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TIMBER AND HERRING: MODERNISATION AND MOBILITY IN FINNISH LAPLAND AND THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND, 1770-1970

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To All the Mobile Folks of This World

ABSTRACT: Timber and herring: Modernisation and Mobility in Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland, 1770-1970

The present study is historical and comparative by nature. The research problem consists of two domains. The first one deals with the consequences of the proceeding modernisation process in the two peripheral areas of Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland. Indicators such as economic development, population development, changes in political and religious atmosphere and spread of public education have been discussed to show that although the modernisation process has proceeded differently in each of these areas, both have remained economically backward and culturally distinct when compared to the rest of the country. This has been interpreted to reflect an institutionalised cultural division of labour, as Michael Hechter's (1975) concept of internal colonialism suggests. Because increasing labour mobility and particularly seasonal mobility is one of the most pronounced consequences of the modernisation process in both areas, it has been chosen to be studied as the second domain of the study: By studying seasonal mobility, an attempt to grasp the individual experience of a structural change has been made. In Scotland, the East Coast herring industry offered seasonal work for the Islanders between 1850-1939 and in Finland, the developing forest industry for the lumberjacks and road builders from the beginning of the century until the 1960's. By analysing documents and life histories written by the mobile individuals themes such as what the mobile way of life is like and how the individuals were affected by it have been discussed. To conclude, it is argued that although the modernisation process has produced peripherality on the institutional level in the two areas under study, it has produced also modernity on the individual level. This is due to the various modernising elements that belong to the mobile way of life, such as working in well-organised large job sites and meeting fellow-workers originating from various places. As a result, the simultaneous existence of the modern and traditional on individual and structural levels has become characteristic in both areas.

FORWARD

Four long and hard-working years have passed and the PhD-thesis is now completed. The process has turned out to be a very educating experience, although most often in unexpected ways. Remembering Pierre Bourdieu's famous work 'La Distinction', I now view the whole process as a test, or a ticket, to the field of University. As the fact is that I have decided to look for a job outside the University, it can be concluded that I have not quite fulfilled the specific requirements of this field. However, as the University never felt like a home to me it is easy to let go and start something new. As my brother once said when we sat in a fancy café in Helsinki: "It is curious to sit here in this beautiful old building, in an environment full of history and big names. After all, we grew up in the middle of nowhere in an area where the oldest houses were built in 1945 and most people had moved in just a few years before us."

One of the main themes of the present thesis has been to write history for people whose life was not restricted to one locality only and who therefore violated the norms and values of the predominantly agricultural society. By the turn of the third millennium the era of the wandering lumberjacks, construction workers and herring girls has gone for good and the roads are filled with different people. In today's world, vast crowds migrate and emigrate from areas torn by wars and economic hardship. The well-educated professionals and businessmen fly from one metropolis to another and tourists travel to their holiday resorts. In Western Europe, the combination of a surplus population and mobility is no longer a current issue, since nowadays the surplus population lives on unemployment benefits or is "managing projects" due to the lack of permanent jobs.

After three years work in rainy although beautiful Scotland I returned to Finland and the University of Helsinki where Professor Riitta Jallinoja has helped me to patch what is patchable after three years of unsupervised work. I thank also Professor Risto Alapuro who has commented on some chapters despite the fact that he visited Finland only occasionally as he happened to be working in France this term. Very big thanks go to the extremely good-natured Professor Markku Kivinen who has supported my project in a variety of ways. The pre-examiners, Doctors Heikki Kerkelä and Jukka Oksa, have been industrious and energetic and their comments have been most valuable. I have also had the pleasure to benefit from the expertise of the staff members working in the various archives and libraries and would especially like to thank Mr Matti Lamminen. I would also like to express my gratitude to those quarters that have funded my thesis, namely Kansan Sivistysrahasto, Suomalainen Konkordialiitto, Kone-säätiö, Eemil Aaltosen Säätiö, the University of Helsinki, and the State of Finland. Finally, I thank all those friends in Scotland and Finland who have patiently tolerated and supported me during the last few years.

In Helsinki, September 2000

Riitta Kumpulainen

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1 INTRODUCTION

Background of the Research

Initially I became interested in the mobile way of life that many workers, including my own parents, seemed to lead in Lapland. Particularly men were mobile; the nature of their work and the long distances of the sparsely populated area required them to be constantly on the road. The daily bread was gained by doing forest work or building roads and production plants such as hydroelectric power stations. At the weekends those with a family usually travelled back home to see their wives and children, but otherwise the men lived in barracks situated near their changing job-sites. Living conditions at the job-sites were very modest, and the range of leisure-time activities limited. Why had these people chosen this kind of mobile way of life in the first place, or was it rather unavoidable?

The more I read about the history of Lapland, the more important and many-sided the theme of mobility turned out to be. Labour mobility should not be understood as a phenomenon separate from other developments of the society. Things such as introduction of new industries, technologies and government policies including changes in the world market affect labour mobility: Research evidence shows clearly that at least in the Western world, migration, urbanisation and industrialisation are interrelated phenomena (for example Morrison 1983, Eyerman 1992). Furthermore, it is well known that long-distance internal labour mobility is, together with some other characteristics like high unemployment rates, particularly typical of remote peripheral areas where distances are long and employers few (for example Almedal 1978).

In the present study Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland are discussed as examples of northern peripheral areas. How and why did these areas become peripheral? What are the similarities and differences of the processes that have led to this outcome? Why is there so much migration in these two areas? In addition to discussing these themes, questions such as who migrates, what kind of

qualities the mobile individuals possess, what their way of life is like, etc., will be pondered on the basis of the empirical evidence that consists of life histories - with an emphasis on employment histories - and other texts written by mobile individuals. For example according to Giddens (1993, 696), life histories are useful material when the study focuses on the area between an individual's psychological development and social change, which is close to the interests of the present study.

The act of leaving one's place of birth and becoming physically mobile can be an eye-opening experience that thoroughly changes the worldview. As Eyerman (1992, 38) puts it, the act of migration 'modernises' the individual because it breaks - or at least enlarges – the traditional social networks that form the basis of social identity and makes the individual open to new influences. Furthermore, the impact of migration is manifold, since it does not concern the mobile individuals only but also those relatives and friends whom they have contact with in the place of origin. Migration can also affect such things as family structure and gender role, since the absent person has to be "replaced" somehow. Also the area that receives migrants can change in many ways; for example in Lapland the radical political attitudes of the seasonal workers influenced greatly the political atmosphere of the area as will be shown soon.

Lash & Urry (1994, 253) argue that a modern society is best characterised as a society on the move. With this they refer to the growing realms of tourism and travel and the social organisation of this kind of mobility; the paradigmatic modern experience is that of rapid mobility, often across long distances. Although labour mobility and leisure-time travel are fundamentally different by nature, labour mobility can also be understood as a genuinely "modern phenomenon" since it was the introduction of a new mode of production that increased it. Because one of the aims of this study is to find out how the two phenomena of mobility and modernisation are linked with each other, two time-periods of intense mobility in the history of the two areas have been chosen to be investigated. In the case of the Western Isles this is roughly the first half of the twentieth century, and in Lapland the post-war years until the 'big move' at the end of the 1960's. Hochstadt (1999, 216) argues that rural migration in nineteenth century Germany was at its quantitative peak less of an entry into the modern world than a desperate attempt to resist it - is this the case of the two areas under study too?

The empirical material employed here has been collected from several historical archives. Individuals from the most mobile groups of people - in the case of the Western Islands the herring girls and in Lapland both lumberjacks and construction workers – have been chosen to speak for themselves through texts, which they have produced. Although many differences between these two groups are gender-related as will be discussed soon, the idea here is not to concentrate on these differences *per se* but simply to study the individuals as representatives of mobile people. The focus is on those elements of mobile way of life, which the informants regard as central and worth of telling. The aim of the analysis is not to describe these elements only but also to ponder how modernity is present in them and the mobile individuals. Individual modernity is understood here to consist most of all within two spheres, namely individual freedom and mobility: According to Eyerman (1992, 42), modernity can be defined as the physical mobility of masses of individuals, and according to Jallinoja (1991, 228), individual modernity culminates in individual freedom. Where avoidance of wage-work was a way of expressing one's individual freedom for a nineteenth century Parisian artist (ibid. 127), for the travelling work force it is the act of leaving your home and becoming mobile: At its 'best', the travelling way of life can be a genuinely Bohemian way of life and an attempt to avoid all kinds of conventional commitments.

To give an example of how modernity is present in the empirical evidence of the present study, housing is an element that not only affects greatly the everyday life of the migrants but also has a flavour of modernity in it. The vast majority of the informants describe housing conditions in detail and because such things as flimsy walls, lack of privacy and inadequate facilities are repeated again and again, it would be easy to make the hasty conclusion that it does not have anything 'modern' in it. On the other hand, it is precisely because of the mobile nature of the work that housing conditions remained so poor for decades; if you lived in one place only for a few weeks or months each year, it would have been unwise to invest too much money or effort in it. Furthermore, the general housing standard was not high in either Scotland or Finland, and the conditions of the travelling work force reflected it. In addition to this, life in a barrack or hut was independent and free at least in the sense that there

were no supervising family members present and no such domestic problems to settle as at home – it was an escape from everyday routines. Finally and most importantly, the fact that you had to share your room with people coming from various places could be an eye-opening experience for an individual whose contacts had so far been restricted to relatives, friends and fellow-villagers.

Describing the mobile way of life and defining modern features in it is one of the aims of the present study. The theme of mobility and individual modernity is further deepened by comparing the attitudes and characteristics of the informants to the model of a modern man developed by Inkeles & Smith (1974)[1]. If the modernisation process creates mobility in peripheral areas and if there are modern elements in the mobile way of life, does it then follow that the mobile individuals are 'modern' too, as for example Eyerman (1992, 38) suggests? It is emphasised that the interest here is on the characteristics of the model and not on the theoretical framework behind it, which will be discussed later on. Before that, the central concepts of the study - core, periphery, mobility, migration, and modernisation - will be defined. Then some areas, including Lapland and the Western Islands, will be reviewed as examples of northern peripheral regions. Finally, a summary of the research problem and a brief description of the contents of the chapters will follow.

Approaching Peripherality

A centre of a state, or its *core*, can be economic, cultural, and/or military-administrative. It can be identified by the nature of the nation's major institutions and their location; for example, chancelleries, ministries, courts, and legislative assemblies tell us about the existence of a military-administrative centre. The headquarters of major trading companies, industrial corporations, stock exchanges, banks, insurance groups and trade unions are situated in an economic centre, and the location of archbishoprics and dioceses, universities and training colleges, academies, theatres, operas and concert halls identify a cultural centre. These institutions can all be located

[1] With 'man' Inkeles & Smith (1974) refer to both sexes. The model consists of 24 attitudes and characteristics that according to the authors reflect individual modernity. The model is presented in more detail in appendix 1.

in the same centre, but they can also be dispersed in a few different places. A core can also be identified by the simple fact that the largest proportion of economically active population is engaged in the processing and communication of information and instructions over long distances. In addition to this, a dense network of communications reflects a central position; the denser the network of roads, railways, telephone lines, etc., the more central the area. (Rokkan et al 1987, 25 - 30.) After reading this description of a centre, we can safely conclude that Lapland and the Western Islands are not core areas of the nations they belong, but peripheries. The chief purpose of the area surrounding the core of the nation, the *periphery*, is to produce food, labour, leisure, defence and other resources for the centre. Central regions attract capital and labour from peripheral areas, thus making them weaker by tempting the young, innovative and productive potential to the cities.

The core controls the periphery by controlling the use of its resources. This is done by practising decision-making on such important economic issues as what to produce, where and how to produce, what to invest, etc. In other words, the periphery lacks effective local control, which in turn causes dependency and lack of local innovation: New technologies, ideas and products have to be imported. While information flows are stronger from the core to the periphery, migration is thus from the periphery to the core and not the other way around. Creation of economic activity in the core usually encourages other activities there, but in a periphery this has a comparatively limited impact; small population and lack of capital and other necessary resources further confirms the biased structure. (Selwyn 1979, 37 - 39.) Because of this, governments often have to introduce special measures to promote economic development in peripheral areas: Unlike private companies, governments can focus on creating, nurturing and developing a business environment that will, for example, specialise in producing one or a few particular products. At best this can lead to a self-contained regional economy. (Fynes & Ennis 1997, 6.) Core-periphery systems exist not only in the national but also in the international context, and, for example, in the European Union questions of uneven development and location of important institutions and production plants are continuous sources of disagreements. Seers (1979, 8 - 9), distinguishes two core areas in the European periphery in the latter half of the twentieth century, namely Central Europe and US. In the European context, core-

periphery systems can be traced as far back as the fifteenth century. Economic leadership has shifted from one country to another as the centuries have passed; although core-periphery systems are not unchanging, they are very persistent by nature. Transformation can take place when operations within the market alter, technology changes or the government decides to interfere (Selwyn 1979, 37).

Michael Hechter (1975, 4 – 10; 1992, 267 - 268) refers to the emergence of nationalism and the building of nation-states as one of the major social forces in the modern world. Because most modern states were composed of two or more distinct cultural groups, it became necessary to develop effective bureaucratic administrations that held the nations together. The location of these organs gave rise to the so-called core areas of the country. In Hechter's model of *internal colonialism* these cores dominate the surrounding peripheral areas politically and exploit them materially. Nationalism[2] and modernisation are understood as processes that almost inevitably result in inequality, creating relatively less advanced and more advanced groups, and distributing power and resources in an unbalanced way. In order to institutionalise the already existing stratification system, the core stabilises and monopolises its advantageous position by reserving roles of high prestige for its members only. This stratification system - in other words a cultural division of labour - develops distinctive ethnic identification and groups inside the same nation. Acculturation of these groups does not occur because it is more beneficial for the core to maintain the *status quo*.

Hechter (1975, 30-34, 43) also adds some features to the list of characteristics typical of peripheral areas. The ecological distribution of cities is different in colonies since they tend to be located on coastal regions with direct access to the metropolis, serving mainly as way stations in the trade between colonial hinterlands and metropolitan parts. If there are any industries in the periphery, they are highly specialised and geared for export and therefore sensitive to economic fluctuations of the international market: High levels of migration and internal migration reflect this biased economic

[2] By nationalism Hechter refers to "processes by which a state characterised by sectional, or otherwise competing economies, polities and cultures, within a given territory, is transformed to a single, all-pervasive, and in this sense 'national' economy, polity and culture" (Hechter 1975, 17).

structure. Also the lack of services, low standard of living and higher level of frustration measured by such indictors as consumption of alcohol and suicide rates are typical of peripheral areas. The greater the economic gap between the core and the periphery, the bigger the frequency of intra-collectivity communication, and the greater the inter group differences of culture, the bigger the probability that the culturally distinct peripheral collectivity will be status solidarity. In practise this means that there are observable differences in language, religion and life-style. As a consequence, the disadvantaged group may reactively assert its own culture as equal or superior to that of the core, and this leads to malintegration and ultimately strivings for independence.

To summarise Hechter's (1975) main argument, peripheral ethnic identity persists despite the proceeding modernisation process because of the institutionalisation of a cultural division of labour. Hechter's concept of internal colonialism as opposed to the cultural diffusion theories that assume economic integration to precede cultural integration and subsequent national development was welcomed by many social scientists. However, it has also gained criticism. It has been challenged particularly for its underlying assumption that people living in peripheral areas have unfragmented interests. It has also been criticised for its empirical defects, narrow use of concepts, and lack of wider international context[3]. Furthermore, scholars such as Cardoso & Faletto (1979) have argued that some national economies need raw materials produced by unskilled labour and some industrial goods produced by cheap labour, whereas, others need to import equipment and capital goods. In other words, the local conditions and colonialist politics have less to do with the resulting structural dependency than it is often assumed, as underdevelopment and poverty result also from the international division of labour.

However, Hechter's (1975) model has been applied to many studies successfully. It has been applicable for instance in the case studies of Alaska and Quebec[4], both places with ethnic minorities, clear cultural division of labour, and a strong sense of ethnic solidarity. From the point of view of the present study, Hechter's approach is

[3] See for example Stone (1979), Williams, Glyn (1983) and Williams, Stephen (1983).
[4] See McRoberts (1979), 293-318 and Ritter (1979), 319-340.

relevant as it views regional inequality as an outcome of the modernisation process and nation-building: Because of the historical nature of the study and Finland's late nation-building and independence, this approach has turned out to be particularly useful. It is also evident that when compared to the rest of the country both Lapland and the Western Islands have observable differences in language, religion and life-style, which confirms one of Hechter's main arguments, namely that peripherality is reflected also in the sphere of culture. Furthermore, Hechter developed his model on the basis of nation-building in Britain, and one of its main tasks was to explain how Scotland was Anglicised and marginalised by the English. In Finland, for example Risto Alapuro (1979; 1980; 1988) has applied Hechter's approach when studying the modernisation process and emergence of regional roles in Finland.

Even though the more recent trends in rural sociology stress the impact of the so-called globalisation process in regional development and a small locality –perspective (for example Massey 1984, Oksa 1998, etc.), the centre-periphery framework has been chosen to be employed here because of the historical nature of the research problem. Furthermore, for example, in the context of the European Union, centre-periphery framework is still relevant, and questions concerning the location of important institutions and support of the underdeveloped areas are debated in length. Although certain globalisation tendencies might have existed particularly in the sphere of markets as long as capitalistic mode of production (see for example Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton 1999), many social scientists regard globalisation as a new phenomenon. For example, Manuel Castells (1997) sees the 1970's oil crisis as the turning point and beginning of the globalisation process, whereas some scholars date it as late as in the 1980's (Heiskala 1999, 11). In view of the time-period of the present study this is of course incompatible, as such signs as rapidly growing information technologies and networking were simply not yet present. However, the impact of the international developments has been discussed also here when relevant, most commonly in the context of the economic life. It should also be acknowledged that centre-periphery relations are particularly important when the problem concerns nations that have become independence recently. For example in the case of Finland, the nation-building process took place so late and proceeded so rapidly that many remotely located areas such as Lapland had not yet had much contact with the rest of

the nation and were in no position to make demands or influence their future. By acting under the cover of patriotism the state could, for example, legitimise its exploitative forest policy in Lapland and the same rhetoric could be utilised again after the Second World War, as the war indemnities had to be paid. It is no coincidence that also many contemporary authors and globalisation experts such as Castells (1997) and Hirst & Thompson (1996) stress the importance of the nation-states and nationalism as important forces in today's world: The role of the nation-states might have changed during the last decades, but nationalist identities that can be useful, for example, in the legitimisation of civil wars, have not disappeared anywhere. Finally, choosing a small locality –perspective in the context of the present study would have not allowed the use of empirical evidence produced by informants coming from various places, which is particularly important in the case of Lapland as it was an area gaining migrants in the time-period under study.

Modernisation and Mobility

In addition to the concepts of core and periphery, there are two other central concepts in this study. The first one is *mobility*, which is defined here briefly as all kinds of territorial movements over various distances, including temporary and permanent ones[5]. However, although this term is used synonymously with migration, it does not mean that different types of mobility – chiefly emigration, migration and seasonal migration - would have an equal impact on the individual, place of origin and destination. *Emigration* can be characterised as a total act where ties to the old community are cut at once. Its 'modernising impact' is limited in the place of origin, as the emigrants can visit their homes only at long intervals, particularly if they have moved to overseas destinations. For the emigrant, moving to a different environment can be the most revolutionary experience, as he/she has to adapt himself/herself to the alien culture. The act of *migration* can also be quite total by nature, particularly if the destination is situated far away from home. However, holidays are often spent at home

[5] Many studies (May 1977, Kosinski 1975, etc.) distinguish between mobility and migration; the latter is seen as a more permanent move in character. This distinction, however, is not particularly fruitful in the present study. For example, the seasonal migration from the Western Isles was originally meant to be temporary and it usually remained as such, but in the case of Lapland temporary migration often led to a permanent move.

and there is more contact with the place of origin. For the moving individual migrating inside the same culture can be an easier experience than emigrating. Due to the frequent contacts migration can change, or modernise, both the migrant and the place of origin. Both emigrants and migrants naturally bring their own culture to the new environment and to some extent influence it, but because the local culture has developed its traditions over a long period of time, it is usually the newcomers that have to adapt themselves to the surrounding culture. However, this is not always the case, particularly if we are talking about a large number of new settlers or colonialism.

Finally, there is *seasonal migration*, which is the main interest of the present study. Despite the fact that seasonal migration often aims to preserve the accustomed way of life, it can be argued that at its best it is also the most modernising type of mobility, as it influences not only the individual but also the place of origin and destination. New attitudes, habits, work techniques, etc., learnt 'on the road' can be passed to the home community without delay, since there are no fears or cultural barriers hampering the adaptation process as there might be when the newcomers act as innovators. Furthermore, the place of origin does not lose its young and innovative population permanently as is the case in emigration and migration. Finally, seasonal migration affects also the destination, particularly if we are talking about large numbers of migrants who spend a relatively long time at one place. However, although the potential of seasonal migration is great when viewed from the point of view of change and modernisation, its impact can be restricted for example in the place of origin due to the lack of money and underdeveloped infrastructure (O'Dowd 1991, 259), as will be discussed later on.

The second central term of the present study that has already been discussed to some extent is the opposite of tradition, namely *modernisation*, which is also termed here as social change or industrialisation. The concept of modernisation has many definitions, since it is a complex term and cannot be explained by one variable only. In fact, it is quite close to the concept of *globalisation*, which Giddens (1990, 64) defines as a dialectical process where events taking place in distant localities, and affect each other due to the intensification of world wide social relations. According to Giddens (1990, 63 – 77), modernity is itself inherently globalising: All four central elements of

modernity – the development of capitalistic world markets, the rise of the nation-state system, the emergence of military blocs and the rise of global infrastructures of communications - have a globalising thrust. Furthermore, like modernisation, globalisation is understood to work in an uneven manner, reinforcing the inequalities of power and wealth between and across nations. However, in the context of the present study it has been decided to use the concept of modernisation rather than globalisation; as already discussed, factors such as the time-period of the study and Finland's late state consolidation and industrialisation have affected the choice. Furthermore, in the two areas under study there are few signs of a force that would, for example, simultaneously and intensely produce localising and universalising tendencies as globalisation is supposed to do.

Cyril Black defines modernisation as "a process by which societies have been and are being transformed under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution." (1975, 3). S.N. Eisenstadt (1966, 1) emphasises the universal nature of the modernisation process, since nations and states are caught in its web, thus becoming modernised or continuing their own traditions of modernity. In Eisenstadt's words "Historically, modernisation is the process of change towards those types of social, economic, and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth and have then spread to other European countries and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the South American, Asian, and African continents." According to Volgyes (1978, 149), the modernisation of any rural society means a thorough change of polity, and this transforms the whole commune. Values change too, becoming more open, urban, and cosmopolitan; there is no escape since rural transformation takes place in every society where the modernisation process proceeds. In Jallinoja's words (1991, 36 – 40), the large-scale industrial and institutional change - in other words the expansion of the market economy - operates both on national and individual levels. As there is no total revolution in which the ties to the past are cut at once, it is important to understand that the lifestyle of the people and society change together: Mass production, literacy and urbanisation extend their impact to every life and corner of the world.

To summarise, modernisation is understood here as a process and as modes of social life or organisation that emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less world wide in their influence (Giddens 1990, 1). To make this definition more concrete, the concept has been discussed in the context of population development, gross national product, industrial life, living standard, education, religion and politics. On the individual level, to be a fisher girl, lumberjack or a construction worker meant that you became mobile because of your trade. It also meant that people who had previously stayed in one locality started migrating and on a scale that was something previously unheard of. It is true, for example, that during the nineteenth century many farm workers had to adapt themselves to mobility too, particularly if they were engaged in harvesting, but they seldom travelled such long distances as the three groups here and nor did they spend such long time-periods on the road. They did not travel together as large crowds, their accommodation arrangements were different, their wages were poorer and often at least partly in kind, and their working methods were not factory-like. As opposed to this, the way of life of the fisher girls, lumberjacks and construction workers is a product of the accelerating modernisation process, changing society and changing markets and therefore unique in its from.

Approaching Migration

It is well known that migration studies often lack theoretical basis and therefore tend to remain on a purely descriptive level[6]. One reason for this is the complex nature of migration - interdisciplinary efforts are necessary to understand the problem, and this makes the formation of theory difficult. The reasons lying behind the decision to migrate are usually many-sided and the traditional, purely economic models or the 'push-pull' -models have gained a lot of criticism for their simplification[7]. As Todaro (1976, 26) sums it up, not only the economic factors but also the social, demographic, cultural, communicational, and physical factors influence the process of decision-making. Lewis (1982) describes migration as a two-way process. It is a response to economic and social change, and equally a catalyst to change in areas gaining and

[6] See for example Lewis (1982), May (1977), Todaro (1976), Petersen (1958), etc.
[7] See for example May (1977), Mabogunje (1970), etc.

losing migrants. Although migration is a selective process, there are some common identifiable features that migrants usually share; for example in America, a typical migrant is young adult, male, unemployed or professional, and white rather than non-white[8].

According to Long (1988) there are five basic questions that migration studies deal with. These are: How much migration? Who migrates? Where does migration take place and what are the destinations? What are the underlying reasons behind migration? What are the consequences of migration from the individual point of view? These questions are all relevant to this study. Several surveys, for example, suggest that economic conditions together with climatic, environmental, and quality-of-life factors may strengthen or weaken economic pushes and pulls. However, for example, asking the migrants why they move can be problematic, since not all those who move know or are able to verbalise the motives behind their behaviour. Furthermore, making the decision to migrate is a long process and for some respondents it might not even be beneficial to tell the real reasons behind their decision. (Ibid., 227 - 229.)

Fielding (1992) stresses the importance of the relationship between both culture and migration. He divides ‘researchable’ problems under two headings of relationships and processes. The first one is further divided to three categories, referred to as 'ways of seeing': Of these, the way migrants experience and feel the act of migration is closest to the interests of this study. Fielding views migration as a statement of an individual's worldview. Since feelings associated with migration are usually complicated, the personality of the mover is exposed in a new way - one's loyalties are expressed and values and attachments are revealed. Fielding has further divided migrants into two groups according to their feelings about migration. The first group consists of migrants who experience migration as freedom; the old ties and life situations are left behind and replaced by both the excitement and challenge of migration. Migration is associated with richer social opportunities, getting out of the

[8] Lewis (1982) is of course referring to legal migration – if illegal migration for example from Mexico would have been included in Lewis’ study, the portrait of a migrant would have had entirely different features.

'rat race', 'going places' and beginning a new life. The second group of migrants experience migration in a more negative way. The whole act of migration is toned by rootlessness and sadness, breaking up of close personal relationships, loss of contentment, having no option but rather facing the inevitable, and ultimately by a failure to describe these feelings. (Ibid., 201 - 207.)

Fielding's (1992) division of migrants is close to the basic division employed in the present study, first introduced by William Petersen (1958, 258) and applied also by Barbara Anderson (1980). In this categorisation, migrants are categorised according to their innovativeness (activeness) or conservativeness (passiveness). People belonging to the first group are mobile because they are seeking change and something new in their life, whereas the latter group is composed of people who are not willing to change their lifestyle and who migrate in order to retain what they have. One could falsely assume that the type of migrants this research focuses on - chiefly seasonal migrants - belongs to the latter group, but this would be simplified thinking. For example some lumberjacks that migrated seasonally to Lapland had originally fled political persecution; the act of migration can therefore be interpreted as partly forced and partly voluntary. In any case their move can be seen as an active response to the conditions of the place of origin that often leads to major changes in their occupational position and other spheres of life.

Anderson’s (1980, 3 - 4) approach emphasises the impact of a migrant's geographical origins when explaining the two types of migration taking place during the modernisation process in Russia. The first type of migration is to a destination located in an already settled and relatively modern area. People migrating to this kind of environment come from places favourable to modern attitudes. These places have a relatively high literacy rate and degree of modernisation of industry, low birth rate and the cultivation of land is no longer the main industry. The motive lying behind the decision to migrate is the recognition of opportunities, coupled together with a positive attitude towards risk taking. In Petersen's (1958) terms these migrants can be categorised as innovative (active) migrants. The second type of migration is directed to the sparsely populated frontier areas and disadvantageous conditions in the place of origin are usually behind it. Population pressure, low literacy rate and low degree of

industrial modernisation characterise the place of origin. The main industry is agriculture and because the migrants wish to maintain their accustomed way of life, they prefer going to places where personal freedom is possible, land available, soil richer and the growing season longer. The acceptance of risk-taking is lower among the migrants of this group than among the members of the first one: In Petersen's (1958) terms these migrants are conservative (passive) migrants.

Anderson (1980, 7 – 8) emphasises the fact that although everybody can make a comparison between his or her present place of residence and the possible future one, not everybody chooses to migrate. Research evidence shows that the presence of family and kin especially in urban areas has a positive impact on the decision to migrate. However, individual attitudes may be even more important in determining the person's migration status and choice of destination. Individuals who are willing to take risks have an advantageous position at times when economic conditions change rapidly because they are not afraid of moving away. People with modern attitudes may be more willing to start their life again in an unfamiliar place, and they are also more prepared to work in the industrial sector. However, rational calculus about such things as choice of destination is possible only within the limits of the opportunities already known to the potential migrant and only under such circumstances that the person would consider migration as a realistic option. The quality of information the individuals possess varies greatly and their ability and willingness to take advantage of this information is uniform. From the point of view of socialisation, the nature of the environment in the place of origin is particularly important; for example an illiterate person who lives in a high literacy rate area is likely to have access to more information than an illiterate person living in an area of low literacy rates.

Following Anderson’s (1980) approach, the next three aspects of migration and migrants are discussed in the present study:

* Place of origin
    -Developed/urban/modern or
    -Dominated by primary industries/rural/traditional

* Feelings and attitudes associated with migration
    -Active/modern or
    -Passive/traditional
* Choice of destination
    -Urban/modern or
    -Rural/traditional areas

Before going further, it is useful to discuss here the criticism that Anderson's (1980) study has gained[9]. First of all, as is the case of many historical studies, Anderson's success in empirically testing her theory suffers to some extent from the scarcity of data available. Secondly, although Anderson seeks to understand population movement in the third world countries on the basis of her results, it might be that Russia's case is exceptional and cannot be generalised. For example, there is firm evidence that in many third world countries population pressures do not influence migration only for the frontier-type destination streams. Individual freedom of movement was restricted in Russia not only in Soviet times but also at the turn of the century, and therefore discussing rational decision-making does not seem relevant in this context. Bearing these criticisms in mind, Anderson's theory is still interesting enough to be applied further in the context of the present study: Particularly the fact that it concentrates on migration *during* the modernisation process in Russia makes it relevant. Furthermore, Anderson's study emphasises the importance of the individual attitudes within the act of migration, which suits the research question and the nature of the empirical evidence of the present study.

Some Examples of Northern Peripheral Areas

Mass movements of population can be regarded as an essential component of social change because they affect not only the economic and social development but also the political and administrative structures of society. This is particularly true in the case of Ireland - a country known for her long history of depopulation. The years of the potato blight 1846-47 in particular encouraged emigration and migration to the extent that it has exceeded the natural increase in every intercensal period between 1871 and 1961, with the exception of the post-war conditions 1946-1951. Also the fact that work

[9] See Wolowyna, Oleh (1983) 22-24 and Shryock, Henry S. (1983), 244-246.

opportunities have been readily available in Britain where the Irish have been allowed to travel and work freely has increased mobility. Migration from rural areas to the more prosperous eastern parts of the country has created a serious imbalance between regions in both social and economic terms. Not only are average incomes notably higher in the east when compared to the rest of the nation, but also the economic structures are more developed and the unemployment rates lower - it clearly is the core area of the nation. In rural areas, the peculiar demographic structure resulting from migration has brought along a variety of social consequences, such as low marriage rate, limited social facilities and a low degree of involvement in community activities. (McCarthy & Walker 1977,1 - 15.) The situation in Ireland started changing only at the end of the 1950's when the government introduced for the first time a comprehensive, integrated programme of national economic development. Since then the conditions have gradually improved, but the division between the industrial East Coast and rural rest of the country still persists. (Eustace 1973, 31.)

In Norway, the regional problems reflect clearly its geographical characteristics. The main settlements have traditionally spread out in the inland valleys, along the fjords and the outer coastal rim. Relatively good agricultural conditions, fishing opportunities, and easy access to sea transport have made these areas attractive in comparison with the rest of the country. However, the ongoing urbanisation and industrialisation process since the 1840's, the development of different forms of transport, decline in employment in primary industries, higher *per capita* costs of establishing infrastructure and services, and lack of local services because of the declining population have threatened the survival of human settlement in these areas. The government has gone to a lot of effort to fight against depopulation and this has balanced the situation. Particularly the decentralisation of manufacturing industries since the 1950's has turned out to be a successful strategy. (Berg 1973, 47 - 49.) In all, Norway is a good example of a nation where the government has supported regional development systematically and successfully since the War. However, as a NATO-state the motives behind this policy are not purely social and economic but also strategic. Particularly in the North where Norway shares a border with Russia, strong measures have been taken to keep the area settled and secure. (Hersoug 1988, 173; Kite 1996, 69 – 76.)

In Hungary, the rural development in the Highlands area has problems familiar to all northern peripheral areas. These include a poorly developed industrial sector, harsh climatic conditions for agriculture - the main industry in the area - and an underdeveloped infrastructure. Although the area is relatively densely populated, the population is ageing and there are not enough inhabitants in all villages to make the public transportation and social services 'profitable', and as a result some schools and health centres have been shut down. Before the Second World War overpopulation was typical of the region, which encouraged cultivation of land that would have been more suitable for grazing. As a consequence, general productivity declined and income levels have remained low. The economically insignificant industrial sector consists of mining and has had only a territorially limited impact. (Bernat & Enyedi 1978, 225 - 229.)

Ireland, Norway and Hungary are all peripheral countries in the sense that they are located far away from the administrative, commercial and cultural centres of Europe. They also have their own marginal regions in the national context as discussed above; in each case the modernisation process has led to regional differentiation and a centre-periphery structure has emerged. Peripheral areas in general suffer from poorly developed or attenuated socio-economic and cultural relationships with centres of national significance. Low average incomes and living standard, high unemployment, dominance of primary industries, migration and emigration, lack of social services and other services, psychological disorders, etc. reflect this position. Under these circumstances the role of the government is pronounced, since it can affect the situation by introducing special programs aimed to develop these regions. However, this is not necessarily what the government wishes to do or can do, since history is full of examples where short-term economic considerations have been given priority.

In this study, Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland are discussed as examples of northern peripheral areas. As a result of several factors such as the early industrialisation of Britain and its central position in the European core-periphery structure and the slower development of peripheral Finland, the past and the present of these two countries differ from each other quite a lot. However, comparing them is

most interesting since there are similarities too. Both regions are situated in the North far away from the core of the nations they belong to. They are sparsely populated and their climate is harsh. The dominance of agriculture, forestry and fishing reflect the monolithic nature of the economic life and underdeveloped industrial sector. For decades, if not for centuries, seasonal work has provided the necessary extra incomes for the inhabitants. High levels of migration, emigration and internal labour mobility characterise these areas. Furthermore, both Lapland and the Western Islands have benefited the national and international markets at the expense of their own economic development by producing cheap labour and primary products such as fish, meat and timber. Regional specialisation has not emerged, at least in a scale large enough to improve the biased economic structures. The Western Isles and particularly Lapland are also good examples of areas that have had late but reasonably rapid industrial and social modernisation. According to Kerkelä (1992, 18) such complex and gradual processes as modernisation process can proceed faster in peripheral areas where the development can skip a few phases and go straight onto a more modern one. The already existing innovations and techniques can be utilised and applied without delay, and this results into a fast and 'simplified' development. Because of this 'simplified' development it is easier to study and define features of such complex processes as modernisation in regions like Lapland and the Western Islands than it would be in more central areas.

Final Remark

The present study is historical and comparative by nature. Historical sociology has often looked for the mechanisms through which societies change, tracing long-term processes and indicating the way the people shape and are shaped by institutions which keep them together or apart (Smith 1991, 184). Historical sociology can be particularly innovative when the focus is on ordinary people as it is here, since it enables us to write history for such social groups who thought they had lost their history or were unaware of their past (Sharpe 1991, 36). The advantage of a comparative approach is that it enlarges our understanding on general causes of social phenomena; the significance of a particular absence can be understood only by comparing. Furthermore, comparison is not only a quest for information, but also a

way of liberating the researcher from his or her cultural blinkers. In all, international comparison requires a more articulated conceptual framework than a study of a single nation because the analysis cannot proceed without a structured hypothesis. Also the concepts have to be general enough in order to cope with the diversity of the cases under consideration. (Dogan & Pelassy 1990, 3 - 9.) The aim of the comparative method is not to claim that all nations go through similar kinds of stages of development as it was sometimes thought in the past, and it is emphasised that this is not the idea of the present study either.

To summarise, the main interest of the present study is to investigate the modernisation process from the point of view of two peripheries, namely Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland. In each area, the modernisation process has had its own unique features and produced different kinds of consequences. Most notably, the modernisation process increased labour mobility in both areas. Of the various mobility types, seasonal migration became particularly typical, as the forest industry, construction sector and herring industry expanded and needed seasonal workers. The other central theme here is the way of life of these seasonal workers, its various elements and its impact on the mobile individuals. The research problem of the present study can be compressed in two following domains:

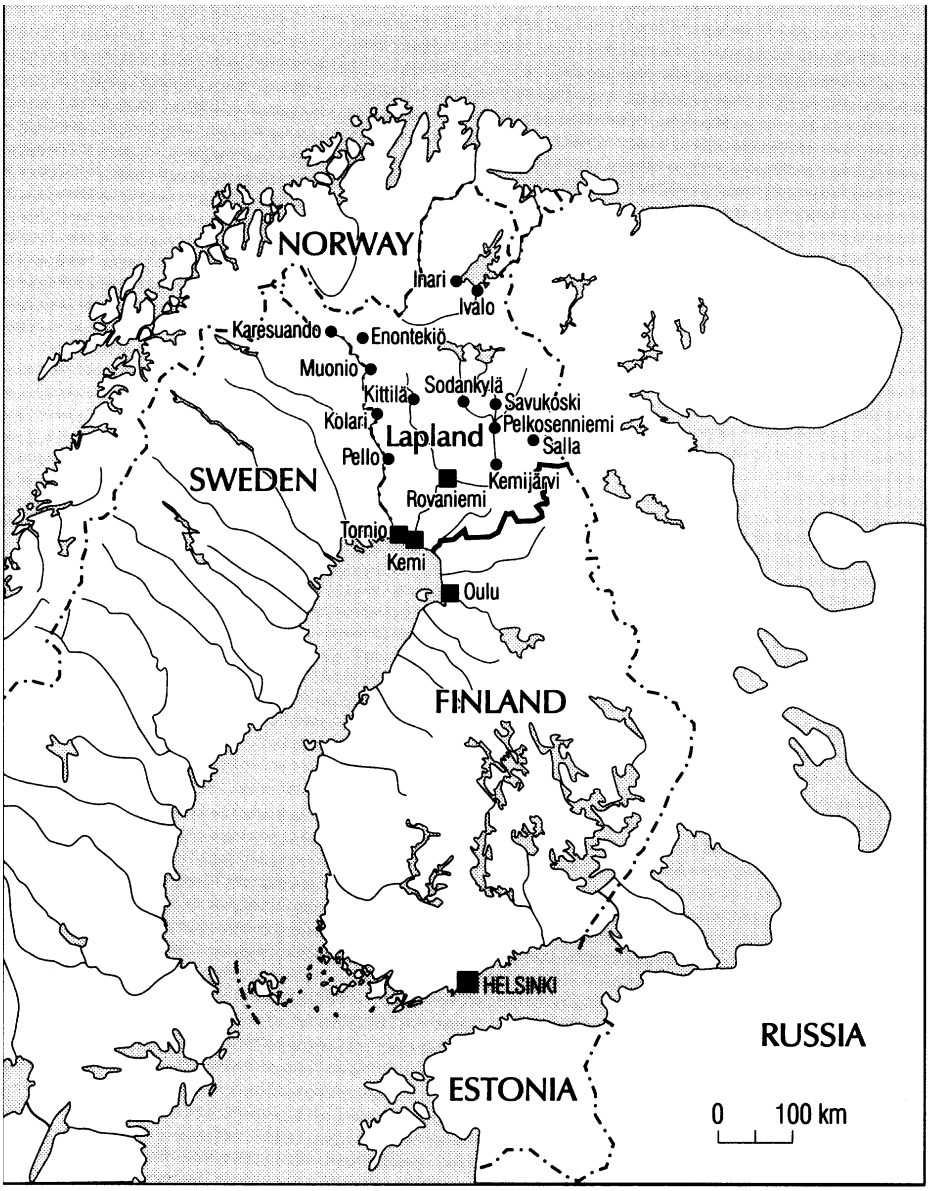
(I) *Modernisation process*. What kind of similarities and differences can we define in the modernisation processes and their outcome in Finland and Scotland, in Lapland and the Western Islands? The main developments of both economic and cultural aspects of the process will be discussed.

(II) *Seasonal migration and individual modernisation*. As the modernisation proceeded, seasonal migration became typical of both areas. What is the mobile way of life like and how is modernity reflected in its various elements? Can mobile individuals be characterised as modern? Modernity here is understood to consist of both individual freedom and mobility.

The structure of the thesis is the following. The introduction chapter is followed by two historical chapters that attempt to answer questions concerning the first domain by discussing nation-building, development of different industries, and changes in politics, religion and other spheres of life in the two areas under study. The point here is not to produce a detailed account on all aspects of the modernisation process but to outline the main features and discuss them on a more general level. Simultaneously,

these chapters form an introduction to chapters dealing with the empirical material. Michael Hechter's (1975) concept of internal colonialism is applied here as the framework of reference. The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters deal with the empirical evidence consisting of texts written by mobile individuals and collected from historical archives. The stress here is slightly more on Lapland for the simple reason that there is not much empirical evidence available concerning the Western Isles. Barbara Anderson's (1980) ecological approach to migration and the model of a modern man by Inkeles & Smith (1974) are discussed in the context of these chapters, as one of the central themes of the study has been to ponder how modernity is present in the way of life of the mobile individuals. The conclusions of the study will be discussed in the seventh chapter. As a final remark, it is emphasised here that because the present thesis has been written both for Finnish and Scottish readership, it might at times refer to things that seem self-evident for one of the nationalities.

Map 1: Lapland and some important localities.



2 CHANGING LAPLAND

2.1 Introduction

Specifying a region in a meaningful way can be problematic since people determine the borders, differently in different times. Sometimes administrational units and geographical regions are not the same and even the smallest areas can be heterogeneous in race, language, etc. Of the two regions of this study, the Western Islands is easily understood as a region because it consists of a group of isolated islands situating far away from the continent. However, each island has its own culture and characteristics and the danger of making too broad generalisations is apparent. Defining the region of Lapland is more problematic, as before the foundation of the county of Lapland in 1938 the area was simply referred to as the northern part of the county of Oulu. The boundaries of the new administrational unit were established according to the already existing jurisdictional borders and there is no clear geographical or cultural basis to justify the boundaries. However, according to Paasi (1984, 4), the establishment of regional identity usually follows the process of county building and this has clearly taken place in the case of Lapland too - it has become a region with its own, special identity[10].

According to Rokkan & Urwin (1983, 2), peripherality can be found in three distinctive domains of life, namely in politics, economics, and culture. In this chapter, the main developments of the economic life of Lapland will be discussed together with population development, living standard, education, religion, and political climate. The aim of the chapter is to find out how or why these aspects have changed over the years. Because of their economic importance, the two industries of forestry and road building will be given a special emphasis. Furthermore, they form the background for the chapters dealing with the empirical evidence concerning Lapland. Political change is also given more space since it reflects the values and crystallises

[10] Is it a marginal identity? Also social identity can be marginal by nature, depending in the ways in which the local people view each other. Marginal identity is often an outcome of both economic and cultural change, resulting from an intrusion of metropolitan economic structures into those of a periphery. Because of this, marginal identity tends to be stigmatic. (Cohen 1977, 105.)

some main results of the modernisation process particularly well. Although the actual empirical chapter will follow later, short quotations from the data will be used every now and then to enliven the text and gradually introduce the voice of the mobile individuals to the study. The data is described and discussed in more detail in chapter four. The quotations employed here have been translated by myself, the stress being on the contents rather than on the transmittance of the individual ways of speaking.

According to Hechter (1975, 4 - 34), the two processes of nation-building and modernisation inevitably create advanced and less advanced areas and groups of people. Cultural division of labour ensures the success of the core and keeps the periphery dependent on the centre. If there are any industries in the periphery, they tend to be highly specialised and geared for export and therefore sensitive to economic fluctuations. On the cultural sphere, there are observable differences in language, religion and life-style between the periphery and core. Also the lack of services, labour mobility, poor standard of housing and low educational level reflect peripherality. In this chapter we shall find out if these characteristics are present also in the case of Lapland.

2.2 Lapland's Regional Role Develops

Before the nineteenth century, the Finns were just one of the many ethnically distinct minority groups of the multinational empires of the time. Most of the Finnish-speaking regions remained in the periphery of the Swedish State until the Russian invasion in 1809. According to Braudel (1984), Sweden among other Scandinavian countries represented a typical peripheral economy in the world economy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[11]. During this time the Dutch intervened into the economic structures of Sweden - and Finland as a part of Sweden - in order to supply its mighty navy with wood and tar. (Ibid., 252.) The situation started changing only after the sovereign was replaced by the Russian tsar: Because Russia was economically less developed than Sweden and Finland, Finland's economy could benefit from the large Russian market and form her own autonomous economic core.

[11] According to Immanuel Wallerstein (1979), they were semiperipheral.

To Russia Finland exported mainly foodstuffs and textiles, and to European markets primary products like sawn goods[12]. (Alapuro 1979, 340 – 347.)

The autonomous Finnish state was founded a couple of decades before the rise of nationalism. Finland's separation from Russia and Independence in 1917 following the unrest of the February Revolution took place if not unforeseeably, then at least unexpectedly fast. By then, Lapland and some other remotely located areas of the nation were only loosely connected to the state structures, and there the Nationalist Movement was understood chiefly as a middle class project directed mainly if not solely against the alien economic and political domination that did not have much to do with them. In all, the consolidation of the Finnish state in the interface of the Swedish and Russian centres resulted into an ambivalent situation: the political domination was in St Petersburg, and the cultural sphere controlled by the Swedish-speaking upper class with Swedish connections. This combination led into a regionally differentiated class structure that determined the role of the various regions of the nation. The role of the northern areas was to produce raw materials for the forest industry and the class conflict was based on land proprietors and the landless, and on the other hand between the landless, small farmers and land-owning companies and the state. (Alapuro 1980, 9 – 11, 51 - 53.) However, as it will be discussed later on, also wood-processing industry was founded in Lapland, although relatively late when compared to the rest of the country (Luoma 1989, 88).

Also other signs of poor integration and peripherality can be defined in Lapland. According to Alapuro (1979) the general atmosphere of the region has a flavour of anti-state mentality amongst its population, which was manifested particularly clearly during the General Strike of 1905. Factors such as resistance of state officials and a poor turnout in the first general elections in 1907 reflect this mentality. Even the dominant form of Christianity of the region, the well-spread revivalist Movement of Laestadianism, contains some of this anti-state tendency in its essence.

[12] However, the export sector started specialising already at the 1880's as Russia imposed heavy duties on Finnish textiles to protect its own textile industry; from now on the exports leant more and more on the forest products (Katajamäki 1988, 8, 30).

Altogether, Finland's economy had strong ties with the Swedish and European capitalistic core already before gaining her independence. In regards to Europe, Finland has traditionally appeared as a forest nation whose role is to produce sawn goods, cellulose, paper and other forest products. Ultimately, this role has allowed factors maintaining regional inequalities to persist and extend their impact to every corner of Finland. As a matter of fact the core-periphery structure in Finland has remained practically unchanged since the late nineteenth century at least until the 1970's. (Alapuro 1979, 72.) In the case of Lapland this means that forest industry and other extractive industries still prevail, and with them the traditionally biased economic structure. On the local level, only weak linkages exist between the externally oriented main industry and other economic sectors.

2.3 Modernisation Proceeds

Population Development

Lapland's vast land area of 93 869 km^2 comprises about a third of Finland's total land area, but her population has always been small and population density low when compared to other parts of the country. The 'original' settlers of Lapland were the Lapps who migrated to Finland about 2000 years ago. As the Finnish and Swedish population started spreading to the region about a thousand years ago, the Lapps withdrew to the North[13]. (Nickul 1971, 72.) The first wave of peasant settlers ended by 1400, and by the 1630's the Finnish settlement had already reached the line of Kemi and Rovaniemi (Vahtola 1985, 209, 233). The so-called placard of Kalmar given by the king of Sweden-Finland in 1673 led to another wave of peasant settlers. By encouraging new settlers to move to Finnish Lapland it was hoped also that Swedish Lapland would be settled and the frontier areas of the nation would thereby become stronger (Onnela 1985, 237 - 238).

After the Finnish War, Finland experienced a time-period of general prosperity that reached the Polar Circle around 1760. New land was cleared and old farms divided as

the population grew. Crop failures between 1810-1815 pushed back conditions, and the spreading of new settlements stagnated again for some time during the years of autonomy, just to begin again in the 1830's. Although land was available in Lapland up until the beginning of the twentieth century, the best fields had been taken long before. The combination of poor quality of soil, harsh climate, short growing season, expanding population, and division of farms increased the number of people living on the poverty line. (Ahvenainen 1985, 293 - 295.)

The population grew rapidly in nineteenth century Finland. More than anything else, the rapid population increase meant an increase in the proportion of peasants without land property. A restricted choice of livelihood, legislative controls on freedom to pursue a trade, limitations imposed by law on the freedom of movement and restrictions on the division of farms further narrowed the field of options available for the landless peasants[14]. The government regarded this as a serious problem, and to ease the situation it introduced legislative reforms. (Haatanen 1968, 359.) During the nineteenth century the population growth was fastest in the northern and eastern parts of the county of Oulu: Declining mortality rates, rising birth rates and extra incomes offered by the growing forest sector encouraged it. However, there were some periods of stagnation and for example between 1870-1914 a new wave of emigration swept through the area[15]. Despite the increase in population, Lapland remained as a rural county with few population centres. (Ahvenainen 1985, 291 - 293.) The most northern parts of Lapland remained isolated and outside the reach of the forest industry due to the lack of trees.

[13] The assimilation policy practised until the 1980's has had a strong impact on the number of Lapps inhabiting the area; nowadays only about 6000 Lapps live in Lapland.
[14] With 'landless peasant' it is referred here to a person who lives in a rural area and does not own land but bases his living at least partly on agricultural work. The term is particularly relevant in a society characterised by rapid population growth, agricultural way of life and low industrialisation degree.
[15] Because the county of Lapland was founded only in 1938, the emigration rates from the previous years cover also the county of Oulu. For example in the time-period of 1893-1910 when emigration was at its height in the county of Oulu, 31 954 inhabitants emigrated, most of them to North America (Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja XLVI, 1951.)

Table 1: Population in Finland, population in Lapland, its share of the whole population in Finland (%), and number of inhabitants born in the county of Lapland.

Year	Population in Finland	Population in Lapland	Population in Lapland in relation to the whole population in Finland (%)	Born in the county of Lapland (also in percentage)
1850	1636900	27000	1.6	-
1890	2380100	50500	2.1	-
1910	2943400	73400	2.5	-
1930	3462700	106843	3.1	-
1940	3695400	136975	3.7	-
1950	4029800	167143	4.1	110233 (66)
1960	4446200	**205113**	**4.6**	129099 (63)
1970	4622300	197146	4.3	119336 (61)

(Source: Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja Uusi sarja LXVI 1970, SVT VI C:102 VL 1950:8, SVT VI C:103 VL 1960:8, VI C:104 VL 1970:1.)

It is no coincidence that the population in Lapland grew particularly fast between 1940-1965 when both the forest sector and construction sector were expanding and the labour market for common labourers was at its largest. Also towns grew, and since the growing population needed services, the service sector started expanding. The town of Kemi grew particularly rapidly between 1900-1939 due to its expanding industrial sector whereas Rovaniemi led the growth in the time period of 1944-1964 (Peltonen 1982, 142 – 146). As the number of landless peasants kept on growing too, the government responded to the pressure by passing new settlement laws. These laws had several aims: To give land for the landless, encourage independent small farming and improve the general living conditions in rural areas. After the Second World War the evacuated population also had to be settled, and the government supported new settlement for example by granting cheap loans to the farmers. The precondition of getting a loan was that the productivity of the farm had to increase. However, the farmers often failed to reach this target, as their farms were too small and they lacked the training, which would have improved their farming skills. (Jaatinen 1981, 199 - 208.)

