norway they are thinking according to the plan of getting back to Estonia in the future, which means that their social life are much less valued than the work. All three of them have contact with Estonians through Skype and their minds and thoughts are therefore every day in Estonia. As To Edgar who knows mostly what happens at a daily bases in Estonia and coming back means that he is not totally blank. At the same time having this contact with Estonia every day construct some parts of their life as to thinking, buying, planning, working hard and in new ways in order to go back in the future. They do not have the high interest of doing something in order to get friends as before with Edgar and now with Alar.

At work they do meet new challenges as to their self- identity and also to the parts of them, which is Estonian. They are trying to find their position at work as to learn how to work at the shipyard but at the same time learning about themselves who they are in that situation and how are they as Estonians supposed to act in the new situations. This we read above with the differences of Alar and Agu, Edgar as having the Estonian value of being precise, at time and working hard. At the end also we read of the differences between Edgar and Agu both having different personalities and differences in the Estonian values. They are all-different and continues to change in different directions according to their plans but also to the situations that they meet. Alar is trying to integrate and learn Norwegian and therefore one can hear him using Norwegian word as in different to Agu and Edgar who mostly uses the swearing words in Norwegian.

An example Agu cannot be social in Norway as he does not speak Norwegian and his English is poor. As we read of Agu, in Estonia having problems within himself in Estonia. How should he act now, coming back from Norway with a clear idea of himself and his plans? He hides his self behind the front that is expected of him. He is and trying to adjust himself in every situations in both countries but he does not feel part of neither.

They are part of both cultures, nations and so on because of the close relation that is described above. They roughly faced with the differences because of the differences and the change of themselves. At the same time they will always feel in between because they are belonging to two different cultures. Only staying in Estonia for a short period does not give them time to settle and be themselves because they have vacation. Edgar has understood that in order to be

himself and get something done he has sometimes to decide himself to distance himself from the others as we read above, Edgar moved far away. The same is with Agu he is going to his woman in order to get peace and get time to the relationship.

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