Lapland gained migrants throughout the twentieth century until the 1960's, although it is difficult to define exact numbers before the county was founded and official statistics became available. Even as late as 1938 when free land was no longer available, Lapland scored second in the statistics after the county of Uusimaa with its

1.8 % profit (SVT VI 97). However, it took only 30 years to change the direction: In 1970 when the population had already declined for some time, the county of Lapland led the emigration statistics as more than 3 % of its population - 6496 persons – emigrated chiefly to Sweden (SVT VI A:132).

Industrial Life Develops

General: Development of the GNP Per Capita and Consumption

The decade during the 1860's was an eventful one for Finland as a whole. During this decade, several crop failures led to a great famine and suffering[16], but simultaneously Finland as a nation was strengthened: The parliament had its first meeting for forty years, and the industrialisation process accelerated as the forest industry expanded due to the growing demand of forest products in the international market. This led on increase in labour mobility, which in turn gave push to the urbanisation process and regional differentiation. (Waris 1968, 9 - 15.) The rapid modernisation of the country is reflected well in the growth of the gross national product *per capita* rate.

[16] The years of crop failures culminated in 1867 when 137 000 deaths were reported, which was about a twelfth of the whole population in Finland.

Table 2: The volume of growth of the GNP in different industries, growth of the GNP, and growth of the GNP *per capita* in Finland 1860-1985 in percentage, by Hjerppe (1988, 65,122)[17].

Time-period	Agriculture & Hunting Fishing	Forestry	Industry (including forest & paper industry)	Construction	Trade, Insurance, Private services, Transport, House Owning	Public services	Investment Rate/GNP	Growth of GNP	Growth of GNP *per capita*
1860-1890	1.7	0.9	5.0	2.2	2.7	1.5	11.0	2.2	1.2
1890-1913	1.0	**3.2**	5.3	2.0	3.8	2.8	12.0	2.9	1.9
1920-1938	1.8	2.3	**7.9**	6.2	4.8	3.0	14.0	**4.4**	1.9
1946-1960	1.7	0.6	6.7	**7.7**	**6.7**	3.6	23.7	**4.9**	3.4
1960-1974	-0.3	-0.3	6.5	3.5	5.3	**4.9**	**26.6**	**4.5**	**4.2**
1974-1985	1.8	1.0	3.3	0.5	3.1	4.2	25.9	2.9	2.3
1860-1985	1.1	1.2	5.8	2.7	3.5	3.0	16.3	3.0	2.2

In all, the growth of the GNP *per capita* rate has been quite steady apart from the slumps caused by World Wars and the Civil War 1918. The sensitiveness of the forest trade to economic fluctuations is clearly reflected in the development of the rate, although the impact of the variation of recessions and booms has become less dramatic since the First World War. (Hjerppe 1990, 23 - 29.) In Lapland where the majority of the population has been either directly or indirectly dependent on the forest industry since the 1890's, booms and depressions have had an immediate impact on the economic well being of the inhabitants. Periods of employment and unemployment have followed closely the economic fluctuations. This has created insecurity and made long-term planning difficult even in good years, despite the fact that their number overcomes years of depression for example in the time-period of 1899-1970, as can be seen in the following table.

[17] The gross investment rate refers to the acquisition of productive equipment for later use in production, in other words fixed capital formation, including replacement of worn out equipment (depreciation). In order to emphasise the timing of the modernisation process and development of

Table 3: Booms and recessions in Finland 1899-1970.

Time-period	Boom	Depression
1899-1902		+
1902-1906	+	
1907-1908		+
1909-1913	+	
1914-1915		+
1916-1917	+	
1918-1921		+
1922-1928	+	
1928-1935		+
1935-1938	+	
1945-1948	+	
1949-1950		+
1950-1953	+	
1953		+
1954-1957	+	
1957-1958		+
1959-1961	+	
1962-1963		+
1964-1965	+	
1966-1968		+
1969-1970	+	

(Sources: Halme 1968, 144 - 203; Hjerppe 1990, 26 - 29.)

After World War II, the government set strict restrictions to importation and protected its export sector by passing new legislation. The economic control was released gradually: Finland joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1948, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1949 and negotiated a special agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1961. In particular the EFTA-agreement and the removal of duties improved the position of the Finnish forest industry, as the competition in the world market was accelerating (Oksa 1979, 107). However, the biggest changes in production, commercial and industrial life have taken place in the 1960's when the processing of raw materials and goods meant for export increased significantly. The adverse balance of trade has continued to be one of the biggest defects of the economic life in Finland. Lack of power resources and raw material - excluding wood - have maintained this problem, added with the dependence on imported machinery for production. (Molander 1974, 78 - 80.)

different industries in Finland, certain figures have been highlighted here; similarly the figures important from the point of view of the topic have been highlighted in the rest of the tables.

In addition to the growth of the GNP rate, the development of private consumption is often used as an indicator when measuring the standard of living. In Finland, the *per capita* consumption has grown steadily since the 2nd World War: The share of such necessities of life as food and clothing has decreased clearly, and the share of luxury goods grown. (Karisto 1985, 27.) The forest industry raised income level and created prosperity also in Lapland, although according to Ahvenainen (1985, 299 – 303), a large share of it was needed to cover the costs resulting from the general reparceling of farmland, duties of giving relay travel service and maintenance of roads, renewal of communal administration, and the enlarging of the public sector. Gradually private consumption started increasing too, and luxury products such as coffee, tea, cacao, sugar, oil lamps, factory-made dishes, clothes, and objects made of silver and gold became available for larger sections of people. However, consumption did not become a life style before the turn of the 1970's. The following description of a working class home in Kemi from the time just before World War II reflects well the standard of housing – another good indicator of living standard. However, in this particular case the young couple did not have children yet and they both had a job, which makes their home seem relatively well equipped.

Finally we managed to rent a little room with a wood-burning stove. We had a dining table and four chairs standing in the middle of the floor on the rug that I had woven myself. There was a bed whose base was made of iron mesh; the mattress was filled with flocks and the pillows with feathers. We also had a chest of drawers, flower table, cupboard and commode. We had some savings and were able to invest some money in the 'better furniture' too that consisted of a sideboard and an armchair. In addition to this, I had made myself all kinds of small things that I could hang on the walls to decorate the room. I admit that I felt rather proud about the result. (Salli, KA 95:190.)

The housing standard can best be characterised as poor in Lapland, at least until the end of the 1960's. For example in 1950, 37 per cent of all the dwellings were overcrowded - the national average was 23 % - and a good half of the population lived in them. Poorly equipped dwellings without running water and other facilities were also common. (SVT VI C 102 III, 1956.) My parents who moved to Lapland at the end of the 1950's, had a fair share of these modest living conditions as can be concluded from the following quotation where my mother Raili Kumpulainen describes the first home of the young couple in Kittilä:

We were lucky to get a little room with a wood burning stove from upstairs. On that stove I cooked and also heated the water for washing; there were no water pipes and therefore I had to fetch the water from our neighbour's well, or from the nearby river. Our nearest neighbour lived by the river, he was a friendly ferryman who allowed us to use his sauna. Our furniture consisted of a couple of stools - the kitchen table was from the house - and a small chest of drawers with a valve radio on the top of it. The bed we had was the most popular model in those days Finland, its base was made of iron mesh and it was collapsible and cheap. The only problem was that the base tended to sink after some time and you ended up with a sore back. The cupboard and wardrobe I built myself from wooden boxes that I got for free from the shop; these boxes were originally used to store fruits and vegetables. To complete the job, I gathered a piece of cloth in front of them to hide the contents. For many years we lived like this, quite modestly. (Raili Kumpulainen.)

The quality of housing started improving only gradually, following the rising living standard of the nation. In the following paragraphs, a general picture of industrial life in Lapland will be drawn by discussing the development of different industries. The point here is to show that the ongoing modernisation process has shaped the industrial life in the area and so that it has ended up as monolithic.

Agriculture and Some Minor Industries

The first Finnish settlers in Lapland obtained their livelihood from a combination of things, most often from hunting, fishing, reindeer husbandry and land cultivation. There were as many as three different market areas in the North before the turn of the twentieth century: Trade with furs, salmon[18] and agricultural products such as butter provided the necessary cash for the inhabitants of the area. Cash was obtained also by catching river shells and selling the pearls they produced[19]. (Montonen 1985, 321 - 325.) For the ore companies Lapland remained long as an unattractive area because of the vast distances, lack of sufficient geological knowledge and a lack of reliable maps (Nuutilainen 1991, 18 - 19). Since the War, enthusiasm to develop these industries has increased but valuable ores or rich deposits have so far not been found, with the exception of nickel in Petsamo in the Northeast, which was lost to the USSR in World

[18] Salmon was the main export article of the area in the seventeenth century (Kerkelä 1992, 136).
[19] Catching river shells was restrained by law in 1955.

War II (Airas 1984, 307 - 318). In addition to this, gold has been prospected in the area since 1837, but discoveries have not been sizeable (Stigzelius 1986, 36 - 223).

In Lapland, the main source of living has traditionally been land cultivation, although nature has set strict limits to its development; the average yearly temperature is as low as 2-3º C in southern Finland, and in Sodankylä 0º C. Because of the climatic conditions animal husbandry was favoured at the expense of grain growing, but by the 1940's the number of cattle had declined to the national average. Hay cultivation has also been common since it is more reliable than crops whose harvest is dependent on the capricious weather. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 23 - 26.) As there was not enough bread cereals available in the area, it was habitual to add bark, straw or bog to the bread dough. The poor state of agricultural sector was revealed during years of crop failure when even the seed grain had to be imported, (Kerkelä 1992, 147 – 151). Although the farms in Lapland were independent, they were also quite small: For example in 1940 two thirds of all the farms had less than 10 hectares of arable land, which is not much when the quality of soil is poor and the growing season short (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 27).

Table 4: Farm size according to arable land in Lapland in 1941, 1950, 1959 and 1969.

Size in hectares	1941	1950	1959	1969
Less than 1	2958	**4108**	2223	-
1 – 1.99	2883	2856	**2994**	2011
2 – 2.99	1779	2635	**3050**	2263
3 – 4.99	1841	2957	**4820**	4305
5 – 9.99	1588	2153	4248	**5919**
10 – 14.99	431	474	757	**1055**
15 – 24.99	224	177	207	**324**
25 – 49.99	**67**	36	42	35
50 – 99.99	9	7	7	**8**
100 -	-	-	1	1

(Source Suomen taloushistoria 3 1983, 70-72.)

Helmi’s (KA 95:74) early years were spent in Salla, a village right next to the Russian border. Her childhood account summarises some central aspects of the way of life in a small farm in Lapland before World War II.

I was born outside marriage; my mum was the youngest of the 10 children in the family. We were quite poor but managed; we had a couple of cows, a horse and a few sheep. In addition to this, grandfather used to go fishing and hunting. We had no reindeer, but we cultivated turnips and potatoes and we also had some barley growing in the field. (Helmi, KA.)

After the Second World War, the agricultural sector in the North has been shaped most of all by the settling of the evacuated population[20]. Despite the fact that by that time only land of poor quality was available, new arable land was cleared - 13487 hectares altogether - and 2268 farms were founded. (Suistola 1985, 332.) Although the foundation of small farms was not a good long-term solution and seems unwise from todays perspective, it is understandable in a situation when the industrial sector and service sector had not yet developed enough to employ the evacuated population and rural surplus population in Finland. Furthermore, a seasonal and readily mobile labour reserve was useful to the forest industry (Kantanen 1986, 44), and nor were the peasants themselves yet ready to give up their accustomed way of life as for example the next quotation shows. Also the fact that most people could not even imagine any other life style than that of a peasant must have affected the attitudes.

That was the whole point of the colonisation after the War. People did not want to have compensation in cash because it is easily spent. If you invest in land, it will give a living not only for you but also for your children if they are willing to work hard. (Sallalainen, KEA.)

Later on these newly founded farms turned out to be far too small and unproductive to be self-sufficient and the farmers became dependent on extra incomes earned outside the agricultural sector. By then the forest industry and the state's relief work in the form of road building had become the main sources of additional incomes for the inhabitants. What is particularly outstanding in the post-war development of Lapland, is the growing importance of the state’s role as an employer. This reflects not only the continuing processes of integration and nation-building but also increasing interest in

[20] With evacuated population it is referred here both to those inhabitants of Lapland who had been evacuated to Sweden and other parts of Finland during the war and to emigrants who came from areas lost to the Soviet, chiefly from Salla and Petsamo area. The number of the latter group was 8388 persons in 1946 (Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1948). Migrants arrived also from Karelia, which can be concluded for example from the growing number of inhabitants confessing Orthodox faith; in 1950 when the parish was founded, it had 2025 members (Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1953, 40). This number includes the 400-member Lappish population evacuated from Petsamo.

the forest resources of the region (Massa 1994, 203). The exploitation of these resources was of course done in the name of the national benefit, as there were war indemnities to be paid and the independence of the nation was threatened.

Expanding Forest Industry

Because of the demand for sawn goods, cellulose, paper and other products of the forest industry has grown dramatically since the beginning of the nineteenth century and because there happens to be more forest land *per capita* in Finland than in any other European country, it is natural that Finland's industrialisation has been based on the development of the forest sector. Jussi Raumolin (1984) has distinguished several phases in the expansion of the industry since the mid nineteenth century, of which five will be discussed here because of their relevant timing. Because Raumolin's categorisation brings out well the different aspects of the development of the forestry not only in Finland as a whole but also in the specific case of Lapland, it will be used here as a framework we can reflect on when discussing the development of the industry in Lapland. The five phases are:

(1) Rise of the sawmill industry 1850-1890
(2) Rise of the pulp and paper industry 1891-1917
(3) Forest sector as the backbone of the national economy 1918-1944
(4) Reconstruction period 1945-1956
(5) Great expansion of the paper industry 1957-1973

The growth of the GNP and industrial capital started together with the first phase of the forest industry, the rise of the sawmill industry between 1850-1890. The cheapness of the raw material, low wages, and small investment degree enabled the accumulation of capital in enterprises and bands. However, because there was no wood-processing industry, sensitiveness to economic fluctuations was great and this made the job market insecure right from the beginning. (Raumolin 1984, 45 - 46.) In the North, the era of commercial forest industry began in the 1860's. Burning wood in a charcoal pit to make tar had already been a source of extra incomes in the more southern parts of the area – county of Oulu - since the eighteenth century. Tar was then sold to Western Europe, chiefly to Stockholm, London and Amsterdam. At the beginning of the industry, Stockholm and its trading companies played an important

role in the export business. Tar trade benefited not only the merchants and Ostrobothnian peasants who sold it but also the state whose tax incomes increased. The trade blossomed until cheap synthetic materials that could be used instead of tar replaced it; also the fact that wood was no longer the building material of ships greatly reduced the market. (Kuisma 1993, 29 – 43.) In the latter half of the nineteenth century the tradesmen began to invest their money in forests and the forest industry. In this way the incomes earned in the tar trade reached Lapland too, and the first sawmills run by steam were founded in Kemijoki, Simojoki and Torniojoki. A few water-driven sawmills existed already[21], but they were low-powered and their economic importance insignificant. Western Europe and particularly Britain became the largest purchasers of Finnish sawn goods right from the beginning: Before this Britain had bought its sawn goods chiefly from Norway. (Ibid., 1993, 73, 278).

The second phase of the forest sector - the rise of the mass and paper business between 1891-1917 - brought along such developments as the formation of large concerns, the growth of capital intensity in production, an emergence of oligopolistic entrepreneur structures and a division of raw materials between the few already existing entrepreneurs. During this time-period the first plywood factory in the country was founded. The already existing spool industry expanded, and the furniture industry and graphical industry began to develop. Regional differentiation was at its most intensive phase, and the forest workers also started getting organised. (Raumolin 1984, 52 – 54.) In Lapland, the lumberjacks founded their first union called ‘the Link of the Forest Workers of the North' in 1906 (Heikkinen 1977, 171). The concentration of the forest industry in the town of Kemi started as the first forest company was founded there in 1893 by the initiative of a commercial house owned by the two wealthy families of J.W. Snellman and G. & C. Bergbom. For example in 1897, already 1079 persons worked in the production plants of Kemi (Meinander 1950, 202). The commercial house had earlier purchased large areas of cheap forest and the era of the famous large logging sites in Lapland now began. Another forest company,

[21] The oldest water-driven sawmill was founded by the river Torniojoki in 1760 (Auer 1936).

the state-owned Veitsiluoto Oy, was also founded in Kemi in 1922[22]. (Lackman 1984, 11.)

However, as already mentioned, it cannot be concluded that the area of Lapland would have been entirely harnessed to produce raw material for the forest industry, as was the case of some Eastern areas of the country (see for example Rannikko 1989). Although the great majority of the production plants of the industrial plants and forest industry were founded in southern Finland, wood-processing industry existed also in the town of Kemi (Katajamäki 1988, 33; Oksa 1979,123). The foundation of the town of Kemi in 1869 follows closely the expansion of the forest sector: In 1869 only 342 inhabitants lived there, but thirty years later the population had already quadrupled. In 1940 the population was around 20 000 and at the turn of the 1970's nearly thirty thousand (Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1970, 9). The development of the wood-processing industry meant that a permanent industrial working community was sited in Lapland (Luoma 1989, 89). In 1900, the number of jobs in the two sawmills of Laitakari and Karihaara owned by the Kemiyhtiö was as high as 935 and in the sawmill of Röyttä in Tornio 397. By 1919 the company owned nine sawmills (Hedman 1969, 376, 444).

The rationalisation and modernisation of the production plants of the forest industry was a gradual process. The combination of rapid population growth and introduction of new technologies and machinery meant that the number of jobs in the factories owned by the Kemiyhtiö started declining both in absolute and relative terms. The state-owned company of Veitsiluoto was smaller than Kemiyhtiö and employed an average number of 600-800 persons per year in its production plants. However, the company started growing rapidly after the Second World War when the state started directing the modernisation of the country: For example in 1965, the production plants of Veitsiluoto employed as many as 2754 persons (Hedman 1969, 525 – 526).

[22] A third company, the Kemijärvi Oy, was founded in 1961. The shareholders consisted of the state, Veitsiluoto Oy, Kemijoki Oy and 1000 private investors (Puro 1971, 91 – 92).

Table 5: The number of jobs in the production plants of Kemiyhtiö in 1936, 1946, 1956 and 1966, excluding clerical staff.

Year	Sawmill industry	Pulp industry	Other	In sum
1936	1382	728	116	2288
1946	1031	1034	742	2807
1956	738	1194	515	2447
1966	537	1345	131	2013

(Source: Hedman 1969, 473.)

Although it is true that Kemi in some ways fulfils Hechter's (1975, 31) definition of a colonial town that is located on the coastal region with direct access to the core area and that serves mainly as a way station in the trade between the hinterlands and metropolitan parts, its economic importance to the area should not be underestimated. Also the fact that the wood-processing industry was founded relatively early in Kemi produced many side effects: It created permanent and seasonal jobs, allowed the development of the service sector, enlivened the harbour, encouraged population growth, etc.

The physical location of the production plants in the mouth of the river Kemijoki is not a coincidence. Hannu Katajamäki (1988, 24 – 29) has pondered in his thesis why the Finnish saw-mill industry tended to locate next to a river, concluding that because the industry needed lots of energy to run its factories, the best location was by a mouth of a river or next to a rapid. The transportation of the finished products gives another reason for the choice; although logs could be floated to the factories, the finished products could not and therefore central location, preferably in a mouth of a river was essential. Furthermore, unlike in some other countries where wood is imported and the wood-processing industry is therefore located far away from the forests, in Finland the production chain of the forest industry consists of three inseparable parts of cutting, floating and processing. Because of this, the location of the production plants of the forest companies in coastal Kemi in the centre of a network of rivers could have not been better.

At the turn of the twentieth century only about a half of the workers of the Kemiyhtiö were locals and because there were not enough locals to do the forest work, thousands of men from other parts of the country were encouraged to work in Lapland on a temporary basis. Swedish lumberjacks were also found working in the area (Rosander 1967, 324). As already mentioned, although the forest industry encouraged economic activities within Lapland, it was especially those parishes that were situated near the floating channels, which benefited the most. Private consumption began to spread and cash became common in the backwoods where it had hardly ever been seen before, (Ahvenainen 1985, 295 - 299; Virtanen 1993, 78 - 79.) Fredrik who was born in 1883 in Salla describes the life style of his family and the impact of the forest industry in the following manner:

My father was a farmer by occupation. He had also reindeer and because of this he had to travel regularly to Norway and Russia. There were 4 daughters and 10 sons in our family. We were self-sufficient but rather poor; even our clothes were hand made. The few things we needed to buy we got from the famous markets from Rovaniemi. We got there by horse and the trip took several days. I got my first job when I was 12 in a sawmill that was situated nearby. When I was young nobody had problems of finding a job; there was so much forest work available that men had to be hired from the South. (Fredrik, TMT.)

The amount of exported sawn goods started growing as soon as the first sawmills were founded in Lapland, and particularly so after the foundation of the Kemiyhtiö as already discussed. Before World War I, sawn goods from Lapland were exported chiefly to towns located in northern Sweden, most often Luleå, Haparanda and Piteå (Meinander 1950, 56). After the War, the main purchasers were Britain, Holland and Germany – in other words the same as in the rest of the country (Hedman 1969, 467).

Table 6: Export of sawn goods in cubic metres 1883-1914, table by Meinander 1950, 55.

Time-period	Tornio	Kemi	Oulu	In sum
1883-90	11264	2498	-	13762
1891-1900	58766	28137	206	87109
1901-10	90856	68628	7317	166891
1911-14	222322	203343	16143	**441813**

During the time-period of 1918-1944 Finland became known as a 'forest nation'. Forest products sold increasingly well and although several depressions took place during these decades (see table 3, page 40); the economy of the country was improving and enabled the importation of various consumer goods. Plywood and furniture industries expanded and the first wallboard factory was founded in 1931 with the help of British experts. The position of the mass and paper industry strengthened and the production of sulphate cellulose increased. During this time period the trade unions became stronger too. (Raumolin 1984, 62 - 64.) The Kemiyhtiö founded a sulphite mill in Kemi in 1919 and a sulphate mill in 1927. Also the Veitsiluoto Oy founded a sulphate mill to Kemi in 1930. The main purchasers of cellulose were Britain, the United States and France (Hedman 1969, 468). The pulp mill industry was particularly profitable in Lapland where spruce which had been previously regarded as useless was abundent and could now be used as raw material for pulp. The mills offered new jobs and the industry flourished until the beginning of the Second World War. For several reasons, the industry then experienced a setback. (Holopainen, 1971, 134 - 136.)

The time period 1945-1957 can be compressed into one word, namely a period of reconstruction. Due to the War, many wood processing plants had been lost to Russia, and these had to be replaced. Furthermore, the situation in the international market had changed and technological innovations were on their way. By now, the employers and the workers had united on their sides. Between 1957-1973 new machinery was introduced in the form of tractors, motor saws, etc., and trained forest workers replaced gradually the small farmers and unskilled labour. A new successful export article – the wood processing machine - was invented. However, despite of all these new developments, the forest industry's investment policy remained practically unchanged. Simultaneously, the overall structure of exports in Finland were being transformed; by the end of the 1960's the share of the products of the metal industry were already more than 40 % of Finland’s exports. Due to this development, the forest industry was now finally forced to create new investment strategies and change. (Raumolin 1984, 70 - 71, 86 - 90.) In practise this meant that from now on money was no longer invested in new jobs but in new machinery (Oksa 1988a, 39). In the North, large forest areas owned by the forest companies and the state had been split after the

war in order to give land for the evacuated population and those without land. The newly built hydroelectric power stations prevented the full exploitation of traditional floatways, and at times the low conjunctures reduced timber cutting in Lapland in the 1950's. The production of bleached cellulose began in Veitsiluoto Oy in the 1960's and the production of paper and cardboard that had started ten years earlier continued to expand. Also the pulp industry started recovering from its downturn, which meant the introduction of new machinery and transference to bigger production units. Since the latter half of the 1960's unrefined timber has no longer been exported from Lapland - as a matter of fact some timber has been imported to the area. (Holopainen 1971, 134 - 141.)

Throughout this time the economic importance of both forest work and log floating was great for the small farmers not only in Lapland but all over the country. When the first sawmills run by waterpower started operating in the period 1782-1860, the timber was first sawed into planks, then built into a float and finally floated to its destination. The methods of floating developed over the years, but up until the 1950's the floating season gave work to hundreds of men on a short-term basis (Itkonen 1987, 287 - 189). In the North, the combination of forest work and log floating gave more than two thirds of the necessary extra incomes for the small farmers even until the 1930's. The majority of the men working in floating were young by age and by background sons of the small farmers. The busiest time of floating, May and June, fitted well the small farmers' time-schedule since they did not have much sowing to do. Furthermore, the floating period was short, often less than 20 days and never more than 50 days, and therefore easily combined with farm work. (Peltonen 1991, 88.) As a whole, the forest work with its different seasonal activities employed men around the year, but it was difficult to make one's living solely on it - periods of unemployment were unavoidable, particularly during depression when fellings were reduced.

Winter 1921 was very good from the point of view of earnings. Too bad the money was spent so easily in the Easter market in Rovaniemi. Luckily the log-floating season began soon. It finished just before the Midsummer and we all went to buy new suits and celebrated thoroughly. There was not much work available in the summer, usually men earned their living by making hay and doing other small tasks for the farmers. In the autumn we could already start preparing the winter logging sites by building barracks. (Erkki, SKS.)

In Lapland, the river Kemijoki remained as the main float way because the other two big rivers of the area are situated in the borderland of Sweden, and complicated bureaucratic arrangements prevented the full use of them. From the 1950's onwards transportation of timber by lorry became more common and the number of men needed in log floating started declining steadily. For example in 1938 79 % of the logs were still floated, 19 % transported by train, and only 2 % transported by lorries. In 1970 the corresponding figures were 52 %, 16 %, and 32 %. (Peltonen 1991, 51, 87.)

The growing interest in Lapland's forest resources after the war is reflected in the way the state started exploiting them - with the help of the most efficient methods and new technology. For instance reclamation of swamps and clear fellings were common (Massa 1994, 221 – 223). Also the rationalisation process of the forest work was faster in the North than in other parts of the country. To give an example, in 1956 there were eleven motor-driven saws per 100 forest workers in Lapland while the national average was four per 100 men. Also peeling the bark, felling of trees, transportation of logs, etc. became mechanised first in Lapland (Silvennoinen 1974, 7-8). With the help of the new machinery, forest work became physically lighter, but it also became one-sided and technically more demanding, requiring proper training for the workers. The seasonal character of the work disappeared together with the introduction of machinery, which made it possible to work all year around. Furthermore, fewer men could do the job; for example in the time-period of 1950-52 the number of forest workers was between 70 000 and 80000, in 1967-70 it had declined to 53000 and in the mid 1970's it was only 25000 (Pihkala 1982a, 405). In Lapland this meant that the internal migration in the area, originally caused by the forest industry and its logging sites, started declining. The travelling work force disappeared altogether. Augusti (SKS) describes the change in a forest worker's life in the following way:

There are no more interesting accounts to tell about the lumberjacks' life. They just drive to their job sites by car and they do not even have backpacks but a briefcase. They live in houses that have a central heating and drying rooms for the working clothes. Even the floors are painted neatly, and cleaners and housekeepers take care of the house. They have their meals in a cosy canteen and the machines do most of the

work. Fewer men are needed; for example here hundreds of men used to work in the log floating in the past; in 1968 there were only 15 of them left! (Augusti, SKS.)

Simultaneously, the agricultural sector was facing similar developments. The work became mechanised and the traditional home industries that had previously provided extra incomes for the small farmers disappeared together with the spread of cheap, industrial mass products. The agricultural policy of the government changed radically too, as it started favouring large-scale farming instead of small farming. (Silvennoinen 1974, 11 - 12.) This structural change is reflected also in the growth of the GNP rate whose peak under the time-period of the study can be dated as late as the mid 1960's (see table 2, page 39).

Construction Sector Grows, Particularly Road Building

In Finland, transferring and adapting foreign electrical technology took place relatively early, namely in the 1880's. The factors necessary for technology transfer – favourable market position, production machinery, local natural resources, capital, labour market, and the whole social and institutional framework – existed already, which accelerated the development. (Myllyntaus 1991, 5.) However, it took a long time before common people could enjoy electricity, as it was not the privately owned houses but factories that were electrified first. In Lapland, the energy to run the production plants of the forest industry was taken from the rapids. The construction of hydroelectric power stations was particularly intensive in the post-war decades: By 1970, there were already nine hydroelectric power stations in the area, all constructed in a time-period of 25 years. Also two artificial lakes were built. (Mustonen & Lahdenperä 1984, 363 - 379.)

Table 7: Hydroelectric power stations in Lapland 1945-1970.

Power station	Time-period of building	Megawatts/station
Isohaara	1945-1949	46
Jumisko	1950-1954	30
Petäjäskoski	1953-1957	127
Pirttikoski	1956-59	110
Valajaskoski	1957-60	70
Seitakorva	1959-63	100
Permantokoski	1960-61	11.5
Ossauskoski	1961-65	93
Vanttauskoski	1967-76	83

(Source, Mustonen & Lahdenperä 1984, 363.)

Hydroelectric power stations built in the mouths of the rivers provided energy, enabled the expansion of the forest industry and employed construction workers. However, the building of these stations had also negative consequences: In Massa's (1994, 246) words they have caused the biggest long-term ecological catastrophe in Lapland since the glacial period. The rising water level covered the oldest and most fertile fields situated by the riversides permanently under water. The state compensated for this by giving new land to the farmers but it was of poorer quality: At worst the soil started producing poisonous horsetail that spoilt the crops. Furthermore, those who had taken their compensation of loss of fields as cash were not used to handling money and spent it fast and became dependent on odd jobs and poor relief. Also the traditional livelihood of salmon fishing died out since the hydroelectric power stations blocked the traditional salmon runs and they could no longer rise from the sea to upper courses. (Annanpalo 1984, 119.) Furthermore, although the building of hydroelectric power stations and other plants gave work for both the skilled and the unskilled, these projects seldom lasted longer than for a few years. Permanent jobs were few: For example in 1960 only 1.5 % of the economically active population in Lapland worked in the sphere of 'electricity, gas water and sanitary services' (Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja LXVI 1970, 42). Luckily – although not accidentally - there were plenty of other types of construction work available, namely road building.

After World War II, the strengthening grip of the state over Lapland was reflected particularly well in its growing importance as an employer: Excluding the forest industry and agriculture, the biggest employer between 1945 and 1965 was the

National Board of Public Roads and Waterways (NBPRW) in Lapland. The forest industry needed roads to transport its products and in times of unemployment road building was also used as a part of the government's employment strategy, in other words as relief work. This strategy fitted Lapland particularly well as its road network was underdeveloped and badly needed repairing after the War. On the grass-root level this meant that no longer only the lumberjacks were mobile, but also those men who made their living by building bridges and roads. Just like the lumberjacks, such things as an extremely harsh climate, physically demanding work and simple living conditions shaped their way of life. Furthermore, vast distances had to be travelled and lengthy time-periods spent in the middle of nowhere, which became particularly typical of the construction work in Lapland where the distances are vast and population density low. Mobility was further increased in the county by the fact that not only the travelling work force but also many locals earned extra incomes by doing both forest work and construction work. According to the statistics (see table 5 on page 43) more than 55 % of the economically active population in 1960 were engaged in the spheres of construction, forestry and agriculture. This meant that the number of mobile workers was particularly great in Lapland.

During the winter of 1945 I worked with my father in the forest that was situated next to our home in southern Finland. In the autumn I decided to travel to Lapland with my friend to work as a lumberjack. Soon after the winter job site had finished, we got a job from a log floating work site. After that we were unemployed for a short time, but were lucky enough to get work on a building site of a hydroelectric power station. We did not stay there for long but decided to travel to Rovaniemi to look for something else. For a while, we worked in a forest job site and then went back again to work in a hydroelectric building site. The work we did was very boring; we hewed stones and did other odd jobs. Because of this we were soon on the road again and perhaps not surprisingly, found ourselves working in a forest job site once more. (Eljas, KA.)

Because the old, central regions in Finland were situated near lakes, rivers and the sea, the old network of roads were concentrated in these areas. As the industrialisation and urbanisation proceeded, it became necessary to get access to the newly settled areas and places where the economic activities took place. (Ajo 1946, 32, 40 - 51.) However, economic considerations were not given priority when Finland’s railway system was planned but the national defence and needs of the army. Because of the rudimentary state of the railways, rivers remained as the most important way of

transporting wood until the beginning of the 1950's. For the same reason, sawmills and factories were founded along the waterways. Although the railway line reached Kemijärvi by the 1930's, it was not regarded as economically wise to construct more lines in the area: Transportation of timber from the sparsely populated backwoods by train without passengers would have been unprofitable[23]. Developing the road network was the easiest and cheapest solution to the problem. (Peltola 1995, 24 - 29.)

When compared to the rest of the country, the development of the road network was delayed in Lapland. As late as the eighteenth century roads were practically non-existent, but because the majority of the small population lived along the riversides that were considered as adequate routes of traffic, there was no urgent need to build roads. (Varjo 1971, 189 - 192.) By the year 1917 the roads were in a reasonably good shape in the southern parts of the country and building could start concentrating towards North. The first step towards improving communications was to replace some of the slow ferry connections by bridges between 1918-1939. The road leading to the Arctic Ocean was the biggest building project of the time, lasting from 1916 until 1933[24]. Originally, this road was planned to get access to the nickel mines of Petsamo, but it became popular also among tourists. Because of the harsh weather conditions and frost the work had to be done during summertime and since the locals were engaged with the farm work, many workers had to be hired from other parts of the country (Perko 1977, 144 - 171, 251.) In this way the road project increased labour mobility and became a kind of predecessor for the post-war road works.

The next and biggest step in Lapland's road improvements was taken immediately after the Germans had retreated in 1944. The army pioneers started a massive reconstruction project since it was important to place the population evacuated to Sweden and the emigrants coming from the North-east areas lost to the Soviet Union as soon as possible. Furthermore, the transportation of timber and other wood products had to be arranged because war indemnities and reconstruction work were paid by the returns of the forest industry (Ursin 1980, 375 - 394). The number of

[23] The share of timber of the total transportation in Finland was 66 % in 1952 and 44 % in 1960 (Peltola 1995, 39).

workers employed under the reconstruction scheme was about 1700 already by the end of 1944 (Tervonen 1994, 166). Because of the shortage of materials rebuilding often had to be done twice; for example many bridges were first built from wood and later rebuilt again with proper materials. In this way the reconstruction work could continue until the 1960's. The government allocated money towards road building and improvements according to the urgency of the needs; the biggest share of the appropriations between 1945-1969 were channelled to the county of Lapland. During the time-period between 1956-1969, Lapland's share of all the new roadwork sites and road improvements had declined to 14 %. By the year 1970 the situation was back to the normal, its share being roughly five per cent of the whole budget. (Perko 1977, 357 - 361.)

Table 8: Allocation of appropriations (%) to roadworks and improvements 1945-1955 and 1956-1969. Only the 'top' three counties have been marked in each column.

County	New roadworks 1945-1949	Road improvements 1945-1949	New roadworks 1950-1955	Road improvements 1950-1955	New roadworks & improvements 1956-1960	New roadworks & improvements 1961-1965	New Roadworks & improvements 1966-1969
Lapland	**51.1**	**72.9**	**41.1**	**50.8**	19.2	13.3	14.8
Kymi	17.8						
Kuopio	9.9	6.1		9.2			
Häme		7.7					
Turku & Pori			18.5		14.3	11.3	9.1
Oulu			12.3		16.8	12.3	9.1

(Source: Perko 1977, 360.)

The responsibility of road maintenance was transferred to the National Board of Public Roads and Waterways (NBPRW) in 1948. From then on the government financed all road improvement projects and the money was allocated to separate road districts led by engineers. Until the beginning of the 1960's road masters and engineers were the only technically trained foremen in the road building sites. A special group of workers, the so-called road guards who were given 'shares' of a road to take care of, worked on the maintenance of roads until the end of 1950's. Several other

[24] The northeastern part of the road was lost to the USSR in the war only eight years after its completion.

occupational groups such as small farmers, office workers, stock keepers, caretakers, household managers, and kitchen personnel were employed in road building. The number of skilled workers increased little by little; for example blacksmiths and other personnel specialised in repairing machines were hired as the technological innovations became prevalent. (Hänninen 1995, 308 - 319.)

The reconstruction work was at its peak in 1945 when about 7000 men worked in the building sites of Lapland, all hired by the NBPRW. They were paid a special bonus; the original idea of these allowances was to cover the extra costs the family men had because they had to maintain households in two localities, but in practise bonuses were paid to everybody. The majority of the workers were locals, but since they were engaged also in rebuilding their own houses and cultivation of land, workers were hired from other parts of the country too. Many of these workers came from areas that had been lost to the Soviet Union in the war. The NBPRW not only employed the men but also provided them with clothes, which was necessary in a situation when there was hardly anything available in the shops and many builders came straight from the front, owning nothing but their worn-out army clothes. In addition to this, the NBPRW had to arrange accommodation for the workers – a task that turned out to be difficult as the great majority of the houses of the area had been destroyed at the end of the War. Building temporary barracks solved this problem. An organisation called Työmaahuolto r.y.[25], provided canteen services for the workers in the backwoods where cafes and restaurants were non-existent. (Tervonen 1994, 164 - 175.)

The number of workers employed by the construction sector in Lapland was 5994 in 1950 and 10361 in 1960. Even as late as in 1970 the number was 8630, which was more than 10 % of the economically active population of the area (Tilastokeskus, tilastollisia tiedonantoja n:o 63 1975, 290). However, despite the fact that many roads in Lapland were still in a bad shape at the end of the 1940's, the money allocated to reconstruction work was reduced. The forest industry was in depression and unemployment started growing, and because the poor relief could not cope with so many unemployed, the government decided to introduce a new kind of relief work.

[25] The organisation of the Työmaahuolto Oy was based on the dissolved Lotta Svärd Association, women's auxiliary defence services.

Construction work and particularly road building was thought to serve well as relief work since no special training was required from the workers. For example in the winter of 1949 the share of those employed by a relief work scheme was more than 85 % of the total number of workers in the sphere of road building. (Tervonen 1994, 189 - 191.) The state's relief work - better known as the 'shovel-line' among the workers - was familiar already from the economic depression of the 1930's. The example for this arrangement had been given by the Swedish government who instead of giving money to the seasonally unemployed kept their wages high so that they could save money for the following unemployment period[26]. If the worst came true and they ran out of money, they were employed as relief-workers by the municipality or the state. (Kahra 1930, 69 - 70.) 'Shovel-line' was directed chiefly at the common labourers of rural areas: In the North where the unemployment rates were high, not only road building but all kinds of work like draining of land, cleaning of waterways, building and keeping up the timber floating ways and even forest work was done under the label of relief work. The state also created redeployment job sites: At the beginning of the 1950's most of them situated in the North but gradually they moved southwards[27]. Industrial workers were not sent to these job sites since they had powerful trade unions behind them. (Nenonen 1993, 10 – 34.)

Most of the redeployment job sites were road building sites. Their biggest problem was their poor planning: Economic fluctuations, dependence on government's extra-budgets, etc. made long-term planning practically impossible and one could never be sure if there would be work available in the following month or even next week. Sometimes men were sent to the job sites just to find out that there was no work available or even a place for them to sleep. Furthermore, the introduction of technological innovations was hampered because the hiring policy of a redeployment job site was to employ as many as possible - machines would have decreased the number of workers needed. Roads were built also in the wintertime despite the high

[26] In the time-period of 1921-1971 the wages of the Finnish lumberjacks were equal to those of the Swedish (Suomalainen metsätyömies 1972, 30).

[27] However, the workers could be sent to these work sites only if their home commune was not able to arrange them any other work. The worker was admitted to free transportation and accommodation, and if he failed to arrive, the state no longer had any obligation to employ or support him economically (Nenonen 1993, 30 - 34).

expenditures; for example ditch digging could be as much as 400 % more expensive in the winter time than in summer. (Nenonen 1993, 53 - 57.)

I had been unemployed for some time and then got a relief work job in the backwoods somewhere around Tervola in a construction site… We were accommodated in barracks. Early in the morning we walked to the job site carrying shovels, it was a huge black ditch in the middle of a white marsh… Dynamite had to be used to blow off the snow and frost… It was minus 30 °C. (Pentti, KA)

The government's employment policy started changing in the latter half of the 1960's. The expenses for relief work were too high and not enough simple work like shovelling was available for large numbers of men. Also the World Bank which had been financing road building with two loans since World War II withdrew its support, and road building projects had to go through a thorough change in order to get another loan. Although employment benefits were introduced in Finland in 1969, in the North for example roads were repaired under a relief work scheme as late as in the 1980's. Not only the high unemployment rates and the fluctuations of the forest industry maintained the old system but also the fact that there were still many bridges to be built and many gravel roads to be coated. (Nenonen 1995, 92, 149 - 153.)

Tourism and Trade - the Growing New Sectors

Although the importance of additional incomes gained by selling furs, salmon, meat and butter was great in Lapland in the past, trade has had less importance as the main industry than in the rest of the country until the turn of the 1970's (Granfelt 1971, 200). However, because Lapland has always been sparsely populated and villages small, trade was never restricted to one locality only as it often was in rural places. In other words, the peasants had to learn to deal with professional tradesmen and markets from quite early on. Dependence on the importation of bread grain and salt[28] further increased the awareness of the international markets and its pressures. (Kerkelä 1992, 121 - 140.)

[28] Salt was important because it was used to preserve butter and meat.

As can be concluded from this chapter, the structure of the commercial and industrial life in Lapland has differed from other parts of the country and also consumer behaviour has been shaped by low average incomes. However, the importance of commerce as the main industry has also grown in Lapland as the number of consumers has increased and living standard risen. The wholesale business has been concentrated clearly in urban areas; for example in 1964 Rovaniemi's and Kemi's share of the total wholesale business in Lapland was 65 %. Also the retail business has been concentrated in certain areas but not as clearly as the wholesale business as it is more dependent on the physical proximity of its clients. The number of shops specialised in some article with clientele - the ultimate sign of differentiated consumption behaviour - has been small in Lapland, and all these shops are concentrated in the two biggest urban areas of Rovaniemi and Kemi. (Granfelt 1971, 200 - 209.)

The trade oriented to export has been remarkably one-sided in Lapland as can be concluded from the paragraphs dealing with the development of the industrial life. For example in 1966 the industrial production was focused on four major lines of the paper industry, hydroelectric power stations and other production plants and food industry. These contained 89 % of the whole industrial production, of which the share of the woodworking industry was as high as 56 per cent. Because 90 per cent of the value of total production of the country is produced in Southern Finland, Lapland has become highly dependent on the importation of consumer goods, which in turn has meant higher prices. (Granfelt 1971, 210 - 212.)

The interlinked industries of tourism and trade have grown side by side in Lapland. In the introduction chapter it was pointed out that one way of defining a periphery is to find out if the area is receiving or producing tourists, and in the case of Lapland it is evident that it is a receiver of tourists rather than a producer of them. However, it took a long time before the area became a popular holiday resort. The first individual travellers were scientists and explorers arriving at the area in the seventeenth century (Vahtola 1983, 135). The famous Finnish national hero and poet Z.E. Topelius who published articles on Lapland at the end of the nineteenth century caused the first tourist flow. Simultaneously gold findings brought the area to the headlines and the

region started attracting tourists from all over the country. The beginning of the tourist industry was moderate: Before the Second World War, the biggest obstacle for its development was the lack of roads and accommodation. Hikers might have been happy to ramble in the wilderness without facilities, but it was only after the road network had improved and the tourist centres of Polar Circle and Kilpisjärvi opened in the 1950's that the tourist industry started expanding. Simultaneously, other services directed towards tourists started improving. (Mäkinen 1983, 163 - 177.) Despite its growth, the tourist industry's role as an employer has been modest; as late as the 1980's it employed only about six per cent of the economically active population in Lapland (Kokkoniemi 1991, 81).

Cultural Modernisation: Education and Religion

Education and Public Services

In the mid nineteenth century's Finland a new kind of intellectual spirit inspired by the Nationalist Movement started spreading: Public enlightenment was understood to strengthen the national culture and legitimise strivings for independence. Newspapers and libraries were founded, and the school system was developed. Although education became compulsory only in 1921, more than 99 % of the population over 15-years of age could read already before World War I (Rasila 1982, 162). In Lapland, the educational level raised slowly when compared to the rest of the country, and it was only at the end of the 1950's that the number of schools in relation to the number of children at school age started approaching the national average. Particularly those who were born before the First World War had a poor education, and the situation was not better for those who were at school age during the Second World War.

I could not even begin the elementary school because of the War, and after we came back from our evacuee trip I had to start working (Heimo, KA).

I went to the ambulatory school for five days (Fredrik, TMT).

The first schools in the North were ambulatory schools supported by the church. These 'mobile schools' were particularly suitable in Lapland because of the long

distances and small population. Before 1870 there were 127 ambulatory schools in the county of Oulu, and a third of them situated in Lapland. Elementary schools spread slowly to the area, and the first one was founded as late as in 1870. By the end of the century there was at least one elementary school in every commune, although this was still far from adequate for such a vast area with a scattered population. Although good education is not particularly highly esteemed among the Laestadians, a few adult continuation schools were founded in the county of Oulu already before the First World War, and a secondary school in Rovaniemi. Public libraries were also founded. (Talonen 1988, 30 - 32.)

Table 9: Educational level in Lapland and the whole country in 1950, 1960 and 1970, in percentage.

Year 1950	Partial or no primary education	Primary school	Intermediate school	Secondary school
Lapland	**59.7**	36.9	2.3	1.1
Whole country	**48.6**	45.4	3.9	2.1
Year 1960	Less than intermediate school	Intermediate school	Secondary school	University
Lapland	95.2	3.3	1.5	0.5
Whole country	91.7	5.3	2.9	1.2
Year 1970	Higher primary education or not known	Lower intermediate education	Higher intermediate education	University
Lapland	**84.9**	8.6	4.1	2.3
Whole country	**80.5**	9.9	5.5	3.7

(Sources: SVT Väestötilastoa VI C:102 1950, SVT VI C:103 Yleinen väestölaskenta 1960, SVT VI C:104 Väestölaskenta 1970 osa VII A.)

In addition to the improving educational facilities, the number of newspapers published in the area increased steadily from the beginning of this century onwards; for example in the time period of 1880-1929 twenty newspapers were published. A newspaper called the 'Kaiku', published in Oulu, was the most popular of these and it could shape greatly the public opinion. Politically the paper supported first the radical Young Finnish Party, then the conservative Old Finnish Party and finally the Agrarian Party[29]. The values and worldview of the AP were close to the dominant religious

[29] For the sake of clarity Maalaisliitto, the Agrarian Union, is translated here as the Agrarian Party,

Movement of the region, Laestadianism, and it also supported such movements as the Nationalist Movement and Temperance Movement. (Talonen 1988, 34 - 36.)

When compared to the rest of the country, the development of Lapland's public sector was retarded not only from the point of view of education. For example the number of physicians has been low when compared to the national average and as we can see in the next table, the situation did not improve but actually got worse in the time-period of 1945-1970.

Table 10: Number of physicians and dentists per 10 000 population in Lapland and the whole country in 1945 and 1970.

Year & area	Physicians	Dentists
1945: Lapland	1.9	0.9
Whole country	4.1	2.9
1970: Lapland	4.9	3.0
Whole country	10.4	5.9

(Sources: SVT XI 1955; SVT XI:70 1970.)

Religious Atmosphere and Laestadianism

Before the turn of the twentieth century the sparsely populated and economically uninteresting northern and the Northeast parts of Finland belonged to the large bishopric of Kuopio. In the North, the bishopric was divided further to the deaneries of Kajaani, Kalajoki, Kemi, Lappi, Oulu and Raahe, of which Kemi and Lappi are situated in the county of Lapland. Because church buildings were few and distances vast, church attendance was never high in Lapland: It was more regular in the southern parts of the county of Oulu because of the influence of the powerful Pietistic Movement there[30]. The most widespread revivalist Movement and dominant form of Christianity in the area is Laestadianism. It fits well the special social and cultural characteristics of the region, and this has guaranteed its popularity. (Talonen 1988, 36 - 38.)

Laestadianism[31] started spreading to Lapland from the place of its origin, Karesuando in Northern Sweden, in the 1840's. At first Laestadianism was regarded as an independent sect separate from the Finnish State church, but later on it was redefined as an ecclesiastical revivalist Movement. In Norway and Sweden Laestadianism has always been an integral part of the state church. By the end of the 1860's, Laestadianism had become a clearly Finnish Movement. In Norway the Movement spread mainly among the Lappish but in Sweden it did not become popular because it differed too much from the dominant religious tradition. In Lapland, several crop failures taking place in the time-period of 1857-1868 played an important role in the rapid spread of the Movement. Hard times in general have a positive correlation with the rise of revivalist movements: The immediate presence of death makes people meditate upon the hereafter, and the wandering beggars act as messengers, spreading not only news but also religious propaganda. The spread of Laestadianism was further encouraged by the fact that converting people is highly valued among its members. (Raittila 1985, 9, 149 - 160.)

As a Movement Laestadianism has an essence of spirit of opposition, as it was born out of discontent with the Lutheran State church. At the beginning the Movement was purely religious by nature and the rebellion was against the prevalent practise in which religious norms were defined by the state church and not by the congregation members. However, because the state and church were in a close relationship, the Movement soon became a social protest too. (Suolinna 1969, 66 - 69.) In all, Laestadianism is not more radical in its relationship with the state than other revivalist movements but actually stresses the importance of obedience and loyalty to the authorities of the state. The preserving and conservative nature of Laestadianism is also reflected in the way one is supposed to proceed towards the promised equality among Christians - if not here in this world, then in the afterlife. One of the great strengths of the Movement has been its ability to build and maintain a strong relationship with the local community. It has adjusted itself to the norms of the rural way of life and thereby been able to influence these norms. The Movement is widely

[30] Otherwise the support of the evangelical movement was frail in the North; the Salvation Army, Baptism, Methodism and Pentecostalism all had congregations, but the total number of their members remained small.

known for its fire-and-brimstone preaching performed by laymen and strong religious revivals that consist of jumping, fainting, joyful screaming, etc. No professional clergymen or special buildings devoted to worship are needed. Temperance, tidiness, industriousness, keeping one's conscience clear, and obedience to the law and order are the guiding principles of a Laestadian. (Raittila 1985, 281 – 283.)

The village was Laestadian. The worst sins a person could commit consisted of drunkenness, in other words drinking of Devil's piss, stealing reindeer, swearing, laziness and adultery (Sallalainen, KEA).

My parents had a small farm. At home we never discussed politics, not even the Agrarian Party. We went often to religious gatherings held at the church hall. Because the village was Laestadian, support of the Labour Movement was considered as a great sin. Furthermore, due to certain religious reasons, you were not allowed to wear a tie, and if you were wearing a cardigan it had to be tightly buttoned and the collar kept up. No other materials but flannel was accepted as shirt material. The shirt could have red stripes though, probably for the simple reason that flannel was usually red when it came out of the factory. (Paavo, TMT.)

At the turn of the century the Movement split into three groups of Old Laestadians, New Revival and Firstborn Laestadians[32]. The Movement experienced some changes also in its political climate: Laestadians gave up voting for the Old Finnish Party, and the Agrarian Party became their major political channel. During the Civil War of 1918 the Laestadians supported the Whites and in the 1930's the Finnish Nationalist Movement (IKL)[33], although participation was never enthusiastic. The general attitude towards the IKL was cautious and reserved, as was the case with any new ideas trying to gain ground. (Talonen 1988, 125 - 129, 175.) Although there were some individual Laestadians that had leftist sympathies, the official political stand was strongly against the left-wing thought.

Laestadians were not even allowed to buy bread from the shops owned by the Labour Movement (Kalle TMT).

[31] Laestadianism has been named according to its founder, Lars Levi Laestadius.
[32] The Old Laestadians is the most conventional and biggest of these groups, and it is widely supported in the area of Lapland.
[33] IKL, or Isänmaallinen kansanliike, was a fascist organisation active in the 1930's.

Laestadianism in a way prepared the ground for the Agrarian Party, the ideas spread around with the help of the travelling preachers. During the Civil War I supported the Whites. (Herman, KEA.)

Amongst the believers, the Labour Movement was seen as a symbol of anti-religious, atheistic conception of the world, or even worse - a warning of the coming apocalypse. The Movement was also criticised because of its rebellious attitude towards the authorities of the state: The whole field of class struggle was regarded as a scene of anger, selfishness, envy, bitterness, and a threat to consensus and a peaceful way of living. (Talonen 1988, 130 - 132.) Because Laestadians were mostly independent peasants as is the case of supporters of any other revivalist Movement in Finland (Suolinna 1975, 7), for example economic fluctuations within the forest industry did not affect their lives very much. Nor were they as mobile as the small farmers were; they were self-supporting peasants to the extent it was possible in the North, and not willing to change their mode of life. The world the Labour Movement and leftist parties represented was alien to them.

Political Modernisation

Land Owning Relations

Because arable land was available in Lapland until the turn of this century and even later, the land-owning relations did not develop into such complex problems as in the southern parts of Finland. The class of farm workers was practically non-existent since only a few farms were large and wealthy enough to hire workers: The majority of the farms were smallholdings and could employ family members only. For example in 1940 74 % of the farms had less than 10 hectares of arable land, which is insufficient in those climatic conditions. Also the number of rented plantations was small in Lapland when compared to the national average; in 1910 only 19 % of the farms were rented whereas for example in the county of Oulu the equivalent percentage was 43.5. Thirty years later the corresponding figure in Lapland was 6.2 % and in the county of Oulu 4.0. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 23 – 27.)

Briefly, there were no major economically or socially based differences among the population in Lapland before the 1st World War. Besides the cultivation of land, there were other sources of wealth that kept people out of extreme poverty: As already mentioned, domestic animals and reindeer were kept, and agricultural products and handiwork were sold to the Swedish and Norwegian markets at a good price. Later on the forest sector and road building offered additional earnings. Large families and kinship ties brought security to life in days when the welfare state and social services were practically non-existent. (Talonen, 1988, 27.) Those who fell back on the care of the poor were people without land property, for example lumberjacks originating from the South. Among them were also the elderly, those unable to work and those who had big families but no relatives to help them through difficult times (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 30).

Since the majority of the farmers in Lapland were independent and the conditions of the landless relatively good, the tenants' rights Movement did not become as popular in the area as it did in the South. The problem in the North was not the unjust tenant system but the scale of land ownership of the state; for example in 1941 fifty per cent of all the forestland in Lapland was owned by the state[34]. Also the Kemiyhtiö had acquired ownership of vast forest areas. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 32 - 33.) As a consequence, a unique kind of tenant system developed: The landless simply moved to the forests owned by the Crown, cleared a plot of land and founded a farm. These farms were given an independent status during the reparceling of land in the 1920's. (Ahvenainen 1985, 299.)

Farmers Unite

The co-operation of the agricultural producers has a long history in Finland. However, although professional agricultural consultants started working with the farmers as early as in 1797, it was not before the 1880's that the farmers started getting

[34] In 1941, the average of the state ownership of the forest land in the whole country was 35.6 per cent (Ahvenainen 1985, 299).

organised[35]. Several years of crop failures in the 1860's gave a push to this development, as these years revealed the old-fashioned state of agricultural production. The increasing impact of market mechanism, structural changes taking place in the agricultural production[36] and a growing number of landless rural population further strengthened the farmers' aspirations to unite. The impact of the market mechanism is particularly pronounced in the policy of the newly founded Co-operative Movement: It was founded to increase the efficiency of agricultural work, production and marketing[37]. (Kananen 1981, 237 - 242.) The majority of the Finnish farmers supported the Co-operation Movement right from its foundation. In the North, the Movement had strong support in the county of Oulu but in Lapland where new ideas tended to spread slowly the first local division was founded as late as in 1917, and it was not before the early 1930's that the membership had reached the national average. Several years of crop failures in the 1920's greatly encouraged the spreading of the Movement. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 35 - 37.)

I was born in 1833 in Utsjoki. I was the first member of the Co-operation Movement in the very North. I also persuaded the necessary 150 members to join in so that we could found a co-operation shop: Later on I worked there as a shop assistant. (Jooseppi, TMT.)

The establishment of the Finnish state in 1917 and the First World War encouraged further the uniting process of the farmers; the whole agricultural sphere was affected by rationing and the farmers felt that they could no longer carry on without an interest group of their own. The Central Committee and the Commission of Agricultural Producers founded in 1917 preceded the foundation of the Central Union of the Finnish Agricultural Producers (CUFAP) in 1917[38]. The foundation of this powerful organisation was at first strongly resisted by the Agrarian Party who saw it as a competitor to the party and particularly so in Lapland where its support was strong. Furthermore, at the beginning of its foundation the majority of the members of the

[35] In the industrial sector, the first trade unions among the workers were founded in the 1880's, and the Central Union of Finnish Trade Unions in 1907.
[36] For example, farmers were now encouraged to raise livestock instead of crops. New techniques in foddering and dairing, and the growing market for agricultural products enabled this change (Kananen 1981, 240).
[37] To further encourage co-operation among the farmers, a special association called the "Pellervo-Seura" was founded in 1899 (Kananen 1981, 243).
[38] The small farmers had founded their own union, the Tenant Farmers' Union, already in 1910.

CUFAP were large farmers from the southern parts of the country [39] (Kananen 1981, 244 - 251.). However, according to Kerkelä (1992, 121 - 140), the market in Lapland was never restricted to one locality only and the peasants had learnt to deal with tradesmen and markets from quite early on. Why did they not take a more active role in the associations? Simply because the farms were small in Lapland, their productivity poor and markets modestly sized; such issues as the price development and fight against the international market fluctuations - the main interests of the CUFAP - were not regarded as the most urgent questions of the area.

In all, the farmers' eagerness to unite reflects the increasing impact of the market mechanism in the area. Simultaneously, people became active also in a more political way. According to Rokkan & Urwin (1983, 123 – 138), a territory becomes politically significant because of the interpretation and value placed upon it by people. Different cultural and financial resources are necessary for mobilisation, but also the accumulation of cultural and economic inferiority can encourage peripheral mobilisation. Mobilisation often takes place in a situation when big changes such as educational standardisation are introduced, and as already discussed, we can find several new elements that encouraged mobilisation in the case of Lapland. The forceful introduction of the market economy in the form of forest industry together with the spread of new cultural influences brought along with it are amongst the most important of these. Furthermore, the whole party system in Finland was going through a transformation period, and people's willingness to social change was expressed openly in the reform. The Labour Movement started strengthening and not only the workers but also many farmers chose to vote for the Social Democratic Party (SDP). However, in Lapland where the social differences were not great, the party gained only a modest number of adherents. The independent farmers of the area disliked the idea of giving their land to the state as the party program stated. Furthermore, the party's negative attitudes towards religion did not increase its popularity in the highly religious area. The farmers in Lapland felt that they lacked a suitable channel to

[39] For example in 1920 60 % of the supporters lived in the southern parts of the country and only 30 % in the North. Although 75 % of all the farms in Finland were less than 10 ha, only 22% of these farmers belonged to the CUFAP in 1920. It was only after e World War II that the Union developed into a mass organisation supported by farmers everywhere in Finland. (Kananen 1981, 249 - 251).

express their political interests, especially since the times of the Old Finnish Party were dead and gone. The Agrarian Party came to fill this vacuum.

The Agrarian Party in Lapland

According to Alapuro (1994, 299), there are two time-periods in the history of Finland that are particularly important from the point of view of the shaping of the nation's political system, namely 1905-1907 and 1917-1919. The foundation of the Agrarian Party was a result of a new kind of social activity that emerged in Finland after the General Strike in 1905; the political atmosphere was more open to reforms, and now also the rural population was ready to get mobilised. In Lapland, the AP was particularly successful and not least because of its skilful network building: Ideologically it was close not only to Laestadianism but also to such popular movements as the Farmers' Club, Co-operation Movement and Young People's Association. Also the few adult continuation schools in Lapland were supported by the Party and therefore had a strongly agrarian spirit. As a result of this networking, the Agrarian Party gained votes from the whole population of Lapland right from its foundation, regardless for example of the land ownership. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 24, 37 - 48.)

My husband worked in the railways and voted first the SDP. However, after the Tenant Farmer Act he started supporting the Agrarian Party (Hanna, KEA).

I was born in 1872 in Niskaperä near Rovaniemi. My father was a farmer, we had 15 or 16 cows and a couple of horses and the farm was quite large. Although my father could not even write his name and was not interested in politics, I have always been a firm supporter of the Agrarian Party. (Arvid, KEA.)

During the time of autonomy, the Agrarian Party was very nationalist in spirit[40]. It also emphasised the importance of obedience to the law, spoke for social equality and claimed to resist bureaucracy as opposed to the individual freedom - all highly appreciated values also among the Laestadians. Not surprisingly, the AP gained the majority of votes in Lapland in the first general elections in 1907, as it did in almost

[40] Nationalism here refers to strivings of independence.

every election afterwards[41]. Its support was strongest in communes where agriculture was the main source of livelihood and weakest in industrial areas such as Kemi. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 78, 57.) In the first three decades of the twentieth century the political stand of the Agrarian Party continued to be conservative by nature, at times leaning to the extreme right. According to the party program, its main political enemy was the Labour Movement, and this included the whole variety of the Left Wing parties from the SDP to the Communist Party. In the Civil War the AP supported the Whites, and during the 1930's when fascist thinking gained ground in Europe and also in Finland, many members of the AP got involved in the extreme right-wing Lapua Movement. In Lapland, this extremist thinking was supported mainly by the people living in the highly religious Laestadian areas next to the border of the Soviet Union: The anti-religiousness of the Communist rule and the rumours concerning the fate of devout Christians in the USSR strengthened the support. It was not before the AP started losing votes in the elections because of its rightist politics that the party programme was finally reformed. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 93, 155, 190.)

My father supported the Agrarian Party and so do I. As a matter of fact the majority of the Laestadians support the AP and some of them are quite actively involved in its activities. During the Civil War I supported the White side. There were very few of those who voted the Small Farmers' Party in the area, nearly everybody voted the AP. (Niilo, KEA.)

My father was a small farmer and a keen supporter of the Nationalist Movement. I chose to vote for the Agrarian Party because we wanted to ensure that Finland would become a Republic and not a Monarchy after the declaration of independence. In the Civil War I joined the forces that conquered Tampere from the Reds. I think that Laestadianism was much more important in preparing ground for the Nationalist Movement than it was for the AP. (Pekka, KEA.)

The improving party organisation and network building have ensured the success of the Agrarian Party in Lapland. By supporting this party the inhabitants of the area have been able to make themselves heard in the parliament, and for the party their support has meant more power over the national issues. As the AP has always

[41] The parliament elections in 1958 and 1966 were the only ones when the AP lost the majority of the votes to the Finnish People's Democratic Union. However, the turn-out in general elections before the Second World War and particularly during the 1930's was low in Lapland.

invested time and effort in organisations and worked both at local and top levels, it has been able to keep its members active and in close contact with the centre of the Party. The Party has also been able to change according to the requirements of time; even co-operation with the Social Democrats became possible after World War II. However, during the first couple of decades following the war the success of the AP in Lapland was not self-evident - it had one noteworthy competitor and challenger, namely the Finnish People's Democratic Union (FPDU).

The Communist Party in Lapland

Political radicalism in Lapland has its roots in the decades preceding the Civil War of 1918. Carpenters who worked in ships in Oulu had arranged the very first strike in northern Finland already in 1856. Political unrest emerged in many localities in Lapland especially during the General Strike 1905, when a wave of strikes started spreading from Kemi - the centre of political radicalism of the area – to the surroundings. G. Forsström who worked as a forest officer in Lapland 1891-1926 describes the ongoing process of political radicalisation in the following manner:

> Agitators came from the South and they travelled from a forest job site to another to hold meetings and political speeches. They formed delegations and talked to the management staff and went out on strikes, there was also violence that often led to lawsuits (Forsström 1985, 86).

Workers did not hesitate to go on a strike in industrial areas and population centres such as Kolari, Kittilä and Salla, and also many forest job-sites along the rivers joined in (Lackman 1984, 49). Forest workers' problems were made known for the public, and even the widely read newspaper 'Kaiku' supported by the Agrarian Party wrote about them; the ills of the job sites were regarded as stimulants for the spread of Socialist ideas and were therefore to be redressed (Heikkinen 1977,170). Another sign of early political radicalisation is the foundation of the first although short-lived forest workers' organisation called the 'Link', more officially 'the Link of the Forest Workers of the North'. This union was founded after the General Strike by the initiative of the workers of Kemiyhtiö (Niemelä 1984, 16).

‘The Link of the Forest Workers of the North’ was founded in Rovaniemi in 1906. There were 15 of us present in the meeting from all over Lapland. I think the reason for the short existence of the union was the fact that the atmosphere was very much against the Labour Movement in those days. For example, the employers would not let any representative of the ‘Link’ to visit the job sites. It was already in 1909 that the ‘Link’ was assimilated to another trade union called ‘the Workers of the Lumber Industry’. (Juho, TMT.)

During the Civil War of 1918, the Reds stayed as separate isles behind the front line in Lapland. The atmosphere was characterised by unrest and political mobilisation, and rebellious atmosphere was further encouraged by shortage of food, high unemployment rates and agitators coming from the South. In Lapland, the war did not result into such massacre and imprisonment as it did in the South[42]. However, several executions took place also there: about 30 Reds were executed in Rovaniemi, 23 in Kemi, 5 in Kemijärvi and 9 in Tornio (Enbuske 1997, 285). White terror was practised also by circulating the so-called 'black lists' among the employers. These lists consisted of the names of those workers who had supported the Reds or who were known to have leftist sympathies and no respectful employer would hire a person whose name was on the list. However, because the forest companies had a shortage of labourers, these lists sometimes ‘got lost’, or the names of the workers were not asked at all when they were hired. (Lackman 1984, 25 - 26.)

It was the year 1929 when we travelled from Pori to Kemi. My father had already previously worked in Kemi in a factory. Although a skilled worker, he could not get a job from Pori because his name was on a black list due to his Communist connections. In the North the control was not as strict as in the South; the lumber industry needed temporary work force and therefore he was able to find work in Kemi. The reason behind our migration was not unique in those days Finland - there were thousands of migrants like us, moving from a place to another and fleeing political persecution. (Salli, KA.)

In all, the support of the Labour Movement did not die with the lost Civil War but was actually strengthened by it. Although the Communists had to go underground, the Movement became stronger particularly in the area of Tornionjokilaakso in the 1920's and 1930's. (Lackman 1991, 109; Puuronen 1998.)

[42] Altogether, 5000 Whites were killed during the Civil War whereas the number of Reds who were killed or who died in prison camps was about 20 000 (Allardt 1961, 4). In Lapland, most of the Red leaders managed to escape to Sweden or Russia (Lackman 1984, 25).

I was actively involved in the Communist Movement when it was operating from underground. Because of this I was arrested in 1925 in Tornio and also in Oulu… My farm is quite big, 100 ha of cultivated land. My father was also a Left Wing supporter and a candidate for the Social Democrats in the governmental elections. (Arvid, TMT.)

Because the Communists were not allowed to operate in public between 1918 and 1945, the potential supporters had to vote for something else. Despite the resistance of the AP, the small farmers' founded a party of their own in 1929, Finland's Small Holders' Party. Another small farmers' party, the People's Party, was founded in 1932. This party was originally split from the AP and founded beside the Shortage Movements[43], and it had close connections with the Communists. (Isohookana-Asunmaa 1980, 156 - 160.) As the Communists were allowed to operate in public again after the Second World War, the majority of the small farmers in Lapland became supporters of the FPDU. During the underground period, hostilities between the AP and the Communists had deepened, and the consequences of this juxtaposition could be seen in the sphere of the post-war municipal policy when the two parties were expected to co-operate. Disagreements and disputes were common and meetings could be unexpectedly lively particularly before the elections.

I think about 85 % of the inhabitants of Rovaniemi supported the AP. After the war there were also Communists; they were not patriotically disposed and they threatened our values in many ways. They were also very inexperienced and inflexible actors in the local governments, although they did soften a bit as time passed. They tried very hard to get rid of me because of my civil guard background. There were constant disagreements between the representatives of the AP and FPDU (Oskari, KEA.)

I have to say that Kolari was a problematic place to visit if you wanted to talk about the politics of the Agrarian Party... It had a long tradition of Communism… We were warned that we would get our share of hostilities and that we should be happy if we survived… It was a hopeless meeting; they acted in a very hostile way towards us. (Pekka V., KEA.)

In addition to the lost Civil War and growing social differences between the employers and the employed in the area, several factors made the atmosphere in

[43] The Shortage Movements were founded to cope with the severe economic depression and shortages taking place in the 1930's.

Lapland favourable for the support of the extreme left[44]. First of all, the government's Act on the general reparceling of farmland was delayed in the North and when it was finally completed, it did not improve the conditions of the small farmers as much as they had expected. On the top of that, they faced several crop failures at the end of the 1920's. The value of standing timber declined in the 1930's, which caused unemployment and impoverishment especially among the small farmers and landless. Simultaneously, the prices of agricultural products fell; the decline in the price of milk especially was a setback for those farmers who made their living by dairy farming. The number of executive auctions increased and many fell back on the care of the poor. (Lackman 1985, 37 - 43.)

The small farmers and landless peasants were increasingly unhappy with the rightist policy of the AP between 1918 and 1945, and this led to the foundation of new parties. In the North, the Social Democrats had founded local departments in the industrial towns of Oulu and Kemi already at the end of the 1880's, and also the small farmers had their own special department in the organisation. However, the SDP was regarded as 'too pink' not only by the majority of workers but also by many small farmers, and therefore never became popular in the area. Also some large farmers looked for more radical options. The Communist ideology differed from all other parties; right from the beginning of its foundation in 1918 the party announced that its aim was to create a Communist society with the help of the dictatorship of workers[45]. (Silvennoinen 1974, 12; Lackman 1985, 45 – 58.)

Spreading Communist ideology in Lapland was far from easy. The big, powerful forest companies fought bitterly against the organising of workers. It was hard to recruit qualified agents for the party because the supporters were uneducated manual workers. Furthermore, the social status of the small farmers and forest workers was low and as research evidence shows, people with this kind of position are difficult to mobilise. Also the fact that they were mobile seasonal workers did not help the

[44] With the extreme Left it is referred here both to the Finnish People's Democratic Union (FPDU) and the Communist Party (CP).
[45] In the beginning the CP did not show particular interest in small farmers as political actors, but in 1920 the Communist cover organisation SSTP – Finland's Socialist Labour Party – was founded to mobilise the small farmers and tenants (Lackman 1985, 60-61).

creation or sustenance of group solidarity. However, Nousiainen (1956, 140) found out in his study that factors such as the sensitiveness of the industry to economic fluctuations, physically demanding and dirty work, and a requirement of mobility encourage radical political thinking. Also for example Anderson's (1988, 248) study of the 1920's American travelling working force confirms this conclusion. In the case of Lapland, the travelling lumberjacks particularly had an important role as propagators of Communist ideology. This is due to several reasons. First of all, they were not as dependent on the jobs provided by the local companies as the small farmers since they could leave and find something else if the employer became difficult, at least in theory. Secondly, most of the travellers did not have a family to look after. Thirdly, they were better informed already in times when newspapers and radios were not yet available; due to their travelling they got more information on such issues as the development of Labour Movement or social conditions in other parts of the country. However, it was already during the 1930's that the mobilising impact of the travelling lumberjacks started diminishing: Lapland's population was now big enough to produce workers for the forest job-sites. Furthermore, the spread of mass media to the backwoods meant that the workers were not any longer dependent on information transmitted *viva voce*. (Niemelä 1984, 15 – 18; Tolsa 1937, 17 – 19, Rannikko 1987, 30.)

> Because the reconstruction work needed experts from different fields, the people arriving in Lapland were of many kinds, also politically… There were lots of arguments concerning politics in every job site, and the Communists were arrogant and oppressive in their flush of victory after the War… Many Social Democrats did not understand the real nature of the FPDU and joined it. (Niilo, TMT.)

> New houses were built next to Rovaniemi. The builders were carpenters, construction workers, evacuees from Carelia and people like that…On Saturdays they heated the sauna, drank and talked about politics. Many of them had been in concentration camps after the Civil War or they had close relatives who had been there… They were all Communists who belonged to the trade unions and were proud of their trade. (Soile, KA.)

After the long period of oppression and underground life the eagerness to get officially organised was so strong that for example during the time-period of 1950-1960 two hundred Communist departments were founded in Lapland, with about 6000

members. Among the first ones were the departments of Kemi, Kittilä, Kolari and Salla - all places with a long 'red history' and Communist tradition. (Kemppinen 1987, 349 - 351.)

The day for the first general elections after the Second World War was approaching and politics was the topic number one. My father had earlier voted the Small Farmers' Party but decided now to become a supporter of the FPDU. This was not a radical decision at all - earlier it was just not possible to vote what you really wanted. The SDP was out of question because it was considered as 'too pink' and not much different when compared to other parties. And so it happened that even the wives of the small farmers who were still evacuated in Sweden were asked to vote the FPDU in the general elections. Not only the physical home resort had to be rebuilt but also the whole ideological world... The first branch of a trade union was founded to the village already in 1946, and my father was given the post of a deputy chairman. (Eino, TMT.)

In 1945 the Labour Movement started its activities in Raanujärvi. I joined the trade union as soon as possible, although the villagers still lowered their voice when they talked about it because it had been banned for so many years... With my brother, we wanted to found a branch of the Communist Party, but there were too few supporters in the village. Instead, in 1953 a man who originated from the South founded a branch of the FPDU. I became the first chairman of it, although I admit that I did not feel very competent in the beginning. The bourgeois villagers made our life difficult in many ways and the supporters of the AP persecuted us for example by arranging lockouts. (Paavo, TMT.)

The strengthening Labour Movement had an immediate impact on such issues as terms and conditions of employment and it was by the end of the Second World War that the first collective labour agreement was signed in Kemiyhtiö. Gradually the wages and conditions in the job sites started improving (Virtanen 1993, 435).

In the old days the building contractors used to shout at the workers as much as they pleased, nowadays those kind of bosses can get sacked…In the North, the work teams did not compete with each other. In fact, the team that had tendered first for whatever project always won because other teams wanted to be loyal and put in a tender for a much higher price than the first one. The teams also decided amongst themselves things such as what specific area each team would specialise in and who would put in the next tender. (Kustaa, KA)

In post-war Lapland not only men but also women got involved in politics in increasing numbers. Women were engaged in many kinds of activities and particularly in those that were close to women and children. Various study groups, homes for

unmarried women, etc., were arranged and supported, and some women were also candidates in municipal elections[46].

Why did Communism become so strong in an area where the industrialisation degree was low and social equality prevalent, at least when compared to the southern parts of the country? Scholars such as Nousiainen (1956) and Allardt (1961, 1962, 1963, 1970) argue that the reason behind the spread of Communism in northern and southern Finland were different. The industrialised and more developed parts of the country had a long tradition of Labour Movement support and therefore Communism had a 'natural' environment to spread into whereas this was not the case in the North. However, as we have seen in this chapter, the support of the Labour Movement in the North is not a mere post-war phenomenon as Allardt suggests: For example the first trade union of the forest workers was founded as early as 1906. In other words, Communism had long roots in the North and political polarisation emerged in Lapland already before the nation had become independent, which confirms one of Hechter's (1975, 8) main arguments, namely that the processes of industrialisation and nation-building produce social inequality and class-based party divisions in peripheral areas.

Allardt (1970, 47) explains the emergence of Communism in the North as a consequence of the modernisation process, approaching the question from a Durkhemian framework. In the case of Lapland this would mean that the ongoing social change and division of labour resulted in a decline of traditional values, unemployment, migration, low incomes, and a growing proportion of the small farmers and forest workers of the population. Each of these factors causes alienation, which is reflected as emotionally based irrational voting behaviour, in other words by support of Communism. However, it is doubtful that mobility per se would have automatically caused alienation and feelings of rootlessness as Allardt suggests, particularly since we have learnt in this chapter that mobility was common in Lapland already before the introduction of the forest industry when the men went for their long hunting and fishing trips. However, it is true that many of those men who came to

[46] In this empirical evidence the women are mostly members of the SDP. (Hellin, Liisa-Maija, Senni, Alli, Hilja, Martta, Kerttu & Hilkka (TMT CCLVII). Apart from Liisa-Maija, Martta and Kerttu they have all migrated to Lapland from somewhere else.

work seasonally in Lapland did have feelings associated with rootlessness as will be shown in the empirical chapter.

Another interesting question in Allardt's (1970, 47) work concerns the declining values. As we can see from table 11 (page 83), the support of the Agrarian Party representing the traditional values, religious beliefs and local way of life has actually been stronger than support of Communism in every election apart from two exceptions. In other words, the local values might not have changed as much as Allardt assumes; it is the values and attitudes of the growing number of migrants moving to the area during the twentieth century that crops out in the statistics as Communist support. What comes to the rest of the interlinked factors of high unemployment, large proportion of small farmers and forest workers and low income levels suggested by Allardt, voting Communists can hardly be called irrational behaviour in this context, since it is exactly this kind of economic ills that the party fought against.

In all, it is concluded here that the political division of Lapland is a result of the proceeding modernisation process, cultural division of labour and economic dependency as Hechter (1975) suggests. More than anything, it is a by-product of rapid population growth, intrusion of the market forces in the form of the forest industry, and the state's colonialist policy aimed to take advantage of the natural resources of the area. Furthermore, political traditions tend to become strong in rural areas once established, which in the case of Lapland is confirmed by the fact that despite the decline of the labour market for common labourers beginning from the latter half of the 1950's, Communist support did not die out. Another quite popular explanation (for example Nousiainen 1956, 78) is that in areas with such extreme climatic conditions as Lapland people also have a tendency to think in extremes; for the politically inclined this would mean support of political radicalism and for the religiously inclined religious extremism. An interesting question that will not be discussed here further concerns the time-period the Communist Movement was banned – could it be that operating from underground actually strengthened the Movement and gained new supporters for it? Denial often brings along resistance and produces counteraction.

2.4 Concluding Remark

According to Hechter (1975, 52), the early expansion of states such as England followed a struggle over fertile agricultural land. In the case of Lapland the climate is much too harsh to make it attractive in this sense, and the growing stream of peasants moving into the area from the mid nineteenth century onwards merely tells us about the overpopulation of the more centrally located fertile lands. The sparsely populated area - in 1938 when the county was founded the population density was still as modest as 1.2[47] - had free land available as late as at the beginning of the twentieth century, which encouraged migration. Also the natural resources of the area such as fish and game attracted migrants. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the demand of forest products started growing in the European market and the forest industry became the main modernising force in the country. In Lapland, the new settlers and small farmers formed a labour reserve that was readily available for seasonal work and due to this the forest industry started expanding also there. The state supported this development by arranging relief work - usually road building - for the inhabitants when the forest industry was in depression. Road building also improved the transportation of the forest products as it connected the area with the rest of the nation. However, at the latest by the mid 1960's when all the three most important industries of - agriculture, construction sector and forest industry – became mechanised, it was clear that the local economy was not self-supportive. The growing industries of trade and tourism were not able to employ all the released surplus labour, and the situation resulted to migration and emigration.

According to Michael Hechter (1975, 109), the processes of modernisation and nation-building lead almost inevitably to regional differentiation, economic inequality and cultural division of labour. In peripheries, this means increasing antagonism between the landowners and tenants and growing cultural differences between various groups. As we have seen, this was the case also in Lapland: The gulf between the

[47] The second lowest population density in Finland was 5.5 in the county of Oulu. In the rest of the counties of the nation it was more than 10 and in the 'densiest' county of Uusimaa 50.7 (Suomen virallinen tilasto 1939, 6).

landowners - large farmers, forest companies and the state – and the small farmers and landless peasants who formed the labour for the forest industry started growing and formed the basis of the class conflict. However, the shift to start thinking in terms of modern politics was slow in Lapland and became manifested in electoral statistics only after World War II when the radical Left was allowed to operate in public again. Interestingly the two most widely supported political parties – the AP and FPDU – are both 'peripheral' in the sense that their support was much weaker in the rest of the country, excluding some areas in the East. The more urbanised and developed areas voted for the Social Democrats and to a lesser extent the conservative National Coalition. There is no doubt that the role of the AP as a defender of the values and local way of life in Lapland and other rural areas has been of great importance, particularly since it has been able to make their problems national issues by discussing them in the parliament. However, what is particularly interesting, is the fact that the support of the AP has been strong even after the decline of the agricultural sector. Since we know that after the war the support of the SDP has been strongest in industrialised areas and amongst skilled workers and that the NC has gained its support among private entrepreneurs, it can be concluded that more than anything else, the continuing success of the AP in Lapland reflects the monolithic economic structure and division of labour. The polarisation of the political life in Lapland is presented in the following table: For example in 1954, the AP and FPDU gained together a good 73 per cent of the votes in the area of Lapland.

Table 11: Support of political parties in the parliament elections in Lapland and the whole country between 1939-1966, %[48].

Year & area	SDP	AP	NCP	SPP	NPP	FSHP	FPDU	Other	AP & FPDU together
1939									
Lapland	29.1	52.2	8.1	-	2.6	2.7	-	5.3	-
Whole country	39.8	22.9	13.6	9.6	4.8	2.1	-	7.2	-
1945									
Lapland	14.2	42.3	12.3	-	2.6	1.0	27.6	-	69.9
Whole country	25.1	21.3	15.0	7.9	5.2	1.2	23.5	0.3	44.8
1948									
Lapland	14.1	41.1	13.4	-	1.1	6.3	29.7	0.3	70.8
Whole country	26.3	24.2	17.1	7.7	3.9	0.3	20.0	0.5	44.2
1951									
Lapland	13.6	37.9	11.5	-	3.3	-	33.7	-	71.6
Whole country	26.5	23.2	14.6	7.6	5.7	0.3	21.6	0.5	44.8
1954									
Lapland	12.9	40.1	10.2	-	3.6	-	33.2	-	73.3
Whole country	23.2	24.1	12.8	7.8	7.9	-	21.6	0.4	45.7
1958									
Lapland	12.3	35.2	8.9	-	3.8	-	36.9	2.9	72.1
Whole country	23.2	23.1	15.3	6.7	5.9	-	23.2	2.6	46.3
1962									
Lapland	8.2	36.9	9.0	-	-	1.6	33.9	4.6	70.8
Whole country	19.5	23.0	15.0	6.4	6.3	2.2	22.0	1.2	45.0
1966									
Lapland	14.4	33.6	8.0	-	7.8	-	35.1	1.1	68.7
Whole country	27.2	21.1	13.8	6.0	6.5	1.0	21.1	3.1	42.2

(Sources: SVT Vaalitilastot 1939-1966.)

In table 12, the special character and development of the economic life in Lapland has been summarised. Not only the dominant position of forestry and agriculture but also the underdeveloped state of the industrial sector reflect the backward and monolithic nature of the economic life. Equally pronounced is the rapid change taking place after the War, the expansion of the construction sector, etc. that have been discussed earlier in this chapter.

[48] Abbreviations: SDP - Social Democratic Party, AP – Agrarian Party, NCP – National Coalition Party, SPP – Swedish People's Party, NPP – National Progressive Party, FSHP – Finnish Small Holders' Party, FPDU – Finnish People's Democratic Union. The column 'Other' in 1939 consists

Table 12: Economically active population in Lapland and in the whole country 1880-1970, by industry (also in percentage).

Year	Area	Agriculture & Forestry	Industry & Handicraft	Construction	Commerce	Transport & communi-cation	Service	Labourers	Industry unknown
1880	Lapland:	8598	225	38	58	23	**667**	647	413
		(80.6)	(2.1)	(0.4)	(0.5)	(0.2)	(6.2)	(6.1)	(3.8)
	Whole	502135	35202	5618	5938	16449	41729	37155	39537
	country:	(78.6)	(5.5)	(0.9)	(0.9)	(2.6)	(6.5)	(5.8)	(6.2)
1890	Lapland:	9477	433	64	69	79	666	619	**1786**
		(71.8)	(3.3)	(0.5)	(0.5)	(0.6)	(5.0)	(4.7)	(13.5)
	Whole	536304	51775	9100	9895	19446	53399	41804	47390
	country:	(69.7)	(6.7)	(1.2)	(1.3)	(2.5)	(6.9)	(5.4)	(6.2)
1900	Lapland:	7993	**2345**	289	162	300	919	**3641**	1553
		(46.5)	(13.6)	(1.7)	(0.9)	(1.7)	(5.3)	(21.2)	(9.0)
	Whole	565491	80385	13137	15558	26694	65884	26171	38285
	country:	(68.0)	(9.7)	(1.6)	(1.9)	(3.2)	(7.9)	(3.1)	(4.6)
1910	Lapland:	25526	1354	97	320	287	857	2102	1899
		(78.7)	(4.2)	(0.3)	(1.0)	(0.9)	(2.6)	(6.5)	(5.9)
	Whole	908137	112384	13609	23873	28696	56825	86270	66041
	country:	(70.1)	(8.7)	(1.1)	(1.8)	(2.2)	(4.4)	(6.7)	(5.1)
1920	Lapland:	**31992**	2669	128	465	406	882	1783	1296
		(70.1)	(6.7)	(0.3)	(1.2)	(1.0)	(2.2)	(4.5)	(3.3)
	Whole	1051401	156330	16714	43371	39871	80534	61766	49171
	country:	(70.1)	(10.4)	(1.1)	(2.9)	(2.7)	(5.4)	(4.1)	(3.3)
1930	Lapland:	41910	3064	452	1058	898	2458	2969	93
		(79.2)	(5.8)	(0.9)	(2.0)	(1.7)	(4.6)	(5.6)	(0.2)
	Whole	1132394	196617	30139	65332	51696	112902	95306	30281
	country:	(66.0)	(11.5)	(1.8)	(3.8)	(3.0)	(6.6)	(5.6)	(1.8)
1940	Lapland:	51120	4924	638	1852	3372	4616	1266	-
		(75.4)	(7.3)	(0.9)	(2.7)	(5.0)	(6.8)	(1.9)	
	Whole	1206130	281447	43965	89563	71677	176215	104878	43521
	country:	59.80)	(14.0)	(2.2)	(4.4)	(3.6)	(8.7)	(5.2)	(2.2)
1950	Lapland:	41514	8409	5994	4902	3986	8400	-	1585
		(55.5)	(11.2)	(8.0)	(6.6)	(5.3)	(11.2)		(2.1)
	Whole	911989	427122	122727	160357	106785	226949	-	28353
	country:	(46.0)	(21.5)	(6.2)	(8.1)	(5.4)	(11.4)		(1.4)
1960	Lapland:	38036	10178	**10361**	7916	5836	12008	-	502
		(44.8)	(12)	(12.2)	(9.3)	(6.9)	(14.2)		(0.6)
	Whole	720817	463377	176157	236381	128844	301463	-	6229
	country:	(35.5)	(22.8)	(8.7)	(11.6)	(6.3)	(14.8)		(0.3)
1970	Lapland:	**21532**	**13941**	8630	**10013**	**7045**	**17280**	-	1970
		(26.8)	(17.3)	(10.7)	(12.5)	(8.8)	(21.5)		(2.4)
	Whole	429010	580726	176786	331759	150185	420755	-	29036
	country:	20.3	(27.4)	(8.3)	(15.7)	(7.1)	(19.9)		(1.4)

(Source: Tilastokeskus, tilastollisia tiedonantoja n:o 63 1975).

mostly of two parties that were suppressed after the War, namely the Swedish Left and the Patriotic People's Movement.

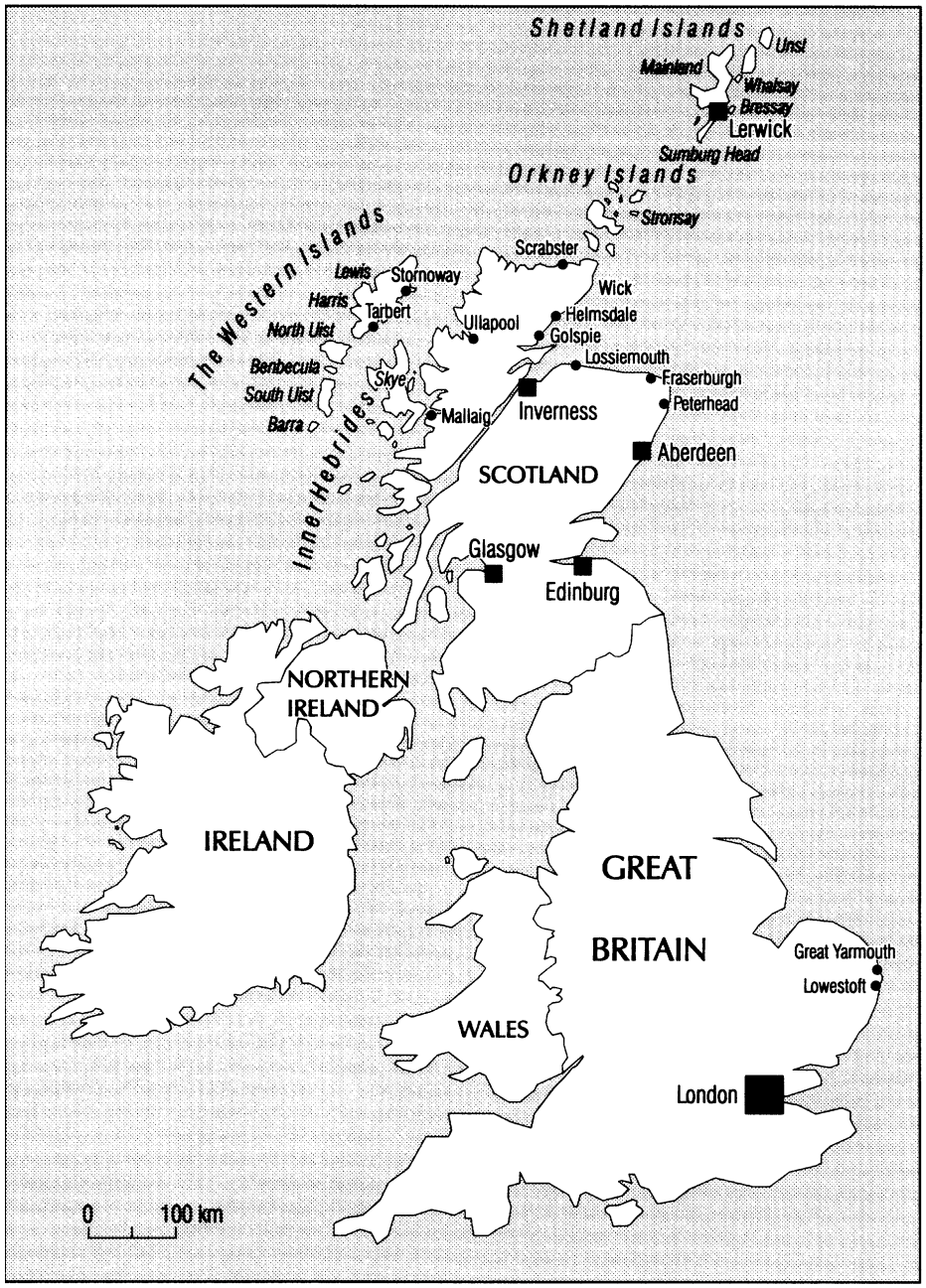
However, one important thing expressed only indirectly in the table is the role of the state as an employer. By studying the development of industrial life in peripheral Lapland it has become evident that governments can greatly influence the economic development of peripheral areas. In the case of Lapland, the increasing degree of government interference reflects not only the integration process of the area to the state but also the fact that Lapland's natural resources were regarded as important from the point of view of the national economy. Furthermore, in Finland issues concerning regional development have been considered as important for decades. The foundations for regional policy were laid in 1944 when the whole state had to be reorganised to repair the damages of the war (Isaksson 1985, 4). To support the economic development in the North the government passed an Act to relieve taxes in the industrial sector already in 1958, although systematic regional planning began only in 1966 when new legislation was passed. However, as the aim of the regional policy was not equality between regions but economic growth and intensification of production, it was the forest industry that benefited most from the reforms (Ekestam 1988, 123; Komiteanmietintö 1986:6, 31 – 33). Furthermore, although signs of mechanisation were obvious in both agricultural and forest sectors already at the end of the 1940's, the government ignored them to allow the expansion of the forest industry. With agricultural subsidies and relief work the government could keep the seasonal labour readily available in Lapland, although this policy simultaneously prepared the ground for the long-term problem of structural unemployment. (Katajamäki 1988, 40; Pihkala 1982b, 522.)

The state intervention has gained also other types of criticism. It has been suggested that in late capitalism state intervention might not be beneficial in peripheral areas because the governments tend to support only one or two industries and as a consequence the economy becomes even more monolithic. Disappearance of regional problems may also mean that crisis tendencies have just been displaced elsewhere (Carney & Hudson & Lewis 1980, 24). In Finland, Ilmo Massa (1994) talks about *welfare colonialism*, referring to the fact that in Lapland it is precisely the public funds and enlarging of the service sector that have tied the local economy even more tightly to the state, increased its dependency and made its position insecure in the world of changing governments, ideologies and budgets. Furthermore, the

concentration of the public sector in population centres has also meant that rural areas are steadily loosing their vitality as the inhabitants make their way to towns. (Ibid., 262 – 263.)

In this chapter it has been shown that in the case of Lapland, peripherality is manifested not only in economic life but also in other spheres of life - in religious thinking, educational level, standard of living, migration and way of life. In the next chapter it will be discussed if this is the case also in the Western Islands.

Map 2: Location of some herring fisheries in Scotland and England.



3 CHANGING WESTERN ISLANDS

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it has been shown how Lapland adapted a peripheral role as a result of the proceeding nation building and modernisation process. In this chapter the main aspects of the modernisation process are dealt with in the context of the Western Islands. Agriculture, kelp industry and particularly fishing industry will be given a special emphasis because of their economic importance. The development of the fishing industry is important also because it forms the background for the herring girls who represent the empirical evidence in the case of Scotland. Because Scotland and the Western Islands belong to a nation that industrialised first in the world and because Scotland was an independent state long before Finland, it is necessary to review its history from a longer perspective than just from the nineteenth century onwards.

Since the Western Islands did not become a constituency of its own before the year 1918, there are, for example, no electoral statistics available from earlier times. Furthermore, unlike Finland, Britain does not have such a rich and long tradition of collecting statistics and therefore detailed, regionally based information on topics such as education or religion is difficult to find. Also the fact that in the case of Scotland the time-period under study is earlier than in the case of Finland, and the fact that Scotland joined the United Kingdom in 1707 further complicates the matter. Because of this, source books of a more general nature have been used and fewer tables have been drawn than in the chapter dealing with Lapland. Short quotations from the data will also be used here to enliven the text and bring out the voice of the Islanders. In addition to this, empirical evidence collected by the members of the Napier Commission in 1883 is used for these purposes as it reflects well the living conditions and the most urgent problems of the Islanders. The British government appointed this Commission to find out more about the problems of the crofters, and its members

visited 61 places and interviewed 775 peasants[49]. Another empirically important source book quoted in this chapter is W.E. Carson's diary. Carson was an American journalist who visited the Outer Hebrides in 1897 and kept a diary on what he did and saw during his trip.

3.2 Emerging Division

The Western Islands, or Outer Hebrides, are situated on the Atlantic fringe of Britain about 40 miles[50] from the north-west coast of mainland Scotland. The area is tiny when compared to Lapland, although it consists of more than 200 islands: Nowadays only 13 of them are inhabited. The largest island - 2273 km² - is Lewis and its present population comprises two thirds of the total of 31 000 people living in the region. Even more so than in the case of Lapland, the isolated location of the Isles and the language of the Islanders - Gaelic - have helped it to preserve its distinctive culture. In the national context of Scotland, the Western Islands belongs to the so called Highlands and Islands region as opposed to the Lowlands area.

Regional differentiation took place in Scotland much earlier than in Finland. Before the late fourteenth century the division of Scotland into Highlands and Lowlands did not yet exist: The Northwest inhabitants did not yet possess a special identity and Gaelic was widely spoken all over the country. Regional differences started developing during the 1230's, by which time the state structures had penetrated practically every corner of the nation. This 'conquest' was achieved by creating a loyal class of feudal landed families. Because the fertile lands were situated in the Lowlands, the impact of the state became stronger there than in other parts of Scotland, and so the division between the 'cultivated' Lowlands and 'savage' Highlands was born. The new perception was a result of a variety of cultural, social and political changes. Most notably, from the late 1300 century onwards English had become the main language of the Scots, and the new cultural division associated Gaelic with the 'cultural inferiority of the Highlands'. Highlanders were now seen as

[49] Altogether, 46750 questions were asked, and this produced a final report consisting of 3375 pages.
[50] One mile is equivalent of 1.6 kilometres.

cruel, violent and untamed people, the opposite of the civilised Lowlanders. (Devine 1994, 1 - 3.)

W.E. Carson (1897) reflects this division in his diary in the following manner:

> Perhaps the quickest way to civilize the Islanders here would be to settle a legion of sturdy lowland Scots among them. They would build good houses, till the land properly, live in thrifty comfort and give appearance of prosperity even to South Uist. They would shame their neighbours into a better mode of living. (Carson 1897, 72.)

The social organisation of the medieval and early modern period of Scotland was commonly built on kin based groupings designed for defence and security[51]. This was particularly the case in the Highlands and the Borders area and the north-east parts of the country where the state authority was weak. Later on the feudal structures started blurring the distinction between the clanship and social system, as now the clan chiefs had to possess both the role of a feudal lord and tribal leader. Clan society had started declining already by the seventeenth century, as it became gradually replaced by the strengthening state structures. During this time the inner gentry of the Highlands became closer to that of the Lowlands, and this resulted into a widening social gap between the gentry and their clansmen also in the Highlands. (Devine 1994, 5 - 11.) However, in most parts of the Highlands and particularly in the remote Western Isles blood, kin, personal loyalty and traditional allegiance remained important and the social relationships became contractual or legalistic only during the eighteenth century.

The administrative re-arrangements, new legislation and other measures introduced to Scotland after the Union with England and Wales in 1707 weakened further the clan society, and the remnants of it disappeared together with the quelled rise of Jacobitism in 1745 and the increasing impact of the market economy. The proceeding

[51] Scottish clans appeared in the time-period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The most important obligation of the clansmen was the 'call to arms'. They also paid rent for the land they cultivated to the clan chief, who in turn was obliged to provide his followers with land and to help the families if a follower was killed in action. The social gap between the chief and the clansmen was not wide, and the idea of blood relationship between them provided the ideological component of clan society. (Mewett 1980, 90 - 91.)

Anglicisation process[52] polarised the rural stratification system and confounded lines of class and culture in Scotland. In this polarisation the gentry were defined as enemies because of their conversion to another culture, namely that of England. Political incorporation was even less successful in remote areas such as the Western Isles – for a long time they remained only loosely tied to the state. (Hechter 1975, 120 – 150.) Just like in the case of Lapland, it was ultimately the impact of the accelerating industrialisation process that changed the situation.

After the uprising of 1745 the state authorities were determined to destroy the 'rebellious culture of the Highlands', and the area was subordinated under the British administrative apparatus. The commercial and industrial development could now speed up because the Highlands were inside the effective limits of British jurisdiction; law and order guaranteed the success of the modernising tendencies that had already been at work in the region for some time. From as early as the latter part of the eighteenth century onwards, the economy of the Highlands area had to adjust itself to the requirements of the proceeding industrialisation of Lowland Scotland and England. The whole traditional agrarian system went through a thorough change, which in the case of the Western Islands meant increasing the production of black cattle, wool and kelp[53] for the national market. (Hunter 1976, 11 – 12.)

The Highlands-Lowlands division did not only legitimise underdevelopment of the Highlands region, but was reflected also in the lives of the migrant workers coming from this area. The poorly educated Gaelic-speaking migrants were regarded - together with the Catholic Irish - as the lowest of the low, the depressed underclass of the industrialised regions of Scotland (Devine 1994, 241). However, like the small farmers and landless peasants in Lapland were vital for the success of the forest industry, these migrants were equally important for the development of the industrial sector in Scotland - despite the fact that they could hardly survive with their poor wages, irregular employment and almost lethal housing conditions in crowded towns.

[52] With Anglicisation process it is referred to administrative re-organisation and the cultural change following the spread of the English language.
[53] Kelp-making is the conversion of seaweed into calcined ash that contains sodium, potassium, and magnesium salts, further used in glass making and soap manufacture. Heavy duty on imported alkalis and the wars with France made the production of kelp highly profitable (MacDonald 1978, 88).

3.3 Modernisation Proceeds

Population Development

The Western Isles has a long history of settlement when compared to Lapland. Lewis, the largest island in the Outer Hebrides, was inhabited already around 3000-4000 years ago: The Celts arriving in Scotland about 500 B.C can be regarded as latecomers from the point of view of the inhabitants of Lewis. The Picts settled on the Islands at the beginning of the Christian era, followed by the Scots from Ireland before the establishment of the kingdom of Dalriada and the arrival of St Columba in Iona in 563. Vikings from Norway and Sweden - the Norsemen - colonised Lewis in the eighth and ninth centuries. It was only in 1266 that Lewis and the rest of the Islands were ceded to Scotland. (MacDonald 1978, 13 - 22.)

Although the population has continued to grow until today in the Lowlands of Scotland, it started declining in the Highlands and Islands region already by the mid nineteenth century, with the exception of the Outer Hebrides. In the Highlands the great changes - depopulation and the liquidation of the old way of life - took place between 1832 and 1914. In addition to the quelled rise of Jacobitism in 1745, several factors accelerated the erosion of the culture and increased migration and emigration from the Highlands. Of these, the most important were the diminishing importance of the clan society and the spread of a school system that used English as the language of instruction. Also the population growth, introduction of large-scale sheep economy, and several potato blights in the 1840's encouraged out-migration. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 60 - 62.) In the Outer Hebrides, the birth rate and death rate has not differed from the rest of the Highlands and Islands area, but otherwise the population development has had some unique features. Although lack of land had become a serious problem in the Islands already at the turn of the nineteenth century, the population in North Uist, South Uist and Benbecula did not start declining before the 1890’s: In Barra, Harris and Lewis this development took place one or two decades later. (Hance 1949, 18.) The reason for this peculiar development is the seasonal

employment offered by the herring industry, which enabled the inhabitants to carry on living on their tiny plots. In Lapland, the population development was quite different: Factors such as free land, late industrialisation and extra incomes offered by the expanding forest industry attracted migrants to the area until the 1960's.

Table 13: Population of Scotland, the Highland Region and the Western Islands 1801 - 1971.

Census	Scotland	Highland Region	Western Islands
1801	1608000	303000	21 694
1811	1806000	318000	24 463
1821	2092000	362000	29 452
1831	2364000	388000	32 031
1841	2620000	**396000**	35 590
1851	2889000	395000	35 925
1861	3062000	380000	36 409
1871	3360000	372000	39 456
1881	3736000	369000	42 804
1891	4026000	360000	44 987
1901	4472000	352000	**46 172**
1911	4761000	342000	44 722
1921	4882000	311000	44 177
1931	4843000	293000	38 986
1951	5096000	286000	35 591
1961	5179000	278000	32 610
1971	5228000	283000	29 891

(Source: British Parliamentary Papers & Census 1971 Scotland.)

Population density remained quite high in the Outer Hebrides until the Second World War. For example in 1851 it was 32.1 per square mile and in 1931 34.9 whereas the corresponding figures in the mainland Highland were 24.7 and 17.6. Also the population density in relation to the amount of arable land has been much higher on the Isles than on the mainland. (Hance 1949, 16 - 17.) In Lapland the population density never reached such high levels: For example in 1960 when the population was at its peak, it was 2.2 per square kilometre: Even the national average was as low as 14.6 (SVT VI C:103).

In low-income, labour-intensive economies the economic consequences of demographic conditions are more pronounced than in economies based on capital-intensive methods. In capital-intensive economies the *per capita* real incomes are high, there is substituting technology for manual labour, and also means to control the

birth rate are available. (Tranter 1985, 153 - 161.) In the labour-intensive economy of the Western Islands, one way of solving the difficult problem of expanding population and lack of land was migration and emigration. However, it seldom improved the situation of those inhabitants who chose to stay, as the freed grazing land often went for the use of the proprietor and the crofters ended up being squeezed into even smaller plots. Emigration was by no means a new phenomenon in the Isles because Stornoway was a port of call for many ships trading with North America already during the eighteenth century. Early emigration from the Islands was entirely voluntary and it was chiefly confined to some tradesmen, those belonging to the class of the tacksmen[54] and their dependents. The first big wave of emigration from Lewis took place in 1773 when 840 Islanders left their homes as a result of excessive exaction for rent. Since then emigration started increasing gradually although this was not at all to the liking of the lairds, as the labour-intensive kelp trade was at its height and the steady loss of manpower bad news for the industry. (MacDonald 1978, 165.)

The landlords' attitudes towards emigration changed together with such dramatic developments as the collapse of the kelp industry at the end of the 1820's, introduction of a large-scale sheep economy in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the potato blight followed by famine in the 1840's. Also the government, upon recommendation of the Napier Commission, gave attention to emigration as a partial solution to the problems of the Islands. However, until the intercensal period of 1911-1921, the emigration rates in the Islands remained lower than in the Highlands in general. (Hance 1949, 61.) In all, it is estimated that two million Scots left their country for overseas destinations 1830-1914. Up to the 1840's the outflow was destined to Canada: Since then Australia and New Zealand and South Africa became popular. Otherwise the United States has been the predominant destination. Furthermore, more than a half a million Scots had made the decision to migrate to England, Wales and Ireland before World War I. (Anderson & Morse 1990, 15 - 17.)

[54] Tacksmen were tenants, often close relatives of the clan chief, who leased a large block of land for several years and acted as viceroy over this portion of the estate and if necessary, appeared with armed

Table 14: Estimated rates of loss by migration from the Western Islands, Five Highland Counties (mainland Highland area), and Scotland in intercensal periods 1851-1931 per 1.000 inhabitants.

Intercensal period	The Western Islands	Mainland Highland area	Scotland
1851-61	**13.0**	14.9	5.6
1861-71	4.3	**19.4**	3.8
1871-81	9.8	13.0	2.8
1881-91	3.1	11.7	5.8
1891-1901	4.4	9.9	1.3
1901-11	5.0	9.6	5.7
1911-21	**12.1**	9.2	5.0
1921-1931	**19.5**	14.2	**8.0**

(Sources: Hance 1949, 21; Registrar general for Scotland, Annual Reports, 1905, 1931; Census of Scotland, 1911, 1921, 1931.)

In Finland, the industrialisation and urbanisation processes started accelerating only after the population had already expanded whereas in Scotland these processes were simultaneous. For example in 1811, 18.5 per cent of the Scottish population lived in towns and thirty years later already 25 per cent. Towns grew rapidly also due to the flow of Irish migrants who favoured particularly the Glasgow area because of its large job market for common labourers. (Lenman 1977, 103 - 106.) One of the most pronounced consequences of the rapid urbanisation process in Scotland was bad housing: In towns the densely populated dwellings, lack of clean piped water and open sewers created good conditions for the spread of epidemics, and as a consequence the average duration of life remained low and infant mortality rates high for decades. (Campbell 1985, 226 - 233.) However, this problem was not restricted to towns only. The housing conditions in Lapland might have been modest until the end of the 1960's, but they cannot be described as anything but appalling in the Western Islands. The area was famous for its so-called 'black house' tradition, the colour referring to the interior of the house that was black as the open fire spread smoke everywhere. Often little more than shacks, these dwellings have been described as smoky, damp and very unhealthy, as they provided an excellent environment for tuberculosis and other diseases to spread (Crowther 1990, 266). The quality of housing can also be estimated from the fact that while tax returns of 1842-3 gave a figure for the 'annual'

followers at the chief's bidding. The peasants paid rent to the tacksmen who lived on the difference

(or rentable) value of the average Scottish house around 12 shillings per head of population, the equivalent figure in the Outer Hebrides was as low as 5 pennies[55] (Smout 1987, 11). W.E. Carson who visited the Outer Hebrides in 1897, describes the housing conditions in the following manner:

> While we were seated in the hut, I commented on its awful squalor, its wretched surroundings and wondered whether the pitiful condition of the natives would ever be improved...Inside the hut there is squalid misery; the outside presents the same appearance. During the heavy rains which prevail in the islands, water frequently floods the huts, small stagnant pools form near the doors and it is not surprising that living under these damp, unhealthy conditions, typhoid fever and other infectious diseases are continually raging among the inhabitants... The Hebrideans, like the Irish peasants, have a great affection for their animal friends. It is not at all uncommon to find a pig or two grunting contentedly inside a hut, chickens wander in and out at will, and in one instance, we were startled by the sudden entrance of a cow and her young calf. (Carson 1897, 27-28, 71.)

The housing conditions started improving gradually after the First World War and particularly after World War II, reflecting the rising living standard of the whole country.

Industrial Life Develops

General: GDP and Consumption

The economic development of the Outer Hebrides is tied to the national Scottish economy, which has its own regional variations. Like the rest of Scotland, it also has strong links with the rest of the kingdom, particularly England, and international markets. To build a general picture of the economic development in Britain, the gross domestic production *per capita* rate (GDP) is presented in the following table. For example the downturn of the important industries of cotton and coal in the latter half of the nineteenth century is manifested clearly in the declining rate. In all, the GDP rate can be characterised as unstable and quite slow, despite the fact that Britain was the first industrialised nation of the world. Because of the Union of 1707, there are no separate rates available for Scotland.

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between this and their own rent paid for the chief. (Smout 1985, 129.)

[55] One pound is equivalent of 20 shillings and one shilling of 12 pennies.

Table 15: Development of the GDP *per capita* rate in Britain 1780-1983, by Lee (1986, 5).

Time-period	GDP/*per capita*
1780-1801	0.4
1801-1831	0.5
1831-1860	**1.1**
1856-1873	1.4
1873-1913	0.9
1913-1924	-0.6
1924-1937	**1.8**
1937-1951	1.3
1951-1973	**2.3**
1973-1979	1.3
1979-1983	0.1

The rate of total investment almost doubled in the early decades of industrialisation in Britain, reaching 14 per cent of the GNP in the 1790's. Some variation in the balance between savings, investment and consumption existed already, but even more notable was the growth of inequality between the distribution of rents, profits, salaries and wages. In all, the national income was rising steeply enough to make a rise in living standard, although it took a long time before the lower social classes could benefit from this development. (Mathias 1983, 192 - 193.)

Because the economy of Scotland was subdued to that of England already before the industrial revolution, not only the industrialisation process but also its outcome became different in England and Scotland (Hechter 1975; Hunter 1976). By the 1780's Scotland's industrial success had become evident and the growth of the GDP *per capita* rate follows this development. Unlike in Finland where the industrialisation process began later and leant heavily on one industry only, in Scotland it was based on various industries, most importantly cotton, textiles, coal and iron. The coal industry started expanding together with the introduction of new steam engines, and the iron industry because of the growth of shipbuilding. Physically, these industries were situated in the so-called industrial belt of central Scotland. The cotton industry started declining as new producers entered the market in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which is shown in the next table. Only a few decades later the same development took place in the coal industry as coal was replaced by oil. (Donaldson 1993, 215- 220.)

Table 16: The number of cotton factories and workers in Britain in 1858, 1861 and 1868, table by Marx 1948, 410.

	Number of factories			Number of workers		
Year	1858	1861	1868	1858	1861	1868
Scotland	152	163	131	34698	41237	39809
England & Wales	2046	2715	2405	341170	407598	357052
Ireland	12	9	13	3345	2734	4203
In sum	2210	2887	2549	379213	451569	401064

Steel making, shipbuilding and heavy engineering ensured the economic success of the nation up until the First World War. Since then the economy has suffered from structural changes and maturing problems. (Donaldson 1993, 220.) The different timing of the industrialisation process in Britain and in Finland and its rapidity in the latter nation becomes particularly clear when we compare the growth of the GNP *per capita* rates[56] with each other from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1980's. In 1870 when the forest industry started strengthening its position in Finland and in Lapland, the GNP rate was 700 whereas in Britain it was 2000. In 1950 it was 2600 in Finland and 4200 in Britain, and in 1973 the equivalent numbers were 6800 and 7400. By the year 1987 Finland had overtaken Britain. (Hjerppe 1990, 37.)

As one can imagine, the industrialisation process in the Highlands and Islands area differs quite clearly from that of the Lowlands of Scotland. Because the main industry of the region was agriculture and fishing, the industrial development of the central areas affected the lives of the Highlanders and Islanders only indirectly. The economic life has remained unchanged and underdeveloped, as often is the case in areas characterised by net migration loss. It was only in 1963 that the British government put forward regional modernisation programs to transform the depressed regions (Carney 1980, 46). In the Highlands and Islands area a special Development Board (H.I.D.B.), was set up to deal with the growing economic problems of the region in 1965. Among other things, developing the agriculture, improving the road network in order to relieve the access to the markets and encouraging new industries, for example, by granting low-interest loans have been on the agenda of the Board. In the

[56] With 1980 prices and purchasing power paritate.

next few paragraphs the development of the industrial life in the Western Islands will be discussed in more detail.

Agriculture

The general appearance of the Western Islands is a bleak moorland, although the more South one travels, the greener the scenery becomes. Barra and South Uist are particularly green and, for example, grazing cows are a much more common sight there than elsewhere in the Islands. Once covered with forests, the Islands have been treeless ever since the Vikings chopped them down to build ships. Fish is abundant in thousands of small lochs that spot the ground. Southern Lewis and Harris have a number of high peaks and the area is covered with rocks, peat, and moors. Most of the arable land of the Outer Hebrides is located in the valley bottoms and coastal fringes where the soil is rich. The overall quality of soil is not so poor when compared to the mainland Highlands: In 1941, 91 per cent of the agricultural land in the Outer Hebrides consisted of rough grazing area and nine per cent of crops and hay. For example in Sutherland, which is situated in the northern Highlands, the equivalent figures were 97.3 and 2.7. The average yearly temperature in the Isles is only slightly lower than in the Highlands, but the climate is far from moderate; retardation of spring, low summer temperatures and high rainfall make the growth of grain slow and harvesting uncertain. Also strong winds, unfavourable rainfall distribution, low rate of evaporation and low percentage of sunshine make the area far from propitious for agriculture. (Hance 1949, 6 - 13, 31 - 35.) Despite this, the inhabitants have traditionally identified themselves as farmers and have a strong attachment to the land they cultivate. Furthermore, the economic conditions and the old social organisation based on clanship have built up a strong sense of solidarity amongst the Islanders, which among other things has meant that also those relatives who had already migrated come back to help their families during holidays.

> Youngsters from Glasgow came home in the summer and helped the Islanders with their crofts and that hard work. We laughed a lot and had a good time always, everybody was happy at the end of the day. (SA 1989/212)

We had a cow, sheep and a horse. We cultivated hay, corn and potatoes, it was very hard work but the croft was good in Eriskay terms. (SA 1989/212)

I wouldn't say we had bad times here, of course you haven't got the liberty and pluralism you had away in the towns (SC 1988/63 6B).

Although the climatic conditions are unfavourable for land cultivation in the Western Islands and Lapland, the main industry has been agriculture in both areas. It was estimated that at the end of the 1940's at least 71 per cent and probably as much as 90 per cent of the total population in the Isles was in some degree directly dependent on the output of the land on which they resided. The clan system has had a strong impact on the development of the crofting system in the Western Islands, although the function of the landlord was greatly reduced with the passing of several Land Acts already at the end of the 1880's. Unlike in Lapland where land was available until the first decades of the twentieth century, lack of land became a difficult problem in the Isles already at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Large farms were few and since only a small percentage of the crofters, cottars, squatters, and feuars[57] were able to make their living solely on land, practising a secondary occupation has become their second nature (Hance 1949, 49), perhaps even more than in the case of the peasants of Lapland. When a wave of crofter rebellions spread around the West Coast and the Isles in the 1880's, the government finally acknowledged their problems and the Napier Commission was set up to investigate the situation. The members of the Commission travelled around the Isles and interviewed hundreds of crofters.

Q14376: Do they complain of overcrowding? Yes, that is the complaint. How can it be otherwise, when the poor people cannot get either food or clothing out of it? Q14377: Do some of the young men go away to earn wages? Every one that can move. Q14378: Have you yourself been in the habit of moving? Yes, I have ten of a family. I have been thirty years going through the whole country to obtain a livelihood. Q14407: Do you go around to the East Coast fishing? Yes, everyone that can. (Minutes of Evidence II 1884, volume 2.)

[57] *Cottars* reside on a croft but pay no rent to the estate. They are often blood relatives of the crofter. *Squatters* build their house on the common grazings and pay no rent to the estate. They have no legal rights to their tiny plots that are situated on the peat moors, and neither do they have legal rights to keep their cattle and sheep on the grazings. *Feuars* dwell on the common grazings, paying an annual feu duty or rent to the estate. They are permitted to cultivate a patch of ground around their homes, but they have no grazing rights. (Hance 1949, 50.)

The introduction of the potato in 1756 had solved temporarily the problems caused by the rapid population growth. Like cattle the potato can be raised on soil that would be too poor for grain crops. It is not as sensitive for cold weather as grain and it can support a family on much fewer acres[58] than is needed for cereal. (Lenman 1977, 113.) Before, the staple crops in the Isles were barley and small black oats; also kale, turnips, flax and hemp[59] were grown. Since the nineteenth century, a typical Hebridean croft has been devoted primarily to oats, potatoes, and hay. (MacDonald 1978, 73 – 74.) The vulnerability of the agricultural sector of the Isles became manifested in the 1840's when several potato blights caused starvation and great misery among the inhabitants. As discussed in the previous chapter, Lapland experienced similar kinds problems in the 1860's, which shows that agriculture and self-supportiveness seldom go hand in hand in marginal areas.

The diet of the Islanders was often unbalanced, as there were too many mouths to feed and the productivity of the tiny plots poor. The Napier Commission found out that malnutrition could have serious consequences not only to the general well-being of the Islanders but also to their ability to work, as the inhabitants did not eat food strong enough to be able to undertake hard physical work.

Q14197: The food is tea and bread, and if they happen to get fish, but there is no meat. I remember when the people used to kill their cattle and sheep regularly at Martinmas. Now they cannot afford to do it. They don't eat substantial food; and I find that the young people cannot stand hard work as they used to do (Minutes of Evidence II, 1884).

Lack of land remains as the most difficult problem of the Islands. For example, in Lewis in 1939 two-thirds of the holdings were less than five acres in size - about 2 hectares - and 98 per cent of them less than fifteen acres. Furthermore, the individual croft may have been subdivided one or more times among the sons of the occupier, and also cottars may have resided on and used a portion of it. When compared to this, the average 10 hectares per farm in Lapland sounds generous, but on the other hand the climate is harsher there and the growing season shorter. In the Isles, the

[58] One acre is equivalent of 0.4047 hectares.
[59] Flax and hemp were grown to get spun material, but they were abandoned as the number of cotton spinning mills on the mainland increased.

development of the agricultural sector was hampered also by the old, inefficient way of cultivating the land - the run-rig system - which was still in use in the late 1940's. In this system the land suitable for cultivation is kept in common ownership and is periodically reallotted[60]. Like the peasants in Lapland, the Islanders usually kept stock – cows and sheep – that fed on the grass about the cottages, rough pastures and uninhabited islands. Also fish could be caught to supplement the diet. (Hance 1949, 52 – 53.)

The extensive moorland pastures of the Islands are ideal not only for rearing live-stock: In Lapland where forests are abundant wood has been the natural source of warmth, but in the treeless environment of the Isles the traditional way of heating a house has been burning of peat. For centuries peat cutting was a part of agricultural routines and even young children were expected to participate in it.

Oh, I had to help with the short stacking. Not the carrying, oh no, the women did that, and I often think that's why they had such marvellous posture. When I went home during the war, I had to do the carrying, you couldn't carry a creel without standing properly (Mrs Gillies 1992, 42).

Because the small farmers and crofters could seldom make their living on cultivation of land only, the women folk both in the Hebrides and in Lapland had got used to take care of the farm alone at least part of the year as men travelled to work elsewhere. In the Isles, men could work a part of the year not only in the sphere of fishing industry but also as common labourers in the various construction sites of the West Coast. The Royal Navy or the Merchant Navy also employed many men, although this type of employment meant that they could spend only their holidays at home. (Devine 1979, 344 – 359.)

Father gave orders what to do before he left on Monday and expected everything to be done when he returned. (SA 1989/212)

I was the youngest of six children. My mother died when I was 3, and I was brought up by auntie. My oldest brother was 17, he went to Navy, and my youngest 4 years

[60] Reallocation was done by means of a double ballot, the first ballot being drawn to see in what order drawing will be for the ballot that finally determines which piece of land or 'rig' an individual crofter will receive (Hance 1949, 52).

old. I never knew my older brother well because he was always away, but he brought me presents when on holiday, spoilt me. Father was a fisherman, he did ring-net fishing, he was away working in a trawler from Monday to Saturday. There were lots of fishermen in Eriskay, and the rest of them went to work in the Merchant Navy. The men with families participated in fishing usually only locally. The women of my generation no longer went to herring gutting, but auntie used to go to Yarmouth and other places. (SA 1989/212.)

The economic importance of keeping cattle was great both in Lapland and the Western Islands, as the necessary cash needed for the payment of rent and purchase of articles such as salt and iron utensils that could not be produced at home was obtained by selling animals and diary products. In Lapland the cattle could have not survived without shelter in the harsh winter but in the Western Isles it was kept grazing throughout the year, despite the fact that it could be bitterly cold at times. Nor was there much to eat for the beasts and not surprisingly, the mortality rates of the animals were high and their productivity low. Because of this the crofters tried to keep as much cattle as possible, which further worsened the situation, as there was not enough land available for grazing. The problem of overstocking has become even more serious during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because of the introduction of large-scale sheep farming. (MacDonald 1979, 80 - 81.)

Table 17: Average number of animals per family in Stornoway, Barvas, Lochs and Uig in 1796, by MacDonald 1979, 81.

Locality	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Goats
Stornoway (excluding town)	8	9	2	-
Barvas	9	8	2	-
Lochs	7	11	1	-
Uig	8	13	2	1

The price of cattle and sheep went up in the domestic market in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the demand for grazing lands grew. This resulted into the most dramatic single development in Highland farming between 1760 and 1850: The landlords started buying out smaller holders, cleared the land by evicting tenants and then converted the arable land to pasture. In some parts of Lewis and other areas with great population pressure fewer evictions were carried out than in most parts of the Highlands. (Lenman 1977, 141.) However, for example, in the year of 1850 660 persons were evicted in Barra alone (Devine 1994, 60). All in all, there were enough

many cases to make the inhabitants feel bitter and insecure, as the members of the Napier Commission found out in 1884. Many evicted had nowhere to go and therefore no choice but to migrate or emigrate.

Q14538: It is waste, the best part of the land throughout this Island under sheep and deer, and the poor people kept in the worst parts of it, where they cannot make a livelihood out of it, and the best parts taken from them at every corner (Minutes of Evidence II, 1884).

Q14301: Some people say emigration was voluntary. But there was a great deal of forcing, and these people were sent away very much against there own will. This is well known, and people present know that perfectly well. Of course, they were not taken in hand by the policemen and all that, but they were in arrears and had to go, and remonstrated against going. (Minutes of Evidence II,1884.)

The clearances underlined the insecurity of tenure of the crofters and cottars, as there was no point in improving the croft since eviction or rack-renting might follow. The first clearances took place at the turn of the nineteenth century and by the 1830's even the remotest parts of rural Scotland had experienced the consequences of the commercialisation of agriculture. The decline of the older forms of industrial activity led to depopulation in many areas. However, because various agricultural tasks such as harvesting were dependent on the availability of seasonal labour, the beginning of the structural change was slow. Finally the combination of the improving communications, adaptation of new scientific methods, mechanisation of agriculture and the growing pressures of the market economy thoroughly changed the rural experience. (Campbell & Devine 1990, 48.)

In the Western Islands, several attempts have been made to improve the crofters' conditions since the end of the nineteenth century. Experimentation on soil reclamation has taken place, and legislative reforms have helped to reduce rents and tax rates. Land redistribution has improved the conditions of the small farms, although the drawback of this has been that now also the remaining self-sufficient large farms have been converted to smallholdings, which is reminiscent of the post-war development in Lapland. In the Western Islands, the crofters have also benefited from the improving transportation facilities that have eased the access to the markets. Both public and private relief has been directed to the crofters. (Hance 1949, 64 - 70.)

These developments together with the breaking down of linguistic barriers have led to a greater assimilation of the area to the rest of Scotland. However, the problem of the lack of land has remained unsolved and actual, although the population has shrunk by a third from its peak.

Kelp Industry

In addition to the tweed industry, the only manufacturing industry that has ever flourished in the Islands is the kelp industry. Kelp is an extraction of an alkaline ash from seaweed, and although the process of production consisting chiefly of gathering and burning of seaweed was essentially a simple one, it was also very arduous with a ratio of one ton of kelp refined to twenty tons of collected seaweed. The manufacture of kelp employed as many a 25 000 to 40 000 people in the peak summer months in the Islands. (Devine 1994, 42.) The kelp industry did particularly well in North Uist and South Uist where seaweed was plenty; also Lewis and Harris shared in the boom although to a lesser extent. It is estimated that in the peak year of 1810, 1500 tons of kelp was produced in North Uist alone (Campbell 1985, 131), while the whole production for the year was 7000 tons in the Highlands and Islands area. The best quality sold at about 20 pounds the ton.

The kelp industry provided good extra incomes for the crofters although the crofters did not benefit from it as much as they could have, as the landlords had monopoly control over the manufacture and marketing of the commodity. The increased rentals and annual payments to proprietors for meal largely absorbed the earnings of the crofters. (Devine 1994, 48.) Furthermore, the blossoming industry created favourable conditions for population increase. Between the time-period 1775-1831 the population increased as much as 279 per cent in North and South Uists and 221 per cent in Lewis and Harris! The proprietors were pleased with this development because the large, cheap work force multiplied their profits from the industry and their income from rents was secured as the crofters earned more and were able to pay their rents. However, the population increase also meant increasing subdivision of crofts - a development that the landlords tried to control by, for example, listing the croft under

one name[61]. Not surprisingly, these attempts were doomed to fail, since it was exactly the incomes given by the kelp industry that enabled the crofters to support large families on a tiniest possible plot. (Hance 1949, 125.)

The kelp industry blossomed from the 1750's until the end of the 1820's. The industry expanded because the price of kelp went up, heightened first by the import duty and then by the customs regulations caused by the Napoleonic Wars. The gradual decline of it since the second decade of the nineteenth century was a great tragedy both for the landlords and tenants, as their economic well being had been based on it for more than a half a century. (Geddes 1955, 229 - 230.) For example in Clanronald's estate in Uist in 1812 the proprietor had to use £ 3353 to buy meal for the people who lost their jobs as the industry collapsed; in 1818 the sum was already £ 6000 and there were about 50 000 unemployed (Campbell 1886, 88 – 89). Furthermore, as the loss of the kelp industry would have not been bad enough, the introduction of the large-scale sheep farming that took place simultaneously made the situation even worse. Emigration and migration rates started growing, and those who decided to stay had to start looking for new sources of extra incomes. It was the growing herring industry that replaced the kelp industry as the main secondary employer of the Islanders from the mid nineteenth century onwards.

Fishing

In Lapland the modernisation process proceeded fast because the natural resources of the area consist of forests and rapids that the development of the forest industry requires. Similarly, Scotland has ideal conditions for fishing because of its exceptionally long coastline, which is particularly true in places like the Hebrides. Throughout centuries, fish and especially white fish has been an important way of supplementing the diet of the Islanders. Lord Kintail, the second owner of the Islands, brought Dutch fishermen to Stornoway as early as in 1611 to teach the natives more efficient fishing methods. By the mid eighteenth century some fishing was already

[61] The proprietors also banned the erection of additional houses on a croft. The crofters circumvented this rule by doubling up in the already congested house (Hance 1949, 125).

prosecuted on a commercial basis with the local landlords buying, curing and marketing the fish. (Hance 1949, 90.)

However, in order to develop, the fishing industry is dependent not only on the length of the coastline but also on such factors as the quality of harbours, launching and sheltering of boats, proximity of the landing areas to markets, and natural features which allow processing of the fish. Also the government's policy can have a great impact on development, and in Scotland it was not directed to support the common fishermen with their simple boats and gear. Furthermore, the West Coast form of society has traditionally consisted of small and fairly isolated communities where the whole social organisation has been shaped to provide inevitably small portions of land to each family. In the Western Isles, fishing has always been in a position of a secondary industry, and this together with the general poverty, lack of capital and lack of support from the side of the landlords has hampered further the development of the fishing industry. As opposed to this, the East Coast fishermen and farmers have traditionally lived in their own separate communities, and as fishing was the fishermen's main industry, they have been highly motivated to develop it. In the northern parts of the country the social organisation has been similar to the West Coast system, but there the strong support from the landlords' quarter gave the necessary push to make fishing successful business. (Gray 1978, 3 – 7.) In Lapland the situation was similar to the Western Islands: The small farmers regarded industries outside the sphere of agriculture as supplementary, and very few of them wanted to change their occupation - for them the forest work was simply a way to earn some extra incomes. Also the money the government allocated to the area was aimed to support the large-scale forest industry that benefited the national development rather than the small farmers or local development. In this way the positive impact of the industrialisation process was restricted and benefited a smaller proportion of the population than it could have.

The success of the fishing industry in Scotland was based almost solely on herring from the nineteenth century onwards. At first the exploitation of this resource was confined to waters close inshore and particularly to Caithness. The Dutch fishing industry was more developed and they conducted an open sea fishery near to the

Scottish coast long before the Scots. The spread of the herring industry took place in the second decade of the nineteenth century in Scotland, being first introduced to the harbours of Peterhead, Wick, and Fraserburgh. (Coull 1986, 5.) The West Indies and Ireland were the main purchasers of Scottish herring in the eighteenth century, and at the turn of the century the Scots also took over the Dutch monopoly in the European market. The Continent became the main market for Scottish herring, and although the Dutch curing methods remained superior to the Scottish, the Scots could keep the prices lower than the Dutch by grading the herrings: The high quality herring was imported for the middle-class customers and the lower grades to the less wealthy ones. (Gray 1978, 38 - 61, 104.)

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the British Parliament passed a Herring Fishery Act and established the Fishery Board, which subsidised the local fishing industry and particularly herring fishing: Similarly in Lapland, the state started supporting the growing forest industry by directing funds to the area to improve the infrastructure. In Scotland, the beginning of the West Coast fishing was promising and catches good, but the East Coast took soon over with its superior geographic position to markets, its greater ability to adapt innovations and with its more protected location. In the Western Islands, the most common vessel type before the 1850's was a 14-16-foot keel craft, and with such boats herring fishing was economically efficient only when the herring came in great shoals. In the beginning the lack of such basic things as barrels and salt retarded the development, as stock had to be held in readiness to be rushed to any site where good catches were reported. Similarly in Lapland the development of the industrial life – most importantly trade with agricultural products - was hampered by the high price of imported salt that was need for the preservation of fish, meat and butter. Under these circumstances the Islanders had no choice but to start travelling to the East Coast fisheries: If they were men, they were employed as deck hands in boats and if women, as gutters and packers of herring. (Gray 1978, 104 - 105.)

Q15109: When I began to go to the East Coast fishing I was among the first who went, and then we used to have money through our hands. That would procure necessary supplies, all taken from the produce of our crofts (Minutes of Evidence II, 1884).

I went fishing when I was 14, I did both white fishing and herring fishing. We also had to gut the fish, since the ladies gutted only the herring. Later on I worked in a big boat and went down to Italy, Algeria and Glasgow. On leave I used to go back to Eriskay to work on the croft; we had cows, a horse and about 80 hens and sheep... The women used to go herring gutting at the age of 16, they were away three months in the summer and another six weeks in Yarmouth. (SC 1989/62.A19.)

The failure of the fishing industry in the Western Islands seems peculiar since fish was abundant around the Isles, but lack of funds was an obstacle not to be overcome easily. Similarly, the lot of the great majority of the inhabitants of Lapland was to become wage- workers for the forest industry although they lived in the middle of forests. The ownership of these forests had changed hands already before the era of the big logging sites, as the private companies and state had purchased them.

In the early days the herring industry was secured by a multitude of small curing firms. Although the long-established firms operating on a larger scale became more common in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the development was different if we compare it with the forest industry. Curing continued to be a trade of small units and the yards were run as they had been in the past; the curer would buy little when the prices were high and more when the prices fell, but only sufficiently to keep his yards going. The gutting and packing of herring continued to be done in the traditional way because the nature of the work enabled little change in technique. Just like in the sphere of forest industry in Lapland, oversupply of labour kept the wages relatively low and the system of piecework ensured speed and willingness to work over-time when necessary. (Gray 1978, 64 - 65.)

You know, boats coming in late, say, afternoon, with herring. And the women went working. And they, standing, sometimes it was pouring rain, and they were standing and gutting that herring and working. I've seen them working till midnight. (SA 1975/91)

The herring industry grew steadily from the early 1850's until 1884. Booms and recessions were just as typical of the herring industry as they were of the forest industry, but in 1884 the industry experienced a slump that took nearly ten years to recover. The slump was caused by an unexpectedly good year when the catches were

great, leading to an accumulating number of barrels of unsaleable fish. The prices fell, and the banks withdrew their support, which in many cases led to failures among the curers and as a consequence the property started concentrating in few hands. The incomes of the fisher girls and fishermen were depressed. The curers responded to the crisis by introducing a new auction system that reduced the earnings of the fishermen working in boats. (Gray 1978, 147 - 148.)

Also the way in which the cured herring was sold and bought among the dealers underwent through some changes. First of all, the German import firms started replacing the Scottish commission houses. The curers could now get advance drawn on those London banks where the German purchasers had credit. Another method of meeting the expenses of fitting out for the season was to get a short-term loan from the purchasing agents. The sales were also consigned to the Continent made on commission by agents, although for most firms it was the official brand that allowed participation in the markets. At most, 20 per cent of the cost of curing would have to be met before the curer was able to realise some cash from the sale of the season's product. Imported capital was therefore necessary, but even more so was the support given by the local banks. Curing was insecure business; although the curers sold the barrels usually only after they were completed, they could never predict what the profit would be. The price of herring fluctuated from day to day, depending on factors such as the demand and size of catches in Scotland and in other fishing nations. The curers were burdened by debts and trading on a precarious margin and bankrupts were not rare. (Gray 1978, 66 - 71.)

In addition to drawing profit and interest from the operations of the fleet, fish salesmen started exercising strong and pervasive control on the fishermen by controlling their funds. Fishermen became now dependent on agents to act for them in the daily auctions, and normally a crew would make a long-run arrangement with a salesman who would dispose of their entire landings at a commission of five per cent. Also the distribution of ownership of the drifters changed at the end of the 1880’s; there were now six or seven fishermen members per vessel, but usually less than half of them had shares in the boat. In the Western Islands, the incomes earned in the East Coast fishing enabled the purchase of some new vessels at the turn of the century but

because they had to be bought partly or wholly from the curers, the crews had to work off the consequent debt before they were free to bargain over the price of their fish. In practise, dependence on one curer meant that they often got less than the generally prevailing price for their fish. Furthermore, the curers did not only buy the fish and supply boats and gear but also the crew with a wide range of trade goods. The consequence of this was that at the end of a bad season the fishermen could find themselves without money after paying their accumulated account. (Gray 1978, 104 - 163.) To compare with Lapland, the forest companies also founded shops in the big logging sites, but because the prices were under more or less scrupulous scrutiny of the state officials, malpractises did not become common (Snellman 1991). In Scotland also the introduction of big steam drifters and trawlers at the beginning of the twentieth century changed the ordinary fishermen's status; they became wageworkers and the social division amongst the crew started deepening.

In the West Coast, the amount of cured herring varied considerably from the Napoleonic Wars up until 1914. In the East Coast it averaged 500 000 barrels between 1850 to 1890, a million from 1880 to 1900, and two million barrels up until 1914. Despite the fact that the share of the West Coast exports increased greatly during these years, it was still only a tenth or a fifth from the East Coast curing. Of this, the Stornoway cure formed a major part. (Geddes 1955, 237.) Before 1917, the biggest purchasers of Scottish herring were Russia and some Eastern European countries. After that Germany became he main trading partner, together with Poland and some of the Baltic countries[62]. The First World War restored prosperity temporarily to the West Coast because of the boost in the domestic market, as the price of fish was high and the East Coast fishing under restrictions. However, the situation reverted back soon after the war and was further worsened by the rising prices for coal, fishing gear and stores, the pressures caused by rising wages, the increased transport costs, and the extensive building of fishing craft by the admiralty to replace the war losses. Although white fish sold well, the market crash in 1929 destroyed this promising start. In the herring business, the severe competition over the European market in the 1930’s led to importation restrictions. (Hance 1949, 92 – 105.)

[62] Also Finland, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark bought small quantities (Hance 1949 104).

If agriculture is excluded, fishing has been the main employer of the Hebrideans since the collapse of the kelp industry. Also in terms of total net income, fishing ranks second to the tweed industry. The employment for the West Coast men and women in herring fishing reached its highest level probably already in the 1870's, but as late as in 1946 about 4000 Islanders - 2334 of them fishermen - were still involved in fishing. Although only 100 of them were employed full time, it was estimated that at least 40 per cent of the Islanders were partially or directly dependent on fishing industry[63]. (Hance 1949, 89 – 91.) As the twentieth century proceeded, many seasonal deck hands lost their jobs as the steam drifters and trawlers needed a full-time crew. The lot of the female fish gutters and packers is similar to that of the lumberjacks in Lapland – they were replaced gradually by machines. No replacing secondary industries became available for the inhabitants of the Islands and the population started moving out.

Tweed Industry

Of the four major industries in the Islands - crofting, fishing, kelp industry and the Harris Tweed industry - the last one has become economically most important. The success of the industry owes much to the early volunteer work of several societies interested in improving the living conditions of the Islanders. Tweeds were produced in the Outer Hebrides already in the sixteenth century, but the modern development of the industry dates only from the mid nineteenth century when the Countess of Dunmore decided to make a serious effort to stimulate it. By the end of the century all major islands were engaged in the industry to some extent and the tweeds became widely known all over the mainland. Tweed-making was easily combined with domestic chores and croft work and it was therefore a good source of extra incomes. The tweed industry did particularly well in Lewis where a major part of the industry has traditionally located. (Hance 1949, 113 - 114.)

63 These figures do not include those Hebrideans who migrate seasonally to the Scottish east cost fisheries (Hance 1949, 89).

After the foundation of the Highland Home Industries Association in Inverness in 1889, various eleemosynary associations started supporting and promoting tweed and other home industries in Scotland. In order to enable the extension of capital to the crofter-weavers, the Association registered as a limited liability company in 1896 and the next year the Association and its counterparts were given official cognisance and support in provisions of the Congested District Act. In the beginning tweed was a 100 % hand made product; the wool was carded, spun, dyed, woven, and fulled by hand. Gradually machines started taking over; carding was the first job to be mechanised, and at the turn of the century the mechanisation was further speeded up by the introduction of spinning machines. Soon there were two kinds of hand-woven tweeds available: the other contained all or part mill-spun yarn and the other all hand-spun yarn. The industry began to suffer of the variance of the quality and an effort to distinguish Harris-tweed was made - it was now defined as a product that was hand-spun, hand-woven, dyed, and finished by hand, and made in the Western Islands. However, the trademark was revised already in 1934; the new agreement accepted the fact that mill-spun yarn had come to stay and after this the demand of Harris-tweed started growing rapidly[64]. (Hance 1949, 114 - 123.)

As in the case of Lapland, the emergence of a healthy regional specialisation has been slow in the Western Islands, and so far it seems that only the tweed industry has been able to do it. In Lapland, this has taken place in the spheres of metal industry and mining industry; other local industries have to compete both in national and international markets (Nenonen T. 1983, 61).

Tourism

The beginning of the tourist industry in the Western Islands area was slow, as the bad weather and difficult access made most travellers to rule it out as a holiday destination. Later on the region has attracted tourists for the same reasons as Lapland - for its general picturesqueness, 'backward' culture, unspoiled nature, beautiful scenery,

[64] In addition to the tweed industry, efforts have been made to build up the manufacture of hosiery, rugs, tapestry, carpets, and lace. Also stocking and embroidery industries were encouraged, again by the

and good fishing and hunting facilities. The visitors have seen it as an exotic place and a bastion of the ‘original Scottish culture and people’ whom W.E. Carson describes in his diary in the following manner:

At four o'clock, the weather had become so bad that we were obliged to stop fishing... While we were waiting for the weather to clear, Angus played several depressing Highland melodies, such as 'The McGregor's Lament' and 'The Dirge of the MacDonalds'. The weather and the pipes had a very deadening effect on our spirits and we drove back to the hotel in a most melancholy frame of mind, looking as sour as a couple of Free Kirk elders... The Scots have always been a practical people; everything they do is done for a specific purpose. They imitate the ancient Spartans in their modes of living. Inhabiting a lonely country, they accustom their nerves to harsh noises by the screeching of bagpipes. They wear kilts to expose their limbs to their blead weather and defy colds and rheumatism. With a similar object in view they discipline their stomachs by a peculiar system of diet. Only a brave man could partake of a hearty meal of Haggis, oatcake and raw whiskey. The Highlander will do it and ask for more. (Carson 1897, 59, 90.)

As in Lapland, one of the factors hampering the development of the tourist industry was the lack of accommodation facilities; as late as at the end of the 1940's, there were hardly any hotels suitable for tourists. Another hindrance was the poor state of communications. Between 1920 and 1940 the government and landowners made a serious effort to improve the road network, and the harbours were also renovated to make them more suitable for modern traffic. The building of road network did not develop into a big industry like it did in Lapland because the area is much smaller and the passengers and goods could well rely on boat transportation in many places. From the point of view of tourism the development of the ferry services to the main land has been more important. Also aeroplanes started running regularly to the Islands in the 1950’s. (Turnock 1970, 135.)

Although tourism has brought money to the region and given new job opportunities particularly for those who need them most, namely the young and women, it has its drawbacks. In northern areas such as Lapland and the Western Isles, the nature is fragile and the environment can be worn out in a short time if the freedom of movement is not restricted. Tourism can also have a negative impact on the planning

initiative of the Countess of Dunmore, but none of these industries has developed into such success as the tweed industry. (Hance 1949, 123 - 124).

and development of the industrial life of the area, as tourists prefer unspoilt nature and unbuilt environment instead of, for example, noisy wind mills or unsightly hydro-electric power stations. On a more general level, the local culture and traditional way of life can suffer from a flow of tourists because changes can take place too fast for the inhabitants to adapt themselves. Finally, like many other industries in peripheral areas, the tourist industry offers mostly part-time work or seasonal work. The tourist industry is also insecure by nature because it is dependent on fashion - the most popular holiday resort of today can be yesterday's news tomorrow. (Karlsson 1994, 213 - 239.) However, although the tourist industry has not solved the economic problems in either of the two areas under study, it has been one of the few growing employers.

Cultural Modernisation: Education and Religion

Education

The economy of the Western Isles was self-sufficient until the mid eighteenth century, except for salt and iron. The rent on land was paid by the sale of surplus crops, whisky and salted meat, sold usually in Glasgow. When the population started growing in the latter half of the century, the transition to increased exchange between the Islands and the mainland began: Permanent and temporary migration was one form of this interaction. However, there was one obstacle that the Islanders had to overcome before the economic relations could be further developed: Gaelic formed a social bond among the Islanders but ignorance of English built an economic barrier. This barrier was to be broken gradually with the help of the compulsory education in the nineteenth century. (Geddes 1955, 225 - 227.)

The parochial school system operated under enormous obstacles beyond the Highland line. Most of the Highlands area had only recently been brought under the control of the state and had no tradition of education at all. Few schools existed before the seventeenth century, and even fewer in relation to the whole population attended them. There were no books in Gaelic, and even the first translation of the Bible was published as late as the early 1800's. Furthermore, as was the case in Lapland, the

Highland parishes were of immense size and the building of a school network was therefore expensive. By the mid eighteenth century the Highlands area had become the main objective of the charity school Movement. The Highlanders were now aware of the disadvantages of the language barrier, and they were more willing to learn English. It took a long time before John Knox's idea of mass education originating already from the mid sixteenth century reached the Highlands and Islands region: it was estimated that out of all the 400 000 inhabitants of the area less than a fifth was enrolled in a school in the 1820's. Things were not better in the Western Islands - only three in ten over the age of eight had attended school for some time. (Smout 1985, 432 - 437.)

However, when compared for example to England, the Scots could rightly be proud not only about their blooming universities and their advanced system of parish and burgh schools, but also about their positive attitude towards mass education. In the early nineteenth century the Scottish system allowed most working men to acquire basic literacy skills and a small number of boys - not yet girls - could continue their studies at the university level. As in Lapland, education was church-controlled and church-assisted for a long time, and started to change only after the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. The newly established Free Kirk set up hundreds of schools to supplement and challenge those supported by the Church of Scotland, but as they soon drifted into a financial crisis, the government had to interfere. The situation was complicated further by the educational demands set by the United Presbyterians, Irish Catholics and Episcopalians. (Smout 1987, 209, 213.)

The Education (Scotland) Act 1872 shifted the emphasis in schooling away from church control to state control, although this by no means meant that the new school boards were now free from church influence. Unlike in England where the voluntary and board schools had developed separately, only a tiny fraction of schools were incorporated in the state system in Scotland. In Finland the development was the opposite; the state took over the education fairly early and no such system of private schools developed as in Britain. In Scotland, the elementary education was made compulsory for all children between the age of five and thirteen in the fundamental Act 1872, but Gaelic speakers were ignored entirely and the language of instruction

was strictly English. (Corr 1990, 291 - 295.) This was a serious setback for the monoglot Gaelic speakers, as there were still as many as 200 000 of them in Scotland in the 1880's (Devine 1994, 110). In 1961, only 3 % of the total population spoke Gaelic, and most of them lived in non-industrial counties (Hechter 1975, 197). Secondary education was clearly divided according to the class lines. It was subject to school fees and thereby secured the advantageous position of the middle-class children. Only rarely could working class families afford to educate their children further than the elementary level. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 115.)

The quality of teaching and the number of children it reached varied greatly from one region to another. In smaller towns and rural areas all but the very rich received their earliest education in the same classrooms; in bigger places social distinction took place right from the beginning. The few university students with humble family backgrounds were sons of traditional craftsmen. Otherwise, the overall educational level started rising gradually. For example according to the 1871 census, 99 per cent of the men and 97 per cent of the women in the Lowlands were able to write their own name. In the Highlands the corresponding figures were 65 and 49. The number of illiterate males in Scotland was a half of that in England, and by the turn of the century, illiteracy for both sexes had been virtually eliminated not only in the Lowlands area but also in the Highlands. (Smout 1987, 214 - 219.)

In the Outer Hebrides, the attitudes towards mass education were confused at the beginning since practically all Islanders were Gaelic speakers. However, a desire for higher education swept through the Islands by the turn of the century: Two successful Islanders who in 1898 made their way to the university were the source of these aspirations. Their achievement was remarkable in those days when not even continuation classes were available in the Islands. For a long time the children aspiring to higher education had to spend forty weeks away from home each year and since this became very expensive, only a few could afford it. Granting bursaries partly solved the problem, but it took decades before higher education became a real option for the young Islanders. (MacDonald 1978, 140, 157.) In those days girls were even more disadvantaged, although lack of aspiration was not the reason. In Joan's and

Agnes' accounts we can see what the alternatives for an ordinary girl from the Islands - in this case from Eriskay and from the Shetland Islands – were.

I was the youngest of six children. My mother died when I was three years old... I had to walk 2-3 miles to school every day. When I was 12, I had to change to the school in Uist because I wanted to study more. My older sister had taken care of our home and croft but then she wanted to go for a holiday and asked me to do it for that time. She never came back and so I could not continue my studies, I had to stay home and take care of the croft. (SA 1989/212.)

I was keen to learn so I was, for three or four months, I had French or Latin, then it came a kinda poor fishing and things guid back on a sort o', so I couldna afford it and so I threw up my schooling altogether and I came home and I took me gutter and quid tae the fishing. (SA 3/1/103/1.)

Religious Atmosphere and the Free Kirk

Before the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, a strong Calvinistic spirit arose in the Highlands. This new religious doctrine owed much to the ideas and thinking of the sixteenth century's church reformer John Knox, and put emphasis on the Calvinistic belief of predestination and the doctrine of the elect. A strict moral code similar to that of Laestadianism spreading in Lapland around the same time became typical of Presbyterianism: From now on the Bible was to be accepted as the literal truth, and the issues of life regarded in the broadest and most morally abstract terms, in simple terms of good and evil. Furthermore, the division of the Church had a profound impact on the development of the Poor Law and education, both deeply rooted in the class structure. Disruption also renewed and strengthened religion in many ways. Despite the fact that the Free Kirk was born out of discontent with the church patronage, there were some combining factors between the two churches also. One of them was the willingness to keep Sunday clear both of work and secular entertainment, and another equally important was the egalitarian nature of these two Presbyterian Churches, which was ensured by a body of lay members that controlled the Kirk sessions. The Free Kirk became particularly strong in the Western Islands, and for example Sabbath keeping was followed more profoundly than anywhere else in Scotland[65]. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 75, 118 - 119.)

[65] However, the Islands are not entirely Protestant: The Island of Barra and most of South Uist are Catholic.

In Lapland, church attendance has never been high because of the long distances. Furthermore, according to Laestadian doctrines special buildings devoted to worship are not needed; in fact, private homes are preferred to religious gatherings. This was not the case in the Western Islands where church going was encouraged and the believers were expected to spend at least a good few hours in the church on Sundays. W.E. Carson observed and described the religious practises of the people of South Uist in 1897 in his diary in the following way:

> An amusing feature of the Free Kirk service was its division into two parts. The first part was conducted entirely in English. When this was over, a collection was taken up and half the congregation departed, the rest remaining in their seats and prepared to enter upon their Sabbath exercises. These latter were all Gaelic people who understood little or nothing of the English service. The minister thereupon turned himself into a Gaelic preacher and repeated in that language the long sermon of the morning. The two services occupied over four hours. And yet a Scotch Sunday is usually supposed to be a day of rest! (Carson 1897, 43.)

A set of zealots arose in the northern and Hebridean Free Kirk parishes at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and with the aid of sacramental gatherings they dominated over ministers and set such strict standards of belief and conduct that in parishes with two or three thousand members only some 20 or 30 were allowed to take communion. The zealots condemned dancing and card playing and even the use of an umbrella was forbidden on Sundays because carrying it was considered as work. In both Lapland and Scotland, emotional religious revivals emerged also in the mid nineteenth century. These awakenings were sacerdotal by nature and centred round a mass communion after highly charged preaching done usually by laymen. Threatening damnation and offering in its place the possibility of felicity to the repentant was the central message of the sermons. Reforms started taking place in the religious thought as the years passed, and by the 1870's all sections of Presbyterianism - with the exception of the northern province of the Free Kirk - had turned away from predestination, the most central aspect of Calvinism. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 124 - 128.)

Although the disruption of the Church of Scotland has often been interpreted as a class conflict rather than ecclesiastical dispute, it is certain that the Kirk did not promote radical measures or crofter rebellion but rather godly dignity and quiet hostility. Perhaps the most important thing the Free Kirk could offer was its role as a social institution in the Highland society, and this was important in an area where there was very little else (Brown 1990, 319.). In Lapland, Laestadianism was equally ‘rebellious’ by nature and important as a social institution. However, although both Calvinism and Laestadianism introduced a moral code characterised by guilt, temperance, self-denial and thrift, not all the spheres of life were equally deeply influenced by this spirit. For example in Victorian Scotland illegitimacy and bridal pregnancies were common occurrences especially among the working-class women: As in Lapland, the local tradition dictated the sexual behaviour and because the public opinion in areas with large numbers of children born outside marriage did not stigmatise the women, the church could do little if nothing to change this state of affairs. (Gordon 1990, 219 - 220.)

Political Modernisation

The Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707 has shaped the Scottish political life more than any other event in the history of Scotland. Administrational rearrangements, travel, co-operation between businesses, increased contacts between the two nations, etc. brought new elements to the Scottish culture. Also social change accelerated and class divisions started deepening. However, the Union was accepted as a part of the established order only for a relatively short time-period between 1750 and 1850: Later on it has been a subject of constant criticism. (Donaldson 1993, 113, 117.) The origin of the evolving pattern of power and class of Victorian Scotland lies in the Age of Enlightenment. One of the most influential philosophers of the time, Adam Smith, did not challenge the class pattern as it rested upon private property, usually land. For him the state had a responsibility to protect land and its owners against the 'jealous', since the right to hold property was a means to combine freedom, social discipline and economic growth. It was on this basis that the Moderates, the men of property and intellect at the end of the eighteenth century, rested their view of class and power. Many of those who belonged to the class of landed nobility and

lairds were members of the Episcopalian church, which was in communion with the Anglican Church of England. The English affinity was further reflected by their sending of their sons to the English public schools and Universities, thus breaking the cultural ties with Scotland. As a result, the educational system of Scotland became unresponsive to the idea of a distinctive Scottish culture. However, many landlords continued to support the Church of Scotland and represented the Moderates instead of the Evangelicals. By 1832 the fight between these two groups over patronage had become the surface manifestation of class and status differences based on the clashing interests of the landed, industrial middle class and the lesser producers and traders. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 67 - 69.)

Another form of configuration of attitudes took place at the same time, namely that of Tory and Whig. Although the size of the noble and landed class was relatively small in Scotland, the Tories ruled Scotland throughout the Enlightenment until 1832. After this the Scottish intelligentsia started moving towards the Whigs; the Whigs attempted to replace the corrupt old order and spread a way of thinking and acting that would reflect an understanding of the principles that governed the society. The Whig victory of 1832 proved a lasting one in Scotland, although Whiggery passed into Liberalism already in the mid nineteenth century. Support for the Liberal Party became characteristic of Scotland just as the support of the Agrarian Party became of Lapland, and only once did a general election fail to produce a majority of Liberal members between 1832 and 1918. In those days the working class had not yet gained a formal place in politics. Chartism was one response to the situation. The Chartist Movement was an attempt to define the common elements and targets of the working class and middle class men in order to gain parliamentary representation of the nation. Scottish Chartism was against physical violence, fundamentally reformist, and stood most of all for long-term persuasion through education. The Movement had an effective life of little more than four years, from 1838 to 1842; after this it joined the Liberals. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 69 - 72.)

By the end of the 1870's, the peak of Scottish Liberalism as an adjunct of English Liberalism was approaching, and in 1885 the National Liberal Federation of Scotland was set up. At the same time, two new foci of political debate and action had asserted

themselves - Labour politics and the Liberal-Unionist Party. Despite their success in the election 1895, the Liberal Unionists were unable to attract any sustained mass support. The land question culminated in the 1880's and early 1890's, leading to a new form of radicalism. The urban Liberal-Radicals found a new focus and new allies in their policy against the interests of the landed. The time was now ripe also for the spread of the Labour Movement. (Checkland & Checkland 1989, 69 - 86.) As the nineteenth century proceeded, the more radical Labour Party started gaining ground. At first many of the former Liberals chose to vote for the Conservatives. For some time competition between the Tories and Labour was equal in strength; between 1918 and 1950 both parties won in four elections. During this time-period the Labour Party became firmly rooted in Scotland and has predominated the elections since 1959. Also the Liberals and later on the Scottish National Party have polled substantial votes. (Donaldson 1993, 119 - 121.)

The Western Islands is located far away from those places where the nation's political profile was defined. For a long time the Western Islands area belonged partly to the constituency of Inverness and partly to the constituency of Ross and Cromarty. It was only in 1918 that it became a constituency of its own: As a remote and economically unimportant area with a small population, the late foundation reflects its peripheral position in the national context. Similarly Lapland became a constituency as late as in 1938. The foundation of the constituency of the Western Islands took place immediately after the First World War in a situation where a large part of Britain was going through economic and social hardship. This change was also reflected in the sphere of politics where many other reforms such as the franchise on women of thirty and over took place (Ferguson 1997, 358).

According to the electoral statistics, the voting behaviour in the constituencies of Ross and Cromarty and Inverness is similar to the rest of the country described in the previous paragraphs. The only exceptional development is the strong support of the Crofters' Party who won all of the seats in the elections of 1885, 1886 and 1892, and as it has become evident by now, the Islanders were the most loyal supporters of this party. (Craig 1971, 89 – 103 & Craig 1972; Dyer 1996, 184 – 187.) While the Islanders have been quite uniform in their political views, Lapland began to split into

two political camps already before the first parliament elections of the country in 1907. In fact, political radicalism became typical of Lapland at the beginning of the nineteenth century: In the Western Islands, the peak of radicalism was short lived and took place already at the end of the nineteenth century.

Crofters Act

In Scotland, the lairds continued to be of some political importance until the beginning of the First World War. As already discussed before, they turned to extensive land use in the Highlands and Islands area from the turn of the nineteenth century onwards and expelled many tenants in favour of sheep and deer. These clearances resulted into open class hostility that culminated in physical resistance to the law. In the Western Islands where the traditional social organisation had been based on clanship that meant mutual dependency between the landowner and his tenants, the crofters and cottars were slow to demand rights to the land they cultivated. However, by the 1880's their political consciousness had grown to the extent that they took direct action for the first time in their life. Furthermore, it was exactly during this decade that the herring prices and with them the wages of the seasonal fish workers fell dramatically: The average earnings collapsed from £20 to £30 to a mere £1 or £2 per season (Devine 1994, 235). The crofters were now close to starvation and started rebelling, and the law and order broke down at first in Skye followed by Lewis and Tiree. The crofters' riots gained a lot of publicity in Britain, and the government could no longer ignore the crofters' problems - overcrowding, evictions, insecure tenure, and lack of land - and the Royal Commission of Enquiry under Lord Napier was appointed. In Lapland, the majority of the peasants owned the land they cultivated and therefore the land question was less pronounced than for example in the southern parts of the country where the situation was similar to that of the Western Isles. Unlike the crofters, the small farmers in Lapland did not even rebel as farmers but as common labourers of the forest industry.

In Scotland, the crofters' action under the leadership of the Highland Land Law Reform Association (HLLRA) was directed to get the formerly cleared land back. In the Western Islands, the island of Lewis became the centre of action. For example in

the rebellion of 1887 more than a hundred men armed with rifles took possession of land which had just been cleared and turned into a deer estate. A large number of deer were then shot dead, roasted and cooked ceremonially. The Scottish crofter rebellions were largely inspired by the example of the Irish Land League who attempted to organise the tenants and cottars behind the ideas of fixity of tenure, fair rents and freedom to inherit a holding. In Scotland, the HLLRA and its political representative - the Crofters' Party - made rapid inroads on the crofters' allegiance, capturing four seats in the General Election in 1885. (Smout 1987, 70 - 72.)

In its report to the government, the Napier Commission recommended measures based upon the legal recognition, improvement, and enlargement of the 'township'[66]. However, the HLLRA was not satisfied with this and demanded more efficient measures from the government. As a result, the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886 was passed. This Act did embody three of the chief recommendations already made, but the first - the recognition of the township - was omitted. In addition to this, security of tenure, compensation for improvements and enlarging of the holdings were recommended. The Act also provided the crofters official revision of rents; a fair rent was to be defined in relation to the productivity of the croft. Furthermore, subsequent legislation issued in 1892, 1897, 1911 and 1919 was aimed at redistribution of land. After the Small Landholders' Act of 1911 the Crofters' Commission was replaced by the Land Court. Furthermore, the Board of Agriculture[67] took over the powers of the Congested Districts Board founded in 1897[68]. Like the ex-servicemen in Finland who were given land after the War, the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act of 1919 was passed to provide land for the ex-servicemen, and as a result more than 2700 new crofts were created and 5160 enlarged between 1886 and the early 1950's in the Western Islands. (Geddes 1955, 239 - 241; Smout 1987, 73 - 74.)

The Crofters' Party lasted less than two decades; it rejoined the Liberals after fulfilling its task - making crofters’ problems known to the government - at the turn of the

[66] Township is a farm or part of a farm, occupied in common or division by several tenants, three or more in number (Geddes 1955, 240).
[67] Later known as the Department of Agriculture.

century. Land raids died out, just to be briefly revived after the First World War. In Lewis, the new landlord Lord Leverhulme who had bought the Isles in 1918 had ambitious plans to help the Islanders. He introduced modern fishing and fish-processing in Stornoway, modernised the harbour, reconstructed the town, and used the hinterland farms as dairy centres to provide milk for the town dwellers of Stornoway. However, his plan failed drastically because of wrong timing; the men returning from the war were not interested in his modern ideas and instead wanted to start cultivating the land they had been promised under the Act 1919. In order to get the land, they followed the example of their fathers and started rioting and Leverhulme's enterprises suffered badly. The price of fish fell and although Leverhulme tried to save his business by transferring his attentions to Harris, he had equally little success there. As a final gesture before his death in 1925, he offered Lewis to its inhabitants as a gift, but the crofting townships refused to accept it on the grounds that they could not afford the augmentation of rates entailed by acceptance. The responsibility of owning something was not what they wanted, just the occupancy of a croft and a modest rent for it. (Smout 1987, 75 – 77; Geddes 1955, 275.)

Women as Political Actors

The Victorian era emphasised the division of the world into public and private spheres. The proceeding industrialisation deepened the gulf between these two spheres and the latter one, the home, became the women's world. From now on not only the middle-class norm but also the working class norm for married women was to work as housewives. However, poverty often pushed the working class women to seek employment, often casual or seasonal by nature. Their position in the labour market was even more disadvantaged than for example that of the forest workers and construction workers of Lapland, and the trade unions played an important role in maintaining these defects. In 1841 domestic service, agriculture, clothing and textiles employed about 90 per cent of the whole female labour force in Scotland. When compared to England the number of married women working outside home was lower

[68] The latter organisation was originally created to develop agriculture, fishing and home industries. It was also expected to form new holdings, assist migration, and to provide public works such as roads, bridges, and piers (Geddes 1955, 240 - 241).

in Scotland and also the degree of sex segregation was more pronounced because of the predominance of heavy industries that provided fewer jobs for women than for men. (Gordon 1990, 206 - 216.)

Although the Chartist Movement was aimed to achieve universal adult male suffrage, many women became involved in the Movement: Women identified themselves with the Movement because of their family background, thinking that it would be for the best of the whole working class if they could have their own representative in parliament. In all, in those countries where the Women's Liberation Movement took place simultaneously with the introduction of various other movements, women tended to regard themselves as an integral part of the general mobilisation of the nineteenth century (Jallinoja 1983, 36). The first 'real' women's Movement, the Scottish Women's Suffrage Society, was founded in Edinburgh in 1867. This Movement was dominated by upper- and middle-class women, and the only working-class women's organisation affiliated to the suffrage Movement was the Women's Co-operative Guild. Furthermore, the women were not actively involved in formal trade union organisations to any great degree. The first effort to get organised took place in Glasgow in 1833 when the power-loom weavers founded an association in order to improve their wages and social conditions[69]. Women were also active in organising strikes, although outside the portals of the trade unions. Between 1850-1890 women were involved in more than 100 strikes in Scotland, and between 1850-1914 already in 300 disputes. Women's strikes were often spontaneous and short-lived, and most of them took place in the sphere of the textile industry, which was the largest employer of women in those days. (Gordon 1990, 221-229.)

Although in many ways disadvantaged, the Scottish women employed by the fishing industry were early political actors; the forest workers organised their first strikes around the year 1905 and the women only less than ten years later. Like the locally based networkers who were largely employed on a family basis, the great majority of the women working in the smokehouses was not unionised. In East Anglia the net shops were more commercially organised, and in Yarmouth the 'beatsters' joined the

[69] Also some women working at home had founded associations; for example in 1866 a group of women met in Aberdeenshire to discuss prices for knitting (Gordon 1990, 122).

Worker's Union in 1925. Although the women employed by the fishing industry were not organised, they were not afraid to strike; for example the wave of strikes sweeping through the fishing industry in 1913-14 was heralded by the Aberdeen female fish workers who struck for increased wages in April 1913. Also the smokehouse women became mobilised after the First World War. The between 1920-1939 was exceptionally turbulent; industrial action took place for example in Peterhead and Fraserburgh in 1920, in Grimsby in 1924 and in several other places during the 1930's. (Thompson 1981, 147.)

From the point of view of trade union membership, the gutters and packers of herring formed the most active group of women in the sphere of the fishing industry: The Scottish Fish Workers' Friendly Society had a membership of 4000 herring workers by already in 1914. Furthermore, these women were not only willing to get organised, but also more prepared to strike than other women workers; they for example led several strikes that took place in the 1930's and 1940's. The newly gained universal suffrage in 1928 probably had something to do with this active attitude, but most importantly the solidarity of the women was heightened by their hard working conditions. Because their work was usually tied in with the economy of their fishing families, their willingness to strike can be interpreted as a symbolic protest against the poverty of the fishing families rather than 'selfish' wage claims. (Thompson 1981, 148 - 150.) In the past, the households were accustomed to thinking of themselves as collective entities to the extent that for example the first population census in Britain in 1801 failed in its enquiry concerning the occupation of the head of the household, as the question was simply not understood. The occupation and economic activity became narrower and more precise only in the mid nineteenth century, although it is probable that in isolated areas such as the Western Islands and Lapland collective mentality lived even longer. (Nissel 1987, 231.)

In the sphere of herring industry, the strikes led by the female fish workers died out gradually as their working conditions started to improve. Also the fact that the herring industry had declined since the First World War reduced the number of women engaged in it. After the Second World War their number began to decline even more

rapidly as the gutting machines started replacing human labour and new preservation methods were introduced.

3.4 Concluding Remark

To summarise one of Michael Hechter's (1975, 81) main points, the political incorporation of England and Scotland forced the Celtic territories to develop in a manner that complemented but did not allow competition with England. Instead, the Scottish economy started specialising in a way that was geared for exportation and benefited the modernisation process of England. In the previous chapter we have seen that similar kinds of developments took place also in Lapland, and this indeed is the role of a periphery in an industrialised nation. In Scotland, the Lowlands region was anglicised first because of its fertile land, and later on also the industrial production concentrated in this area. The Highlands and Islands region became a periphery of Scotland that is herself a periphery of a periphery.

In the case of the Western Islands, the area's climate is much too harsh and its location too remote to make it attractive as a centre of commercial activities, and for long it remained only loosely connected to the state just as Lapland did in Finland. The main industries of the region were agriculture and to a lesser extent fishing. In Lapland, the penetration of the market mechanism was very slow before the introduction of the forest industry; in the Isles it was early and manifested in the growing production of raw materials such as wool, agricultural products and kelp to the national market. In both areas the poor state of the agricultural sector was revealed in years of crop failures, and in both areas animal husbandry was common as it suited the harsh climate. The economic development of the Isles was tied to the industrialisation of the Lowlands: Wool was sold to the expanding textile industry and surplus agricultural products marketed for the growing number of industrial workers in Glasgow and other urban areas. The manufacture of kelp blossomed in the Islands from the 1770's until the second decade of the nineteenth century. Like the forest industry before its mechanisation, kelp-making was labour-intensive and geared solely for export. Furthermore, the production of kelp was profitable only during those years when there was a heavy customs duty on imported alkalis. Its decline took place

simultaneously with the clearances that followed the introduction of a large-scale sheep economy. By that time the population of the Isles was already manifold and the lack of land had become a difficult problem. Local fishing was not developed enough to offer alternative sources of income and the lack of capital prevented the purchase of modern vessels and gear. The introduction of the herring industry re-solved the situation. The Scots took over the herring business from the Dutch and it started expanding in the latter half of the nineteenth century, concentrated on the East Coast of Scotland. Although the herring industry offered plenty of seasonal work for both women and men up until the 1940's, it is another example of an industry that is geared for export and sensitive for economic fluctuations. Furthermore, due to a serious slump in the 1880's, foreign agents got a firm grip over the business. The status of a common fisherman was transformed into that of a wageworker, and under these circumstances the role of the female fish workers as breadwinners of the family became important. Permanent migration and emigration started from the Isles when the Russian herring market was lost. Only the tweed industry and tourist industries have offered some new jobs: As Hechter (1975) argues, the economic life of the area has remained underdeveloped and a cultural division of labour has further confirmed this structure.

When the Union was established in 1707, Scottish culture differed from English in many ways, most obviously in the sphere of religion and partly also in language. The political incorporation might have blurred this distinction but new divisions took place also inside Scotland, which according to Hechter (1975, 109) is a typical consequence of the modernisation process in peripheral areas. The replacement of Gaelic by English in the 'developed and advanced' Lowlands of Scotland occurred already before the Union, but in the 'uncivilised' Highlands area Gaelic was widely spoken. In fact, Gaelic is still the main language in the Western Islands, although the Islanders have of course had to learn their English due to the increasing economic interaction with the rest of Scotland and England. In Lapland, the language question has had more to do with the Lappish population that inhabited the most northern parts of the area, as the new settlers were Finnish speakers.

In Lapland, the state church was challenged by the religious revivalist Movement of Laestadianism. Scotland was allowed to keep her church intact after the Union, but the Anglican Church spread to the area via those members of the gentry who were educated in England. Although the great majority of the Scots remained Presbyterians, the Church of Scotland was split in two parts in the 1840's, which again confirms Hechter (1975) argument that the modernisation process produces divisions inside peripheries. The Free Kirk was supported by common people particularly in the Highlands and Islands area, and the state church in the more industrialised Lowlands area. The Free Kirk has gained a particularly strong foothold in the Western Islands. Religious revivals became characteristic of both Lapland and the Isles, and in both areas they were encouraged no only by the ongoing social change but also by natural catastrophes followed by famine.

According to Hechter (1975, 30 - 34), peripherality is reflected not only in economic structures, language and religion but also in politics, education and living standard. In the last two chapters it has become evident that in both the Isles and Lapland the housing standard has lagged far behind the average of the country. In the case of Scotland it also looks like the area has developed a special tradition of poor housing, as it was regarded as having the lowest housing standard in Europe as late in the 1990's. Improving the educational level of the inhabitants has also turned out to be difficult in these two areas, since long distances, a relatively small population and lack of jobs for educated people hamper the development. Peripherality is equally clearly manifested in the field of politics where Scotland has developed its own tradition to distinguish herself from the English tradition: The support of the Liberal Party and Labour Party has become typical of Scotland, just like the support of the AP and FPDU has become of Lapland. Heavy industry and the large number of blue-collar workers have guaranteed the success of the Labour Party in Scotland. Also the Western Islands has become an area of strong Labour support although its main industry is agriculture: The fact that the party system is different in Britain and that there are no such alternatives as the AP or the FPDU has of course affected the choice. Apart from the crofter rebellions, the area's political life has been quiet and followed

the mainstream and no such division as in Lapland has emerged[70]. The peripherality of the area is reflected also in the fact that it became a constituency of its own as late as in 1918, only 20 years earlier than Lapland.

One of Hechter's (1975, 350) main arguments is that a periphery can gain equal access to the full range of social roles within society only by undergoing ethnic change. The role of the government is central here since it can promote national development by transferring resources from the core to the periphery and create legislation against the perpetuation of the cultural division of labour. In the case of Lapland, we have seen that the area's integration to the state has been quite efficient due to the active role of the state. However, before the end of the 1960's the government concentrated in supporting the development of the forest industry rather than anything else, and this strengthened the already existing biases. Particularly the decades following the war are revealing, as the economy of the area was harnessed almost solely to serve the needs of the forest industry in order to pay the war indemnities, and it was during this time that large forest areas turned into desolate clear fellings. Furthermore, at the end of the 1960's when the mechanisation degree of the forest industry was already high and seasonal labour no longer needed, the state did not do much if anything to prevent the 'big move' out of the area. In the Western Islands, the interference of the state has been less pronounced. Apart from kelp and fish, the area does not have resources[71] and it has therefore remained as an economically uninteresting, isolated area that has preserved its language, religion and way of life to a much larger extent than Lapland. Although issues concerning regional policy, economic inequality and state intervention have been urgent also in Britain throughout the twentieth century and particularly after the Second World War, the government has been criticised not only for its indifferent attitude but also for its poorly planned intervention policies. An often quoted example of the latter case is the collapse of the industrial base in the North, caused not only by the market change but also by the poorly co-ordinated new policies adapted by such nationalised industries as the National Coal Board, British Rail, and the British Steel Corporation (Coffield 1987, 98; Hudson 1985, 76-77).

[70] However, since the 1970's the area has become known also for its support of the Scottish National Party.
[71] At the end of the 1960's, n oil has been found in Atlantic Ocean quite close to the Islands.

Signs of peripherality are present in Lapland and the Western Islands in all indicators employed in the present study, whether it be the industrial life, living standard, housing, education, religion, population development, or politics. It is equally evident that the two areas have not benefited from the modernisation process as much as they could have; in a way the inhabitants have become supporters of this process and not the other way around as it should be. Furthermore, it has been shown that the modernisation and peripheralisation are ongoing processes. As Jukka Oksa (1998, 185 - 190) puts it, in the context of an industrialised nation a peripheral region can be defined first of all by its underdeveloped industrial sector. As the nation grows wealthier and questions of democracy, equality and regional policy become prevalent, the state appropriates money to the development of the industrial sector of the periphery. Because funds are limited, only one or two industries can be supported and this makes the industrial life monolithic. As the modernisation process proceeds and the nation becomes thoroughly industrialised, it is precisely these monolithic economic structures that indicate a periphery. Furthermore, contacts to the outside world are few not only in the sphere of economic life but in all areas of life and this is the mechanism that reproduces a periphery.

4 MODERNISATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE

4.1 Introduction

The aim of the previous two chapters has been to show why and how Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland became peripheralised as the modernisation process proceeded. It has also become evident that mobility is typical of these two areas: In fact, four different types of mobility - internal migration, out-migration, migration and emigration – are present in them. Most importantly, it was the nature of the two biggest seasonal employers, namely the forest industry and the fishing industry that encouraged labour mobility. However, although there was a mutual dependency between the fisher folk and the herring industry and between the forest workers, construction workers and the forest industry, there is no doubt which party benefited the most of this relationship. As Marx (1957, 180) puts it, the capitalist mode of production needs 'free' workers who do not possess the means of production, who can be hired by anybody and who are also able to go wherever work is available. Both in Lapland and the Isles, it was these two industries that set the terms of employment and their capacity to employ was dictated by the economic fluctuations of the world market. Furthermore, to improve marketability, new technology and other rationalising measures were introduced, often with the support of the government and despite the fact that it meant loss of jobs. When this took place, the surplus population had no option but to migrate or emigrate.

To follow Hechter (1975), it can be concluded that the two areas under study have become dependent on the core of the nation they belong to as a result of the modernisation process. This dependency is manifested both in the economic and social spheres of life. By discussing the development of the industrial life in the Western Isles and Lapland it has become evident that neither of them has been able to build an economic life independent of the core of the nations to which they belong. Instead, they have become producers of both labour and raw materials to the national market. Although in the case of Lapland the first wood-processing plants were founded relatively early, they were physically concentrated in one small area and

tended to use the latest technology, employing therefore only a relatively small number of people. Also the fact that the government support has been directed chiefly to the forest industry has narrowed further the structure of the industrial life in the area. The peripheral position of the Western Islands and Lapland is reflected also in other spheres of life; for example educational facilities and social services have been poor, and the spread of new ideas and movements slow. Although issues concerning regional development and equality were integrated onto the government agenda in both countries already after the Second World War and more powerfully from the 1960's onwards, these new policies came too late to save the two areas from depopulation and 'big move'.

Rokkan & Urwin (1983) point out that peripherality is manifested not only in the shaping of various institutions but also in the daily life of the inhabitants who live in marginal areas. Many social historians such as Norbert Elias (1978), Fernand Braudel (1984) and Michel Foucault (1972) stress the importance of everyday life and its changes as the focus of the study if we are to understand how the transformation of society is experienced on the micro-level. It is the daily routines that keep the individual and the society linked together: The seemingly small and trivial changes do have a deeper meaning. In this chapter, the individual dimension of social change will be discussed on the basis of life histories, work histories and texts produced by the mobile individuals. Questions such as what is the mobile way of life like, how is modernity expressed in it, and what kind of attitudes and characteristics the mobile individuals possess are central here. The topics discussed in this chapter have been brought up as most central by the informants and they include things such as work and work-related matters, housing arrangements, and leisure-time.

In the next two chapters an attempt will be made to answer the following questions:

* Who are mobile?
* What is the mobile way of life like and how is modernity expressed in its various elements? Modernity is viewed here most of all from the point of view of individual freedom and mobility as suggested in the introduction chapter.
* What kind of qualities do the mobile individuals possess, or, can they be defined as modern when compared to the model of a modern man by Inkeles and Smith (1974)?

The main criteria to include a text into the empirical evidence has been the mobility of the person, place of residence or location of job site, and a certain time-period. In the case of Lapland, the time-period is roughly from World War II until the big move taking place in the latter half of the 1960's, and the individuals under study are chiefly lumberjacks and construction workers. In the case of the Western Islands, the lives of the Hebridean female fish workers who worked in the East Coast herring fisheries beginning from around the turn of the twentieth century onwards until the Second World War will be investigated. Because of the scarcity of the material concerning the fisher girls, the stress here is slightly more on the workers of Lapland, although an attempt to be as even-handed as possible has been made.

4.2 Life History as a Method

When engaged in qualitative field research, it is important to pay careful attention to the collection and analysis of documentary reality. Furthermore, as we cannot treat records or other texts as firm evidence of what they report, the material has to be interpreted and understood as a part of the larger cultural context and supported by other types of information. (Atkinson & Coffey 1997, 46 – 47.) Renvall (1965, 165 – 167, 188, 312) emphasises the importance of maintaining a constantly critical attitude towards the facts the historical documents claim to be true. To acknowledge the historical context and environment in which the texts have been produced is important, but one should also think about the reasons why a particular document has been produced. Questions dealing with the reliability of the empirical evidence can be complicated: If a document tells things differently when compared to the rest of the empirical evidence and other sources, it is probably not genuine. However, because real life is rich and exceptions are a part of it, one should also resist the temptation to simplify it.

As is the case with all historical studies, the empirical evidence of this study was produced and archived years ago, and the researcher has therefore not been able to influence the quality or amount of the material. This can be interpreted as an advantage as some problems typical of collection of qualitative data have been

avoided. However, to be dependent on historical data can also be a disadvantage especially if there is not enough of it available on the particular research question. Otherwise, the analysis of the data does not differ from other studies of qualitative nature - the problems of this process are as many and as diverse as in any research.

Life histories are ideal material when the main interest of the study is finding information on such things as every day life, values, cultural interests and social relations. As texts, life histories can be described as personal interpretations of the incidents taking place during one's life course. Particularly times of intense change and geographical mobility increase our interest to our life history; by writing down our story we can understand why certain incidents took place and what the larger context is. However, since not everybody is willing to reveal his or her history to the researcher or send it to a writing competition, individuals who do it can be regarded as exceptional rather than ordinary. Furthermore, when writing or telling our story, we constantly make choices of what to remember and what to forget. This does not necessarily mean that we are being dishonest; we are just trying to build a picture of our past, a story that makes sense to us and the readership. As few of us wish to make an impression of a loser, we also have a tendency to explain things in a way that we appear in a positive light. Also the way we remember things changes when we get older; we remember the major events, but the details might have been forgotten and replaced with new material that suits the picture. (Virtanen 1982, 175 - 177.)

Written life histories come in many forms and the empirical evidence of the present study is no exception. Life histories can be short notes or lengthy and rich, at best as interestingly written as novels. Although they seldom cover the whole spectrum of the life of the author, they do present a large and probably the most important part of it, at least from the author’s point of view. When writing a life history, it is common to choose a few essential turning points in one's life and then write the story around them. Written life histories also tend to concentrate on events that appeared a long time ago and they are more structured and thematic by nature when compared to oral histories. However, the level of interaction in written and oral life histories does not differ fundamentally from each other, since both of them are produced to an imaginary circle of readers. (Nurminen 1992, 226 - 238.)

In this study the empirical evidence consists of both oral and written life histories. Life histories, or employment histories, have been useful sources of information because the aim here has been to find out more about such things as what kind of elements belong to the mobile way of life and what kind of thoughts and attitudes the writing individuals possess. Furthermore, life histories are not mere descriptions of the actions of the individual but reflect also structural constrains that shape his or her experiences and life (Dex 1991, 2). To crystallise, the central idea of this chapter is to produce a 'thick description' of the mobile individuals and their way of life. This is done by describing, discussing and interpreting those aspects that the informants find central and worth of telling. Simultaneously, the theme of modernity will be carried along and discussed in more depth at the end of the chapter.

4.3 Model of a Modern Man

There is no doubt that the modernisation process with its various industrial and cultural aspects is a difficult phenomenon to perceive, and the same words can be echoed in the case of individual modernisation. Both processes are complex and their outcome cannot be explained with one word only, more than they could be reduced to a single quality. When investigating the 'modernity' of the mobile individuals in this study, it would be ideal to compare their attitudes and thoughts with those fellow-villagers who instead of migrating chose to stay. However, since there is no such material available and conducting interviews or asking people is not possible because of the historical nature of the study, the empirical evidence collected from the archives will be compared to the model of a modern man developed by Inkeles and Smith (1974).

Few social scientists would deny the importance of mass education as one of the most modernising forces of our times and the study of Inkeles & Smith (1974) confirms this argument. The study inspired many scholars to test further the relationship between school attendance and modernisation with analogous results[72]. However, as a

[72] See for example Holsinger (1973), Klineberg (1973), Sack (1973).

representative of the so-called modernisation school that dominated the development-discussion in sociology between World War II and the late 1960's, not only the theoretical approach of the research but also the model have been challenged by many scholars[73]. It has gained criticism particularly for its insensitiveness to the origin of some of the 'modern' traits: For example, are all the 24 characteristics of the model (presented in appendix 1) a result of contact with modern institutions or could some of them actually be 'traditional' by nature? Furthermore, it cannot be argued that individual modernity would be the precondition for social and economic development in all societies - in fact some aspects of the model might also constitute obstacles to development in certain contexts. Finally and not least importantly, the modernisation of an individual does not depend only on cultural factors but also on the material and institutional set-up of the society. (de Kadt 1975, 502 - 503.)

The modernisation school has been criticised heavily also for its presumption that modern and tradition are antithetical: People, values, institutions and societies are understood either as modern or as traditional and not as containing both elements as it is thought nowadays. Furthermore, because this approach views factors internal to specific societies - particularly the role of religion and values - as barriers to economic growth, they are therefore the focus of study and object of manipulation. The school is also known for its preference to study the educated and urban-bound groups, although the majority of the Third world population was still living in villages in those days. The reason for this was that the representatives of this small elite - the 'change agents' as they were called – were regarded as important 'modernisers' and innovators who spread new ideas to the rest of the society. Finally, because the modernisation school understood change as something inevitable and universal, both the process and the outcome of it were naively believed to be similar in each country. At worst, the school did not even recognise the impact of such external forces as colonialist politics or international markets. (Harrison 1988, 29 – 32.)

At the end of the 1960's a new framework of thought started gaining ground in the field of development studies, namely the dependency school. Where the

[73] On criticism of the modernisation school see for example Hettne (1990), So (1990) and Harrison (1988).

modernisation school had viewed development from the point of view of the Western world, the dependency school brought the perspective of the developing countries in the foreground. The basic discussion dealt with core-periphery issues, and the conclusion was that because the problems of the Third World were caused externally, the less these countries had had dealings with the rich Western world, the better off they were. In other words, reasons for underdevelopment were no longer looked from inside but from outside and particularly from the framework of colonialist politics and structural dependency. Immanuel Wallerstein (1979) widened the perspective even further and introduced the concept of world system to the debate. In this system, the historical dynamics operate and world economy is seen to affect every corner of the world, including core areas, semi-peripheries and peripheries. (So 1990, 107, 194.) However, despite of the merits of Wallerstein's approach - most importantly its attempt to resist such biases of historical social science as evolutionism, reductionism, Eurocentrism, state-centrism, and compartamentalism – its problem has been its general and theoretical nature. Because no single individual can master the whole world history and contemporary events from primary sources, the approach has to be a collective project (Hettne 1990, 122). When related to the contemporary development discussion, Wallerstein's theory and its holistic nature is closely related to the globalisation school.

Without going further to the discussion concerning theoretical approaches and their developments, it is just noted here that in the present study the model of a modern man developed by Inkeles & Smith (1974) has simply been used as a frame of reference when analysing the empirical evidence. Furthermore, only those characteristics and attitudes of the model that are relevant from the point of view of the empirical evidence will be discussed, although due to the richness of the data nearly all of them have been dealt with.

4.4 Description of the Data

Lapland

The empirical evidence concerning Lapland - 56 texts altogether - has been collected from several archives. The material consists of life histories, work histories and writings sent to gatherings of popular tradition, and short interviews on themes central to the interests of the present study. The length of these texts varies from one to about a hundred pages and as one can imagine, so does the amount of information they contain. The first criterion to accept a text in the data has been the mobility of the author. Secondly, the informant had worked in the area of Lapland in the time-period of 1945-1965, although some texts from the end of the 1930's have been accepted too. This is due to the fact that many things particularly in the life of the lumberjacks did not change immediately after the War; for example the housing conditions were quite similar in the 1930's and in the 1940's. Although the authors of the stories are chiefly lumberjacks and construction workers by occupation, some stories written by women with varying occupational backgrounds have been included too when relevant.

The data collected from the *Kansan Arkisto* (People's Archives) consists of eight life histories sent to a writing competition in 1995, titled 'Notes from life' (Merkintöjä elämästä)[74]. Four of these are written by women and four by men. In addition to this, two short interviews where construction workers talk about politics and their working conditions have been included. The material from the *Työväenarkisto* (The Finnish Labour Archives) consists of 24 written documents of which eight are long stories or life histories and the rest interviews. The length of the latter ones varies from one to five pages, and women have written eleven of them. Originally, most of this material was collected in the 1960's. In addition to this, 41 stories sent to a writing competition 'The lumberjacks' (Jätkät) arranged by the *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura* (Association of Finnish Literature) in 1969 have been investigated, and nine of these have been included in this research. These stories are all written by lumberjacks, and the length of them varies from about eight to fifty pages.

[74] Altogether, 200 life histories were sent to this writing competition.

I have also familiarised myself with the *Keskustapuolueen Arkisto* (Archive of the Centre Party[75]). The material collected from this archive consists of eight fairly short interviews; from the point of view of this research, questions shedding light on the relationship between the supporters of the Communist Party and the Centre Party are the most relevant ones and have been used here. Also three from 161 texts sent to a writing competition that deals with the post-war colonisation of Lapland ('Muistellaan asutustoimintaa') have been chosen to be quoted here. The length of these stories varies between 50 and a hundred pages.

In addition to the texts collected from the archives presented above, I have also asked my father Voitto Kumpulainen to write down his experiences in the construction sites of the 1950's and 1960's Lapland. He is a steel fixer by trade, and the details he gives from the working and living conditions in the job sites crystallise some essential features of the road builders' way of life in Lapland. In the former chapter concerning the modernisation process in Lapland, my mother Raili Kumpulainen has already performed as an informant by describing the housing conditions in the post-war Lapland. In appendix 2 the empirical evidence used in this study is presented in more detail.

There are several source books that have been particularly useful from the point of view of the empirical part of this research. Erkki Snellman (1991) has edited a book 'Muut sortaa, saha yksin puoltaa' that consists of stories written by retired lumberjacks who worked in Lapland during the twentieth century. These stories describe the different aspects of a lumberjack's life such as work and working conditions, clothing, 'cuisine', leisure-time activities, etc. The stories of the book are rather short but informative and they build a rich picture of the changing world of the twentieth century lumberjacks. Another important source book is Hanna Snellman's 'Tukkilaisen tulo ja lähtö' (1996), which is a detailed ethnographic monograph on lumberjacks and their working life in Lapland from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1980's. Also Jyrki Pöysä's 'Jätkän synty' (1997) tells about the loggers' life,

[75] Formerly the Agrarian Party.

although concentrating in the eastern parts of the country. The most informative source book on the working and living conditions of the construction workers in Lapland has been Marko Nenonen's (1993) 'Tietöissä siirtotyömaalla. Tienrakennus ja sosiaaliset olot työttömyystyömailla 1945-67'. Another good source book is Antero Tervonen's (1994) 'Jälleenrakennuksen tiellä', which describes the road building in the post-war Lapland.

The Western Islands

In the case of the Western Islands, the empirical evidence consists of 36 texts and one interview. Collecting data from the lives of the 'gutting quines' has turned out to be difficult since life histories and other empirical material are scarce. Data has been collected from the School of Scottish Studies and it consists of 14 taped interviews where 12 women tell about their lives as gutters and packers of herring and two men about their female relatives who used to work as fisher girls. Four more stories have been written by four nurses who used to work in the missionary stations near the fishing ports, collected from the Scottish Record office. Five typed oral histories told by fisher girls from Lewis were found from the Ness Historical Society. In addition to this, I have also interviewed Mrs Christine MacNeil from Barra who at the time of the interview had reached the respectful age of 88 years and still remembered well her days as a fish gutter in the 1920's and 1930's. However, because this is all the material I have been able to find on fisher girls originating from the Western Islands, twelve fish gutters and packers from the Shetland Islands have also been included in the empirical evidence. This data has been collected from the Shetland Archives and it complements the portrait of the girls well, particularly when we remember that the emphasis here has been on work history and mobile way of life. The experiences of the Shetland women who went to gut and pack herring are quite similar to those of the Western Islands girls, but because they are not Hebridean by birth, the material produced by them has been employed only when it supports the main data. For example descriptions covering themes such as working and living conditions in the fishing ports have been used without second thoughts, as they naturally were the same for every girl, regardless of the birthplace. The length of the stories varies greatly, from 2 to 30 pages, and so does the amount of information they contain.

Because of the scarcity of the empirical evidence, several secondary sources have been employed to support the primary data. In chapter two, the diary of W.E. Carson has already been used, and the empirical evidence collected by the members of the Napier Commission. There are also several informative books on herring fishing and the lives of the 'gutting quines' that have used empirical material, mostly interviews and diaries, as material. Of these, especially Margaret Bochel's works 'Dear Gremista' (1979) and 'The Fisher Lassies' (1980), and Nancy Dorian's 'The Tyranny of Tide. An Oral History of the East Sutherland Fisherfolk' (1985) are important. Also some newspaper articles from ‘the Stornoway Gazette’ and ‘the Shetland News’ have been used here to complement the empirical material and enrich the portrait of the fisher girls.

It is curious that although so many Hebridean women were engaged in the herring fishing for decades, there is not much empirical evidence available on their lives. One reason for this scarcity is obviously the time-period: In the past, there were no writing competitions and researchers did not observe or interview people or do much fieldwork, at least not in the extent we do it nowadays. Also expressing oneself for example by keeping a diary was rare among the working class people, as there was no time for it and nor was it typical of the subculture. However, there might also be other reasons for this silence. Many girls mention letter writing as one of their leisure-time activities, but oddly enough I have not managed to find a single letter that would have been written by a fisher girl, despite my visits to local museums and archives. A newspaper inquiry in Stornoway Gazette did not bring any results either.

Peter Mewett (1980, 7 - 8) met the same problem when working on his thesis 'Social change and migration from Lewis': There was simply not enough data available that would tell about the history of the Isles. Mewett gives an example of an old man he went to see in order to familiarise himself with the interesting remembrances the man was supposed to possess from the past. Soon after arriving in the house of the informant, Mewett found out that the man had cleared his barn already some years ago and destroyed everything because "he did not want anything to do with the past". This and several other similar type of incidents made Mewett to conclude that suppression

of knowledge about the history occurred as a feature of the collective consciousness of the population in the area. The devaluation of the past can be interpreted as a reaction to the urban-oriented cultural imperialism of the wider society.

The empirical evidence of the present study will be discussed and analysed in the next two chapters. It is emphasised here that this chapter and the conclusions made on the basis of it are built around the specific texts that form the empirical evidence of the study. In other words, the central idea is not to construct a general theory but to discuss this specific data as an example of how the social change can affect the grass root level. Simultaneously, it brings some new information on seasonal migration. As already mentioned, the attention will be on those elements and themes that have been brought up as most central by the informants, and the quotations concerning each theme have been chosen on the basis of their representativeness. To begin with, the background of the mobile individuals will be discussed first and then the work-related matters and leisure-time activities. ‘Modernity’ will be sought not only from the various elements belonging to the mobile way of life but also from the individuals themselves, which will be done with the help of the theoretical frameworks provided by Anderson (1980) and Inkeles & Smith (1974).

5 CHIEFLY LUMBERJACKS & CONSTRUCTIONS WORKERS

5.1 Beginning the Career

Two kinds of lumberjacks and construction workers worked in Lapland: Local small farmers and travelling work force who originated from the more southern parts of the country. As discussed already in chapter 2, in Lapland few small farmers could make their living from the land only, and as the twentieth century proceeded it was most commonly forest work and construction work that gave the necessary extra incomes. Although this meant that the small farmers had to spend several months away from home each year, they were better off when compared to the travellers at least in the sense that they had a place to return to once the job site finished. They also had a family and network of relatives to support them through times of economic depression, illness and other hardships of life. Although forest work was the most important source of extra incomes, construction work was also important in times of depression when there was no forest work available, and particularly after World War II. Those belonging to the travelling force worked in both spheres too and if they stayed in Lapland for the summer, they often made their living by doing farm work.

The lumberjacks' career started usually at a very young age, particularly if we are referring to times before World War II. As families were often large and poor, even the help of a child was regarded as necessary and a boy could start assisting his father and older brothers as young as at the age of six. Because forest work was hard and required strength, children were able to help only with the less physically demanding tasks. Due to the many hours spent at work, it was the rule rather than the exception that the boy did not go to school regularly and his educational level remained very low.

My working life began at the age of six when my father asked me to help him in the forest. My first task was to bring the horse from the paddock. The horse would not allow me to put a bridle on it and my father got very angry because of this and beat me. I was very scared of him afterwards, and if I again failed to do something he had ordered me to do, I ran away to avoid the beating. Next year I did cordwood in the forest with my older brother. During the springtime we piled the wood, and in the

summer we floated it. I started school in 1916 at the age of eight, but because my family was poor, I was allowed to take the afternoons off to work in the forest with my brothers and father. Next year there was a typhoid epidemic in the area and the teacher told me not to come to school - they were afraid that I would contaminate other children although I was not even ill. In 1918 it was restless everywhere because of the Civil War and so I just carried on working in the forest with my brothers and father... In the autumn 1918 I started school again, but soon I had to quit to as the forest work began again. (Viljami, SKS.)

The official age limit was fifteen in the logging sites but identification cards were seldom asked, especially if there were not enough men to do the work or if the youngster was accompanied by his older relatives. If the newcomer did not work on a lot together with his father or brother right from the beginning, he could start his lumberjack's career by performing such tasks as heating of the barrack or helping the cook, then gradually taking up work that required more strength and skill. (Snellman 1996, 121 – 123.) According to Luoma (1989, 79) the majority of the travelling lumberjacks were landless peasants by background – in other words the rural surplus population - and the empirical evidence of the present study confirms this conclusion. The travelling lumberjacks arrived at the logging sites often alone and did not even have a family or home to return to: Their parents might have died when they were young, or there might have been so many children in the family that they had to start working at a very early age. Under these circumstances the bond between the traveller and his family often broke up, sometimes permanently.

Father did not arrive at home in time and so we went to look for him and found him dead near the barn. I was 15-years-old then. I decided to leave home and travel to the North to forget my sorrow. My mother gave me ten pennies - it was all she had – and so I packed my backpack and started skiing towards the North. I skied more than 400 kilometres. I had not been away from home before, and therefore the trip felt very long. Because I had no money, I had to beg my food. I had all kinds of hardships on the way but finally I arrived at a logging site and entered into a barrack. I went straight to the darkest corner and tried to hide myself there, but soon an old lumberjack came to sit next to me and asked if I was hungry. He fried some reindeer meat, and I ate so much that I felt ill. After eating I told him that I would follow him like a son and work with him only, and so I did. (Aatos, SKS.)

Although the majority of the lumberjacks-to-be could practise forest work already at home, forest work was not available everywhere in which case the youngster often started his working life as a farm-hand in some nearby farm. Working as an unskilled

labourer in various industries was also common. The inspiration to become a travelling lumberjack came often from a friend who wanted to try the big logging sites of Lapland and persuaded his friend to join him. This happened also to the 19-year-old Taisto (KA), and since the experience and wages turn out to be good, he soon finds himself planning another work trip to Lapland.

In times of rationing, it was important to pack the right things for the trip, and Taisto's detailed list presented here gives us an insight to the contents of a traveller's knapsack:

-new identity card
-carpenter's tools
-work clothes and shoes
-formal trousers and dress shoes (no suit on no account!)
-work shirts and one shirt with a collar (not a white one!)
-two or three sets of thermal underwear
-some hankies and a sauna towel
-warm duvet, no sheets, a couple of pillow cases
-leather-topped rubber boots
-several pairs of socks, perhaps a couple of pairs of Sunday socks
-booze
-packed lunch for a couple of days (the food in the restaurant car is bad and there might not be any available)
-money for three weeks
-bread-rationing card
-from Rovaniemi one can get anything from the bootleggers but it is dear
-remember to leave the general rationing card to mum because I do not smoke

In general, the lumberjacks and construction workers travelled very light and the contents of the knapsack consisted of a few necessary tools, some clothes and food. It was not only the general poverty that kept the contents light, but also the mere fact that long distances might have to be walked or skied carrying the knapsack.

There are certain differences between the mentality of the travelling work force and the local workers. Particularly the war affected the atmosphere, and although quite unique in many ways, Eljas' (KA) account crystallises some essential features of the mentality of a post-war travelling lumberjack/construction worker. It also catches well

the spirit of the 1940's – the time of great turmoil and restlessness when almost anything could happen to almost anybody.

I grew up in a small house that had only one room. There were four children in our family, and I was raised up my grandparents. My father was a small farmer and carpenter by occupation. He left the family in the 1920's to work in Canada. During his years in Canada, we had a new house built. Then my mother died, and my sisters and brother moved to my grandparents' house. Father came back from Canada in 1936 and although he did not have much money, he took over the responsibility of us and we moved to his house. I left school at the age of 14 and got my first summer-time job in a brick factory in 1937. After this I worked in a farm; then the war began and I got a three-shift work in a factory in 1939. Then a friend of mine asked me to go with him to work in Lapland, in Rovaniemi. After arriving at Rovaniemi we tried to steal some things from a train that was bringing goods to the Germans who occupied Rovaniemi at that time. Stealing from such trains was quite common, but unfortunately I got caught and was sent to a prison in Helsinki. From there I was sent to the army in 1943. In 1944 I was again in Lapland, this time chasing away the retreating German troops. The next year I spent at home doing forest work with my father, but in the autumn I left again, this time to do forest work in Lapland with a friend of mine. (Eljas, KA.)

Arriving in Lapland does not mean that Eljas' life would suddenly become colourless - for the following few years it is characterised by general restlessness and aimlessness, travelling, changing of job sites, gambling, drinking, womanising, and engaging in petty crime. His adventurer's years finish only when his girlfriend becomes pregnant and they get married and move to southern Finland. Also Heimo's (KA) account reflects well the rootlessness and anxiety of the travelling work force in the post-war Lapland.

I had just come back from northern Sweden where I had been working and having fun. I was standing at the railway station in Tornio in 1956, right after the General Strike. I decided to take the first train that would arrive at the station and go wherever it would go. I ended up in Kemi where I lived and worked for the next four years. (Heimo, KA.)

Also in Kemi - the centre of the wood-processing industry – the mobility of the workers was a problem as experienced workers were hard to find and few stayed for long. For example in 1946 when the company of Veitsiluoto hired 442 new workers, two thirds of them were first-timers; simultaneously 524 gave their notice (Hedman 1969, 526). However, the urge to go and see places is expressed not only in the accounts written by the travelling work force after the war but also in many of those

written before. It was the expanding forest industry and to a lesser extent the construction sector[76] that provided the restless with an opportunity to do what they wanted: In many other countries it was the sea that attracted those who wished to explore the world and test their limits. Furthermore, in the 1940's Lapland both the forestry and construction sector suffered from a shortage of labour and this gave a lot of freedom for those who were not yet ready to make commitments. Some of these were vagabonds, drunkards and other adventurers who were allured to Lapland by the famous bonuses. The NBPRW kept lists about these troublemakers and once a man got his name on a list, he was not hired again (Tervonen 1994,172- 173).

I got my first job in 1933 when I was 16 in the NBPRW with the help of my father who worked in the company. After this I worked in various building sites until the War. In 1945 I took a post as a lorry driver in the Railways, but I soon ended up quarrelling with the foreman and because there were plenty of other jobs available at the time, I gave my notice. Few men had a driver's license in those days and therefore I did not worry much about getting a new job. Between 1945-47 I made my living by working in the logging sites in Sweden and by driving a lorry in the Finnish side of the border. In 1947 I got a job from the NBPRW; this time my job was to repair bridges and roads. At times the company suffered from labour shortage and at times the boss asked me to drive to Rovaniemi to find new workers. I usually managed to find some jobless men, just told them to climb on the platform of the lorry and drove them to the work site. However, these workers seldom stayed longer than for a few days; they just wanted to have a few regular meals and new clothes and off they went. You see, in those days the NBPRW had to keep a clothing store for the workers because many had nothing but the ragged army uniform when they came to the job site, sometimes straight from the front. (Aarne, TMT.)

To summarise, the reasons why one became a seasonal worker are different when we compare the two groups of locals and travelling work force. Also in Nels Anderson's (1988) study of the 1920's American travelling work force, *hobos*, the motives are many. Unemployment and inability to adapt oneself to factory work are perhaps the most common, but also such factors as mental illness, racism or discrimination in the place of origin, personal crisis caused by for example death in the family, and a strong desire to wander are mentioned frequently. (Ibid., 93.) Most of these motives are present also in the context of the empirical evidence of this study, and particularly the

[76] Because of the increasing unemployment most of the men hired to do construction work were employed on a relief work-basis from the end of the 1940's onwards, and therefore the building sector no longer was an option for those who wished to make a lot of money in a short time and lead a life of an adventurer.

post-war travelling work force are reminiscent of the hobos in their attitudes and way of life. For those who originated from Lapland becoming mobile was even less of a question of choice and more a part of an accustomed, particular kind of life style. However, this does not mean that the idea of living a part of the year away from home where the lack of space, domestic problems and poverty dominated would have not appealed as some kind of glimpse of freedom also for them.

5.2 Work and Work Environment

Housing

A lumberjack could work in three kinds of job sites. In the old days men did cordwood only in the autumn and in forests owned by the state; later on it was done also during the spring and summer time. Cordwood was also done in the privately owned forests, but this employed normally only the owner of the forest and his family. In a cordwood job site the logs were first chopped, then stacked and left to wait for the floating season. The majority of the workers were local small farmers who could live at least part of the season at home when working. The wintertime logging sites began as soon as there was enough snow and the ground was frozen enough to bear the driving of the logs with a horse. Logging sites lasted from the end of November until the beginning of April. During these months the lumberjacks lived chiefly in barracks, since the majority of the job sites were situated in the backwoods. Once the logging site had finished, the lumberjacks started waiting for the log-floating season to begin. This took place usually in the mid May, depending on the breaking up of the ice. The floating season lasted only for a few weeks, during which time the men were accommodated in the houses that were situated near the floating channels. When necessary, also barrack accommodation was used, and at the end of the 1940's big tents familiar already from the war served this purpose too. (Snellman 1996, 83 - 105.)

Eino's (TMT) account from the mid twentieth century's forest job site builds a vivid picture of the working and housing conditions. Eino begins his story by describing the first time he leaves his home at the age of 15 to work in a forest job site together with

his three brothers and a few other men from the same village[77]. The men leave early in the morning; first they travel by bus and then by foot. As they walk, they occasionally stop for a coffee or light meal in the houses located next to the footpath that leads to the job site. Gradually the population starts thinning out and the last stage of the journey begins. After a good few hours walk they finally arrive in the work site and go to talk to the foreman. They are lucky this time - everybody gets a job. Accommodation, however, turns out to be a problem.

The main barrack was very big and made of timber. One half of it, roughly 60 square metres, was meant to accommodate 25-30 lumberjacks at a time but at the height of the season there were often more men than that, as I soon discovered. The other half of the barrack was reserved for the site office and kitchen. A warehouse, maintenance building, a shop, and stables surrounded the barrack. There were also smaller accommodation barracks in the surrounding area, a few kilometres away from the main barrack. One of them was called 'Brushwood' because of its flimsiness and coldness. After resting for a while we went to ask for a job. We begged our oldest brother Erlanti to do this as he was more outspoken than the rest of us and had more work experience... He came back and said that we could start working the next day and spend the first night in the main barrack. Finding a place to sleep was not easy, since it was Monday and lots of men returned from their weekend trip to home. For a reason or another, many men from the nearby barracks had also decided to spend the night there. I estimated that about 100 men slept there that night. Every place was full, including the attic and the huts standing in front of the stables, originally meant for storage of feed. Also the floor was covered with sleeping men. Finally I managed to find a narrow space for myself right next to the door. Lack of room was familiar already from home, but I found it very difficult to fall asleep that night, as the door kept on banging all night long due to the continuous traffic. In those days the earnings of a lumberjack depended quite a lot on the foreman, and as the foreman of this particular job-site was famous for his sporting, every man wanted to work there[78]. (Eino, TMT.)

Usually there was enough room for each man to get a place in the bunk in the barrack. Once the man had chosen his place, it belonged to him until the end of the season. Because the heating consisted usually of a small iron stove only, the men slept with their clothes on. In the night, turns were taken to heat the stove, but in bigger job sites a special 'fireguard' hired by the company took care of the heating already in the

[77] Before the time of the tractors, the work teams in the forest job sites consisted of a horseman who hired the loggers, preferably his relatives and men from the same village. Few left the village alone to look for a job; instead, it was common to go as a group with the fellow-villagers (Pöysä 1997, 60).
[78] According to Eino, the wages depended not only on the foreman of the work site, but also on the man who counted the finished the logs and measured the stacked wood. Furthermore, the quality of the wood lots varied greatly and the newcomers usually got the poorest lots. (Eino TMT 261/777.)

1920’s. In 1967 the forest companies were obliged by law to provide every worker with a bed, mattress, pillow and duvet. Before this everybody brought their own bedclothes with them, often a reindeer skin in the winter and blanket in the summer; this practise was also an important precaution to prevent the spread of vermin. Each man’s personal belongings and clothes were hanged on a nail above his sleeping place. There was no separate drying room for the wet working clothes or harnesses of the horses before the 1950’s, and this produced the almost unbearable stench so typical of the barracks. The smell was further increased by the fact that washing facilities were inadequate and consisted usually of a pot of hot water on the top of the iron stove and a washbasin kept on the side. In the big job sites, the building of saunas next to the barracks from the 1950’s onwards improved greatly the hygienic conditions, particularly when they were heated up on a daily basis instead of the usual once a week. (Snellman 1991.)

Lumberjacks, horses and a barrack, 1930’s. Photo by Aho & Soldan, Museovirasto.

If there was no barrack in the job site, the lumberjacks’ first task was to build one. While doing this, the men slept, rested and prepared their meals in a simple lean-to. Because the barrack was often used for one season only, not much effort was invested

in the building of it, and this is the main reason for the draughtiness and coldness of the barracks. From the 1928 onwards the companies were obliged by law to take care of the building (Saari 1937, 291), but in smaller job sites the barracks could still be built by the lumberjacks even after that. There are many descriptions of the misery the men had to adapt themselves when staying in these rudimentary barracks.

The barrack was in such a bad shape that the potatoes got frozen under the bunk bed. Water kept on dripping through the ceiling and because the floor was not even, the water gathered around the corners of the barrack and turned into ice. (Adam, SKS.)

The barrack was an old, grey shack. The insulation of the log wall consisted of moss. The barrack was divided to two parts; the lumberjacks slept in one side of the barrack and the foremen in the other, and there was a storeroom between these sides. The heating consisted of a sauna oven, but the storeroom was not heated. Each man had to cook for himself since there was no cook and not even a kitchen in the barrack. There were no bedclothes either; some men had brought a reindeer skin with them, but many did not have even that. It was a common joke to say that even womenfolk could not make a better bed of the material available; the mattress consisted of suspenders, pillow of the fist and duvet of the belt. (Aatos, SKS.)

Gradually the standard of living started rising in the barracks; particularly the arrangements concerning heating and cooking and the building of drying rooms and saunas improved conditions. Over the years, also the number of buildings around the main barrack increased; storehouses, pay assignment office, maintenance buildings, stables, separate barracks for the foremen and kitchen personnel, small accommodation barracks, a shop[79], etc., were erected. As a result, the forest work sites started resembling a small village in the forest. However, in many small work sites the living conditions remained quite rudimentary at least until the mid 1960's. By that time the new legislation concerning accommodation was also easier to obey, as the number of forest workers was declining rapidly due to the proceeding mechanisation process.

When arriving in Rovaniemi, a sad sight welcomed us. Here if anywhere one could see what the war is all about - everything was just one big ruin. Black chimneys stood out from the middle of the ravage, although most of the town was already cleaned up. Temporary barracks had been built for the inhabitants, but the general view was desolate. There were old people everywhere and everybody seemed to be very busy

[79] Items such as tobacco, saw blades, doughnuts, etc. were sold in these shops.

doing something: It was obvious that the great reconstruction period in Lapland had begun. (Veikko, KEA.)

We came back from our evacuation trip in 1945. They were just going to install electricity in Rovaniemi. One night I went out with my daughter to see a fireworks display arranged by the local athletic club. On the way there we saw a street lamp burning and she thought it was the fireworks! (Alli, TMT.)

The almost complete destruction of the housing stock in Lapland due to the war meant that not only the inhabitants of the area but also the men who came to do the reconstruction work suffered from poor accommodation. The housing conditions of the construction workers did not differ much from those of the lumberjacks' and they remained quite rudimentary throughout the 1940's: Tents, temporary barracks and even old coaches were used to accommodate workers. Those men who had been in the war had got used to very rudimentary living conditions and some of them - including the next informant Heimo - had been 'trained to mobility' also as evacuees.

After the New Year 1945 I was hired to repair railways in the northern Finland. The winter 1945 I lived in Lautiosaari near Kemi in a barrack, sharing a room with 40 other men. We ate in the canteen next to the job site, gave our ration cards to the matron and then bought new cards on the payday. In this way we got our meals, but sleeping in the restless barrack was sometimes difficult. However, most of us had already got used to such conditions because of our experience in the War. Until 1947, we repaired and built trestle bridges between Kemi and Salla. During those two years several workers were killed by land mines. We travelled in a special repair train and were accommodated in a coach converted to a dormitory, sleeping ten men per a coach. One of the coaches was used as a canteen and one as a sauna. In general, it was not too bad to live in that train. (Hannes, TMT.)

Although the housing standard started improving both in the forest industry and construction sector simultaneously, the change was by no means fast. Due to the War, the reconstruction work in the 1940's Lapland was characterised not only by poor accommodation standard but also by a shortage of blankets, washbowls, rubber boots, clothes, and other necessities. Food was also scarce and the workers tried to diversify their diet, for example, by cultivating potatoes and other vegetables in the plots around the barracks. There were shortages of various building materials too, and this was the reason for the poor quality of the dwelling barracks. Flimsy walls together with the inadequate heating system consisting usually of a small iron stove standing in the middle of the room made the barracks draughty and cold. Also old buildings that were

situated near the job site were done up and used for accommodation purposes, but the standard was not better in them. (Nenonen 1993, 85, 91 - 108.) My father Voitto who worked as a steel fixer in Lapland at the end of the 1950's describes the living conditions in one of his job sites in the following manner:

In Kilpisjärvi we lived in a barrack that was situated next to the road. The size of the room was 12 square metres and there were six of us living in that tiny space. The heating system consisted of a stove, and because of the cold weather we had to burn wood in it constantly. The temperature was uneven; in the early night the men who slept up in the bunk beds could be sweating whereas those who slept down were shivering with cold. It felt like we could not light the stove fast enough in the mornings, as the barrack had grown ice cold during the night. There was quite a stench in the barrack, since there were so many of us living in that small space. After the working day we hanged our clothes on hooks hit into the ceiling, hoping that they would get dry by the morning. At the dinnertime all six of us started cooking our meals around that small stove, I tell you it was quite crowded there. We used to go home only twice a month because there was no public transportation and very few of us could afford to have a car of our own. (Voitto Kumpulainen.)

Road builders and their barrack, 1940's. Lapin tiepiirin tieperinnetoiminnan kokoelmat.

After the war the political atmosphere changed and the workers' rights Movement became strong. The workers could now influence their working conditions and other

issues concerning them. In the 1950's the new barracks were already produced industrially, the stove heating was replaced by a central heating system, washrooms and drying rooms for clothes were built in connection with the barracks, and even hot tap water became available. Also a new kind of carriage barracks that could be easily moved as the building site progressed were introduced. Despite these improvements, the barracks in the construction sites were not cosier than those in the forest job sites. The stench consisting of cigarette smoke, sweat, dirt, damp clothes, etc., was hardly bearable although already familiar for those who had worked in the logging sites. Barrack living did not encourage cleanliness and despite the efforts of the cleaning lady, the general outlook of the dwelling was usually far from tidy. Furthermore, since there were no washrooms in the barracks before the mid 1950's, for example washing clothes was practically impossible. The introduction of separate sauna barracks improved greatly the workers' hygienic conditions, especially when the housekeepers hired by the company started heating them up on a daily basis instead of a once a week only. Taking sauna baths was one of the most popular leisure-time activities in both the construction sites and forest job sites. (Nenonen 1993, 109 - 114.)

The housing conditions of the forest workers and construction workers improved together with the rising living standard and housing standard of the whole country, although in Lapland the fact that the housing stock was so completely ruined after the war kept the standards low still for some time. In all, it cannot be said that the conditions would have even remotely resembled the ideal of a bourgeoisie home that started developing in Britain already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Britain, the change in the life-style of the upper classes meant most of all the spread of such ideas as personal privacy and individualism. This was reflected in new home plans that introduced corridors to homes, as they allowed more privacy to the occupier of the room: Before, the only way of moving about in a house was by passing through other people's chambers. The members of the family could now escape from the eyes and ears of the domestic servants and as a result, for example, the number of trials for noble adultery with servant witnesses declined. In lower classes the need for privacy started to grow too and apprentices and unmarried labourers were removed from the household of their masters. As a consequence paternal control began to decline, and

free food and lodging were replaced by wages in money. The poor continued to live in 1-2-room flats with their large families. (Stone 1979, 169 – 170.)

However, even though the housing standard of the lumberjacks and construction workers remained quite far away from the ideal discussed above, also dormitory accommodation has elements that reflect modernity. The poor quality of housing tells us not only about poverty but also about the fact that because of the mobile nature of the work it was not wise to invest too much money or effort in housing. Furthermore, since there were no relatives - particularly womenfolk - present in the barracks, men could live as they pleased and forget about the everyday routines and domestic problems they had at home. In their leisure-time they could do things that were not possible or even allowed at home, for example gambling. Every man had his own place in the barrack, often not more than a narrow space in the bunk and a nail on the wall to hang the clothes, but it was still a private area that was respected by other men. In this very basic way privacy, individual freedom and mobility – in some ways also modernity – is present also in dormitory accommodation. Finally, although the fact that the men slept in anonymous rows in one big room might bring to mind a prison or a total institution à la Michel Foucault (for example1980, 194 - 195), it seems that the accommodation arrangements did not have any surveillance-related motives behind it. After all, the management could do little if the men decided to 'behave badly' and there was nobody to keep them in order but themselves. This was done with the help of unwritten rules.

Unwritten Rules

In those days the unwritten rules formed the only acknowledged law and disputes were settled justly. The lumberjacks from the North were widely known for their honesty: They were probably the most honest people in Finland and perhaps in the whole world. They might have been addicted to drink and take a bit too much at times, but in a way the hard work encouraged this kind of behaviour. Thieves and other swindlers came to the North together with the soldiers and law. (Viljami, SKS.)

The advantage of working as a group in places such as the forest job sites is that it improves the general atmosphere and creates close relationships amongst the team members. Although teamwork does not entirely remove conflict and friction within

the group or between various groups, it has been shown that in the latter case the network of links between the team members of different groups reduce them (Argyle 1992, 78-82). In a forest job site, the fact that the men shared not only work but also accommodation created a good basis for networking, which was important as the men came from different backgrounds and represented different age groups. Some were local small farmers and some travelling lumberjacks, some married men and some bachelors, some deeply religious and some atheists, some supporters of the left-wing parties and some the Agrarian Party, etc. Furthermore, there were also women working as cooks and shop assistants in the job sites. One could assume that this diversity would form a fruitful basis for conflicts, but in reality they were rare because the everyday life was regulated by unwritten laws.

The unwritten rules followed by the lumberjack community emphasised most of all the importance of respecting each man's private space and property to the extent it was possible in dormitory accommodation; when caught, thieves, cardsharps and other adventures were punished severely. Many lumberjacks refer to the honesty of the lumberjacks in their accounts: Honesty was indeed a well-appreciated characteristic before the time of lockers when you had to live surrounded by strangers. Furthermore, the doors of the barracks were kept open day and night so that any passer-by could come in, have a rest and warm up if the weather was bad. Another important rule before the time of the housekeepers dealt with the house chores: the one who felt cold first heated the barrack, the one who felt thirsty first fetched the water, etc. Furthermore, socialising with the women workers was not encouraged because this might cause disputes among the men. Despite of this rule, romances sometimes blossomed. (Snellman 1991, 142 – 143.)

There are two cooks in the barrack. One of them is called Annikki and she is of my age. She looks pretty and sweet when she is serving food through the kitchen hatch. She has blue eyes and a nice smile and a very blond hair. It is impossible not to fall for her a little, although I never told her about my feelings. It is not considered as appropriate to have closer dealings with the female employees in the forest job sites. (Eino, TMT.)

If there were pretty girls working in the barrack, the men naturally wanted to approach them in some way. In order to get an excuse to enter the kitchen, one could always ask if volunteers were needed. For example volunteering to chop sugar loaves was a good

strategy, as it could go on until very late hours. By the mid summer, the wedding bells often chimed for the couple. (Rauha, SKS.)

The changing atmosphere of the barrack living is reflected in many accounts: For example Taisto (KA 95:89) refers to the fact that one of the tasks of the housekeeper was to find out if any of the men staying there were thieves or criminals wanted by the police. Taisto was also advised to look after his property, for example by hiding his wallet and watch in the pillowcase. Because most of the construction work sites in Lapland were founded after the War, it is probable that the atmosphere in the barracks was characterised by this kind of atmosphere rather than by the steady trust in unwritten rules typical of the pre-war forest job sites. Furthermore, although the majority of the disputes continued to be settled among the men, the police became also a more or less familiar visitor particularly in the construction sites. The fact that there was a proper road – ironically built by the men themselves - leading to these job sites might have something to do with this.

Despite the power of the unwritten rules, tensions sometimes came to the surface in the job sites. Especially the combination of drinking and beginning of a job site when the men had hardly met each other was favourable for conflicts. For example in Toivo's account (Snellman 1991, 261), a bootlegger visits a logging site at the beginning of the season and sells 55 bottles of spirit to the men. After drinking all this, the lumberjacks start fighting with each other with knives and fists.

Work

In a logging site the hiring of workers was arranged in the following manner. First the company hired a horseman, whose job was to drive the logs to the timber-collecting depot, and then the horseman hired a group of men who did the actual felling of trees and other tasks associated with it. The men of the group were often relatives or friends of the horseman. The foreman of the logging site allocated the wood lots for these groups[80], and the horseman got his wages according to the number of logs he drove to the timber-collecting depot. The horseman paid the men working for him on a weekly

[80] Lotting out the forest was usually done by the lumberjacks on Sundays.

basis. In addition to the horseman, there was an unofficial ‘foreman’ in each group who allotted tasks to each man; one sawed, one pruned, one barked, one arranged the finished logs, etc. Sawing was the most difficult and dangerous job, and it took at least one season to master the art of using and sharpening of frame saw. Before the work in the job site could begin, the men had to clear the timber-collecting depot and freeze over the road leading to the main road of the job site. Later on the companies took over the responsibility of the maintenance of the roads, but in small logging sites it could be done by the lumberjacks as late as in the 1950’s. Also the hiring policy of the companies changed together with the mechanisation of the trade; when the tractors replaced the horses, the company started hiring the lumberjacks on an individual basis. (Snellman 1996, 47 – 53, 77.)

‘Modern’ forest workers from Sodankylä. Photo by Teuvo Kanerva, Museovirasto.

In addition to the plain forest work, there were several other jobs in the logging sites that had to be done. The so-called fireguard was usually a young boy or an old man

who was responsible for the heating of the barrack. He worked during the night in order to keep the men warm and went to bed around four o'clock in the morning when the cook began her work. At daytime he performed such tasks as heating up the sauna, helping the cook, chopping firewood, fetching water from the well, etc. One man was needed to order foodstuffs[81] and other articles sold in the shop of the job site, and a boy or an old man was hired to ice the path that the logs were driven on. Like the fireguard, the ice chopper had to work during the night, since the path had to be in a good condition on the daytime. The work was physically very demanding and unhealthy because the ice chopper often got his clothes wet: Catching a cold could be fatal in the severe frost where the nearest doctors could as far as a two-day journey away. (Snellman 1991, 157 - 158.)

Once the winter logging site had finished, the men started waiting for the beginning of the log-floating season. Sometimes this could take several weeks, which could be hard for those who did not have any savings left from the winter logging sites. While waiting, the men made their living by working for their board for the local farmers. Once the log floating started, the working phase could be hectic. Furthermore, because of the light summer nights the working days could be very long[82].

There was not much water in the tributary that year and the foreman was worried that there would be even less after a few days, and so we had to work day and night for about one week to get the logs floated. I was so tired that I was half-asleep when we started walking towards the barrack. We walked along the path and passed a little stream on the way, and there was a stone in the middle where you had to step if you wanted to keep your feet dry. Suddenly I heard a great splash behind me; somebody had fallen asleep and walked straight into the stream where he for sure woke up as the water was ice-cold. (Eemil, SKS.)

Although the log-floaters were not as exposed to accidents as the loggers[83], it could be dangerous work for an inexperienced man. Falling in cold water was rarely a pleasant experience, but it was even more unpleasant for those who could not swim properly.

[81] Most of the shop articles such as butter, meat, potatoes, hay, straw, mittens and skies could bought from the local farmers.
[82] The 1917 legislation restricted the working day to 8 hours but in practice 15-hour and even longer days were common (Saari 1937, 285).
[83] According to the 1964 statistics there were 227 accidents per thousand forest workers per year in privately owned forests and 268 in state owned forests. The average among all working men was 84 accidents per thousand men per year (Waris 1965, 103).

Once in the water, the floating logs could hit the man unconscious and in any case made it difficult to pull him back to the shore. Settling down logjams was a particularly dangerous job especially if the logjam was situated next to a rapid, and only the very best lumberjacks were allowed to do this. Because log floating was an important source of extra income (Peltonen 1991) there were sometimes too many men available for the job, which meant that good luck and special measures were needed if one wished to get hired.

I asked for work from the foreman but he said that he would not hire me because I was too small and did not even have shoes – by then the shoes I had got in the winter by begging had worn out. I had though enough money to buy a new pair but I thought that it would be better if I could carry on through the summer without shoes; I did not want to start begging already in the autumn. When the lumberjacks in the barrack heard that I could not get a job, they took up a collection despite my resistance and gave me money. I lived very economically, did not smoke or drink coffee, just had something with my bread. I had two lures and so I started fishing for the loggers who paid for it. Once I got a really good catch and decided to sell it to the cook of the main barrack. When I approached the barrack, I heard loud voices; the workers were drunk and demanded money from the foreman to buy more booze. The foreman looked frightened and said that he did not have any money and showed them his empty wallet. The lumberjacks saw me approaching and asked the foreman to borrow money from me since they knew that I had some, but I said that I would not lend him since he had not even hired me in the first place. We made a deal - the foreman got his loan and I got a job. (Viljami, SKS.)

Logjam. Photo by Aho & Soldan. Museovirasto.

When the log-floating season finished, the local small farmer-lumberjacks travelled home to work on their land. Also some travelling lumberjacks stayed in Lapland in the summer, making their living by doing farm work. However, the majority of them went back to where they originally came from, or at least disappeared ‘somewhere south’. Once they had reached their destination, they took a job, for example, as a common labourer, or simply worked for their families. Coming home was seldom followed by a great celebration.

In that summer I earned nearly as much as the real lumberjacks. The first thing everybody did after finishing the job site was to travel to Rovaniemi where they

bought a new suit and pair of shoes. Because I missed my mother and brothers and sisters, I went to the railway station and bought a train ticket to the nearest station next to my home resort. From there I walked home. Mother was tearful because our cow had just died, and father did not look happy either because his horse had died in the spring when driving firewood. I gave money for mum so that she could buy a cow and started doing cordwood in a nearby forest with my father and two brothers. In September we bought a new horse and I gave my new suit and shoes for my brother who was still a schoolboy; I thought I could manage well without good clothes as I spent most of my time working in the forest. (Viljami, SKS.)

The nature of the construction work was quite different to the forest work, and in Lapland it consisted usually of various tasks associated with coating and repairing of old roads, bridges and railways, and the building of new roads and bridges. Each worker was hired individually, and most of the work was done manually as the industry only got mechanised as late as in the 1960's. In times of depression, it was not hard to find workers, even in the case the job site situated as far as in Sweden or the USSR.

I was working in the company of Kemijoki Oy when I gave my notice 23/1 1961. I then travelled home to spend some time with my family. I felt a bit sad because my new job was situated far away from home and I would not be able to see my family for quite a while, but of course I had already got used to this during my working life. In any case, at least the children were grown up by now. After the weekend I took a bus to Ivalo. I went straight to the office of the Tuloma-Tietyö that was situated in a two-storied house... You could immediately sense the enthusiasm in the atmosphere; it seemed that everybody wanted to get a job in this new road building site. There were men queuing everywhere, not only in the staircase of the house but also in the yard. (Veikko, KEA.)

In Lapland many roads were built in areas where they had not existed before, and before the actual building could begin, the necessary preparation work had to be done. This could be demanding in many ways, and particularly the changing weather conditions could create some unexpected difficulties[84].

My job was to maintain old roads and walks and build new ones. In 1950 I was sent to check out the condition of a walk that was situated to the north from Rovaniemi. First I travelled to Muonio direction, to a small village called Peltovuona. From there I started my work and walked about 8 miles to village Numanen, spending the first

[84] In this account and in many others the nature is described in enthusiastic overtones; it seems that Lapland was an interesting destination for many men not only because of the work opportunities and good wages, but also because of its challenging nature.

night in a house that was situated next to the walk. Originally I had intended to walk all the way, but it started snowing during the night and so I bought a pair of skies from the master of the house. The snow was soft and after skiing for 20 kilometres, I felt tired and decided to spend the night in a forest hut. I shot some willow grouses and prepared them for a meal, and because the hut felt warm and cosy, I decided to spend another night there. In the following day I started skiing again, orientating by a compass and map. I stopped every now and then for light meals that consisted of canned meat, bread and tea. The tea water I got by melting snow in the pan. The last bit of the day's journey I skied in moonlight and got accommodation from a nearby house. The next day I carried on skiing and because the weather was good, I managed to ski 75 kilometres that day, even though I stopped for a big meal in a house and even though one of my skies got broken. A friend of mine accommodated me in his house that night. In the following day I started travelling back to Rovaniemi again, this time by bus, since I had now done my duty. Altogether, I had walked and skied about 170 kilometres. I think this is quite an achievement, particularly as my backpack was filled with canned food, camera, axe and other heavy things. (Yrjö, TMT.)

The actual construction work and especially road building was done largely by unskilled labour. Before the introduction of machinery, there were few tasks that required training, although some skilled workers were needed for example to reinforce bridges. This was my father Voitto's job in the 1950's and 60's in Lapland. Like the majority of the construction workers, he had learnt his trade by working first as an apprentice for an experienced steel fixer. He describes his work in the following manner:

For the first time I visited Lapland in 1950 when I was 17. I worked as a lumberjack but quitted soon and moved to Helsinki. In 1959 I decided to try my luck again and see what kind of opportunities and challenges Lapland would offer me. I ended up working as a steel fixer's helpmate in Sodankylä. Gradually I learnt the trade and became a skilled steel fixer myself. I chose this trade because the wages were quite good; we often worked by piece and this kept the wages high. We started working usually at 7 a.m. and finished by 4 p.m., although it was not rare to work until 6 or 7 p.m. We had two short coffee breaks during the day and one-hour lunch break at 11 am. We worked as groups, two to four men in each group. The helpmates brought the steel to the place where we steel fixers worked. The carpenters had already done the moulds, and our job was to reinforce these concrete moulds in order to prevent them from cracking. We arranged our work according to the plan our master had accepted; you see, we steel fixers had a master of our own, a man who had many years of experience in the trade and was responsible for our work. As a whole, the work of a steel fixer is very gruelling and only a few retire from that job at the age of 65, I lasted only until the age of 56. The work was also stressful because we worked by piece most of the time and had to try to plan the contracts so that they were worth of doing. It could be extremely hot in the summer but we were allowed to have a break only if there was a thunderstorm and it was pouring down. In the winter it could be bitterly

cold but there were no frost limits for us human beings - for the machines there were as they could not function if the petrol and oil got frozen… Sometimes it snowed so heavily that we could not even see where to put the steel. (Voitto Kumpulainen.)

Bridge under construction in Kolari 1962-63. Photographer unknown, Voitto Kumpulainen's collection.

The harshness of the nature in the North has affected the manner in which forest work and construction work was conducted in Lapland. Furthermore, as long as there were no machines available, the working methods remained quite unchanged. There is a clear difference between the two industries if we study their mechanisation process; in the forest the machinery was introduced as soon as it was available whereas the state-led construction sector relied on physical strength and shovels until the mid 1960's. In order to keep on expanding and producing profits, the forest industry had to react rapidly to the changes of the international market and rationalisation was the best way of cutting expenses. As opposed to this, the government's aim was not only to support the development of the forest sector but also to employ as many men as possible when

the forest industry was in depression, and this retarded the introduction of machinery in the construction sector. (See also Rannikko 1987, 49.)

The mechanisation process changed the nature of the work in both construction and forest sectors. Another equally important development is the process of becoming a wageworker, which is reflected in the growing efficiency demands, separation of working hours and leisure-time, membership of a trade union, specialisation, training, etc. Among the lumberjacks and construction workers, many of these developments had started already before the war; for example the hiring of fire guards, cooks, and caretakers in the forest job sites tells us about the gradual specialisation process. Furthermore, the change in the hiring procedures in the sphere of forest work is revealing: Instead of hiring workers as groups, the companies started hiring them individually. This development is linked directly with the mechanisation process, since it was the replacement of horses by tractors that ultimately allowed the change. On the grass-root level this meant that each worker's individual rights and responsibilities increased. The processes of division of labour and becoming a wageworker are reflected also in the sphere of identity building, which will be discussed next.

5.3 Building Identities

The harshness of a lumberjack's life is expressed in all accounts, to the extent that it can be concluded that surviving hardships is an essential part in the building of a lumberjack's identity. To become a good lumberjack, a youngster had to go through a number of difficulties and if he was successful, he gradually achieved the status of a "real lumberjack" - a man of honour who was widely known for his industriousness, skills and reliability. For example, many informants tell that they struggled with feelings of inferiority when they were mere boys at the beginning of their career. The tough school they went through taught them self-respect and self-confidence, which enabled them to gain their place in men's world. This was a big step for a man whose background could be as humble as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

That was the end of my difficult times, of all those years characterised by hunger, cold, neglect, cruelty, fear and sorrow. There was so little of justice, understanding, happiness and joy in those years. My father did not beat me anymore, although he did not seem to love me either and I decided to forget about the past since he was my father after all. I thought that unlike him, I would never build my life on hatred and revenge but on friendliness, love and forgiving. Those who have suffered a lot do not want others to suffer. The people in the village admired my courage and independence as I had made all those long trips to Lapland; I did not bother answering, just smiled a bit since they did not know what the background of my trips was. When I left my village for the first time, I had been a mere child. I might have not been a perfect person but neither was I among the worst since I had not become a criminal or drunkard. Later on I actually earned my place among the toughest lumberjacks in the country, I was well respected and welcomed warmly to any logging site... I had to become a good lumberjack as I had no choice. My harsh teachers were my father and hunger. (Viljami, SKS.)

I was 184 cm tall and weighed 80 kilos, I had a dark hair and carried myself well, but had problems with my self esteem... I was studying in a farm school at the time but I did not like it very much and so I decided to leave and travel to Lapland to start working in the famous big logging sites. I did so well that at the end of my first season I had achieved a good post; my job was to count the logs the horsemen drove to the timber-collecting depot. I was paid on a monthly basis like the management. This raised my self esteem a lot and I felt that I was no longer worse than anybody else but equal to them, a real lumberjack among other lumberjacks. (Oskari, SKS.)

Unlike those who were beginning their career as lumberjacks, the great majority of the men who came to work in Lapland's construction sites were already adults. Because of this, their identity building had more to do with the maintenance of it rather than the building of it. The line between the foremen and workers was kept clear for example by telling stories, jokes and anecdotes concerning the management. Particularly those members of the management staff who made an effort to show their superior position for example by arriving in a job site in a luxurious car were targeted and ridiculed ruthlessly. Also stories about notoriously lazy workers were popular, particularly in those job sites where men were hired on the basis of a relief work scheme. Laziness had a lot to do with the fact that relief work was often considered as something one was obliged to do because there were no options, no 'real work' available. Under these circumstances, it was thought as quite appropriate to be idle, although this annoyed those who wished to work by the piece. (Nenonen 1993, 67 - 70.)

Endless disputes about the length of the coffee breaks and lunch breaks were another way of drawing the line. Also the way the beginners were treated by the skilled workers is revealing: The skilled builders were proud of their trade and committed to their work and any new person trying to gain access to this position was not let in too easily. For example, it was common to send the novices to do unimportant tasks just to keep them busy, just to show the power of the skilled over the 'dilettantes'. (Hyytiäinen, TMT; Applebaum 1981, 23 – 24.) When compared to the lumberjacks, the identity building of the construction workers is more individualistic by nature as the aim was to learn a special trade; for the lumberjacks it was more of a collective project where you learnt to work as a part of a team. In the case of the lumberjacks the work was also more integrated to their life style; for example, the division between work and leisure-time remained vague until the mechanisation of the trade.

Although it was considered as an honour to reach the status of a skilled lumberjack, the men themselves – particularly the travelling lumberjacks - sometimes refer to themselves as rootless outsiders who were respected little if at all by the rest of the society. These feelings are reflected particularly well in those events where the lumberjacks get in trouble with such authorities as the police and management staff. The police were a representative of the organised society and disliked because they visited the job sites to check the identification cards of the lumberjacks to see if there were wanted men or underage boys working there[85]. Furthermore, after the winter logging season had finished and the lumberjacks travelled to Rovaniemi to celebrate it[86], the police sometimes acted in an overly officious way and arrested lumberjacks if they for example drank too much[87]. Also the local large farmers who employed travelling lumberjacks in the summer time were regarded as 'them' rather than 'us', the wage-earners, which is reflected for instance in the large number of ridiculing anecdotes on large farmers (Pöysä 1997, 201-221). After all, large farmers were better off when compared to the seasonal workers who either did not own land or did not have enough of it to live on it only. Many large-farmers were not fond of the

[85] This fear has its roots also in the Civil War since some men who had fought on the Red side fled to Lapland where identification were seldom asked in the forest job sites.
[86] A few widely known markets were held in Rovaniemi every year and they were popular also among the travelling work force (Heinonen 1984).
[87] In those days appearing drunk in a public place was an offence and could lead to imprisonment.

lumberjacks either, as can be concluded for example from the next quotations: The way of life and values of the travellers were considered as a threat to the local way of life.

A lumberjack as a flower is ugly. He is like a thistle that no farmer wants to have in his field. He is rough and stiff... But is it right that he should be rooted out by those better off? (Aatos, SKS.)

I was transferred to work in a village near Sodankylä after the job site had finished. This village was Laestadian and extremely religious, the travelling work force was not tolerated there at all. (Kauko, KEA.)

According to Kerkelä (1996, 221 - 222), it was already during the nineteenth century that the collective, patriarchal relationship between the landless rural population and land-owning peasants started breaking up in Finland. Social relations were changing also in the forest job sites in the North: At the beginning of the era of the big logging sites hardly any social gulf existed between the foremen and the workers. Just like the foremen in the construction sites, the foremen in the forest job sites were ordinary lumberjacks by background and had advanced to their rank because they were good workers. In the old days they also slept and ate in the same barrack as the rest of the lumberjacks. The easiness of the relationship between the two parties was confirmed by the lack of bureaucratic procedures; for example documents and papers were seldom asked from the workers, particularly in times of labour shortage. As the years passed, Lapland became more integrated to the rest of the state and its legislation, and also the social gap between the management and lumberjacks started growing. Furthermore, the forest companies no longer suffered from shortage of labour. The underlying hostilities based on social inequality were manifested openly during strikes and other conflicts.

In that forest job site the wages remained very low; the quality of the forest was bad and the snow was thick, which further slowed down the working phase. During the night the lumberjacks discussed the possibility of going out on strike. And so it happened; I had worked only for two weeks in that job site when the men went out on strike. The company had three different work sites in the area, and all 600 men went out on strike. The two foremen in our job site were told to leave the place immediately; one of them left without demur, but the other started shooting in the air to frighten us, saying that he would not leave. In the evening he went to sleep in his barrack as if nothing had happened. Some men broke in during the early hours of the

next day and carried him out straight from his bed. Although he was wearing his underwear only, he was not allowed to enter the barrack anymore, and so his wife brought him some clothes in the yard. Then the men started walking him to Kemijärvi. He of course would have preferred a sleigh ride, but the men made him walk. They also made him carry a red flag while passing a nearby village, and the villagers had a good laugh at him. (Aatos, SKS.)

At the end of the timber-floating season we entered a house where hundreds of men were staying, waiting to be paid. Then a car drove down to the yard and a man came out. Simultaneously a boat landed to the shore with two men in it and the man from the car started running towards the boat. When the lumberjacks saw this, they ran after him. I suppose they rightly concluded that there would be problems with the payment if they would let the man escape, as we all could see that he was carrying the leather case which contained papers confirming our working hours. The man was old and quite fat too and had no chance to escape; the fastest four lumberjacks caught him right next to the boat and started fighting for the bag. The bag changed the owner and the old man was left with bruises only... In those days there was real justice in this world, and the lumberjacks were the most honest people in the world. (Viljami, SKS.)

The social gap between the management and the lumberjacks grew particularly after World War II, and at the latest by then the management staff seldom spent any time with the lumberjacks except when inspecting their work. By then also the lumberjacks had become more aware of their status as wage earners and they no longer hesitated to make public claims to improve their conditions with the help of the trade union. The change in the political atmosphere made this possible; the formerly oppressed leftist parties could now operate in public, and even such "unimportant" matters as the seasonal workers' problems were discussed in the newspapers. Political awakening was manifested also as a wave of strikes that spread around Lapland at the end of the 1940's[88] and in the foundation of hundreds of local left wing party departments joined eagerly by the lumberjacks.

As already discussed in chapter two, the population in Lapland was divided into two political camps, and this was the case also among the lumberjacks. Of the local forest workers, some were highly religious Laestadians and supporters of the Agrarian Party. However, the majority were small farmers who supported the leftist parties, usually the Finnish People's Democratic Union. The travelling lumberjacks were landless and

[88] The most famous strike took place near Kemi in the main job site of sorting of logs in 1949. The police panicked during the strike and started shooting the marching workers and two workers got killed.

chiefly supporters of the extreme Left, and their identity was clearly that of a wage-worker: In fact, they are often seen as the cause of the spread of radical political thinking in Lapland as already discussed in chapter two[89].

The three processes of building a male identity, wageworker's identity and political identity are inseparable. In the case of the construction workers one could assume that the rudimentary working conditions in the building sites would have given a strong push towards political radicalisation or at least strengthened the political identity among the workers. This, however, is not the case; the work site conditions were criticised for example by the leftist newspapers, but seldom by the workers themselves. The underlying reason for this apathy was the fact that many men worked under a relief work scheme and therefore regarded it as something temporary and not worth the trouble to try to change things. Furthermore, the workers did not have a right to go out on a strike and the means the trade unions could use to improve things were limited. Most of the men did not even belong to the union, and neither were the unions interested in recruiting unskilled seasonal workers in their ranks. If the workers ever protested, it was not because of the poor working conditions or wages but because of homesickness. (Nenonen 1993, 120 - 126.) As opposed to this, the skilled construction workers were actively involved in trade unions and were not afraid to go out on strike.

In the eyes of the public the mobile work force was both admired and feared. Those who were tied to routines and locality romanticised and idealised their way of life whereas others saw their independence and lack of conventional ties as a threat to the organised society. Some locals might have been united in their fear of loosing their jobs, as the in-migration of large numbers of culturally distinct workers can stimulate group identity among those they are likely to displace, particularly if they work for low wages (Hechter 1992, 272). Most informants viewed their life as something quite ordinary; it was a question of honour to become as self-supporting as you could under the given circumstances, to earn enough money to make your living and support your

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Also some lumberjacks of the empirical evidence refer to it in their accounts (e.g. Pentti, TMT & Vilho, TMT).

[89] See for example Vihtori (KEA) and Forsström 1985, 86.

family. By becoming good in your job, you could also gain respect among the fellow-workers. Even though there were also those who joined the travelling work force because of the certain kind of freedom it offered, for the great majority it was more of a must.

5.4 Women in the Job Sites

Not only men but also young unmarried women did plain forest work, particularly if there were no sons in the family. They worked usually with their father in the forests situated near their homes, and their job was to bark and saw trunks and help to drive the logs with the horse. These female forest workers did not stay in the barracks but at home when working and their career finished when they got married. (Snellman 1991, 63.) There were only a few women workers in the forest job sites and the vast majority of them worked as cooks and shop assistants. A small space was reserved for them in the corner of the barrack for accommodation purposes, separated by a cardboard wall from the men's side. Because there were only two or three women working in each job site, they usually shared the same bed. In later years when the number of barracks in the surroundings of the job site increased, women were accommodated next to the kitchen in the main barrack together with the management staff. Women's career in the forest work sites was not very long since they usually stopped working when they got married. However, there were some who carried on working even after that, although it was common to have at least a few years break when the children were small.

Although the unwritten rules guaranteed peace for the cooks from the men's side, the cook had to have a good sense of humour to put up with the lumberjacks' witty remarks and jokes that could be rather sexist by nature. (Snellman 1991, 174 -176.) The cook also had to do very long hours and work in a great hurry. More than anything, she had to cook vast amounts of fatty food as the forest work was physically so hard that a man needed 7000-9000 calories per day (Johansson 1994, 79). Kerttu (TMT) spent the winter 1937 in a forest job site working as a cook and describes her job in the following way:

There were five children in our family and we were poor. Because there was no other work available, I decided to get a job as a cook in a logging site that was situated 30 miles away from home. I was 18 at the time, and there were 37 men working in this logging site. I was first shown my place in the bunk; it was in the corner of the barrack and separated from the lumberjacks' side only by thin walls. The stench in the barrack was so horrible at first that I felt sick, although I gradually got used to it. My working day started at four o'clock in the morning; the first task was to light the stove and make coffee. Then I boiled potatoes and fried some meat for breakfast that was served at seven am. Fresh coffee had to be available throughout the day since the foremen could walk in any time and ask for a cup of coffee. After the breakfast I did the dishes and cleaned the barrack. The latter task took time and effort because the water had to be fetched from a well situating five hundred metres away. Then I started preparing the dinner, which usually consisted of broth and rice porridge with stewed dried fruit. I also fried 600 doughnuts and made 60 litres of home-brewed beer every day. As a whole, the work was extremely stressful. Most of the foodstuffs came to the job site in unrefined form and it was time-consuming to prepare them; for example coffee beans had to be first ground and then roasted, and the meat had to be chopped from a carcass to suitable pieces. I usually went to bed after nine o'clock, but undisturbed sleep was never guaranteed. Particularly those men who had been busy playing with cards during the dinnertime were a nuisance, as they often came to wake me up in order to get some food. (Kerttu TMT CXXXI .)

As the companies started hiring cooks in the 1920's, the diet of the lumberjacks began to improve gradually. The introduction of vegetables and fruits to the menu made the previously common scurvy-like symptoms disappear among the forest workers, although it took decades before they were really accepted as a part of a meal. Also the tidiness and cosiness of the barracks increased in many ways. Before, 'even the handles of the coffee cups were missing because the clumsy hands of the men were unaccustomed to do such chores as washing the dishes' (Pälsi 1923, 66).

In addition to the cooks and shop assistants, there was a third group of women who worked occasionally in the job sites, namely prostitutes. Although prostitution is often understood as a phenomenon typical of urban areas only, it has long roots also in rural areas. Prostitution has been particularly common in places where mobile labourers such as lumberjacks, construction workers, sailors, army personal, etc., have been staying (Häkkinen 1995, 216). In Lapland, the local lumberjacks were able to visit their wives during the winter season, but for single men the services the prostitutes offered were the only way they could have sex with women. (Snellman 1991; Snellman 1997, 174.) Unlike for example among the American travelling work force (Anderson 1988, 171), there are no references to homosexual practises in the accounts

and it is unlikely that the predominant macho culture of the lumberjacks would have approved with such practises.

The number of women workers was larger in the construction work sites than in the forest job sites. This was due to the fact that in the construction sites the companies hired also cleaners. Furthermore, many building sites employed hundreds of men and therefore more kitchen staff - usually women - was needed. Perhaps because of this, the relationship between the workers and women was less regulated in the building sites than in the forest job sites; for example, several informants mention that they went out with a member of the kitchen staff[90]. Prostitutes also visited construction job sites occasionally[91].

The catering in the building job sites was arranged by converting one of the barracks into a canteen[92]. The favourites of the menu were the same year after year - porridge, pea soup, meatballs, meat stew, and scalloped macaroni. Following the new health instructions, the cooks added also vegetables to the plates. The quality and price of the food in the canteen was an object of endless complaints particularly in those job sites where there were men working under a relief work scheme. Some men did not use the canteen services for the simple reason that their work site was situated so far that the trip to the barrack would have left them hardly any time to enjoy their meals. They prepared their meals over a campfire and these meals consisted usually of fried bacon and bread that was dipped in the fat - the traditional meal of a forest worker. (Nenonen 1993, 98 - 110.)

The work of a cook in a construction site was not easier than that of her colleague's in a forest job site. Martta (KA) travelled to Lapland to work as a matron in a building site in 1945. She had been a member of the women's auxiliary services during the war, and since the organisation started taking care of the catering in the reconstruction work sites immediately after the War, it was natural for her to continue working in this organisation also in Lapland.

[90] See Eljas (KA), Taisto (KA), Martta (KA).
[91] See for example Asentaja (TMT).

In 1945 I received a letter from the women's auxiliary defence services. They asked me to work as a matron for the corps of engineers in Yli-Muonio. The conditions were very rudimentary there; for example the field kitchen was in a cow shed... In the spring I was transferred to work in a big building site in Lautiosaari, a place next to Kemi, they were building a hydroelectric power station there. The kitchen staff worked in three shifts and I had 26 persons working under my orders. There were about 500 workers to be fed, and as a whole, the work was very stressful. I knew four other ex-members of the women's auxiliary services who worked in the kitchen. One of my responsibilities was to see that the ration cards corresponded to the number of meals served and this meant a lot of extra work on the top of other duties. The foremen's lunchroom was separated from the workers side and they were waited at table so that they would not have to queue for their food like the rest of the men. Furthermore, there was some kind of club for the managers and their guests, and they had their own matron and food. In the kitchen, we had to keep account of our expenses and report them twice every month and an inspector came to audit the accounts every two months. There was a horse in the job site to help us to transport the food and firewood needed for the kitchen range. After half a year I felt that the work was too tiring and stressful, and so I gave my notice in November 1945. I moved back to Tampere... In my later years I worked as a cashier in a job site canteen there. (Martta, KA.)

Even though the number of women increased in both the forest job sites and construction sites after the war, the work communities remained male-dominated because of the nature of the work. For the same reason the majority of the mobile work force consisted of men in Lapland: Occupational segregation was strict, and it is unlikely that the presence of a few women would have changed the atmosphere of a job site very much. The occasionally visiting prostitutes offered sex services without commitment and in this way might have added to the sphere of individual freedom, although it is difficult to associate prostitution with modernity as their trade has a long history. Most importantly, the increasing number of women workers tells us about the ongoing specialisation process, which started already before the war in both the forest industry and construction industry.

[92] At first the site canteens were maintained by the Lotta Svärd-organisation - the women's auxiliary defence service - but in 1947 a state owned company took over the catering.

5.6 Leisure-time Activities

According to Rojek (1995, 2), leisure should not be separated from the rest of life but understood as a part and as a reflection of it. This is particularly true in the forest job sites and construction job sites where the nature of the work is reflected clearly also in the leisure-time activities of the workers. In the winter time when the hours of day light were limited, the lumberjacks had several hours of leisure-time to spend before going to bed. Because the logging sites were situated far away from population centres, the range of leisure-time activities was limited. Newspapers, radios and books became available in the bigger forest job sites already by the 1950's, and also the television spread from the latter half of the 1960's onwards. By offering alternative leisure-time activities the forest companies tried to pull up workers' bad habits such as drinking by the roots; after all, it was easier to supervise and control civilised workmen than 'ignorant brutes'. Otherwise, the spare-time was spent chiefly by resting, smoking, telling stories, playing cards and repairing tools. Particularly the sharpening of the frame saw was time-consuming, and it took months to learn to do it properly. Plenty of time was spent also by making axe handles; every lumberjack had to make his own axe handle until the 1960's when they became available in shops. The style of the best lumberjack in this 'art' was usually copied to the extent that one could easily recognise the men who worked in the same job site. (Snellman 1991, 84 ; Snellman 1996, 163 – 173.)

Gambling was officially forbidden in the logging sites, but in practise this rule was ignored. Poker was the most popular game and although the stakes could be nominal, it was not rare that large sums of money changed hands. Drinking was also forbidden at the work sites, but at times men brewed moonshine or bought spirits from the visiting bootleggers. At worst this resulted into heavy drinking, fighting and sackings. The most popular stories told in the job sites dealt with such topics as travelling lumberjacks with a peculiar character or quick-tongued forest workers and cooks. Also the telling of jokes and anecdotes - often rather sexist by nature – was common, and ridiculing foremen was another popular theme (Snellman 1991, Pöysä 1997.) However, not all the talking was in a form of storytelling; for example Taisto (KA 95:89; see also Snellman 1991, 100) mentions in his account that men used to gather

around the big table in the barrack after a day's work to comment on newspapers and discuss politics. In general, this kind of 'serious topics' were avoided, since the risk to develop into major arguments was all too real.

Because the everyday life in the logging sites in the middle of nowhere was uneventful, all visitors were considered as numbers and therefore welcomed. In addition to the prostitutes, also bootleggers, professional card players, musicians, peddlers and priests visited the job sites more or less regularly. Priests had been visiting the job sites since 1912, but particularly in the 1920's when the events of the Civil War were still in fresh memory, the reception could be cold (Tolsa 1937, 24, 47 - 50). Some of the local small farmer-lumberjacks were deeply religious Laestadians and were genuinely interested in listening to the priests, but the majority of the men looked forward to these visits because they offered an opportunity to discuss things. The ills of the society, the moral state of the nation, the special problems of the lumberjacks and many other topics related to these themes were debated enthusiastically and in length. (Tyrkkö 1942, 131.) Altogether, the visits of the priests can be interpreted as a sign of concern the community felt for the well being of the men who led such isolated lives. On the other hand, they can also be interpreted as a form of social control, as there were not many other ways the society could reach the communities in the trackless wilderness. (Rosander 1967, 356 – 357.)

At the end of the logging site when some men had already left and there was at least one empty barrack in the job site, dances were also organised occasionally and despite the lack of female dancing partners (Snellman 1991, 250). Once the winter season finished and the men had been given their wages, the local small farmer-lumberjacks journeyed back to their homes, and the travelling lumberjacks headed to the nearest population centre. Many of them travelled to Rovaniemi - the capital of Lapland - to celebrate the end of the season. Now it was time to forget about the hard work and have fun, to buy new clothes and perhaps a wristwatch that could be sold later on on a rainy day. Several informants[93] refer to the vast sums of money the lumberjacks could spend on drinking, gambling and prostitutes: At worst, the whole wages could be

[93] See for example Eemil (SKS) & Matti (SKS) & Pentti (KA) & Eljas (KA).

wasted in a few days time. It was during this ‘celebration season’ in Rovaniemi that the lumberjacks gained their somewhat exaggerated reputation in public’s eyes as alcoholics and outcasts (see also Juutilainen 1987, 70-72). In many ways Rovaniemi was for the loggers as Chicago was for the American hobos (Anderson 1988, 47); a place where you could spend your wages without difficulty in good company and then find easily the next employer. Also for example the Irish ‘spalpeens’ (wandering harvesters) working in Britain used to gather in towns after work at one farm had finished to meet each other and hear news of work elsewhere (O’Dowd 1991, 174). It is evident that these informal gatherings and network building were necessary particularly in times before the mass media.

The leisure-time activities in the road building sites were similar to those of the forest job sites. Gambling was one of the most popular ones, although not encouraged by the management. The lucky winner usually spent the money by travelling to the nearest town by taxi - this was often very costly since the distances were long and taxi rates high - and by drinking. In the job sites, drinking was forbidden but not uncommon, particularly in such work sites where the foreman was fond of drink too. Furthermore, the paydays were sometimes celebrated enthusiastically with the help of the spirits, and this could at worst lead to fights, police visits and sackings. (Nenonen 1993, 114 – 116.) In general, the everyday life of the construction sites was quiet; it was the few troublemakers that spoilt the reputation of a whole work site. Even the most popular hobbies consisted of such peaceful activities as sleeping and storytelling. Also the management understood the need of ‘constructive spare-time activities’ in the backwoods, and they did their best to encourage the men to read newspapers, listen to the radio, do sports and play games such as chess and chequers. The spiritual life of the workers was also looked after; just as in the forest job sites, preachers came to visit the building sites every now and then. A large attendance was usually guaranteed, especially if coffee and pastry were served for the participants. The management also tried to make the barracks homely particularly during festive seasons such as Christmas; the barracks were cleaned and decorated and food of the season served. (Nenonen 1993, 116 - 119.) This practise was common also in the forest job sites.

When compared to the forest job sites, the working phase in the construction sites was more relaxed and the workers had more leisure-time. Furthermore, unlike the lumberjacks, the construction workers followed working hours also in the spring and summer time when the days were long, although working over-time was not uncommon.

> It was quite common to come up here for some sort of working holiday, particularly in the summer time... We worked in three shifts and this enabled us to participate in various types of leisure-time activities such as building barracks for those who had brought their family with them, building boats, doing various types of woodwork, sports, fishing, making love, studying, drinking, and even striking. Right now the bathing season is at its height... Fishing was perhaps the most popular leisure-time activity during the summer time; as soon as the work finished, the men hurried with their fishing rods to the nearby streams... The catches were usually much bigger than at home. (Veikko, KEA.)

It can be concluded that from the 1950's onwards the leisure-time activities became more versatile both in the forest job sites and road-building work sites, although many traditional pastime activities such as playing cards have persisted until nowadays. In the 1960's when the trained workmen started replacing common labourers in both industries, the division between the leisure-time and work became more pronounced. However, even such traditional past-time activities as storytelling and drinking have elements that confirm the ethos of independence and freedom so central to the mobile way of life. For example, the hero of an anecdote is most commonly a worker who is far cleverer than the boss, who does not tolerate injustice under any circumstances, and who goes wherever and whenever he pleases. Also excessive drinking can be interpreted as an expression of this ethos; although quite feeble and conventional among the working class, it is still a protest against the organised society.

Road builders on a holiday trip. Short holiday trips were organised twice a year by the employer. Lapin tiepiirin kokoelmat.

5.6 Modernity and the Lumberjacks & Construction Workers

After discussing the various elements of the mobile way of life of the lumberjacks and construction workers, it is now time to deepen the theme of individual modernity by comparing the empirical evidence to the framework of a modern man developed by Inkeles & Smith (1974). Only those features that are present in the data will be discussed. The first theme of the model is openness to new experience, which is manifested clearly in the accounts. Although for many the amount of money one could make in a good year in the logging sites of Lapland was good enough reason to go there, it does not explain everything. Particularly many of those belonging to the travelling work force, both forest workers and construction workers, express their hunger to experience new things and see new places: It is evident that many of these men had chosen this particular life style because they wanted to widen their horizons and not only because they had no options. However, many local farmers also worked as lumberjacks and construction workers, and although they might have adjusted

themselves to work part of the year at the forest job sites and construction work sites, it does not necessarily mean that they would have chosen it if they would have been given the option of working on their land only. It also seems that age is an important factor; among both the locals and travellers, it is the young that are the most willing to go out in search of adventure. It is easier to let go and trust to chance when you do not yet have family or property to look after.

The atmosphere in post-war Finland was characterised by a strong pro social-change-mentality and as it has become evident in this chapter, the men working in the backwoods of Lapland are no exception. Also the fact that the general educational level of the workers started improving gradually opened new perspectives; before the spread of the mass media talking, working and sharing the accommodation with men originating from different parts of Finland was one of the most important ways of widening horizons and understanding what was going on in the nation. As the twentieth century proceeded, the men's awareness of their status as a wageworker entitled to have certain rights increased. This is manifested particularly clearly after World War II when the political atmosphere of the country opened up and, for example, those belonging to trade unions could no longer be discriminated against. The unions got thousands of new members and many skilled construction workers and forest workers became politically active in various other ways too. To give an example, several informants tell that they were candidates in the local elections, joined a party or co-operative system, or became elected officials at their job sites[94]. According to the empirical evidence, it seems that those without strong religious beliefs were most eager to change things, although there is no evidence that the believers would have opposed change as such. However, it is clear that as supporters of the Agrarian Party they did not promote workers' dictatorship or other radical Communist ideas. The most passive group of men that showed no interest to change was that of the relief workers who laboured in the road building job sites. Their passiveness derives most of all from the fact that they were employed on a temporary basis.

[94] See Eino (TMT), Arvid (TMT), Niilo (TMT), Orvo (TMT), Paavo (TMT), Kalle (TMT), Eljas (KA), Oiva (KA), Kustaa & Uuno (KA 6E).

It can be argued that the travelling work force were more able to control their lives than the local small farmers were because the latter ones were family men and more dependent on the local forest companies and state as employers. At least in theory, the travellers could try to find work elsewhere if the job site did not please them, but the locals had a limited choice. On the other hand, the locals had their relatives to help them through difficult times whereas the travellers were often completely on their own. Both groups had to learn to live with insecurity: During depression the job market for common labourers declined in Lapland and the travelling work force had to make their living elsewhere. The locals were confronted by the same insecurity, as it is difficult to plan your life when it depends on such unpredictable factors as economic fluctuations or the size of the state's employment budget.

The forest workers and often the road builders too worked by the piece, and this ensured their motivation to work hard and develop further their skills. 'Work competitions' between the work teams were common particularly in the construction sites, to the extent that unnecessary accidents were not rare[95]. Working by the piece also emphasised the importance of each individual's work commitment and flexibility, since you had to be prepared to adapt yourself to more efficient working methods when necessary. Particularly skilled workers took pride in their trade, and therefore new members were not easily accepted to the group.

Although the rising living standard in Lapland gradually enabled the inhabitants to purchase goods unknown to them in the previous decades, it can hardly be argued that consumerism would have been an integrated part of the lifestyle of the lumberjacks or the construction workers. In those days it was common to save money in order to support one's family rather than spend it selfishly on luxurious things, and this was the attitude shared by the majority of the men: Pulling together as a family unit was considered as important. However, some single men belonging to the travelling work force could spent all their earnings in a remarkably short time-period after the job site had finished. Seeking pleasure from such things as excessive drinking and gambling is

[95] See for example Asentaja (TMT) & Nenonen 1993, 111.

perhaps not future-oriented behaviour but definitely hedonistic and perhaps “more modern” in its spirit than the cautious attitude of the local small farmers.

5.8 Concluding Remark

According to William Petersen (1958, 258), migrants can be divided into passive and active ones on the basis of their attitudes towards migration. Passive migrants move in order to sustain their life style whereas active migrants are willing to change it and therefore move more ‘daringly’ for example, into an urban environment. To which category do the forest and construction workers fall? Again we have to think in terms of local small farmers and travelling workers. The first group consists of men who had a strong farmer’s identity and can be labelled as passive since they clearly had no intention to change their life style. On the other hand they can be seen as “products of their time”, since it was almost impossible for them to change their life style as the industrial sector and service sector had not yet expanded enough to employ the rural surplus population in Finland. Furthermore, as long as the mechanisation process was on its way, the local small farmers formed a useful labour reserve for the forest industry and therefore also the government supported their way of life for example with agricultural subsidies (see also Rannikko 1989).

The second group - the travelling work force - can be categorised as active rather than passive migrants, despite the fact that they migrated only seasonally. First of all, they had taken the big step of leaving their home resort and migrating. It is true that they did not choose to move to an urban environment, but if the wages were better in the North than for example in a building site in the South, the choice is understandable. Furthermore, although the range of job opportunities was wider in the South than for example in Lapland, it was by no means great before the expansion of the industrial sector and service sector at the end of the 1960’s. In addition to this, some members of the travelling work force were persecuted because of their political opinions before the War, and Lapland with its labour shortage and more relaxed atmosphere was a good option for them. Finally and as already discussed, many men belonging to the

travelling work force were largely driven by their desire to explore the world and experience new things and can hardly be regarded as passive victims.

Barbara Anderson (1980) argues that the geographical origin of the migrant affects greatly his or her choice of destination. The majority of the men in this study come from small localities that can be characterised as having a low degree of industrial modernisation and high unemployment following the rapid population growth. According to Anderson, this kind of place of origin makes the person resist change and seek ways of maintaining his accustomed way of life. However, as it has already been discussed, in the case of Finland the industrialisation and urbanisation processes began so late that it would be hard to find a locality that would not fit this description. Even as late as in the 1960's when the big move to towns began – urbanisation had of course proceeded already before this but quite slowly - the migrants had equally 'underdeveloped' backgrounds. In sum, it can be concluded that in the case of the travelling work force in Finland, the migrant's place of origin is not a very good predictor. However, there is one person – Taisto (TMT) - in the empirical evidence who originates from a reasonably urban environment, namely the town of Pori, and nor is he a common labourer like the rest of the men but a carpenter by occupation. Why did Taisto then choose to go to Lapland – surely he could have found himself a job in the South too? In addition to his desire to experience the special atmosphere of the job sites of Lapland and earn good wages, there is something in Taisto's history that explains his choice. This is the fact that his childhood was overshadowed by poverty caused by political persecution so common in Finland between the wars; although his father was a skilled worker, no employer would hire him because of his leftist past. Also Taisto's travel companion, a friend of his father, had been in a concentration camp after the Civil War. In other words, although indirectly, political persecution could drive men to Lapland still in the 1940's and 1950's. .

For the local small farmers and landless peasants 'becoming mobile' was something that was repeated year after year. As opposed to this, the 'career' of the travelling work force representing the empirical evidence of the study was often short-lived, and even though some members of it might have wanted to maintain this particular life

style, they often ended up working in a more or less urban environment in the South[96] after a few years of wandering. Others found a wife and settled in Lapland: As can be concluded from the population statistics discussed in chapter two, this must have been common amongst the seasonal workers, as the population of the region kept on growing rapidly until the mid 1960's. In addition to this, for many young men a work-period in Lapland was precious because it gave them an opportunity to test their limits and increase their self-knowledge. One season in Lapland was often enough for these 'searchers'. Also the fact that Lapland had certain positive special features as a destination – free land was available until World War I and large labour market for common labourers – attracted many migrants. However, the number of seasonal workers started declining at the latest in the 1930's, as the growing local population needed the jobs previously offered for the travellers. Secondly, as the mechanisation process proceeded, fewer men were needed to do the job. Some men also married local girls and became permanent residents of Lapland.

To summarise, it can be concluded that both traditional and modern elements persist in the lives of the travelling work force and locals. Even though the conditions at the working sites were far from luxurious, leaving home was the only way for many to get a break from life characterised by poverty, lack of space and a 'parochial way of thinking' typical of small places. Working in large, well-organised job sites that remind a factory environment encouraged modern attitudes and accelerated the ongoing process of becoming a wageworker with special rights. Furthermore, the work had an air of independence and freedom in it; for example a farm worker was much less of a free agent and could seldom enjoy such things as travel and good wages. In the next chapter it will be seen if conclusions of the same kind can be made on the basis of the texts produced by the Scottish fisher lassies.

[96] For example Helmi (KA), Heimo (KA), Taisto (KA), Eljas (KA), Martta (KA). Also many travelling lumberjacks who had started working already before the war moved to the South at some point of their life.

6 THE 'GUTTING QUINES'

6.1 Introduction

In those days there was time for everything. If the weather was good the men went out and fished; if the weather was bad they stayed at home, made nets, and told stories. They had enough to eat, enough to wear; they owned their own small crafts and boats; they were poor, but had not the same worries and anxieties that harass every drifter fishermen to-day, and perhaps they were happier. (Anson 1932, 194.)

Anson's (1932) description of the life of the fisher folk refers to a time when fishing was still done locally with simple boats and gear. However, it seems rather idealised and nearly as romanticised as the image of the Finnish log floaters introduced by the literature at the beginning of the century, and film industry a few decades later[97]. In reality the life of the fisher families has always been hard and not only men but also women and children have had to work a lot in order to gain their daily bread. Furthermore, in the rural parts of Britain work was a matter of multiple rather than singular occupations for much of the nineteenth century, and just as women were once employed alongside men as miners, they have traditionally undertaken a considerable share of all kinds of labour, despite the gendered division of labour (Grint 1991, 64, 69). This was also the case also in the Western Islands where it was common to make one's living partly by fishing and partly by cultivating the land. Women scarcely ever set foot on a boat, but they were vital for the success of the fishing enterprise in any household. In the days of the line fishing it was usually the girls and women who were responsible for the baiting of the lines and collecting the bait on the shore. There was plenty of work to be done, since each line had more than a thousand hooks to be baited. Women also prepared the fish for smoking and marketed it. All this had to be done while their men folk were at sea, and enough time had to be arranged to do the laborious croft work and household chores too. (Dorian 1985, 133 - 134.)

The way one grew up in a crofter-fishing village depended on whether the child was the oldest or the youngest one in the family. The oldest children, especially girls, often

[97] Peltonen 1991, 58 – 61; Pöysä 1997, 108.

had to leave the school as early as possible in order to look after the younger siblings and help their mothers with the croft work and household tasks. The role of the mother in a crofter-fishing family was powerful in many ways: It was a mother's task to train her daughters, and it was the mother who took care of the handling of money in the household. Boys were not let to be idle either; they looked after the pigs and hens, freshened the shelters of the animals, etc. However, the children's life was not filled with work only, there was play too, and the best place to play was on the beach that was always near. By playing there the children also became familiar with the element that was so important to the well being of the family, namely the sea. Because of the dangers of the sea, church-going and other religious activities were regarded as important among the fishing families, and the children were expected to participate in them too. (Dorian 1985, 6 - 13.)

Dorian's (1985) account crystallises some essential features of a child's role in a family whose living depended more or less – in this case more - on fishing:

> I was a 'fisher barn' whose life was governed and coloured by the family's way of earning a living. It was a livelihood that involved the whole family. The older children began playing important part quite early on, and the fisherman's wife was fully as important as he was himself in the enterprise... It was the local fishing that drew the children of a fisher household most into its workings and made them figures of economic importance very early in life. Two aspects of this local fishing had great consequences for the children: it was done by long lines with hundreds of hooks that had to be baited daily; and the catch was marketed in surrounding districts, for the most part, and by the fisher family itself. (Dorian 1985, 9.)

In the previous chapter it has been shown that in Lapland it was the introduction of the forest industry that brought along a big change: In the Western Islands, it was the expansion of the herring industry from the 1850's onwards. Not only did the men from the Isles start travelling to the East Coast fisheries in order to work as deck hands in the fishing boats, but also young women and girls who worked in the fishing towns as gutters and packers of herring. As already discussed in chapter 3, men sometimes ran into dept at the end of the season because the payment of the boats was reckoned according to the costs of the fishing and contributions to it. Under these circumstances the role of the fisher girls as wage earners and breadwinners of the family became very important, particularly if one of the parents had died. Between 1850-1914, the

whole economy of the Western Islands had become dependent on the herring industry and both men and women were equally engaged in it.

The local newspaper - the Stornoway Gazette - wrote regularly about the various events taking place during the herring season, giving details for example on such matters as size of the catch and strikes. The economic importance of the fisher girls is also reflected in the frequency the newspaper refers to them in its articles between 1917-1939. The latter quotation here refers to a debate over the fisher girls' right to receive unemployment benefit outside the herring season.

> The herring season is none too bright. This is said to be a serious matter, not only for the boat owners and retailers, but for a big section of the female population of the fishing towns which is dependent very largely upon the herring output for at least six months of the year. (Stornoway Gazette 14/9 1922.)

> The court has decided that these women are seasonal workers and that they do not show a substantial period of off-season employment in a insurable occupation during the past two years. (Stornoway Gazette 25/12 1931.)

To conclude, the introduction of the herring industry brought new elements to the accustomed way of life in the Islands: The most revolutionary thing was that women and particularly young women got involved in this industry. Despite the fact that their work was considered as complementing and temporary by nature, the families could have not survived without their contribution. The motives behind the decision to join a gutting crew were often similar to those of the travelling work force in Lapland as will be discussed soon: Poverty, large family, unemployment, and a desire to travel and experience new things.

6.2 Women Go Gutting

The only Scottish women that travelled regularly in boats in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century were those who migrated from a fishing station to another to handle the herring catches. In those days, it was unparalleled to see such large groups of young working women to travel such vast distances on their own. Furthermore, because the herring girls worked outdoors in the harbour, they

were exposed to the public eye more than other groups of working women. Although the skills and speed of the girls were admired, many observers found it difficult to understand that pretty young women had to do such ‘bloody’ work. In addition to this, it was not considered as appropriate for young women to travel and work independently, and concerns about their moral state were common. (Simonton 1998, 126-127.) As discussed in the previous chapter, the attitudes towards the travelling work force in Lapland were similar to this - both disapproving and admiring. In fact, a tendency to see migratory workers in a negative light was common everywhere, as they represented a threat to the agricultural way of life based on locality: Their manners and morals have been attacked and satirised, they have been accused of introducing unwelcome customs, of having no stamina, of being bad workers, etc. (O’Dowd 1991, 247). Also for example the fact that the herring girls and lumberjacks tended to leave their home village as a group of friends and relatives is not a coincidence but a conscious choice; as a group they could build a bulwark against the hostile environment and isolate themselves when necessary (Rosander 1967, 356 - 357).

The girls themselves, however, seldom had time to think about such things as how they appeared in the public’s eyes. Piecework made them work as fast as they could and as many hours per day as it was necessary, and also plenty of uncomfortable travelling had to be done before they could return home again. The season started already at home, since there were preparations to be done before the trip to the first fishing station could begin.

Getting Ready for the Season

A young girl from the Western Islands had usually two options after leaving school at the age of 14-18: She could go into domestic service or become a member of a gutting crew. As domestic service required normally a permanent move away from the home environment, many preferred the career of the fish worker. Also the earnings were better in the fishing industry. Making the decision to go gutting was greatly facilitated by the fact that the choice was limited, as many informants tell:

Well, you just had to do it, you hed no idder work, you had to do something, you couldna sit at home. (SA 3/1/198/1.)

In the Western Islands the options were even fewer than for example in the Shetland Islands where the fishing was more developed and a girl could earn her living also by mending nets[98]. In the old days it was common to employ workers as young as 14-year-old girls or even younger girls as gutters and packers of herring. From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards the herring girls had to be officially 16 because of the insurance fees the employer was obliged to pay for them. However, just as there were underage boys working as lumberjacks, there were also girls who despite the new law started working at an early age. There were several ways of circumventing new legislation:

An anidder thing wis, we wir dat young whin we gyud tae Woods at dey widnoo insure wis an dey said at we wirnoo tae say at we wir sae young. We wir tae say a at we wir sixteen case you could be insured dan - bit not at fourteen or fifteen... Dey took a fivepence aff o you every week in case you brook your leg or cutted you and you hed tae be aff, dan da curer laekly got fur you. (SA3/1/244/1-2.)

Before the introduction of tractors in Lapland, horsemen who were paid by the company hired the lumberjacks as a team. Similarly, the Scottish herring girls were hired as a group, as a gutting crew that consisted of two gutters and one packer. These teams worked together often for many seasons, and usually only marriage or illness broke up their partnership.

I contracted fever in England and I didn't go to the fishing again, never. I was in Yarmouth and I was in hospital from November to February… Nobody could come in… I still remember, there was a window between the two wards and I remember as well as anything when they[99]came to the door and Alina called out "We are going home today"… Just imagine, they were leaving me in England. (Effie, Ness)

Some women started working in the sphere of herring industry again when their children were at school age, but it was not common because it was difficult to find somebody to look after the children out-of-school hours. Furthermore, the work was

[98] See for example SA 3/6/1-2 and SA 3/1/175/2. None of the girls from the Western Isles mention net mending as a way of making one's living.
[99] The informant refers to the rest of the crew.

physically so hard that most women retired at a relatively early age. Sometimes also the farm work was entirely on their shoulders, as their husbands might be working in the Navy or elsewhere on a regular basis. Those women who did not travel long distances or worked only locally might work as gutters and packers even though they had small children, as they could take them to the station.

Mother used to go gutting, even when she was already married and Angus was at school (SC 1987/7).

I took children to gutting with me, they stayed in the hut with me… Other women had children with them too (SA 2/3/175/1).

The hiring process itself was simple; the cooper who represented the curer he was working for visited localities and announced that work was available. The hired girls were then given a signing-on fee called èarlas (or airleas); for example in 1946 it was about two pounds, which was a considerable amount of money to a poor family. (Dorian 1985, 66.) Once the airleas was accepted, the girl had to work for the same curer for the rest of the season. Each curer had his own station within the larger fishing station. Just like the atmosphere and wages in a forest job site depended on the foreman, the coopers' and curers' personal characteristics dictated them in a fishing station.

In Lowestoft I was working for William Lowe. I was three or four years in Yarmouth with William Lowe - he was a great curer for wages. (Katie, Ness.)

I remember one summer we had a really bad foreman and one of the girls was wishing that he'd be put out of action for a while. And he was. A steamer carrying livestock came in - the steamer which used to bring the barrels and they got him drunk whatever was in them. But anyway, he drank too much of it and he was out cold for two days under a tarpaulin or a canvas in the shed. Her wish was granted anyway. (Peggy, 78/Ness.)

One of the crewmembers was usually slightly older, often a sister or a cousin or at least somebody from the same village, and her duty was to instruct and look after the inexperienced girls. In other words the girls were not left to their fate, but were guided safely to their new life style (Dorian 1985, 67), just like the young lumberjacks originating from Lapland were accompanied to their first logging site by their relatives

or friends. In both the fishing and forest industry the system of piecework ensured quick learning and by the end of the season the boys had become lumberjacks and the girls skilled gutters and packers.

I was seventeen or eighteen when I first went to the fishing. I went to Fraserburgh to begin with and there were three lassies along with me - they were older than I was. I used to get eight shillings a week and they got ten shillings. They had been at it two or three years before me. There was another young pair with me like myself - three older than us. They were so nice to us - they didn't know what to do for us. (Annie, Ness.)

When compared to the lumberjacks and construction workers, the herring girls did not travel light but nor were they obliged to do so since they could travel by boat and train and did not have to carry their possessions on their back. Before leaving their home villages, the girls packed large wooden trunks they called kists with clothes and domestic utensils in order to be prepared to travel around the greater part of Scotland and England and sometimes Ireland too. The summer season began at the beginning of May in the West Coast and moved then to the East cost of Scotland in June where it continued until the end of September. The winter season began immediately after that and it was spent working at the stations of Yarmouth and Lowestoft in England. The girls returned home at the latest at the turn of December, and the remaining winter months were passed at home by knitting, doing household chores and mending nets. (Anson 1932, 195.)

Although the great majority of the gutters and packers were women, some informants remember that there were also Irish men working along with them. It is difficult to estimate their number, as there are only a couple of references concerning them in the empirical evidence and even fewer in the source books. For example according to Anne O'Dowd (1991, 31) who has studied the history of the Irish migrant workers in Britain, the Irish worked chiefly in turnip thinning, hay making and potato lifting in Scotland, and although some women could work also as herring gutters, there are no references to men. It is probable that the Irish men worked as gutters and packers only occasionally when there was no farm work available.

Yes, da Irish boys wrocht. I wrocht wi dem at Joe Mair's, I wrocht wi dem at - dats anidder place we hed an awful good foy at. Dat Irish boys could fairly dance - oh,

lovely dancers. An we wrocht wi dem at Joe Mair's, we wrocht wi dem at Kunbar's and I canna mind ony at Wood's - I canna mind ony at Wood's. Dey wir none at Wood's, Magnie Shearer had none. (SA 3/1/244/1-2.)

Travel

Because the herring season began on May in the West Coast, the Hebridean girls stayed normally at home when working in stations such as Stornoway and Castlebay. If home was situated too far away to walk there daily, the girls rented a room or sought accommodation from their relatives' houses. It was already in June that the fishing moved to the East Coast. Sometimes the girls travelled by boat to Aberdeen and then continued with another boat to the Shetland Islands, but usually they went first by boat to Glasgow and then took a train to Aberdeen. The railway stations were suddenly packed with hundreds of travelling girls, although not every girl went directly to the Shetland Islands: Some of them worked also in places such as Wick, Fraserburgh, Peterhead and the Orkney Islands[100]. As the autumn season began, the girls joined the rest of the lassies to travel to England. In Map 2 presented in the beginning of this chapter we can see some of the most common destinations of the herring girls and also get a picture of the long the distances they travelled.

Even though there were extra boats arranged to transport the girls to the Shetland Islands, the boats were overcrowded and the atmosphere far from a leisurely cruise. The whole 25-hour trip was spent on the deck under tarpaulins in cold and rain and without cooking facilities - not that it mattered much, as the majority of the girls were violently sick most of the time. (Bochel 1980, 149.) The boat trips were feared and remembered by many gutters and packers with horror. Particularly the Sumburgh Roost, confluence of the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea, creates hazardous sailing conditions and even the toughest sailors tended to have digestion problems at that point of the journey.

The first time I went away, when I went off to be a gutter - a steamer used to come for the Lewis herring girls to Stornoway to go to Shetland - I still remember her. Many a thing befell us on board her indeed. A great mist appeared and it was stuck for eleven

[100] For example SA 1985/125, SC 1989/62.A19.

hours in the mist with the bells going. I was hardly alive all the while, I was that sick. I spent a long time after that in the hut going about all over the place - it was tough. (Peggy, 78/Ness.)

When the winter season began in September, the girls travelled again by boat from Lerwick to Aberdeen. From there they continued their trip by train to England to work in Lowestoft and Yarmouth. As the years passed, the travelling facilities improved gradually; the boats and trains were now designed and built keeping in mind the needs of the passangers rather than those of the goods. The following account of a journey is from the 1920's.

I spent all summer in Lerwick - from the beginning of June till August. I came home then via Aberdeen - a big steamer called the St Magnus and you would hardly notice you were on board her. We spent a night in Aberdeen in a hotel. The curer paid for all that, we didn't have to pay for anything. But we didn't have much for all that. (Peggy, 81/Ness.)

Because of the large number of the travelling fisher girls, the curers had to arrange special trains for their transportation. Often they also fetched the girls arriving from the North from the train stations of England to drive the inexperienced travellers straight to their lodgings. Despite the curers' care, 'accidents' sometimes took place, and the girls did not manage to arrive in their destination in time. In Katie's case the combination of hard work and lack of sleep led to an adventure:

We slept all the way until we arrived - until we were shouted for tickets we hadn't a clue where we were. A porter came to the train window, calling out "Tickets!" and when he looked at the tickets, he said "My God! You're hundreds of miles out of your way!" He led us out of the train and took us into the waiting room and gave us tea, and kept us there until six in the morning and put us on a train to Lowestoft and we got on the train for Lowestoft and it was full of posh folk and there we were, poorly dressed. (Katie, Ness.)

Any Hebridean woman who got engaged in the herring industry had to learn to travel, work and live independently. For young girls this was a very maturing experience and therefore they appreciated it greatly; not only work but also housing arrangements provided a good opportunity to 'practise adulthood'. Furthermore, a temporary working phase did not change too thoroughly the accustomed way of life in the Islands and neither did it question the gender roles too powerfully. Although the

market forces alone might have had nothing against the employment of cheap women and children, the moral economy that supported the patriarchal family was a critical resource in the demise of employment for married women and children (Grint 1991, 79). In isolated areas such as the Isles the importance of the traditional authority was even more pronounced and supported not only by the parents and kin, but also by elders, neighbours, Kirk and school (Toynbee & Jamieson 1989, 728).

6.3 Accommodation

The life of a nineteenth century and early twentieth century seasonal worker in Finland might have not been rosy but nor was it that in Britain where for example farm workers were treated regularly with disrespect and expected to work very long hours with poor wages and little food. Accommodation was meagre and consisted usually of a barn, loft, byre or stable where a lock of straw served as a bed (O'Dowd 1991, 140). In Scotland, the ongoing industrialisation process did not improve the housing situation but further worsened it. Overcrowded privately rented and expensive rooms with inadequate facilities were common everywhere and particularly in urban areas. Also the travelling work force got their share of this problem; for example in the 1890's Fraserburgh, the herring girls' lodgings were described as smoky, dirty and draughty, without cupboards or shelves, and only one bedstead to every three girls. It was common to accommodate the girls in huts of this kind in many fishing towns; they were handy not only because of their cheapness but also because they were situated near the stations. As the hut consisted of a single room, the girls had to learn to live, cook, wash and sleep in this tiny space without much privacy. A water tap outside the hut or a barrel of rainwater at the door provided the water for cleaning and cooking. There were no toilets in the huts; the nearest one was next to the beach where they worked and it was often shared with the opposite sex. Diseases spread quickly in these conditions. (Smout 1991, 22 – 23.)

Also in the Shetland Islands, the girls were housed in these rent-free, simple wooden huts that were furnished with bunk beds and heated with coal burnt in an open

fireplace. Two mission-nurses from Lerwick and Aberdeen describe the girls' living conditions in these huts in the following way:

But still the accommodation is far too meagre for the numbers... The windows often are not made to open, so no air can come in but by the doors and various chinks in the roof, where rain enters as well. There are no sanitary arrangements of any description even the most primitive, and this alone is injurious to health and morality... During times of heavy work, the lack of time to cook proper food is a great evil. (Nurse R.S.)

Where nine women sleep in a place no larger and not nearly so high as an ordinary small dining-room you may suppose there are frequent cases of over-crowding! I have been told of girls who preferred staying outside all night owing to the conduct of the rest. (Sister B).

Two crews -six girls altogether - occupied each hut and they slept three to a bed. Despite the lack of space and other shortcomings of the accommodation, the girls were remarkably gifted as organisers of household chores and creators of cosy atmosphere when compared to the lumberjacks and construction workers. On the other hand the men could have not skied or walked around Lapland carrying such things as wall paper on their backs on the top of tools, food and other necessities whereas the girls did not have such problems due to their different way of travelling. The kists filled with clothes and household utensils the girls had brought with them from home could be used as tables and chairs. The hut was decorated as nicely as possible; curtains were put up at the window and a 'glory hole' curtained off for toilet purposes. The girls also brought cheap wallpaper with them and photos of family members were placed on the walls. A mirror and oil lamp gave the final touch to the temporary home. Although the result might have looked more like a home when compared to the austere barracks in the backwoods of Lapland, the fact remains that its occupiers hardly had more privacy than the men, and the ideal of a bourgeoisie home was not much closer either.

Before settling down the hut was scrubbed thoroughly. This was done on the day of arrival; next morning the girls started their hard work. (Bochel 1980, 149 - 150.)

First of May at we gyud, dan we packit wir kists - whit we caa'd 'kists' - aa wir claes and wir bedclaes an everythin it'd be taen i wir kists. An dan we da - dey wir a car dan in Whalsay. Whin I wis gyan tae da skyul it wis da first een. We got dis car, and dey

took aa wir cases - dey wir a lot o wis at gyud doon wi da boat, an da curer pickit up aa wir luggage and dan we got, every een got a hut. Dan you took aff your good claes an pat on your aald claes an you scrubbit him fae da tap tae da boddam - da hut - an cleaned hit oot, so hit wis perfectly clean. First of aa you hed tae geen an git your scrubbing brush an your bucket an your floor brush an everything. An it hed tae be whit we caa'd debted idda shop fur da hinder end o da year and dat hed tae be paid fur among da tree lasses - had tae pay fur dat. Troo time, as time gied on we got cloth on wir floors o wir hut an we papered it as years gyud on. An dan whin dat wis aa done da herring started tae come upo da Tuesday. (SA 3/1/244/1-2.)

Life in the huts was freer than at home under parents' supervision or in the lodgings where the landlady was present. Many girls remember this freedom as one of the highlights of their travelling life; to be able to decide about one's own household arrangements was considered as a big step in the process of becoming an independent woman. The girls took turns at doing orderly - cooking, cleaning, and other housework - and the one who was in turn had to wake up early in the morning to set the fire in the stove and make breakfast, usually bread and tea. When compared to the traditional diet of the lumberjacks and construction workers that consisted chiefly of bread, bacon and meat, the food the girls ate was healthier: After breakfast, the girls had a more substantial meal of porridge and bread around nine o'clock and dinner in the afternoon that consisted of potatoes, mince, etc. Supper was at 6 p.m., and during this meal the girls often enjoyed fresh fried herring, home-made scones and pancakes. (Bochel 1979, 21 - 22.) If there was plenty of fish to be gutted, the girl on duty had to leave earlier than the others and scrub out the hut and fill the kettles so that the rest of the girls could refresh themselves with a cup of tea. If there was still gutting and packing to be done after the meal, she joined the others to work again in the yard. (SA 1974/91.)

As the years passed, both the living standard and housing standard of the herring girls started improving gradually. The Housing (Scotland) Act 1925 gave power to the local authorities to make bylaws in respect of the housing and conditions of seasonal workers. The Acts of 1931 and 1937 further improved the situation, although the conditions remained below satisfactory in many places for long (O’Dowd 1991, 194 – 195). The following description is from the beginning of the 1930's:

They started to cure there and they got on very well at first and they just had peerie wooden huts for the lassies and they got on so well at first that they built a new place, the lower flat, you'll see it yet, the lower flat wis a concrete and there was an upper flat and you went upstairs and then there was four different doors divided into four and every door had two rooms... They put electric light in and they put a peerie cooking stove in, floor cloth on the floor, they fitted them wi' cooking utensils and some dishes and everything that was good and when that was known that was the positions they could pick the best girls. (SA 3/1/103/3.)

Attempts to improve the living conditions of the fisher girls were made also by the locals living next to the stations. The church usually carried out these aid projects, and they were often stimulated by moral concerns on the travelling girls' life style. For example in Lerwick in 1913, a sale was held to raise funds for the furnishing of the new rest-house, where the girls "could read and write letters and get advice from the high-minded ladies in charge... there were many temptations which a rest-house of this kind would help largely to remove" (Shetland News 19/7 1913).

In the English towns of Lowestoft and Yarmouth and in some places in Scotland too the girls lived in rented lodgings. The crew shared a room together, and the girls coming from the same area, particularly Gaelic speakers, often stayed in the same house if possible. Rented rooms were relatively expensive and small, and as already mentioned, there was no such freedom of domestic arrangements the girls enjoyed when living in the huts. However, living in these lodgings brought along one big luxury with it, as it was the landlady's duty to prepare the meals for the girls.

We stayed with one really nice wifey in Yarmouth - not the first year. Her surname was Rouse. We took a great fancy to her surname. A big fat woman, but she was awfully good to us - she was good at cooking - she'd bring it home, we didn't have to order it or anything. She had six crews from Ness staying with her. (Peggy, 81/Ness.)

However, not all the landladies prepared the kind of food the girls liked, and sometimes they had difficulties eating it because it was so different to the food they had got used to at home (for example SA1970/170/A2+B1).

The lodgings could sometimes be located quite far away from the fishing stations - particularly in Lowestoft and Yarmouth - and in order to get to the working place and back to the lodgings the girls had to walk several miles every day. This was time-

consuming and tiring on top of the long working day. In later years the curers arranged lorry transportation for the girls. At the beginning when the lorries did not yet have guardrails, accidents such as falling out of the platform were common. (Dorian 1985, 75.)

Although the empirical evidence convinces us that the girls enjoyed their accommodation arrangements much more than the workers of Lapland, temporality and mobility is present also in their housing. Furthermore, the girls had to move at least twice or even more often during each season. The gender role expectations have a lot to do with the girls' attitudes towards the housing: In those days the women's world was largely restricted to home and girls became women by learning to take care of the home whereas the men's world was outside and boys become men by becoming respected workers.

6.4 Work

After arriving in a fishing town and settling down in a hut or rented lodgings, the girls started their work the very next day. Unlike the lumberjacks and construction workers whose work required a lot of movement, the girls had to stand in one place at the windy stations and the working clothes had to be warm because of this. In the yard, the gutters stood in rows wearing wellingtons and canvas garments. If it was cold, warm underclothing, knitted stockings, thick skirts and pullovers were worn. The hair was covered with a three-cornered cotton scarf tied at the back of the neck; in later years also berets were worn. Fingers were covered with cotton strips and each girl arranged them according to their method of gutting. The packers tied only the ends of the fingers, but the gutters had to cover them fully in order to protect them from salt and the sharp gutting knife. Hands were washed for meals with the cloths still on, and they remained in place until work was finished for the day. They were then washed and tied again the next morning. Despite these precautions, cuts were common, and in more serious cases there was a nurse at the Mission who took care of the injured hands. Sometimes the cuts became inflamed, at worst forcing the girl to give up work

for the whole season. This meant a loss of income without any compensation, added with the expense of doctor's bills. (Bochel 1979, 24 - 26.)

The mission was not terribly interested in the souls of the girls, but provided comfort, cups of tea and bound the girls' hands when necessary. (SA 1985/125).

Because the way one dressed for work was dictated by the weather and nature of the work, it did not change much before the introduction of the gutting machines in the 1940's: In fact, even in today's fish factories the two basic items of clothing for a fish worker are wellingtons and aprons made of oilskin. In the old days the poor background of the girls was reflected also in their clothing; inventiveness was necessary if one could not afford proper clothing as Agnes tells in her account:

I had no oilskins ready. So dad says, there's a dressmaker next door she says if you get the material and get her to sew oilskins, I'll make them ready for this job. So he got linaseed oil and gave it a coat of that first and then he mixed a coat of linaseed oil and black paint and they painted the oilskin af that, and then as a finishing touch... he went to the cliffs and it was that time that the sea gulls were just beginning to get their eggs and he found ever sae many gulls nests, some had wan egg, some had two and maybe the best een had three, I don't know but he took these eggs and he broke them and he threw out the yolk and he kept the whites... and he came home and he mixed the whites of the eggs idda gulls eggs, wi' black paint and made it just... a coat of this and these whites of eggs would put a polish on it. (SA 3/1/103/2.)

The fisher girls' working day began at five o'clock when the foreman knocked at the door. The girl on duty got up first to boil the kettle, and after having breakfast the girls went to the station. At six prompt they started working and everybody had to be very exact, since the girls worked as a group. (Bochel 1980, 150.) The herring was first removed from ships by men and put into baskets called 'swills', each holding half a cran. The filled swills were taken to the curing-yards and emptied into the gutting troughs, or farlins, as they were called. The fish was then sprinkled with salt in order to make the handling of the fish easier. The girls picked up a fish and brought away the gut with a quick move. The gut was dropped into small tubs placed in front of each girl and sold for fish manure. While gutting, the fish was graded and thrown to one of the three to six tubs behind the girl according to its size and quality. Fast movements demanded great concentration, and therefore gutters usually remained

silent. (Anson 1932, 197.) Depending on the size of the fish, as many as 50-70 herrings could be gutted in a minute (Bochel 1980, 152).

Bit we hed ta select dem all oot, whin you wir guttin, you hed ta lean da selections. Da packer wis lined up, you see, da whole packers wis lined up, you see, an every wan wid have maybe three barrels an da gutters hed ta kyerry da herring up ta her (SA 3/1/99).

When the tub was full, it was carried away by the packer of the crew and emptied into large, shallow tubs called rousing tubs, where the herrings were again sprinkled with salt. The packer then took an armful of fish from the rousing tub and started packing the barrel. After this the contents of the tub was well stirred up. The herring was packed in layers and sprinkled with hard salt so that the fish would not touch each other and the brine could thus penetrate to every part. The melted salt, water, and juices from the fish produced the pickle, the brine that cured the herring. To make sure that the herring was thoroughly salted and sufficiently pressed down to fill the barrel properly, the curer usually supervised this work. The salting was done gradually to enable the brine to dissolve slowly. Each packed barrel of cured herring contained about one hundredweight of salt. (Anson 1932, 197 - 198.)

Packing was cleaner work than gutting, but the backs and digestion of the packers were put to a severe test, since they had to lean over deep barrels stretching to the bottom to arrange the first tier and work up until about 800 herrings had been packed in. The packer was usually slightly older than the gutters because she had to be tall enough to reach the bottom of the barrel. Inexperienced packers worked at a tier of two barrels and others a tier of four barrels. In the 1930's when the gutters were already working under a roofed structure at most stations, the packers were still out in the open because of the mobile nature of their job. (Bochel 1980, 152; Dorian 1985, 67.)

Herring girls at work in Stornoway, early 20th century. St. Andrews University.

The girls gutted usually three whole barrels per hour. The salt drew moisture out of the herrings: about 7 or 8 hundred herrings were put into the barrel first, but by the time they were properly filled up there were about a thousand herrings per barrel. The bottom tier and the top tier were done carefully, since they were inspected. Coopers wrote the packer's name and number on the bottom of each barrel so that they could record the number of barrels she had filled when the time of the payment came, and check the packer's performance. No cheating in packing was tolerated and if somebody was caught, the girl had to pack the whole barrel again. Before the First World War when Russia was the biggest trading partner the Russian merchants used to open barrels at random to see if the herring was well packed and of the same size in a barrel. The layers of a well-packed barrel remained in place even when the whole barrel was removed. The girls competed about the best bottom tier and at dinnertime the packers often left a bit earlier than others in order to do it properly. (Bochel 1980, 153 – 154.)

You didnoo interfere wi wan anidder... Bit you did kemp - whit day caa's kemp... If dey wir two good crews, weel, you never wanted dat second good crew tae beat you. So we ay, an we caa'd it kemp, kemp wi wan anidder. (SA 3/1/244/1-2.)

'Filling up' the barrels was usually done the day following the first packing, but it was common to use Mondays for this work since the Scottish fishermen did not work on Sundays and no fresh fish had arrived yet. After the lids of the barrels were closed, they were laid down on their side. Bungholes were drilled in them and pickle was poured in. The barrels were left to settle for eight or ten days and they were then turned on end and the pickle was drained off. The temporary lid was removed and a second filling up was done if necessary. The top layer was arranged carefully, and the coopers checked the tiers before the lid of the barrel was finally sealed. The barrel was filled with pickle, the bungs replaced and the barrels arranged three tiers high on their sides to await shipment. Two girls and two coopers lifted the heavy barrels aboard. (Bochel 1980, 154.)

In England, the work was slightly different to that of the summer season. It was mostly 'filling up' -work described above, and because there was not much daylight at that time of year, the curers arranged lights to the yard. Because of the cold weather the working day lasted only from 6 a.m. till 7 p.m. In Yarmouth big fires were lit in the yard so that the girls could warm up, but many thought that the cold was harder to bear if one got warmer by the fire, and so they kept on working away from the fires. (Dorian 1985, 71 - 72.) 'Filling up' was very intense work and there were no knitting breaks like there were during the summer season when the gutters and packers waited for the next catch to land.

They were knitting when travelling and knitting if there was time before the next load of herring was poured in. (SA 1985/125).

An dan we never wrocht efter seven o'clock at night because da frost cam in, you see, an dan herring got so stiff you couldna wirk dem, you see, dey wir frozen in da farlings, you see. An dey wir frozen ida morning whin we cam doon dere at six. (SA 3/1/198/1.)

The working days of the herring girls could be as long and busy as the days in the floating season in Lapland, particularly in the summer when there was plenty of light.

Endless hours were spent standing over open troughs exposed to wind and rain, and when there was a big catch, the girls worked as long as necessary, having only short breaks for a cup of tea. It was against the law to gut herring after 24 hours of catching and because of this the working days could last from 6 a.m. till 2 a.m. (for example SA 1983/123). These hours are far beyond the working hours defined by the legislation of the time, particularly when we remember that there were many girls under 16-year old among the gutters. The first legislation concerning children's labour was passed as early as in 1833 in Britain, as the Factory Act limited the hours of work of children in factories. The Agricultural Act of 1867 outlawed the employment of children under 8, and after this a serious of restrictions were set on child labour in all sectors of economic life. The national education statutes in 1870 further complemented the new legislation (Grint 1991, 182 - 183), but as can be concluded from the working hours of the herring girls, legislation had its loopholes particularly when the matter in question was seasonal work.

The girls also had to help to bring supplies ashore when the stock boats arrived. Knitting was considered as important work too; although it was a question of honour to earn as much money for the family as possible[101], the earnings could be modest in a bad season and this is when the value of pullovers, socks and other knitted items raised significantly. (Bochel 1980, 155 - 156.) Savings could be useful also if one was planning to get married as the following article suggests:

Fisher girl is saving up for her marriage. She knows that she will be considered thriftless if she has not £ 70 to 123 in the bank by the time she is 26-years old. (Stornoway Gazette, 6/111924.)

According to the girls, dividing the earnings equally among the crewmembers was never a problem, even if one of them would have been sick and all three had to stay at the hut because of this. Even if the worst came true in the form of illness, cuts, and other accidents and the incomes were cut down, the fisher girls always came out from the season without debts, which was not necessarily the case with the fishermen or curers. (Dorian 1985, 74 – 75.)

[101] For example at the beginning of the century the girls earned from 17 to 20 £ per season (Bochel 1980, 156).

The speed and skill of the fisher girls were not only admired by the fishing families; holidaymakers also took a great interest on them. However, not everybody understood the nature of their work and sometimes the girls could have a good laugh at their ignorance.

Holidaymakers used to be going round taking pictures. They used to take a fancy to us. I remember once in Scarborough with the boxes full of herring and two ladies came round and they asked us had we caught all the herring the previous night. They thought that we were the ones who went fishing for them. (Peggy, 81/Ness.)

In addition to punctuality, standing in line and repeating monotonous movements, there were many other factory-like features in the gutting and packing of herring. Not only the gutting crews and fishers were involved in the herring business, but also a lot of back-up service was needed to keep things running. Dozens of horse drawn carts carried the herring, guts, salt, etc., to and from the various operational points. Furthermore, various types of lorries supplying the horses and carts were needed for the heavier work. Boats came in and out of the pier, bringing salt, barrels, and coal for the steam drifters, etc., and also took out products. At the height of the season the yard was a very busy place and in constant movement. (Gibson 1984, 30.)

There were hundreds of girls from Shetland and Hebrides, Lewis and Harris, and other places. And hundreds of drifters; the place was packed for three months in the summer. (SA 1975/91.)

The sense of freedom the girls often refer to was not limited to travel only. Also the work itself was more independent when compared for example to that of a domestic servant, just as the forest work was free when compared to a work of a farm servant. Despite the fact that you could not change the employer once you had accepted the airleas, clocks did not dictate your working hours, nobody was breathing down on your neck, and you could increase your earnings by working hard and developing your own working methods.

There was a sense of freedom in gutting, it was not like domestic work, it was independent (Christine, Barra).

The hectic phase of work at the herring stations stopped only for Sundays. Occasionally the girls might also organise strikes and although they were usually short-lived, they were efficient since the success of the herring industry was highly dependent on the contribution of the 'gutting quines', particularly at the busiest time of the season as has been discussed in chapter 3. The girls seem to have been quite aware of their crucial role in the industry (Bochel 1980, 154), and the local newspapers – 'the Stornoway Gazette' in the Western Islands and 'the Shetland News' in Shetland - did their best to increase it in their articles.

Weel, you see, say dey wir maybe five or six lasses go tae da nixt station an say "I think we'll have tae see if we canna git mair money because things wis geen dear." Dan you see your wage couldn't keep you. An dan dey just gyud fae station tae station an dan dey aa go in a crood and day aa walked richt in ower tae da pier. (SA 3/1/244/1-2.)

Altogether, the image the accounts and source books create of the fisher girls is that of a cheery, cosmopolitan working group with varying accents and dialects, including the Gaelic language. English, Scottish and Irish women worked side by side at the stations, and the visiting foreign boats and their crews further deepened the international atmosphere of the fishing ports. When taking into account the variety of the backgrounds of the girls and their harsh working and living conditions, it is remarkable that disputes among them were practically non-existent. The unwritten rules might have kept the lumberjacks and to some extent the construction workers too in discipline, but the fisher girls do not refer to such rules. Time after the time the girls insist that there was simply no time or space for quarrelling and moods and that the spirit amongst them was always very good[102].

Everyone got on really well together - they did not think anything of it. (Effie, Ness.)

Dere were no fights or nothing o dat kind denadays... Dere were a fine jolly crood. Eens cam fae sooth at mixed we Shetland wimmin. (SA 3/1/154.)

Even though gutting and packing of herring had an air of freedom about it when compared for example to the work of a domestic servant, it also required discipline

[102] See also SA 1970/271.

typical of factory work. The fact that the girls had to work out in the open until the 1930's underlines the mobile nature of the work; it was not considered as worth the trouble to build roofed structures for the girls because of the short working season. Finally, just as was the case of Lapland, working and living side by side increased the girls' awareness of their position in the society as wageworkers and thereby strengthened their identity.

Gutters working under roofed structures, 1930's. Aberdeen University Library, G.W. Wilson Collection.

6.5 Leisure-time

During the herring season fishing towns such as Stornoway, Castlebay, Fraserburgh, Wick, Peterhead, Stromness, Lerwick, Yarmouth, Lowestoft, etc. were packed with young unmarried women and teenage girls who came to gut the herrings. Despite the hard work, simple housing conditions and poor payment, they eagerly looked forward to the beginning of the season, starting to 'feel restless like gypsies' (Bochel 1980, 147) already in April. The reasons behind this eagerness do not differ much from those of the travelling work force in Lapland. Going away with a crowd of young people, seeing new places, and experiencing new adventures were regarded as something very positive that came along with the job[103]. Also independence and comradeship of living away from home in huts with friends and the opportunity to do your own domestic arrangements as discussed before made the hard work feel like a working holiday. (Dorian 1985, 72.) The range of leisure-time activities was another important spur, particularly since it could be very limited at home.

When we came in, we used to wash and clean ourselves. We used to go out on the town and if there were pictures, we'd go and see them. We used to go to prayer meeting on the afternoon of the Sabbath – a minister used to accompany us – and spend two or three Sabbaths with us. (Annie, Ness)

But we enjoyed it afterwards when we were going home – going to King Street on Saturday night where all the fishermen used to gather – so pleasant, with plenty of laughs and no word about the hard work we used have to endure during the week. But getting up again on Monday morning, that wasn't so good. (Peggy, Ness 1978)

The family and friends who remained in the villages found the mobile life of the girls highly interesting and their life could be referred to for example with such statements as "The fishing girls were not shut in village fisher folk at all" (SA 1985/125). The stories the girls brought along with them were listened to enthusiastically, and the descriptions of the places they had visited were received with amused disbelief. In their accounts, the girls express their desire to see and experience new things openly; as a matter of fact it was one of the highlights of their travelling life.

[103] See also SC 1989/62.A19, SA 1989/213, SA 3/1/311.

We were more interested in diversion and what we might see. If we saw a 'fancy' man, not like the men at home, talk about fun! We had never been away from home. There was a wee village and we used to go there and window-shop. The coopers used to accompany us and they used to tease us. (Peggy, 81/Ness.)

They had great fun when they were away. It was not only work, mother went roller skating in Yarmouth, she was good at it. They also went to theatres a lot (SA 1985/125).

The girls seemed to enjoy it very much, the communal life in the huts, and they brought stories back home. Everybody at home was very interested in their life away from home (SC 1989/63).

Sometimes the novelty of living in towns far away from the small home village was too much for the inexperienced girls and they could not but laugh at the strange things they had seen or stay at their temporary homes because they were afraid. After all, many of them were not older than fourteen.

We used to laugh when we came home at the things we'd see and go to bed and get up at five in the morning. (Annie, Ness.)

In Lowestoft we never went out much... Because at night, you see, we weren't used wi'da place - just kinda stayed aroond wir ain territories, I shall say, doon da main street. (SA 3/1/213.)

Herring girls dressed up for a photograph in Wick. Aberdeen University library, G.W. Wilson Collection.

The leisure-time activities of the lumberjacks and construction workers are quite different when compared to those of the fisher girls. This difference can be explained partly by the impact of the gender role and partly by the fact that the men were much more isolated from the rest of the society because they worked in the backwoods whereas the girls worked in towns. The girls were indeed not interested in such things as gambling, smoking, drinking or sauna baths but in church services, concerts, dances and ceilidhs[104] arranged by themselves. Dressing up for a picture was one of the first things the girls did when the season began. Courting was also done during the fishing season as it was easier when the parents were not present. There were weekend reunions with the men arriving from sea; news from home was exchanged, reports on catches and prices were given and wedding plans were made. The huts were filled with talking and laughter on Sundays, and pancakes enriched the simple diet of the girls and their guests, shop bought cakes, cheese and ham. Family, friends and neighbours were remembered and hymns were sung. Letters arriving from home were

[104] 'Ceilidhs' are informal gatherings for conversation, music, dancing, songs and stories.

cherished and news was exchanged with other girls from the same area. (Bochel 1980, 156 – 157.)

Mother wrote regularly letters from the Islands to her family, also the fishermen did so when far away (SA 1985/125).

Although some informants say that they did not really have time or money to entertain themselves, many girls remember particularly the leisure-time and the dances or ceilidhs they arranged in the huts with great pleasure.

Oh, an awful lot - I loved dancin! I wis dancin crazy. Weel, da lasses, wir, aa da sam dan. Dats da enjoyment o wir life - wir young life - wis dancin an dat. (SA 3/1/244/1-2.)

However, the life in the huts was far from 'indecent' particularly among the highly religious girls from the Highlands and Islands. There were always other girls present in the hut and sisters, cousins and women from the same village often worked in the same station. Also father or brother might be fishing near and under these circumstances any misconduct of behaviour would have reached the family's ears very quickly. (For example SA 1985/125.) However, there are references to 'immoral behaviour' too in the accounts written by the nurses who worked at the Mission next to the pier:

In cases I have to go, but I have usually found any men I met well-behaved. But this was chiefly among the Highlanders who are usually more moral than the others. In a next to one where I had a case, there were crews of Peterhead women - married and with families at home - there were often men in all night for immoral purposes. (Nurse M.)

One evil not to be overlooked was the fact that men from the gun-boat were occasionally allowed to stay on shore all night and this was the cause of disorder in the huts (Nurse B).

Dancing, singing and playing were popular leisure-time activities, but the most popular one was walking along the streets. The streets next to the harbour became meeting places after the day's hard work and particularly on Saturdays:

An we used tae dress wis up, in whit we caa'd - every Saturday night if we hed aff - we wid dress wis up i whit caa'd peenies bit it's overalls noo dey caa dem. An we wid walk alang, back and fore alang da fish market... Da place wis packed an you couldna stand - da police wid come an move you... Bit da street wis absolutely - hundreds and hundreds o gutters an fishermen. Dat wis, dat wis in Shetland. (SA3/1/244/1-2.)

There were outsiders working in the ships at times and the villagers had to found a special police force in order to keep them in order – they got hilarious on Saturday nights (SA 1983/124).

Walking along the streets and socialising with friends was undoubtedly the most inexpensive way of spending time. However, during these endless walks the participants were bound to get hungry and thirsty and this could sometimes become a problem in a small town. In Lerwick, a heated debate rose on the refreshment shop regulations, which did not allow shops or tearooms to be open on Sundays.

On Sunday a large proportion of this special population - estimated 2000 at least - leave their boats, huts or overcrowded lodgings and attend religious services, take walks into the country, or wander about the principal streets, meeting with acquaintances, etc... They have nowhere to sit and rest, or refresh themselves... But a few years ago the plight of these fisher-girls were recognised as so serious that benevolent ladies provided a refreshment place for them on Sundays... That benevolent arrangement has been given up; but, if I am led to believe the evidence before me, the reason is, not that there now no fisher-girls requiring refreshment on their arrival; but that their number is now within such limits that the ordinary refreshment places cannot cope with it. (Shetland News 21/6 1913.)

Although life at the fishing stations was free when compared in the life at the home village, religious observance was scrupulous. No work, apart from the necessary cooking was done on the Sabbath. Everybody went to church and one of the most popular forms of recreation of the fisher girls and boys was singing hymns together on Sundays. Also washing, cleaning and other domestic tasks had to be done during the working week, usually on Mondays when there was more time as the fleet had not been out on the Sabbath and there was no fresh fish to gut. (Dorian 1985, 71.) Bible reading was another popular past-time activity among the girls and not only on Sundays. New Bibles were purchased frequently, since the soft, thin pages of the Bible got easily damaged when handled by fingers coarse from the cutting knives, herring and salt. (Gibson 1984, 30.)

Hard working conditions were eased with humour, although because of the hectic nature of the work, laughter was usually saved for the leisure-time.

Anyway, we were off and we used to take turns to scrub the floor and it was the turn of Marie Blest from Cross to wash the floor. We were in the habit of going to bed whilst the floor was being washed. I fell asleep and I was the furthest out on the lower bed. Marie Blest put a black moustache on me and other black things on my face. I was there fast asleep with my face black looking at them. They got great fun out of me. (Peggy, 81/Ness.)

Before travelling back home at the end of the season, the girls did some shopping, although sometimes this could be difficult because of the language barrier (for example SA 1970/169). Usually the girls made their purchases in Yarmouth because the season ended there and they got their wages. The selection was also larger than in other fishing towns, and prices lower. Unlike the travelling lumberjacks, the girls did not celebrate the end of the season in any particular way, and apart from one or two items the girls seldom bought anything for themselves. The presents they brought home were domestic utensils or foodstuffs that could not be purchased at the home village.

The first year I was at the fishing I bought myself a fancy jumper… We used to buy crockery – it was so cheap. Threepence or sixpence – none of them were any dearer than that… Going to the shops to buy things without good English was difficult; there was one girl and her English wasn't good at all. She asked for 'Pictures for hanging, the same as the lady got.' (Peggy, 81/Ness.)

Dan you brocht presents fur your grandfolk an you bocht things tae your hoose laek sheets an things laek dat.... I ay did dat. (SA 3/1/244/1-2.)

Apart from gifts, cash and foodstuffs, what else did the girls bring home? In the introduction it was argued that migration affects not only the migrants and their destination but also their place of origin. According to O'Dowd (1991) the most logical impact of the Irish wandering harvesters who worked in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth century would have been the spread of new agricultural practises and implements in their place of origin. However, as the 'spalpeens' were usually landless labourers or small farmers, they could seldom use these new methods at home, and therefore the most obvious consequence of the seasonal work was the

spalpeens' increasing dependence on additional incomes. Furthermore, they did not have much energy left to improve their holdings after the yearly time-period of hard of work and travel in Britain, and nor could do much agricultural work as they arrived in the winter and left again in the spring. (Ibid., 259.) In the case of the herring girls, lumberjacks and construction workers the skills learnt at work were even harder to apply, as their work was clearly wage-work and did not have much to do with land cultivation. However, even in the case of the Irish harvesters there were always some individuals who found a way to apply their new skills and inspire also others in the home village. Furthermore, the change the migrant workers brought along with them was quite subtle by nature as things such as expanded worldview, ability to cope with different situations and increased knowledge on various things are difficult to observe (ibid., 279 – 281). The same conclusion can be made also in the case of the herring girls, lumberjacks and construction workers. If nothing else, then at least their experiences and personal growth prepared them to meet the requirements and challenges of the situation when the decision to leave the home resort permanently could no longer be put off. In many cases seasonal mobility encouraged social mobility also, as the work experience and changed attitudes opened new doors.

Although the girls enjoyed their travelling life, going home was always remembered with great joy. At home, peat cutting, net mending and other household tasks were waiting, and the girls knew that no special welcoming ceremonies would be held for them on their return. Still, the hard work and freezing weather of Yarmouth was left behind without regrets, and the long train trip to the North was made shorter for example by singing (Effie, Ness). These songs often told about the life of the fisher girls and the problems they met (Bochel 1980) and were therefore important as they strengthened their identity and solidarity.

Did all the Hebridean fish workers return home, or did somebody perhaps find an English fiancé and stay in England? According to the informants and the Stornoway Gazette, they usually did come home.

> The queer thing is that Lowestoft never takes possession of any of the bonnie Scottish fishergirls. They come and go again every autumn, for a fishergirl only wants to marry a fisherman, and he one of her "ain folk". (Stornoway Gazette 6/11 1924.)

There were girls from everywhere, gutting, from the East Coast and other places… The girls often got married with the locals, seldom Highlanders though (SA 1983/123).

Although the impact of the gender role largely explains why the leisure-time activities were so different between the Finnish men and Scottish women, also cultural differences and the fact that the girls worked in urban environments are important to acknowledge. Few men could spend their leisure-time at home by doing things they did when ‘on the road’, but for the girls the difference between these two spheres was even bigger, as in the predominantly agricultural Western Isles even walking on a paved street would have been impossible in most places. Even the idea of having free time was alien to somebody raised up in a predominantly agricultural community where the way of life was based on cultivation of land and the border between leisure and work vague.

6.6 Modernity and the Fisher Lassies

How was modernity expressed in the herring girls' accounts? To what extent is the model of a modern 'man' by Inkeles & Smith (1974) applicable to this data? In the following paragraphs, the themes of the model will be discussed in the context of the empirical evidence produced by the fisher girls. Just like in the previous chapter concerning the lumberjacks and the construction workers, only those characteristics that are relevant from the point of view of this data will be discussed.

First of all, openness to new experience is clearly expressed in the fisher girls' accounts. As in the case of the travelling work force in Lapland, one of the main reasons why the girls so eagerly looked forward to go to herring gutting was their desire to see new things and places and meet new people. While on the road, they enjoyed their independence and made the best out of their modest living and working conditions, being ready to absorb new experiences whenever it was possible. Also the family members at home followed their lives with great interest, since large-scale seasonal migration among the women folk in the Western Islands was a relatively new phenomenon. For a girl joining a gutting crew the idea of working in the same space

with women coming from other parts of the country could be quite exotic: In Lapland, the melting pots were the forest job sites and construction work sites. However, women originating from the same area tended to stick together and this is particularly true in the case of the Western Islands girls, as the language barrier affected their life. Few girls could speak English fluently and the further back we go in the history, the poorer their language skills were and the more probable that they socialised with Gaelic-speakers only. As discussed in the previous chapter, the small farmers in Lapland tended to stick together with their relatives and fellow-villagers even though they spoke the same language: By relying on each other friends could defend themselves against the sometimes hostile environment and strengthen their own identity. However, in Scotland the compulsory education age was extended to 14 already at the beginning of the twentieth century, and at the latest by then the fisher girls had obtained the necessary language skills at least to be able to read newspapers in English. Furthermore, unlike the lumberjacks and construction workers, many fisher girls expressed educational aspirations in their accounts, but because of the lack of money and job opportunities they had no choice but to start working as gutters and packers of herring.

Melucci (1989, 34 - 35) argues that the emergence of a social movement can never be reduced to a reaction or automatic response to a social change: Collective phenomena are processes where expectations are constructed and compared with reality only by such actors who are able to define themselves and their field of action. The empirical evidence of the present study supports this argument, since formation of collective identity clearly is one of the central themes in the texts produced by the lumberjacks, construction workers and fisher girls. The herring girls became politically active quite early; as discussed in chapter three, they had joined trade unions already at the beginning of the twentieth century and quite readily went out on strike when necessary. Strikes were spontaneously organised and usually short-lived: A good strategy was to go out on strike in the height of the season when the girls' contribution to the herring industry was most essential. In other words, the girls were not only prepared to fight for their rights as wageworkers, but also aware of their crucial role in the herring industry. Furthermore, unlike in Finland where the workers' rights Movement remained stagnated between 1918-1945, for example the 1930's was a

particularly turbulent time-period in Scotland: In the herring industry a wave of strikes swept over the East Coast fisheries. This might also have something to do with the newly gained universal suffrage in the UK, since before 1928 British women under thirty years of age were not allowed to vote.

Both in Lapland and in the East Coast fisheries, working close to each other as a member of a team among other teams meant that the workers had to learn to work together and adjust themselves to factory-like conditions where respect of fellow-workers was necessary. Furthermore, the working methods at a fish station differed radically from those at home; piecework and the monotonous, repetitive movements of the herring gutting and packing differed from most agricultural work. Piecework also ensured the appreciation of technical skill and just like the workers in Lapland, the girls competed with each other in speed and skill. Equally work commitment was great, since piecework and membership in a working team encouraged this attitude; the more you gutted and packed, the more you earned.

Women's contribution to the economic well being of the crofter-fishing families has always been great, but the role of the fisher girls as breadwinners of the family was something previously inexperienced. The importance of their economic role was strengthened by the new auction system introduced by the curers at the end of the nineteenth century, which in practise meant that in a bad herring season the fishermen might return home in debt. Even though close family ties still formed the basis of their life, the girls learnt to be independent since they had to leave their homes at an early age and take care of themselves for at least half of the year. However, because the economic well being of the herring girls and their families was highly dependent on the herring industry and its fluctuations, it cannot be argued that the girls' ability to control their lives would have been great. After all, the prices or size of the herring catches in Scotland and other fishing nations was impossible to predict. As was the case of the local lumberjacks in Lapland, there was not much a girl who originated from the Isles could do to improve her future position because of the limited job opportunities. In many ways the girls' mentality is reminiscent of the small farmers in Lapland; for example, each individual's earnings were used for the well being of the whole family and therefore using money 'selfishly' was disapproved. However, it can

be concluded also that the girls' wage work encouraged consumption since such small luxuries as bedclothes or pots and pans made of steel that could not be purchased at home were brought as presents after every season.

There is one particular characteristic that is regarded as traditional by Inkeles & Smith (1974) and strongly present in the girls' lives, namely religion: Nearly all the informants refer to the scrupulous religious observance the girls from the Western Islands followed. Religious tradition, beliefs and values are usually understood as an obstacle to the idea of progress, and it is true that the Scottish herring industry nearly lost its ground to the English at the beginning of the twentieth century because of the strict Sabbath keeping of the Scots. On the other hand, one of Max Weber's main arguments was that the spirit of capitalism was born out of the Calvinistic tradition, and the Free Kirk of the Western Islands was closer to Calvinism than any other church as late as in the beginning of the twentieth century. Just like the Laestadians, the members of the Free Kirk considered obedience and industriousness as virtues and the girls did their best to fulfil these requirements; in this sense the religion can hardly be seen as hampering the economic development.

6.7 Concluding Remark

If we follow the division of migrants suggested by William Petersen (1958, 258) into passive and active ones, the Hebridean girls fall quite clearly to the first group. Unlike thousands of their fellow-Islanders who made the decision to emigrate or migrate permanently, the girls did not plan to change their life style but migrated solely to retain their traditional life style. Furthermore, in pre-war Finland options might have been few but this was not the case in the early industrialised and urbanised Scotland. Because the herring industry could employ such large numbers of women for so many decades, 'going for gutting' had become a tradition itself that was passed from one generation to the next, just like the combination of small farming and forest work had become in Lapland. In addition to this, in those days it was also common that women stopped working when they got married and therefore a time-period of temporary seasonal work fitted well the fisher girls' life style without changing it too much as a

whole. Also Anderson's (1980) argument of the impact of a migrant's geographical origin supports the categorisation of the fisher girls into the class of passive rather than active migrants. People migrating from places characterised by such things as population pressure, high birth rates, low degree of industrial modernisation, low literacy rate and a living based on agriculture tend to move to destinations where they can continue their accustomed life style. In other words, migrants with this kind of background are less modern in their attitudes than those who move to urban areas.

However, not all the girls dedicated one part of the year to working at home and the other to the herring industry. For example Mrs Christine MacNeil from Barra used to work as a domestic servant in Glasgow between the herring seasons. Why did Christine not choose to be a domestic servant all year? Even though the wages were poor in this sector, particularly when compared to the earnings one could make as a gutter or packer in a good season, then surely domestic work was at least lighter and more pleasant by nature. In Christine's case we are once again given the most common explanation the girls give when asked why they chose to go gutting. This explanation refers to the freedom, independence, and the novelty of travelling and 'seeing places'. In other words, there was a great desire among the girls to experience new things, to explore the world and expand their horizons, which surely can be interpreted as a modern attitude under the given time context. In Christine's case we can also define another quite common reason of why a girl became a seasonal migrant; her mother had died when she was in her early twenties and she felt the urge both to support her family economically and to be near it at least part of the year, which would have been impossible in case of permanent migration.

According to Inkeles & Smith (1974) the two most decisive factors supporting individual modernisation are education and occupation. The girls from the Western Isles were educated enough to read and write, they worked in factory-like conditions and as discussed already, their attitudes can often be interpreted as modern. However, also traditional elements persist; for example the girls' unwillingness to change their life-style can hardly be interpreted as a modern attitude. Also the kinship ties remained strong despite their new role as breadwinners of the family, and it seems that the girls had no intention of changing. Interestingly most of those features that can be

classified as ‘traditional’ can be linked with the underdeveloped economic life of the Western Islands. For example, if job opportunities are few, occupational and educational aspirations are a waste of time. Nor do the two things of preserving the crofters’ traditional life style and planning one’s future go together, even when supported by the extra incomes earned in the sphere of the herring industry. The crofts were simply too small to maintain the family and the herring industry too sensitive to economic fluctuations, and there is not much if anything an individual can do to change a situation like this. Also the close kinship ties are clearly connected with the economic situation of the Western Islands: As in Lapland, the families had to pull together in order to survive, and the earnings of each family member were added to the collective economy of the household and shared. Finally, as discussed in chapter 3, the society of the Western Islands’ was based on clanship and blood relations for so many centuries that it must have further strengthened the kinship ties.

Although the girls from the Western Isles seem to lack the emanation and individualism that some members of the travelling work force in Lapland express, there are still many modern features in their lives as we have seen. When compared to the workers in Lapland, the way of life and attitudes of the fisher girls are very similar to those of the small farmers. In addition to the impact of the gender role, the differences between these two groups are most commonly caused by the fact that the girls travelled long distances and stayed in many culturally different and often quite urban environments whereas the small farmers migrated only inside rural Lapland. The small farmers do not give enthusiastic descriptions of the places they went to work and this is understandable as we know that both the forest and construction job sites did not differ very much from each other and that they were situated in the backwoods far away from settled areas. As opposed to this, the girls not only lived in towns but could also enjoy the various leisure-time activities this kind of environment offers. Also the impact the girls had on the locality they stayed was greater than that of the lumberjacks and construction workers. The industrial life of the fishing towns enlivened as the girls arrived since they bought food and refreshments, went to the theatre, etc. As opposed to this, the only impact the men had in their immediate environment was a solitary barrack that was abandoned after the job site had finished, a clearing, or a few kilometres of new road. As a final remark it should be

remembered that the differences between the two groups are a combination of various factors, most importantly the gender, different historical context and culture. Also the way the informants tell about things has been affected by these factors: in Britain it is desirable to create a positive impression and avoid straightforwardness and bluntness whereas in Finland other things are valued.

7 MODERNISATION IN FINNISH LAPLAND AND THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND

The research problem of the present study has been built around two domains. The first one consists of the modernisation process in Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands, and the other of the two closely related themes of seasonal migration and individual modernisation. The first domain has been approached by discussing various indicators that reflect the development of the industrial life and cultural sphere in both areas. A relatively lengthy time-period has been investigated to get an overview of the complex, slowly proceeding process. Due to its holistic and historical nature, Michael Hechter's (1975) approach and concept of internal colonialism has been employed here as the theoretical framework. The second domain refers to the empirical part of the work. By describing and interpreting the way of life of the seasonally mobile individuals an attempt to understand the link between the modernisation process and individual change has been made. The theme of individual modernity has been further deepened by employing the model of a modern man by Alex Inkeles & David Smith (1974) as a loose framework of reference and by discussing the ecological approach to migration suggested by Barbara Anderson (1980). In the next few paragraphs, the central conclusions of the present study will be discussed.

7.1 Modernisation Processes and Peripheries Are Different

In the very first chapter it was argued that in the Western world the modernisation process - referring to such phenomena as nation-building, industrialisation, urbanisation and migration - are interrelated phenomena. According to Rokkan &Urwin (1987, 64), not only modernisation but also peripheralisation is an ongoing process: There is a great variety of peripheries in Western Europe resulting from interactions of ethnic, religious, economic and political forces over long periods of history. In the present study, Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland have been discussed as examples of peripheral areas. According to Hechter (1975), the processes of nation-building and modernisation create advanced and less advanced groups of people and distribute power and resources in an unbalanced way, and this

clearly is the case also in the two areas under study. Core-periphery structures are present not only inside a nation but also between various nations. In Finland, the industrialisation process started only when the demand of sawn goods and other forest products began to grow in Central Europe: For the biggest purchasers of Finnish forest products - Britain, Holland and Germany - Finland became known as a forest nation and has remained as such. Most importantly, the export-structure has remained unchanged at least until the 1970's when the metal industry started expanding, which has maintained the biases of the economic life also in peripheral Lapland[105]. As opposed to this, the development in Britain shows that structures change too; once among the leading countries of the world, its position has declined steadily after the World Wars as a result of the loss of its colonies and changes in the world market. This development is reflected for example in the GDP rate: When compared with each other, Finland's economic growth has been faster and steadier than Britain's, to the extent that by the 1980's it had overtaken Britain (Hjerppe 1990, 37).

Although the outcome of the modernisation process in Lapland and the Western Isles is the same, the modernisation processes have proceeded differently in each area: Different timing and various international events have affected the development. In Northern Finland, the first important development with long-term consequences was the expansion of the tar trade that began in the seventeenth century when the country was still under the Swedish rule. As the tar was exported chiefly to Europe and Sweden, Finland started gaining her reputation as an area with vast forest reserves. Forest owners and particularly tradesmen who sold the tar accumulated capital and invested it in the developing forest industry. In 1809 Russia invaded Finland, but due to her autonomous position and the underdeveloped state of the Russian economy, Finland was able to form her own economic core. The modernisation process started accelerating together with the growing demand of forest products in Central Europe, and also the area of Lapland got involved in this development from early on because of its forest reserves. The exploitation of these resources was intensified by the foundation of the wood-processing industry in the town of Kemi. As a consequence, the population started growing rapidly and exceeded soon the carrying capacity of the

[105] Later on high techonology and for example mobile phones have become important export articles.

area, which created dependency on additional income earned in the sphere of the forest industry. Independence in 1917 strengthened further the national economy, and although the state was torn by the Civil War soon, it recovered rapidly. World War II and the paying of the war indemnities to the USSR increased and intensified production in all areas, created new technology and modernised the economy. In Lapland, the state started supporting the development of the forest industry by allocating funds to improve the road network and by building hydroelectric power stations. To exploit the forest reserves even more efficiently, the state-owned forest company of Veitsiluoto extended its production and started supporting the development of the wood-processing industry. The role of the small farmers and mobile work force was important in the expansion of the forest industry, as they formed the cheap seasonal labour force for it.

Britain was able to accumulate capital from the seventeenth century onwards by dominating the world trade with products produced in her colonies. The profits were invested in the developing industrial sector and as a result Britain became the first industrialised country in the world. The subordination of Scotland's economic life took place gradually and already before the Union 1707. The Union increased commercial and cultural interaction between the two nations, but as the decision-makings organs were situated in London, the subordinate position of Scotland was now evident. Furthermore, the creation of heavy industry and cotton industry in Scotland deepened further the division of the area to civilised Lowlands and underdeveloped Highlands. The Highlands and Islands area started producing dairy products, meat, wool and kelp to the markets of the more industrialised and urbanised Lowlands already in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The kelp industry that blossomed in the Western Islands during the Napoleonic wars is a particularly good example of a peripheral industry that is sensitive to economic fluctuations and geared for export. The kelp industry collapsed in the 1820's as the customs duty on alkalis was removed. Simultaneously, the prices of cattle and sheep went up and a large-scale sheep economy was introduced to Scotland. Clearances and evictions followed, as the landowners needed the land for the sheep. The Islanders were now in a situation where extra incomes were no longer available. Although fishing was a relatively important industry in the Isles, the fish was produced chiefly to the local market. The

introduction of the herring industry in the mid nineteenth century changed the situation. The impact of the international markets and economic fluctuations became pronounced, as the great majority of the Islanders were now engaged in the industry. The herring industry blossomed between 1860-1914 on the East Coast and to some extent also on the West Coast. However, the industry never quite recovered from the loss of the Russian market in 1917, and as the competition increased in the herring market, the herring industry started declining. As no secondary occupations became available to the Islanders, they started migrating and emigrating: The isolated location of the Isles, its poor access to the markets and lack of capital made the area unattractive not only for the fishing industry but for any commercial activities. The state's efforts to improve the situation have been inadequate, and by the time the special organ of the Highlands and Islands Development Board was founded, it was hopelessly late. Apart from fish, the area did not have other resources – at least before the end of the 1960's when oil was found next to the Islands.

7.2 Peripherality Is Manifested in all Spheres of Life

According to Rokkan & Urwin (1983), peripherality can be manifested in all three spheres of life, namely politics, economy and culture, which has become evident in the case studies of Lapland and the Western Islands. After investigating the change taking place in the industrial life in the two areas it can be concluded that their economic life has remained underdeveloped. The two most economically important industries of the herring industry and forest industry were not only geared for export but also sensitive of economic fluctuations. Furthermore, although they offered seasonal work mostly, they also encouraged population growth and thereby increased further the inhabitants' dependence on extra incomes. The traditional way of life based chiefly on agriculture was no longer possible, but due to the extra incomes earned outside its sphere, the inhabitants could at least maintain the remnants of its. In the case of the Isles not only the Union 1707, the early industrialisation of Britain and its position in the world economy affected the development but also the fact that no industry ever intruded the area as powerfully as the forest industry did in Lapland. In

Lapland not only the fact that the country became industrialised so late, but also the strong role of the state as a director of the development has influenced the situation.

In the historical chapters of the present study various indicators, formed chiefly on the basis of Hechter's (1975) and Anderson's (1980) studies have been discussed as indicators of peripherality in the two areas under study. Although peripheral position is reflected particularly clearly in the sphere of economics, variables such as housing standard, educational level, population development, religious atmosphere, and political behaviour give equally strong evidence of the areas' peripherality. Furthermore, as Hechter (1975) argues, the economic dependence of a periphery results in growing cultural differences between the various groups inside it: In Lapland and the Isles this is reflected particularly well in spheres of religion and politics. For example the emergence of religious revivalist movements in both areas is of course a result of many factors, but it is clear that not only the crop failures but also the conflict between the local culture and the intruding culture and the penetration of the market forces encouraged them. Also the political climate of the two regions was affected by the market forces: In the Isles, the combination of the introduction of large-scale sheep farming and population growth resulted in crofter rebellion, and in Lapland the introduction of the forest industry changed the local social structure and divided the population into two political camps. This division has lasted until today whereas in the Islands whose population is more homogenous both in social and economic terms, a larger consensus on both religious and political matters has prevailed. Furthermore, unlike Lapland, the Islands were never a destination for a vast number of new settlers and therefore for example political opinions have a foundation in the local values and way of life: In Lapland the novelties were brought from more or less alien cultural environments by the new settlers. However, radicalism has not completely died out from the Islands, as the support of the Scottish National Party that campaigns for independent Scotland and promotes the Gaelic language has increased intensely since the 1970's.

The fact that political radicalism has emerged in both areas and among all three groups of people that have been chosen to represent the mobile individuals here is most interesting, particularly since the emergence of radicalism and an increase in

labour mobility seem to go hand in hand. In Lapland, radical political thinking started spreading soon after the foundation of the first big forest company in 1893; another peak can be dated in the post-war decades when the reconstruction work was at its most intensive phase. In the Isles, the crofters started rebelling only after they had first become seasonally mobile due to the introduction of the herring industry, and also the female fish workers were known for their political radicalism. In chapter five it has already been discussed that according to Nousiainen (1956) and Anderson (1988), factors such as sensitiveness of the industry to economic fluctuations, physically demanding and dirty work, and requirement of mobility encourage radical political thinking. However, political radicalism has been common also among many other trades, for example among the nineteenth century shoemakers as Hobsbawm & Scott (1980, 98 - 114) have proved.

At first, the trade of a shoemaker does not seem to have much in common with that of a herring girl, construction worker or lumberjack; economic fluctuations did not have much impact on their lives and the work was not particularly dirty or even physically demanding. In fact, it was usually the weak and physically handicapped boys who were put to this trade. Furthermore, shoemakers often worked entirely alone and were well known for their love of books. However, there is one common factor among these trades and that is mobility. Not only the lumberjacks, construction workers and herring girls were mobile but also the nineteenth century shoemaker, particularly if he lived in the countryside where villages were scattered around and distances long. A man who had open eyes and sharp ears could learn a lot during these trips, and he also had the opportunity to get involved in discussions and debates with strangers. Even if he was a town dweller or the village was big enough to provide him with work and stay in one place only, he had dealings with apprentices and journeymen who were often well-travelled. In other words, a person who is mobile for example due to his or her work is continuously exposed to new influences and this can profoundly shape his or her attitudes, opinions and character.

To what extent did the parties regard the support of the inhabitants of the two areas as purely instrumental since the votes gave them more power over issues of national importance remains unanswered here. However, as it has become evident that new

information, innovations, ideas, and movements spread from the centre to the periphery rather than the other way around, it is logical to conclude that the initiative came from the side of the parties. For example, large job sites are good soil for the spread of political ideology, and particularly mobile people must have felt the urge to strengthen their collective identity. Political movements and religious communities serve this purpose well, and as has been shown, this was the case of the mobile groups of the present study also.

7.3 Labour Mobility Reflects Social Change

According to Hechter (1975), labour mobility and migration are typical of peripheral areas and Lapland and the Western Islands are no exception. Under the given time-period of the present study, the phenomenon is particularly revealing as certain features such as the large number of seasonal workers – including both men and women, long distances, length of the season, nature of work, big work communities, etc., differ clearly from the type of mobility typical of the agrarian society and reflect social change. However, although it can be argued that labour mobility is a consequence of certain industrial developments in both areas, it also has to be interpreted against the larger national and international context. In the case of the Western Islands the population remained relatively small until the Napoleonic wars when the labour-intensive kelp industry was introduced to the area. Although early emigrants are recorded as having left the Island of Lewis already in 1773, emigration and migration numbers remained modest when compared to the rest of the Highlands and Islands region until the First World War. However, in the first half of the nineteenth century the Isles were struck by several economic and natural catastrophes, most importantly the collapse of the kelp industry, potato blight and introduction of large-scale sheep economy. This exacerbated the situation, and for example between 1832-1855, 2200 Islanders emigrated to Canada from Lewis alone (Mewett 1980, 126). At this point both the landowners and state thought it best to encourage emigration and even assisted emigrants economically, but the total population of the Western Islands did not yet start declining. The reason for this was the expanding herring industry that replaced the kelp industry as a source of extra incomes: The

Scots had taken over the Dutch monopoly in the European herring market already at the beginning of the nineteenth century and since then the industry had expanded. Although the herring industry meant a lot of seasonal migration for the Islanders since the great majority of the fisheries were situated along the East Coast, it also allowed them to remain in the Islands.

Thousands of Hebridean women and men were engaged in the herring industry, which meant that a large part of the population spent each year from six to nine months ‘on the road’. For example as late as in the 1940's approximately 4000 Islanders still travelled to the East Coast fisheries (Hance 1949, 90). For the fisher girls, the herring season began on the West Coast in May. In June the fishing moved to the East Coast and upwards as far as to the Shetland Islands. In September the girls sailed back to Aberdeen and continued their trip by train down the coast to the fishing ports of East Anglia where the season finished in November. As much as 4500 kilometres could be travelled during one herring season[106]. Although Scottish herring sold well for decades, the industry never quite recovered from the loss of the Russian market. Furthermore, the introduction of trawlers at the beginning of the twentieth century meant that the boat owners started hiring men on full-time basis only, and therefore it could no longer be combined with farm-work. Also fewer gutters and packers were needed; not only the decline of the industry but also the introduction of gutting machines and new preserving methods ensured this development. As no new secondary occupations became available and since the government could not offer any alternatives either, the Islanders had no choice but to start migrating and emigrating. In the time-period 1901-1971, the population of the Isles had fallen by a third.

In the case of Lapland, we can distinguish four phases of mobility. The first phase consists of occasional waves of peasant settlers moving to the region after free land from the fifteenth century onwards. The more centrally located fertile lands were already under cultivation, and gradually the Finnish population outnumbered the 'original' Lappish population and agriculture was established as the main source of living. The second phase of mobility reflects the growing demand of wood products in

[106] For more details see map 2 in the beginning of chapter six.

the European market and the strengthening position of the forest industry in Finland in the late nineteenth century. Although some emigration took place to America too, Lapland remained as an area gaining migrants. Thousands of lumberjacks originating from other parts of the country were encouraged to work in the area because there were not enough locals available for the work; this was not difficult since the landless 'surplus population' was already a big problem in the South. Some of these travellers married local girls and became permanent residents of Lapland whereas some stayed just for one season. Because the local small farmers, landless peasants, and sons of the big farmers did forest work too, internal migration increased in the area. Particularly the beginning of the logging season could be intensely mobile, as many men travelled from one job site to another in order to find the best paid work site.

Due to the increase in fellings and rebuilding of the destroyed road network, labour mobility increased in Lapland notably also after the Second World War. Again, it was not only the locals who were hired to do this work, but also thousands of men from the southern parts of the country. Reconstruction work was at its peak in 1945 when about 7000 men worked in the building sites around Lapland (Tervonen 1994, 171). It was essential to repair the roads and bridges as soon as possible because the reconstruction work and war indemnities were ultimately paid for by the forest industry whose products needed transportation. New roads also had to be built for the evacuated population who was settled in various localities around Lapland. After these three phases migration in Lapland changed direction. The adaptation period after the war lasted for about twenty years and was followed by a rapid social change. The mechanisation of the three main industries of the region - agriculture, forest industry and construction - resulted in a dramatic rise in unemployment. Simultaneously, the government started supporting large-scale farming instead of small farms. As a result the labour market for unskilled workers declined and when the government's employment policy was changed and road building was no longer subsidised, the inhabitants had no choice but to move. Emigration particularly to Sweden and migration to the southern parts of the country began in the latter half of the 1960's; for example in the five-year time-period of 1965-1970 Lapland had lost 8000 inhabitants. In table 18, a summary of the different types of mobility that has been discussed above both in Lapland and the Outer Hebrides between 1773-1965 is presented.

Table 18: Mobility in Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland.

Lapland	Western Islands
Immigration: Peasant settlers from the 16th century onwards	Emigration: First emigrants leave the Islands in 1773
Immigration: Travelling lumberjacks 1893-1939. Internal migration increases due to the nature of the forest work. Also peasant settlers and some emigration to America	Migration and emigration throughout the 19th century due to the large-scale sheep farming, clearances and potato blight. Also seasonal migration chiefly to Glasgow area
Immigration. Internal migration increases due to the reconstruction work 1945-55	Seasonal migration: Herring industry in the East Coast of Scotland 1850-1939
Large-scale migration out of the area and emigration 1965-	Large-scale migration out of the area, emigration 1910-

Studying the modernisation process and the labour mobility in Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland confirms the presumption that these phenomena are interlinked. Sigrid Almedal's (1978, 143 - 148) study on the outcome of the industrialisation process in Northern Norway shows similar kind of results. According to her, the most typical and persistent of the economic and social problems of peripheral areas are large-scale out-migration and high unemployment. Work, when available, is often seasonal by nature and located some distance away from the place of residence which means that internal migration increases within the area. The majority of the inhabitants are directly or indirectly dependent on the area's one or two employers that base their operation on raw materials such as fish, coal and metals or - like in the case of Lapland – timber. Because the undeveloped processing industry is sensitive to economic fluctuations, an element of insecurity persists in life even in good times. Furthermore, when the dominant industry declines for one reason or another, the great majority of the population is affected: An uncontrolled structural change can have devastating consequences in a periphery

However, it cannot be argued that labour mobility would automatically increase when the modernisation process is at its most intensive phase although this happens to be the case of the post-war Lapland. In the Western Islands the development has been different; the late and rapid industrialisation of Finland undoubtedly has affected not only the way the modernisation process proceeded in the whole country and in

Lapland but also the outcome of it. As opposed to this, the industrialisation process in Britain had already started by the seventeenth century and was followed by the urbanisation process. Steve Hochstadt (1999) who has studied mobility and modernisation in nineteenth century Germany argues that labour mobility is not an unprecedented accompaniment to industrialisation but a traditional rural response to specific economic changes. In Germany the protoindustrialisation first led to population increase and then to the growth of the class of *Heuerleute* - landless peasants whose position was equivalent to that of the crofters and cottars of the Western Isles. As the *Heuerleute* grew, also seasonal migration to Holland for hay harvests and herring fishing increased. Those belonging to *Heuerleute* personified the integration of expanded industrial production into peasant agriculture; when population density grows to the extent that the capacity of the local economy to provide work and income is outstripped, migration is the universal demographic response. (Ibid., 182 – 183.) This explanation seems quite relevant in many areas and particularly so in the case of the Western Islands, as there is no doubt that rapid population growth and lack of land were problems there already at the turn of the nineteenth century. When this is combined with a low industrialisation degree, migration, emigration or seasonal migration is often the only strategy the inhabitants can employ to survive, and the two case studies of Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland but confirm this rule.

7.4 Mobile Way of Life Changes the Individual

In many studies the negative aspects of seasonal migration are emphasised and the migrants are seen as victims that are exploited by labour contractors, local merchants and the landed elite. Kirchner (1980, 4) emphasises the voluntary nature of seasonal migration. According to him, the question of unfree labour is relevant enough, but temporary migration can also be interpreted as an integrated part of a lifestyle - a compromise between the desire or need for wage employment and willingness to maintain the traditional lifestyle. The interdependence between the employers and seasonal workers is a fact; for example in many Latin American countries the large farmers cannot manage without the seasonal labour provided by the local small

farmers, and the small farmers are equally dependent on the extra incomes earned by working in these plantations. The interdependence of the employers and seasonal workers is present also in the case of the Western Islands and Lapland. The herring industry could have not blossomed without the cheap labour from the Hebrides, and the Islanders could not have continued to live in the Isles without the extra incomes earned in the sphere of fishing industry. In Lapland, the small farmers and landless peasants could not have survived without the additional incomes provided by the forest industry, and on the other hand the forest industry was dependent on the availability of cheap labour.

When studying the history of migration, it can be concluded that capitalism generally has found labourers when and where it needs them, even across the globe. However, the size of the social and cultural gap between origin and destination is not determined by physical distance or political boundaries, and nor is the degree of estrangement experienced by the migrant by such things as nationality. (Wolf 1982, 361.) In the case of Lapland and the Western Islands, it is important to acknowledge the fact that even if there would have been alternative sources of incomes, the great majority of the Hebridean crofters and small farmers of Lapland were not yet ready to change their peasant's identity. As many quotations employed in the empirical chapter show, the inhabitants in both areas were strongly attached to the land they cultivated: Another good example of this is the failure of Lord Leverhulme's enterprises in the Isles. In the case of pre-war Lapland it can also be argued that because so few migrated or emigrated, the inhabitants must have found it difficult even to imagine life based on anything else than cultivation of land as there were no examples to be observed.

As discussed in the introduction, increase in labour mobility does not only reflect social change, but mobility itself also creates modernity as the social network of the mobile individuals becomes larger and they are exposed to new influences (Eyerman 1992). Particularly seasonal migration can influence the place of origin as not only the individual migrants but also their relatives and friends and gradually the whole community get their share of the 'modernising experience'. Furthermore, an area that receives large numbers of migrants tends to change because the migrants bring their attitudes and customs with them; the spread of radical political thinking in Lapland

that was speeded up by the travelling lumberjacks is a good example of this. Because one of the aims of the present research has been to study the link between the mobile way of life and individual modernity, the empirical evidence consisting of life histories and other texts written by the mobile people have been analysed bearing this particular question in mind. The concept of individual modernity has been understood here as consisting most of all of individual freedom and mobility, the latter being a concrete expression and creator of it rather than a personal characteristic. Two peaks of labour mobility were chosen to be studied in each area, which in the case of the Isles was roughly the first few decades of the twentieth century until the war and in Lapland the post-war years until the big move in the latter half of the 1960's. In the following few paragraphs, the theoretical framework that has been employed when investigating the modernity of the individuals and their way of life will be evaluated and discussed.

Model of a Modern Man as a Framework of Comparison

By describing and interpreting the way of life of the mobile individuals it has become evident that many of its elements have an essence of modernity in them. The theme of individual modernity has been deepened further by employing the model of a modern man developed by Inkeles & Smith (1974) as a loose framework of comparison. According to the empirical evidence such 'modernising' elements as contact with strangers, travelling, new environments, working as a part of a team in factory-like conditions, developing a wageworker's identity, and the possibility to enjoy various leisure-time activities are indeed present in the lives of the mobile individuals. Interestingly most features that can be interpreted as traditional can often be traced back to the underdeveloped economic structures of the two areas. For example occupational aspirations are a waste of time in an environment that does not allow making them real, and the persistence of strong kinship ties reflects the fact that it was necessary for the poor people to pull together in order to survive.

To apply a model such as the one developed by Inkeles & Smith (1974) that is based on a survey carried out in developing countries, included only men as respondents, and has a different historical context than in the present study could be problematic.

However, perhaps the biggest problem of the model is to understand which characteristics are genuinely 'modern' by nature and which 'traditional'. For example, in northern countries such as Finland and Scotland where climate is harsh, work commitment is required not only from those who work in the industrial sector but also from those who practise such traditional trades as land cultivation. Another good example is the impact of the special kind of religious tradition dominant in the Isles; although strict Sabbath-keeping was a part of the tradition, it does not necessarily mean that this particular form of Christianity would have encouraged the fisher girls to turn their backs to progress. In fact, it seems that the Free Kirk did exactly the opposite by stressing the importance of industriousness and sense of duty.

Some problems arise also from the fact that theoretical abstractions and ideal types are seldom found in real life or even qualitative data; the quality of the empirical evidence tends to vary and even the richest texts lack some of the characteristics of the model. Finally, it is easy to agree with de Kadt's (1975) criticism that individual modernisation does not depend on cultural factors only but also on the material and institutional set-up of the society. For example educational ambitions are useless when the necessary infrastructure that would enable them to become true does not exist yet. Furthermore, reasons for underdevelopment should not be looked only from inside a single country or culture but also from the national and international contexts. Altogether, the model of a modern man has turned out be useful in the context of the present study. Most importantly, the empirical part of the study has not remained on a purely descriptive level as the model has made it possible to discuss the theme of individual modernity in more depth. It has also enabled the comparison of the Finnish and Scottish workers by providing a suitable framework for it.

Active or Passive Migrants

Barbara Anderson (1980) has categorised migrants into passive and active ones by emphasising the impact of the place of origin as the determinant of their attitudes and destination: Briefly, as opposed to passive migrants, active migrants come from relatively industrialised and developed areas and move to urban areas. If this argument is accepted, it follows that the migrants of the present study can be categorised as

passive since they come from underdeveloped areas characterised by population pressure and low industrialisation degree. Why then does the case of Lapland particularly seem to oppose this interpretation, as according to the empirical evidence many migrants emphasise their willingness to take risks and try something new? One way of replying to this question is to refer to the criticism Anderson's (1980) theory has gained as discussed already in the introduction chapter: Because freedom of movement was restricted in Russia already before the Soviet times, its migratory patterns might be unique and not to be generalised.

On the other hand, unlike Britain, Finland became urbanised and industrialised so late that there simply were few developed areas to move to – or to come from. In peripheral areas such as Lapland that had remained as a predominantly rural area despite the rapid population growth, internal migration was caused chiefly by the labour-intensive forest industry. As opposed to this, the inhabitants of the Western Islands could have actually chosen to migrate permanently to urban environments already in the nineteenth century because the physical setting of the heavy industry required a certain degree of urbanisation; factories needed a large number of workers who in turn needed various services. Because of this it can be argued that the migrants in the case of the Isles were more passive in their attitudes than the travelling work force in Lapland. Furthermore, according to the empirical evidence the small farmers of Lapland did not express a willingness to change their life style more than the Islanders did, but it cannot be argued that they would have not done so if they would have had the option. For example emigration to America was at its peak from the rural areas of the county of Oulu between 1893-1910 when about 30 000 peasants emigrated (SVT 1950), but since there are no separate emigration numbers available for the area of Lapland before the year 1938, it is difficult to say the exact number of emigrants. Furthermore, although emigration is a radical act and the thought of passiveness in this context seems somehow inappropriate, it was still a way of maintaining the accustomed way of life for most emigrants since they moved to the new continent solely to cultivate land. However, the fact that the population of Lapland was still small in those days and the forest industry at its most labour-intensive phase must have held down the number of emigrants.

Because the motives and attitudes behind migration vary according to the nature of it, it has to be acknowledged here that the present study does not concentrate on permanent migration, which is the main interest of Anderson's (1980) research, but seasonal. Most individuals included in the empirical evidence here declared at least one of the following background factors as affecting their decision to migrate: Poverty, large family, death in the family, unemployment, personal crisis, and political persecution. However, the great majority of the informants also point out that they chose to migrate seasonally because the work was independent by nature and because you could travel, see new places and gain all kind of experiences while doing it. In other words, even though seasonal migration is temporary by nature, it does not mean that it would have been opposed to active, modern, or innovative attitudes as the analysis of the empirical evidence has proved.

To what extent can the attitudes of the informants be explained by referring *to life course*? In the 1970's and 1980's it was common to analyse life histories from the point of view of life span or life course (for example Lievegoed 1976, Roos 1987, Niemelä & Ruth 1989). Although it has become more and more difficult to see life as 'phased' as this approach suggests - for example, we all seem to know somebody who is single, 35-year-old, still a student and who does not yet know what he or she would like to do 'once grown-up' – there is no doubt that the individuals representing the empirical evidence here do have 'more predictable' lives than us. In any case it would be difficult to deny the fact that people are born with inherent characteristics and the circumstances in which they grow up determine the extent to which they can fulfil their potential (Nissel 1987, 210). Similarly, if you were a young Island girl from the beginning of the twentieth century or a common labourer in the post-war Finland, your life was shaped not only by your gender, social class and personal characteristics but also by the dominant values and norms of the surrounding society, culture and region. As J.P. Roos (1987, 51 – 59) concluded when studying Finnish life histories written by ordinary people who represented a wide age composition: Not only were the options available for each generation different but also the characteristics and mentality of each generation.

Although not much attention has been paid to questions concerning the life course as the emphasis of the present study concentrates more on employment history than life history, there is one particular 'phase' that is important from the point of view of understanding the way of life of the informants. This phase is youth - referring to the age of early twenties and under - when you are not yet married and willing to try various things: Even nowadays it is most commonly the young who are the most adventurous. However, even though the majority of the informants of the present study are young by age, also older travellers worked side by side with them: There were both women and men who continued their travelling way of life even though they had passed the conventional 'retirement age'. In the case of the women it was usually the difficulty of finding somebody to take care of the children that made them stop working. Also illness and the simple fact that the work was physically too demanding encouraged them to retire relatively early. Men might have not found family restraints that important but also for many of them the work and working conditions were too hard to tolerate longer than for a few years, although some carried on working until old age. In other words, although it was 'more appropriate' to lead a travelling life when you were young, healthy and without family commitments, there were still those who did otherwise. A lack of options and 'membership' in the surplus population were good motivators, but questions concerning choice and free will should not be forgotten either, particularly since we are talking about a time-period when the society was changing rapidly in both nations. Most importantly, it was ultimately the accelerating industrialisation process that enabled vast numbers of the previously village-based unmarried women to travel such long distances and spend such long times 'on the road' year after year. In the case of Lapland it was the introduction of the forest industry and its need for seasonal workers that ultimately increased labour mobility and gradually loosened the ties of locality. In both areas it was the ongoing industrialisation process that changed the public opinion, allowed freedom of movement and challenged the old way of life.

In all, the use of the empirical evidence has provided us with an example of how the ongoing economic change and social change was reflected in the grass-root level of Finnish Lapland and the Western Islands of Scotland. The data has enabled us to outline a picture of the mobile way of life, to discuss the various elements belonging

to it and ponder matters concerning individual change and modernity. Even though the kind of modernity the mobile individuals of the present study possess does not seem to have much in common with such things as individual choice and hedonism that are regarded as reflecting modernity today, it is difficult to imagine how the specific historical context would have allowed these individuals 'more modernity'. In other words, not only the individuals change but also the society and our understanding of what is modern and what is not, as well as the conceptual framework we use to discuss it, also changes. Finally, the simultaneous presence of modern and tradition is not typical of institutions and structures only but also of each individual. One reason for this is the fact that institutions and individuals change slowly and gradually. Another, perhaps even more important reason is strategic by nature, as it can be beneficial in many ways to possess tools from both spheres. This is the central theme, for example, of Giovanni Levi's work 'Immaterial heritage' (1992), in which he ponders why a village priest from the late seventeenth century Italy turns into an exorcist. As an answer Levi suggests strategic behaviour: For the priest it is the maintenance of the immaterial inheritance of the family - in other words the network of connections - that matters and he is willing to fight for it even though it means that he has to start practising exorcism. After all, what is important in life is our ability to survive and create successful strategies to gain our goals. In the case of the fisher girls, construction workers and lumberjacks also the fact that they lived partly at home and partly in a new, more or less modern environment when 'on the road' may have further strengthened the simultaneous existence of modern and tradition.

7.5 Like a Russian Doll

Today's development theories do not try to construct ideal types of modernity and tradition like the modernisation school, or even universal patterns of dependency. Also the question of whether development in general is beneficial or harmful is often left open – after all, the coin seldom has only one side. Instead, the focus has been in the outlining of historically specific concrete cases. In today's conceptual framework the centre of attention is the complex interplay among different institutions such as family, religion, ethnic groups, classes, the state, social movements, transnational

corporations, the interstate system and the world-economy. Uneven development and regional differentiation are seen to result from the *globalisation process*. Globalisation networks different social contexts and regions across the earth, and the separation of time from space allow social relations to be established at a distance from local contexts of presence (Giddens 1990, 64; Tomlinson 1996, 67). What is particularly interesting in globalisation is the fact that it produces both universalising and localising tendencies simultaneously.

When viewed from today's globalisation perspective, the criticism Michael Hechter (1975) has received for his theory's underlying assumption that people living in peripheral areas have unfragmented interests seems relevant. As the globalisation process proceeds and each locality specialises in something, it is increasingly difficult to speak of an area as a whole. Equally evident is the fact that these localities and their inhabitants will have even fewer common interests than they used to have. From the point of view of rural studies this means that if the study attempts to explain how the globalisation process affects small communities and the grass-root level more attention has to be paid to such central elements as the division of labour (Oksa 1998, 1998b). For example, one village might turn into a centre for the unemployed and elderly as a part of the of the welfare state project, and another a residence area for the town dwellers as urban areas become increasingly troubled by rising crime rates and pollution. It is the scale of differentiation and specialisation that distinguishes the present from the past. However, as long as some of the localities do well and some poorly, questions of power and control will continue to be relevant. Furthermore, even though all states are dependent on each other and there are no completely autonomous nations more than there are those whose development can be understood as a mere reflection of what goes on beyond their national borders, the existence of various kinds of dependencies and degrees of dependencies is a fact, and therefore also their effect is different (Hettne 1990, 113).

Although the globalisation school claims that the importance of such political forces as nationalism and nation-states has declined, many recent developments in Europe and Africa actually challenge this argument. Ethnic cleansing, secessionism and other patriotically inspired movements are still amongst us, and nationalism also continues

to be the main obstacle to integrating the European community (Hechter 1992, 267). Perhaps the revolution is not as total as some scholars suggest: As Castells (1997, 303 - 306) puts it, the state might not be the *only* authority and source of power in today's world, but it is still one amongst the others. Furthermore, since the foundation of the first nation-state, it has had competitors such as city-states, trading pacts, empires, military and diplomatic alliances. In other words, the power of nation-states has never been as total as it is often believed, and nor has it lost its power completely today: The globalisation process simply makes the states less sovereign and more dependent on a broader system of enacting authority and influence from multiple sources. Contemporary nationalisms are strong but they also challenge the nation-state as they aim to build or rebuild a nation-state based on identity and not just on historical heritage of territorial control.

All in all, it would be difficult to deny the fact that interaction between various states, institutions and individuals is increasing. The world can be understood as a system of layers that is reminiscent of a Russian doll that produces a new, slightly smaller doll every time you open it. Farthest out is the world of global markets and global power structures that reach their impact to every corner of the world. On the level of the nation-states the presence of various types of interaction, dependencies and interdependencies is prevalent, and inside a single nation we can define the same relations, although the unit of analysis is now a region. These regions consist of localities that can also be characterised as a network of interactions. Furthermore, inside them are the communes, towns, villages, scattered settlements, districts, quarters, etc. Finally comes the individual whose network of relations also forms a complicated system of interdependencies, like a miniature of the world system. Each layer and each doll is perfect in itself but still a part of the whole that makes the Russian doll.

To give an example of the presence of these layers in an individual's life, let us imagine a fictional character called Margaret who comes from Loch, which is a small village situated in the West Coast of Lewis. Lewis is the biggest island of the Western Islands in Scotland, and the great majority of its population is engaged in land cultivation. Margaret's 6-member family lives by the sea and the family has a modest

fishing boat owned communally with the neighbouring three families. The rest of the villagers live around the church and are crofters by trade. By selling fish and exchanging it for foodstuffs Margaret's family and their neighbours manage quite well. In the old days, the village consisted of 12 families but as the large-scale sheep farming was introduced in the first half of the nineteenth century, four families were evicted and they emigrated to America. One of these families was related to Margaret's family. Margaret's father is employed by the Merchant Navy and as he is away for the greater part of the year, the older brothers take care of the fishing. Mother takes care of the tiny croft and Margaret's sister who is still unmarried helps her. Right now it is year 1914 and Margaret has just turned to 15. She is planning to go to herring gutting with two of her friends as there is no other work available in the village, but then the First World War begins and she ends up taking a job as a domestic servant in Glasgow. The thought of moving away is quite frightening but as two of her cousins who live in Glasgow have promised to look after her, she decides to leave. One of the cousins works for an English forwarding agent, and the other is a domestic servant. To raise her spirits, Margaret thinks about her great grandmother who was born in Uist and moved to Loch with her family as the kelp industry collapsed in the island in the 1820's. Her grandfather also had lived elsewhere as he is of Irish origin, a man who ended up staying in Stornoway because he missed a ship going to America. Originally, his family had send him to the Islands as the potato blight had spoilt their crops, in hope that their distant relatives in Harris could arrange his trip. He had then fallen in love with Mary, Margaret's grandmother, who was at that time looking after her uncle's children in Stornoway as the mother of the family had just died. Soon the young couple gets married and moves to Loch.

Although imaginative, this example can be regarded as quite a typical life history from the Western Islands. Several local, national and international developments such as the introduction of the large-scale sheep economy, evictions, potato blight, emigration, seasonal and permanent migration, industrialisation, First World War, monolithic economic structures of the Islands, Irish surplus population, locality, English capital, etc., are present in Margaret's life. On the communal level we can define various forms of interaction such as the economic co-operation amongst the villagers and relatives and networking that reaches various places, including Uist,

Stornoway, Glasgow, Ireland and America. Although Margaret is an ordinary girl from the Islands, all these developments inevitably shape her life. Similarly, we can find a network of various developments, dependencies and interdependencies present in the lives of the mobile workers in Lapland and in our lives: They shape our future and reach us also from the past. Our choices are seldom as individualistic as we would like to think - however uniquely shaped, the historical context and the environment we live in affect our lives. This is manifested particularly clearly in times when war, natural catastrophes, major economic crisis, rapid structural change or other dramatic developments interfere in our plans.

As a final remark, it is emphasised here that not only the various types of layers described above but also entities such as modern and tradition are constantly present in our lives. On the basis of the analysis of the empirical evidence, it can be concluded that there is no purely traditional life or purely modern life, as change is a slow process. Similarly, it has become evident that also societies, regions, industries, etc., contain elements from the present and the past. For example, in both Lapland and the Western Islands natural resources such as wood and fish have maintained their status as the basis of the biggest industries of the two areas. However, because the employing capacity of the fishing industry and forest industry has declined together with the introduction of new technologies, the role of the government as an employer and director of the development has become pronounced. In a modern democracy, the relationship between the advanced centre and the underdeveloped periphery can no longer be one-way.

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APPENDIX 1: THE MODEL OF A MODERN MAN

(By Inkeles & Smith 1974)

*Openness to new experience. Acceptance of new ideas and new ways of doing things is a psychological disposition and a pre-condition of individual modernisation.
*Readiness for social change. This feature is closely related to openness; the difference is that when the former asks something for oneself, readiness for social change allows it to others as well.
*Realm of the growth of opinion refers to a disposition to form or hold opinions on issues arising not only from the immediate environment but also from outside. It refers also to awareness and acceptance of the diversity of attitude around the person.
*Realm of the growth of information. Being modern does not mean only having opinions, but also willingness to acquire facts and information on which to base them.
*Time. Attitude to time is future-oriented and positive.
*Efficacy is ability to manipulate and control the environment according to one's aims. The person believes in his ability to do things and master the challenges of life, not only on personal but also on international levels.
*Planning, referring particularly to long-term planning. This characteristic is close to time and efficacy.
*Calculability or trust. The world appears as calculable and one can trust that people and institutions can be relied upon to meet their obligations.
*Appreciation of technical skill, and the acceptance of it as a valid basis for distributing rewards; closely linked to the idea of distributive justice.
*Aspirations, both educational and occupational. In the past formal schooling was used mainly for purposes of religious education and devoted to preserving traditional values. In the modern world science and technology are used as instruments to cope with the problems of the modern world. Education enables us to take up a new occupation and learn new ways of doing things.
*Awareness of and respect for the dignity of others. This is a quality that many people feel has been lost in the modern world. However, modern organisations like factories are good training grounds that can inculcate a greater sense of awareness of the dignity of the subordinates and restraint in one's dealings with them.
*Understanding production. A modern person grasps the logic underlying decision-making at the basic level of production in industry.
*Kinship and family. Industrialisation and urbanisation weaken kinship ties and particularly extended family ties. Simultaneously, ties to one's family of procreation are strengthened.
*Women's rights. This sphere is related to the changing pattern of family relations and women's status in society. In more general terms, it questions the patriarchal structures and male dominated world.
*Birth control, or restriction of family size. Even if the technology would allow use of contraceptives, the motive to use them has to be present.
*Religion. Many studies going back to Max Weber's have noted that religious tradition, beliefs and values are an obstacle to the idea of progress and modern science. The influences which are assumed to make for attitudinal modernity also seem to lead to greater secularism.

*Ageing and the aged. Changing family structures, secularisation, nature of work, technological revolution, etc., have lessened respect for the old age per se, although there is nothing in urban living that requires or teaches disrespect for the aged.
*Politics. Political modernisation and mobilisation is often seen as an indispensable condition for the modernisation of economy and society. A modern person takes an active interest not only in those matters that touch his immediate life but also in global issues. Voting, joining a political party, etc, is an expression of political modernity.
*Communications media, mass and 'nonmass'. Literacy, newspapers, radio, etc. are essential to the modernisation of a society and they can be understood both as a 'cause' and indicator of individual modernity.
*Consumerism. Urban worker's firmer financial position and easier access to credit and consumer goods stimulate consumption.
*Social stratification. Traditional societies often have a closed class system, whereas in a modern society social mobility is greater because it is based on education and technical skill rather than on traditional status.
*Work commitment. A stable industrial labour force is necessary for the industrialisation: If the workers come to their working place only to accumulate some cash and then disappear to spend it, bankrupts would be frequent.
*Particularism. This refers to the extent to which we believe to the existence of universalistic rules that are applied equally to all, rather than feeling it more appropriate to favour friends and kin.
*Optimism. This deals with feelings about fate and the inevitability of things.

APPENDIX 2: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

FINLAND

KA (Kansan Arkisto – People's Archives)
Interviews:
6D Oiva
6E - Kustaa & Uuno
Life histories ('Notes from Life' – Writing competition; Merkintöjä elämästä - kirjoituskilpailu):
Eljas 95:71
Heimo 95:92
Helmi 95:74
Martta 95:134
Pentti 95:51
Salli 95:190
Soile 95:23
Taisto 95:89

KEA (Keskustapuolueen Arkisto – Centre Party Archives)
Interviews:
Hyttinen, Hanna
Jokela, Pekka
Klemetti, Oskari
Kouri, Herman
Mölläri, Niilo
Niska, Arvid
Vilmi, Pekka
Vuorela, Vihtori
Life histories (Post-war Colonisation in Lapland' - Writing competition; Muistellaan asutustoimintaa -kirjoituskilpailu):
Hirvonen, Kauko
Pekkala, Veikko
Sallalainen

SKS (Suomalainen Kirjallisuuden Seura – Association of Finnish Literature)
Life histories ('the Lumberjacks' – Writing competition; Jätkät -kirjoituskilpailu)
Hirvasaho, Eemil
Juntunen, Rauha
Kela, Aatos
Lakela, Augusti
Leinonen, Matti
Leskinen, Viljami
Ranta, Erkki
Räsänen, Adam
Vuorinen, Oskari

TMT (Työväenarkisto – Finnish Labour Archives)
Interviews and life histories; collected chiefly in the 1960's for various purposes:
Aarne CXCVI (196) 834/1
Alli CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Arvid CXCVII (197) 862/Huhtanen 41/196
Asentaja CXCVI (196) 837/
Eino CCLXI (261) Metsätyöt 777:1,2 ; 964.
Fredrik XCV (95) 1961-1964 114/-117 117/3-6 118/120 (V.Seppälä & I.Rossi)
Hannes CCXLVI (246) 1000/13 Arki ja kulutus I
Hellin CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Hilja CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Hilkka CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Jooseppi LIV 1965 Osuustoiminta 693/10
Juho XVII 1962 Huhtanen 41/27-41/31.
Kalle CCXX (220) 800/27
Kerttu CXXXI (131) 248
Kerttu CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Liisa-Maija CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Martta CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Niilo CCXIX (219) Huhtanen 800/6
Orvo CCXX (220) 800/10a
Paavo Heimo Huhtanen CCXX (220) 1984; 800; 9, 10A(2), 10B(2), 11, 13-16, 19-20, 22, 23-24, 26-27 800/15.
Pentti CCXLII (242) 961
Senni CCLVII (257) sos.dem. nainen II 1992-93 (209) 1283-91, 1293-99
Vilho CCXX (220) 800/11
Yrjö CXCVII (196) 1977 844/

INTERVIEWS (Conducted by myself)
Raili Kumpulainen
Voitto Kumpulainen

SCOTLAND

NESS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Life histories or stories collected originally for various purposes:
Effie (26/5 1981)
Katie (15/5 1966)
Peggy (78/Knockaird 1978)
Annie (Fivepenny)
Peggy (26/5 1981)

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
Taped interviews:
SA 1966/27
SA 1969/185
SA 1970/169
SA 1970/170/A2+B1
SA 1970/271

SA 1972/226
SA 1974/91
SA 1975/91
SA 1983/123
SA 1983/124
SA 1985/125
SC 1987/7
SC 1988/63 B2
SC 1989/63
SC 1989/62.A19

SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE
Stories written by mission-nurses:
Nurse B. (Stornoway and Shetland)
Nurse M. (Lerwick)
Nurse R.S. (Lerwick)
Sister B. (Aberdeen)

SHETLAND ARCHIVES, SHETLAND ISLANDS COUNCIL,
Thematic, large interviews or life histories collected originally for various purposes:
SA 3/1/103/1
SA 3/1/103/2
SA 3/1/103/3
SA 3/1/244/1-2
SA 3/1/213
SA 3/1/175/2
SA 2/3/175/1
SA 3/1/154
SA 3/1/198/1
SA 3/1/99
SA 3/6/1-2
SA 3/1/311

INTERVIEWS (Conducted by myself)

Mrs Christine MacNeil (12/9 1997 in Barra)